

**SEPTUAGINT QUOTATIONS IN THE CONTEXT
OF THE PETRINE AND PAULINE SPEECHES
OF THE ACTA APOSTOLORUM**

by
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Submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of
Doctor Divinitatis
in the Faculty of Theology
(Section B)
Department of New Testament
University of Pretoria
PRETORIA

DECEMBER 1993

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PREFACE

This thesis is the intertextual product of several people who have influenced and inspired me. Academical, theological or personal, all of them have, however, contributed to my own understanding and interpretation of, as well as my research and interest in "the Scriptures". To all these teachers, lecturers, colleagues, friends and family I owe a lot of gratitude. Without their contributions this work would not have been possible.

Especially the following persons were involved during the years in a supportive manner on an academic and personal level to shape my mind, to share their resources, and to support me emotionally. Without that expertise and support it would have been impossible to produce this specific study. Those who deserve a special word of thanks, are the following:

(a) At the University of Pretoria, I am grateful to all the lecturers of not only the Department of Semitic Languages, but also both the Department of Greek and the Faculty of Theology under whom I was able to study from 1981 to 1987. Especially Prof.Dr. J.P. Louw and A.B. Du Toit who inspired me in the study of hellenistic Greek, and tried to teach me the ability to work responsibly with primary texts. The personal help, devotion and interest of the staff at the Faculty of Theology, is immeasurable.

(b) At the University of South Africa I owe a lot of gratitude to all the lecturers and colleagues of the Department of New Testament. Especially Prof.Dr. J.H. Roberts and I.J. Du Plessis, whom I assisted from 1987 to 1990, and who have contributed a great deal to my knowledge of the methodology and science of the New Testament. I am also thankful to Prof.Dr. F.E. Deist of the Department of Old Testament (now at the University of Stellenbosch) and Prof.Dr. C. Botha of the Department of Church History who helped a lot during the preliminary stages of this study, and their willingness to guide me during my doctoral examinations.

(c) At the Department of Semitic Languages of the University of Stellenbosch, Prof. J. Cook was of immense help from 1987 onwards in finding myself within the study of the LXX. His personal interest and friendship was, and still is, a great inspiration.

(d) Prof.Dr. D.-A. Koch of the "Neutestamentliches Seminar" at the "Evangelisch-Theologische Fakultät" must be thanked here as being an additional "Doktorvater" during the birth stages of the thesis and my research in Germany in the academic year 1990/91 at the Westfälische-Wilhelms-Universität in Münster. The realization of this thesis in its present form, would have been completely impossible without the willingness to accept me and guide me with his expertise, advice, help and experience. This support has stretched far beyond the research itself. Also the help of Herr. Thomas Lehnhart of the "Institutum Judaicum Delitzianum", as well as that of Dr. P. Pilhofer, will be remembered.

(e) For their willingness to discuss some aspects of the work, I want to thank especially Prof.Dr. Robert Hanhart (Göttingen), Prof.Dr. Ulrich Busse (Essen), Prof.Dr. Barbara Aland (Münster), Prof.Dr. Martin Rese (Münster), Prof.Dr. Hans Hübner (Göttingen), Prof.Dr. C.K. Barrett (Durham), and Dr. E. Plümacher (Berlin). *Ich möchte mich wirklich ganz herzlich bei Ihnen alle bedanken für Ihre Zeit, Hilfe, Rat, Vorschläge, Interesse und freundliche Betreuung während unseres Aufenthaltes in Deutschland.* Insufficient substantiation and weak argumentation should, however, not be taken as a reflection on them, but rather be attributed to the author.

(f) The man who has helped with all the planning and co-ordination from 1987 onwards, and who was personally responsible for my further specialization in this field, is my "Doktorvater" Prof.Dr. Cilliers Breytenbach — extra-ordinary Professor at the University of Pretoria and Professor at the Humboldt Universität in Berlin. His inspiration, motivation, academic guidance and high standard through the years, combined with his intense interest in this subject and his loyalty as a friend, have contributed to my own devotion to this comparative study between Acts and "the" LXX.

(g) Prof.Dr. H.F. Stander of the Department of Greek for the use of the Ibycus computer.

(h) Without the help of Ms. Thea Heckroodt, subject librarian at the University of Pretoria, in order to attain lists of books and articles via the post, it would have taken me longer to complete this study.

(i) Ms. Joan Sudworth of the Department of Classics at the University of Natal (Pietermaritzburg), and the Faculty of Theology at the University of Pretoria, for the use of their laser printers.

(j) The librarian of the Federal Theological Seminary of Southern Africa, Ms. Lynn Jacob, for her help in reading through the whole manuscript and improving on my language and style.

(k) Elite Printers who has generously offered their services to duplicate and bind the first set of copies.

The support of my parents and family, and all the sacrifices they have made to live with a son, husband and father who could spend only his spare moments with them, as well as their willingness to live and travel with much inconvenience between the northern and southern hemispheres of this planet, has contributed to the completion of this work.

Johannesburg
December, 1993

Acknowledgement is hereby given to
the Human Sciences Research Council for
a research grant for overseas study.
The opinions and results in this study
is, however, that of the author and not
necessarily shared by the grantee.

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According to Luke, Jesus of Nazareth once said:

...τοῦτο τὸ γεγραμμένον δεῖ τελεσθῆναι ἐν ἐμοί (Lk 22:37)

SUMMARY

Luke's use and interpretation of his "Scriptures" in Acts was investigated on the explicit quotations to be found within the Petrine and Pauline speeches. It became clear that this reflects a threefold problem which could best be described as texthistorical, methodological and hermeneutical in nature.

It was established under the textcritical aspect of the problem, that Luke made use of the scrolls of the Torah, Isaiah, the Twelve Prophets and the Psalms. The reconstructed textreading of the Septuagint *Textvorlage* which he used for his explicit quotations in the Petrine and Pauline speeches, seldom differed from existing LXX texts. Those specific differences seem to be closer to the existing Hebrew versions. Pre-Lukan knowledge of some of the quotations could be found in other literature from early Judaism (especially in the Dead Sea Scrolls) and early Christianity (Paul, Mark and Hebrews), but convincing evidence was also found that Luke himself may have checked several of these quotations again and changed them when applying them in their new context. Two things pointed in this direction: (a) he sometimes quoted longer passages than those known from former traditions, as was the case in the quoted texts from Joel 2(3) and Psalm 15(16) in the second Petrine speech, and (b) he reflected knowledge of the broader context from which those quoted texts were taken. The origin of the remaining quoted texts from the six speeches which were investigated, do not show sufficient proof to assume knowledge from existing written sources, and could therefore be ascribed to Luke himself.

The investigation on the methodological aspect of the problem has confirmed that Luke's explicit quotations are to be found, almost exclusively, in the speeches. His usage of his Scriptural quotations functioned on two levels: (a) an informative level, which focused on events from the past and which (especially) substantiated the events described in the Jesus-kerygma. They have a strong christological tendency, especially in the missionary speeches. But also (b) a normative level, which focused on the present and future and which is presented in a compelling manner to the current hearers (readers). It has a strong prophetic tendency.

The hermeneutical aspect of the problem made it clear that Luke's understanding of his Scriptures is to be placed within the broader frame of his presentation of the salvation-history. This is done from the perspective of a Theocentric approach, in which God always remains the Subject, while it is being mediated in a pneumatological-prophetic manner by the prophets and fathers of old, and the apostles (here Peter and Paul) of the new age. They are capable and authoritative witnesses who could interpret those Scriptures. The content of the prophecy itself is presented in a kerygmatic form. It deals with specific themes which are coming from their real historical context and which are then related to God's general and universal plan of salvation via the name of the "kurios". The quotations function then within the aspects of the Lukan eschatology, christology and soteriology.

OPSOMMING

Lukas se gebruik en interpretasie van sy "Skrifte" is ondersoek aan die hand van die eksplisiete sitate binne die Petrus- en Paulusredes in Handeling. Dit het duidelik geword dat hier te make is met 'n drieledige probleem, wat getipeer sou kon word as tekshistories, metodologies en hermeneuties van aard.

Onder die tekshistoriese aspek van die probleem, is vasgestel dat Lukas gebruik gemaak het van die rolle van die Tora, Jesaja, die Twaalf Profete en die Psalms. Die gerekonstrueerde tekslesing van die Septuagint *Textvorlage* waarvan hy gebruik sou kon gemaak het vir die eksplisiete sitate in die Petrus- en Paulusredes, verskil op weinig plekke van die bestaande LXX tekste. Sommige van die betrokke verskille blyk egter soms wel nader aan die Hebreuse lesings te wees. Pre-Lukaanse kennis van sommige aanhalings word kon ook gevind word in literatuur van die vroeë Judaïsme (heelwat hiervan in die Dooie See Rolle) asook in literatuur van die vroeë Christendom (Paulus, Markus en Hebreërs). Nogtans kan oortuigende bewyse egter tog aangevoer word dat Lukas sommige van hierdie aanhalings weer gekontroleer en verander het in sy proses van aanpassing vir die nuwe konteks. Twee sake dui in hierdie rigting: (a) hy siteer soms langer passasies as dié wat bekend is uit vroeëre tekstradisies, soos die geval is met die aanhalings van Joel 2(3) en Psalm 15(16) in die tweede Petrusrede, en (b) hy weerspieël kennis van die breër konteks waaruit hierdie gesiteerde tekste geneem is. Die oorsprong van die oorblywende gesiteerde tekste uit die ses redes wat ondersoek is, toon geen oortuigende bewys dat hulle bekend was vanuit bestaande geskrewe bronne nie, en sou daarom aan die hand van Lukas toegeskryf kon word.

Die ondersoek op die metodologiese aspek van die probleem het bevestig dat Lukas se eksplisiete sitate feitlik eksklusief in die redes te vind is. Die gebruik van sy Skrifaaanhalings funksioneer op twee vlakke: (a) 'n informatiewe vlak, wat die aandag vestig op gebeure van die verlede en veral die gebeure van die Jesuskerugma beskryf. Hierdie aanhalings het 'n sterk christologiese neiging, veral in die sendingredes. Maar daar is ook 'n (b) normatiewe vlak te onderskei, wat veral fokus op die teenwoordige en toekomstige tyd met 'n sterk appellerende impak op die huidige hoorders (lesers). Dit het 'n sterk profetiese tendens.

Die hermeneutiese aspek van die probleem het dit duidelik gemaak dat Lukas se verstaan van sy Skrifte geplaas behoort te word binne die breër raamwerk van sy aanbieding van die heilsgeskiedenis. Dit word gedoen vanuit die perspektief van 'n Teo-sentriese benadering, waarin God altyd die Subjek bly, terwyl dit bemiddel word op 'n pneumatologies-profetiese wyse deur die profete en vaders van destyds, en die apostels (hier Petrus en Paulus) in die huidige tyd. Hulle is waardige autoritêre getuies wat die Skrifte kan interpreteer. Die inhoud van die profesie self word aangebied in 'n kerugmatiese vorm. Dit handel oor spesifieke temas wat kom uit die reële konteks en dan verbind word met God se universele heilsplan deur middel van die naam van die "kurios". Die aanhalings funksioneer dus binne die aspekte van die Lukaanse eskatologie, christologie en soteriologie.

SECTION I:
INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER 1

RESEARCH HISTORY

1. INTRODUCTION

Early Christianity began and developed in a situation where Scripture was seen as important and authoritative, and the history of the church and of Christianity therefore became a history centred on "Scripture" as a source of God's revelation. This was due to Christianity's Judaistic background, as well as to the unique way of interpretation of Scripture by the early church, who took as their model the approach of Jesus and the apostles.¹

This "Scripture" which was used by the writers of the NT, was thus the same Scripture used by Judaism. It was used, read and accepted as "Scripture" both in the Jewish synagogues as well as in the early Christian congregations,² although probably most of the time in different Greek versions. Both Judaism and early Christianity considered these Scriptures to be authoritative "Words of God" in a written form, some kind of "God's speech (which) has...become a *text*".³ This written tradition, as found in today's Christian "OT", was circulating in two major forms. There was a Hebrew tradition, on the one hand, consisting of 22 (or 24) books, and divided into the Torah (Law), Prophets and Scriptures. It was probably used more by Palestinian Judaism. On the other hand, there was the Greek tradition, a translation from the Hebrew (sometimes representing a completely different and

¹. According to G.W. BROMILEY: "From the very beginning, then, they (Jesus and the apostles, *GJS*) gave Holy Scripture to the infant church and taught the first believers, both Jews and Gentiles, to accept, read, study, revere, quote, and commend it as the written Word of God" (The Church Fathers and Holy Scripture, in: D.A. CARSON & J.D. WOODBRIDGE (eds), *Scripture and Truth*, Grand Rapids 1983, 199-220, here 199).

². Cf. also H.F. VON CAMPENHAUSEN, Das Alte Testament als Bibel der Kirche, in: *idem*, *Aus der Frühzeit des Christentums. Studien zur Kirchengeschichte des ersten und zweiten Jahrhunderts*, Tübingen 1963, 152-196, here 154-5; and D.-A. KOCH, *Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums. Untersuchungen zur Verwendung und zum Verständnis der Schrift bei Paulus* (BHT 69), Tübingen 1986, 1.

³. J.L. KUGEL, Early Interpretation: The Common Background of Late Forms of Biblical Exegesis, in: J.L. KUGEL & R.A. GREER (eds), *Early Biblical Interpretation* (Library of Early Christianity 3), Philadelphia 1986, 9-106, here 19).

older Hebrew tradition, or *Vorlage*), and which became known as the Septuagint (LXX). Before Christianity it was already in use among the Jews of the diaspora; later it included, apart from the 22 (24) books of the Hebrew Scripture, the so-called Apocrypha. During this time when the church grew fast and extended her borders outside Palestine, it became natural to use the better known and used Greek versions (LXX) of the hellenistic communities as "Scripture", both for Jewish and non-Jewish Christians.

Distributing the εὐαγγέλιον in the κοινή διαλέκτος to both non-Jews, as well as to Greek-speaking Jews, these Greek translations were used heavily by certain NT and other early Christian writers. They provided the NT writers (who wrote about three centuries after its first translations) with a kind of *praeparatio evangelica*,⁴ and were used by them as a "vehicle"⁵ which could help them in the creation of their documents to refer to these "Scriptures". They could easily make use of the already translated terminology which was to be found in these documents.

2. THE FOCUS OF THIS STUDY

The debate on the use (*Verwendung*) and interpretation (*Verständnis*) of the Jewish Scriptures by early Christianity (traditionally known as "the use of the OT in the NT"), is as old as Christianity itself. This comparative, or intertextual, field of inquiry has been studied from several different angles through the centuries. The use of "OT" material by the writers of the NT was studied mainly on three different levels in the past: (a) the influence on the *language* (grammar, style, etc. = exclusively linguistically orientated);⁶ (b) the manifestation of LXX material by way of the *explicit quotations* which were used (their *Texvorlage*, form, function, etc. = historical-critically orientated); and (c) the most difficult to determine scientifically, *implicit influence*, as seen in references, allusions, imitations and transpositions of broader motifs — which all contribute to the re-writing of a certain "event" at a later stage in (church) history in a theological manner (hermeneutically orientated). Although almost always latently present in the past (from the viewpoint of canon-criticism), it is only during the last three decades that studies have begun paying direct attention to the third level, i.e. that of implicit influences.

In the past, most attention was paid to a great extent to the first and second levels. This was the result of the fact that such investigations were strongly connected with the methodological ways in which ancient documents were analyzed, i.e. with a tendency to focus more on fragments. There has since been a paradigm shift away from this approach, although this does not mean at all that this kind of study no longer has an important place! On the contrary, these age-old issues should be looked at again from the viewpoint of these new developments. Therefore, when looking afresh at these old problems, it should be borne in mind that some

⁴ Cf. G. BERTRAM, *Praeparatio Evangelica* in der Septuaginta, in: *VT* 7 (1957), 225-249.

⁵ Cf. G. MUSSIES, Greek as the vehicle of early Christianity, in: *NTS* 29 (1983), 356-369.

⁶ Cf. for instance, A. SPERBER, New Testament and Septuagint, in: *JBL* 59 (1940), 193-293; D. TABACHOVITZ, *Die Septuaginta und das Neue Testament*, Lund 1956.

important movements in the methodology of exegesis have taken place, the most important of which is the pendulum-swing in recent decades away from the fragmentary approach to a more holistic one, with the emphasis increasingly being laid on the *context*.

The purpose of this study is then to look again to the second level, the usage of LXX material as manifested in the explicit quotations which were used. This in itself, will be the first contribution of the study, as a book on explicit (LXX) quotations in Ac has not yet been written. A discussion of the explicit quotations in Ac, normally falls through, on the one hand, between general studies on Ac, and on the other hand, studies on "the use of 'the OT' in 'the NT'". There are thus numerous studies on Ac itself,⁷ most of which simply refer to the explicit quotations without sufficiently explaining the changes to be found in the quoted texts. On the other hand, the existing studies on the use of "the OT" in Lk-Ac can be divided into three categories: (a) general studies (usually in scientific articles and essays) which deal with the problem as being part of the "use of the OT in the NT" in its broadest sense.⁸ A general weak point of such studies is their lack of evidence for the conclusions at which they arrive, and their failure to sufficiently explain the changes in the quoted texts. They normally deal then with the interpretation of these quotations, without showing evidence of how they account for the changes in those quoted texts. The second group (b) narrows their focus down to Lk-Ac,⁹ but, in most cases, deals with the problem from the perspective of only one aspect of the Lukan theology, of which the christology seems to be the most popular.¹⁰ The third group (c) consists of those studies undertaken on the speeches in Ac¹¹ which, as with the first category above, tend to refer to the explicit quotations without sufficiently

⁷ E. PLÜMACHER has pointed out that "die Flut der Publikationen (schwillt auch in der Lukas-Forschung) ständig an," with monographs and unpublished dissertations appearing every ten weeks, while new titles of essays and other similar studies appear on a weekly basis (*Acta-Forschung* 1974-1982, in: *ThR* 48 (1983), 1-56, here 4).

⁸ Cf. for instance, C.K. BARRETT, *The Interpretation of the Old Testament in the New*, in: C.F. EVANS & P.R. ACKROYD (eds), *From the beginnings to Jerome* (CHB I), Cambridge 1970, 377-411; *idem.*, *Luke/Acts*, in: D.A. CARSON & H.G.M. WILLIAMSON (eds), *It is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture. Essays in Honour of Barnabas Lindars, SSF*, Cambridge 1989, 231-244; D.M. SMITH, *The Use of the Old Testament in the New*, in: J.M. EFIRD (ed), *The Use of the Old Testament in the New and Other Essays. Studies in honor of William Franklin Stinespring*, Durham 1972, 3-65; E.E. ELLIS, *How the New Testament uses the Old*, in: I.H. MARSHALL (ed), *New Testament Interpretation: Essays on Principles and Methods*, Exeter 1979, 199-219; W.C. KAISER, *The Uses of the Old Testament in the New*, Chicago 1985.

⁹ Cf. J. ERNST, *Schriftauslegung und Auferstehungsglaube bei Lukas*, in: *Theologie und Glaube* 60 (1970), 360-374; J. JERVELL, *Zum lukanischen Verständnis des Alten Testaments*, in: U. LUZ (hrsg), *Die Mitte des Neuen Testaments*, Göttingen 1983, 79-96; H. RINGGREN, *Luke's Use of the Old Testament*, in: *HThR* 79 (1986), 227-235.

¹⁰ Cf. for instance, T. JACOBS, *De christologie van de redevoeringen der Handelingen*, in: *Bijdr* 28 (1967), 177-196; M. RESE, *Alttestamentliche Motive in der Christologie des Lukas*, Gütersloh 1969; D.L. BOCK, *Proclamation from Prophecy and Pattern — Lukan Old Testament Christology* (JSNT Supp Ser 12), Sheffield 1987; D. JUEL, *Messianic Exegesis. Christological Interpretation of the Old Testament in Early Christianity*, Philadelphia 1988.

¹¹ Cf. J. KURICHIANIL, *The Speeches in the Acts and the Old Testament*, in: *InThSt* 17 (1980), 181-186.

explaining the changes in the quoted texts. Most of these studies have concentrated only on the missionary speeches in general,¹² or on a single missionary speech,¹³ while the other speeches (especially the remaining Petrine and Pauline speeches) have been greatly neglected.¹⁴

This investigation will also attempt, secondly, to look at these quotations *within* their immediate context, an aspect which has not received the attention it should have in previous studies undertaken in this direction.

Thirdly, the text-critical aspect of the problem will be addressed. The changes in the quoted texts will be investigated, and those which might be due to another *Textvorlage* will be identified.

Fourthly, the methodological aspect of the problem will receive attention by attempting to answer the question: *How* did Luke quote from his Scriptures?

Lastly, the hermeneutical aspect of the problem will come under discussion, with an attempt being made to understand the context in which those quotations are to be found, and the reason why specific changes were made to the quoted texts. This will be explained, at the end, within certain aspects of the Lukan theology.

This study is therefore an attempt to grasp something of Luke's use and understanding of his Jewish Scriptures in their Greek versions. The changes to be found within his quoted texts are taken as important pointers to this, and each change could refer either to another *Textvorlage* which he has used, or to a conscious change which was made due to his own set of theological *apriori*.

3. RESEARCH HISTORY

It should be made clear that what follows is not meant to be a research history on Ac,¹⁵ nor to be a survey of the debate on the speeches in Ac,¹⁶ or of the use of "the

12. Cf. for instance, U. WILCKENS, *Die Missionsreden der Apostelgeschichte. Form und traditions-geschichtliche Untersuchungen* (WMANT 5), Neukirchen 1974; R.C. TANNEHILL, *The Functions of Peter's Mission Speeches in the Narrative of Acts*, in: *NTS* 37 (1991), 400-414; E. PLÜMACHER, *Die Missionsreden der Apostelgeschichte und Dionys von Halikarnass*, in: *NTS* 39 (1993), 161-177.

13. Cf. E. LÖVESTAMM, *Son and Saviour. A Study of Acts 13,32-37* (CNT 18), Lund 1961; C.A.J. PILLAI, *Early Missionary Preaching: A Study of Luke's Report in Acts 13*, Hicksville 1979; M.F.-J. BUSS, *Die Missionspredigt des Apostels Paulus im Pisidischen Antiochien. Analyse von App 13,16-41 im Hinblick auf die literarische und thematische Einheit der Petrusrede* (fzb 38), Stuttgart 1980.

14. Studies such as those of B.J. KOET have only recently started to put this right (cf. B.J. KOET, *Prophets and Law: Paul's Change as Interpreter of Scripture in Acts*; and *idem.*, *Paul in Rome* (Acts 28,16-31): *A Farewell to Judaism?*, in: *idem.*, *Five Studies on Interpretation of Scripture in Luke-Acts* (SNTA 14), Leuven 1989, 73-96, 119-139).

15. For this, cf. E. GRÄSSER, *Acta-Forschung seit 1960*, in: *ThR* 41 (1976), 141-194, 259-290; *ThR* 42 (1977), 1-68; W. GASQUE, *A History of the Criticism of the Acts of the Apostles* (BGBTh 17), Tübingen 1975; E. PLÜMACHER, *Acta-Forschung 1974-1982*, in: *ThR* 48 (1983), 1-56; *ThR* 49 (1984), 105-169; M.C. PARSONS, *Reading Talbert: New Perspectives on Luke-Acts*, in: K.H. RICHARDS (ed), *SBL Seminar Papers* 26 (1987), 687-711; I.H. MARSHALL, *The Present State of Lucan Studies*, in: *Themelios* 14 (1989), 52-56; F. BOVON, *Studies in Luke-Acts: Retrospect and Prospect*, in: *HThR* 85 (1992), 175-196.

16. This could be followed, among others, in: F.F. BRUCE, *The Speeches in the Acts*, London 1942; J.T. TOWNSEND, *The Speeches in Acts*, in: *AThR* 42 (1960), 150-159; R.B. WARD, *The Speeches of Acts in Recent Study*, in: *RestQ* 4 (1960), 189-198; E. SCHWEIZER, *Concerning the Speeches in Acts*, in: L.E. KECK & J.L. MARTYN (eds), *Studies in Luke-Acts*, Nashville 1968, 208-216; U. WILCKENS,

OT" in "the NT".¹⁷ The roots of the different branches in this debate will rather be established, with a brief representative review of developments in each branch, and with the focus on the development of the issue concerning explicit quotations, and how these can contribute to the study of explicit quotations in Ac.

3.1 Identification of quotations

One of the earliest works to show signs of a comparison between "the OT" in general (not the LXX in particular) and "the NT", was to be found during the 16th century, in the Greek NT of *R. Stephen* (1550),¹⁸ which included a list of quotations. *F. Junius* (1588),¹⁹ and *J. Drusius* (van der Driesche) (1588)²⁰ also included parallels between the Testaments in their text editions. From this early tendency to identify

Missionsreden; C.F. EVANS, "Speeches" in Acts, in: A. DESCAMPS & A. DE HALLEUX (eds), *Mélanges Bibliques en hommage au Bédard Rigaux*, Gembloux 1970, 287-301; W.L. LANE, The Speeches of the Book of Acts, in: E.R. GEEHAN (ed), *Jerusalem and Athens: Critical discussions on the theology and apologetics of Cornelius van Til*, Nutley 1971, 260-272; J. NAVONE, Speeches in Acts, in: *BiTud* 65 (1973), 1114-1117; W.W. GASQUE, The Speeches of Acts: Dibelius Reconsidered, in: R.N. LONGENECKER & M.C. TENNEY, *New Dimensions in New Testament Study*, Grand Rapids 1974, 232-250; F.F. BRUCE, The Speeches in Acts — Thirty Years After, in: R. BANKS (ed), *Reconciliation and Hope. New Testament essays on Atonement and Eschatology. Presented to L.L. Morris on his 60th Birthday*, Exeter 1974, 53-68; M. WILCOX, A Foreword to the Study of the Speeches in Acts, in: J. NEUSNER (ed), *Christianity, Judaism and Other Greco-Roman Cults. Studies for Morton Smith at Sixty*, Leiden 1975, 206-225; M.B. DUDLEY, The Speeches in Acts, in: *EvQ* 50 (1978), 147-155; A. WEISER, Die Reden der Apostelgeschichte, in: *idem.*, *App I*, 97-100; G.H.R. HORSLEY, Speeches and Dialogue in Acts, in: *NTS* 32 (1986), 609-614; C.J. HEMER, Speeches and Miracles in Acts, in: *idem.*, *The Book of Acts in the Setting of Hellenistic History*, Tübingen 1989, 415-427; A. DAUER, "Ergänzungen" und "Variationen" in den Reden der Apostelgeschichte gegenüber vorausgegangenen Erzählungen. Beobachtungen zur literarischen Arbeitsweise des Lukas, in: H. FRANKEMÖLLE & K. KERTELGE (hrsg), *Vom Urchristentum zu Jesus. Für Joachim Gnilka*, Freiburg 1989, 307-324; S.E. PORTER, Thucydides 1.22.1 and Speeches in Acts: Is there a Thucydidean view?, in: *NT* 32 (1990), 121-142; F.F. BRUCE, The Significance of the Speeches for Interpreting Acts, in: *SWJT* 33 (1990), 20-28.

¹⁷ Cf., for instance, H. BRAUN, Das alte Testament im Neuen Testament, in: *ZThK* 59 (1962), 16-31; R. WAY-RIDER, The distinctive Uses of Scripture in the New Testament, in: E.A. LIVINGSTONE (ed), *Studia Evangelica VI* (TU 112), Berlin 1973, 604-608; E.E. ELLIS, How the New Testament Uses the Old, in: *idem.*, *Prophecy and Hermeneutic in Early Christianity. New Testament Essays* (WUNT 18), Tübingen 1978, 147-172; *idem.*, The Old Testament Canon in the Early Church; and, Biblical Interpretation in the New Testament Church, in: M.J. MULDER & H. SYSLING (eds), *Mikra. Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (CRINT II 1), Philadelphia 1988, 653-650, 691-725; *idem.*, *The Old Testament in Early Christianity. Canon and Interpretation in the light of Modern research*, Tübingen 1991; R.N. LONGENECKER, 'Who is the prophet talking about? Some reflections on the New Testament's use of the Old, in: *Themelios* 13 (1987), 4-8; I.H. MARSHALL, An assessment of recent developments, in: D.A. CARSON & H.G.M. WILLIAMSON (eds) *It is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture. Essays in Honour of Barnabas Lindars*, Cambridge 1988, 1-21; T. HOLTZ, Zur Interpretation des Alten Testaments im Neuen Testament, in: E. REIMUTH & C. WOLFF (hrsg), *Geschichte und Theologie des Urchristentums. Gesammelte Aufsätze*, Tübingen 1991, 75-91.

¹⁸ Cf. H. GOUGH, *NT Quotations*, London 1855, iii; and E.E. ELLIS, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament*, Edinburgh 1957, 2.

¹⁹ F. JUNIUS, *Sacrorum Parallelorum libri iii*, Heidelberg 1588.

²⁰ J. DRUSIUS, *Parallela Sacra*, Franeker 1588.

parallels there developed, over time, the independent study of explicit quotations from "the OT" in "the NT". Also later, during the 17th century, *L. Capellus* (1650) included an addendum on NT quotations in his work, and identified parallels between the OT and the NT.²¹

Two centuries later, a stream of independent studies appeared, focusing on quotations in the NT. They were no longer dealt with in the NT text editions, but independently in monographs. Of these, the work of *F.A.G. Tholuck* (1849/68),²² *H. Gough* (1855)²³ and *E. Böhl* (1878)²⁴ are but three examples. Apart from paying attention to the use of OT quotations by the Jewish writers, *Tholuck* also discussed the OT quotations in the Jesus speeches, by Paul, the Gospel writers and in the Epistle to the Hebrews. In the meantime the emphasis was moving away from the *fact* that quotations were used, to attempts to identify the *number* of quotations. *C. Toy* (1884),²⁵ for instance, counted 613 quotations and references, while *W. Dittmar* (1899) of Walldorf (Hessen)²⁶ found 1640, and *E. Hühn* (1900)²⁷ as many as 4105! One assumes that any word or phrase in the NT which looked in any way comparable with LXX variants was identified by *Hühn* as a quotation or a reference. All 27 books of the NT are discussed in the first part of his book. It forms a brief reference work in which each possible reference to the OT is itemized; in the end it is no more than a collection of text references. It further follows the typical trend of the linguistics of that time where a single word could dominate the argument, with little attention being paid to the context in which it stands. Words which seem to be similar between the LXX and the NT, are dealt with on an *ad hoc* basis. These are presented with a division on each page between the parallels with regard to messianic use, on the one hand, and other (non-messianic) parallels, on the other hand. *Hühn* also delineates the specific way in which the NT typifies the OT — as a whole, and also under the categories of Torah, Prophets and Book of the Pss. With his identification of the OT quotations and references in the NT, *Hühn* thus relies on form criticism, as it was in use in the system of the historico-critical method of this time.²⁸

During the same year when the work of *Hühn* was published, appeared also the well known work of *H.B. Swete* (1900).²⁹ It was the first comprehensive

²¹ L. CAPELLUS, *Quaestio de Locis Parallelis Veteris et Novi Testamenti. Critica Sacra*, Paris 1650.

²² F.A.G. THOLUCK, *Das Alte Testament im Neuen Testament: Ueber die Citate des Alten Testaments im Neuen Testament und Ueber den Opfer- und Priesterbegriff im Alten und Neuen Testament*, Gotha 1849, 1868. Also translated into English: A. THOLUCK, *The Citations of the Old Testament in the New*, in: *BibSac* 11 (1854), 568-616.

²³ H. GOUGH, *NT Quotations*.

²⁴ E. BÖHL, *Die alttestamentlichen Citate im Neuen Testament*, Wien 1878.

²⁵ C.H. TOY, *Quotations in the New Testament*, New York 1884.

²⁶ W. DITTMAR, *Vetus Testamentum in Novo. Die alttestamentlichen Parallelen des Neuen Testament im Wortlaut der Urtexte und der LXX*, Göttingen 1899.

²⁷ E. HÜHN, *Die alttestamentlichen Citate und Reminiscenzen im Neuen Testamente*, Tübingen 1900.

²⁸ This was explicitly stated in the title of his book, that the "Messianischen Weissagungen..." will be "historisch-kritisch untersucht und erklärt" (E. HÜHN, *Citate*, title page).

²⁹ H.B. SWETE, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, Cambridge 1900. It was issued in 1914 in a reworked form by R.R. OTTLEY, and reprinted again in 1968 with the foundation of the "International Organisation for Septuagint and Cognate Studies" (IOSCS).

"Introduction" to the independent field of LXX studies, and is viewed by many scholars, even today, as being a good starting point for LXX studies. Faithful to his time, he also included lists of where the quotations are to be found in Scripture. In terms of Ac, probably his most relevant and important contribution is his conclusion that all these quotations in Ac (except 8:32) are found in the speeches, and that these OT quotations are taken from the LXX.

Writing in 1947, *B.F.C. Atkinson* regarded the NT use of OT material as being of such an extent that, all the allusions together with the direct quotations, "...there would be little of the New Testament with which we should not have to deal".³⁰ According to him, six out of every seven quotations could be traced back to the LXX.

The first comprehensive and synthetical work dealing with all the NT books in a brief but relatively thorough manner, was published in four volumes by *C. Smits* between 1952-1963.³¹ It was at that time probably the most comprehensive work ever to be published on this topic. *Smits* discussed the problem with which this field deals, within three categories: (a) the text of the quotations, (b) the hypothesis of *florilegia* and (c) the exegetical problem. What makes the work of *Smits* so useful is not only its comprehensiveness, but also its good synthetical character.

One of the more recent "tools" or reference works on the identification of quotations in the NT was published under the editorship of *R.G. Bratcher* (1961).³² It was prepared as an aid to NT translators, to enable them to see the correct relations between the OT quotations in the NT, and their possible source(s). It presents a simple list, in the order of the NT books, in which the identified quotations are listed on one side, and the OT reading on the other side. Its purpose ends here, and it is nothing more than an identified list of quotations.

Probably the first attempt after *Hühn* to count all the quotations in the NT, is to be found in the work of *H.M. Shires* (1974),³³ who calculated a total of 239 quotations in the NT.

One of the latest comprehensive surveys, undeniably an important tool for the study of explicit quotations in the NT, is a synopsis by *G.L. Archer* and *G. Chirichigno* (1983).³⁴ Divided into four columns, it gives a synopsis of the readings to be found in the MT, the LXX, the quotation in the NT, and a column with brief remarks on the differences to be found.

³⁰ B.F.C. ATKINSON, *The Textual Background of the Use of the Old Testament by the New*, in: *JnlTrInst* 79 (1947), 39-69.

³¹ C. SMITS, *Oud-testamentiese citaten in het Nieuwe Testament. Deel I: Synoptische Evangelien*, Malmberg 1952; *idem.*, *Deel II: Handelingen van de Apostelen, Evangelie van Johannes, Apocalyps en Katholieke brieven*, Malmberg 1955; *idem.*, *Deel III: De Brieven van Paulus*, Malmberg 1957; *idem.*, *Deel IV: De Brief aan de Hebreëen, Het Oude Testament in het Nieuwe, Algemene beschouwingen*, Malmberg 1963.

³² See R.G. BRATCHER (ed), *Old Testament Quotations in the New Testament* (HcTr), New York 1961.

³³ H.M. SHIRES, *Finding the Old Testament in the New*, Philadelphia 1974.

³⁴ G.L. ARCHER & G. CHIRICHIGNO, *Old Testament Quotations in the New Testament*, Chicago 1983.

With the publication of *W.C. Kaiser's* work (1985),³⁵ it was stated for the first time *explicitly* that the problem of identifying OT quotations in the NT is one which is based on *how* a quotation or allusion is defined. Quotations can be identified relatively easily with the help of introductory formulas, but "Allusions may be clauses, phrases or even a single word, and, therefore, we may not always be sure that the NT writer deliberately intended that the OT connection should be made in the minds of his readers."³⁶ According to *Kaiser*, this was then the reason for scholars disagreeing on the number of identified quotations. Bearing this in mind, he reckons that approximately 300 explicit quotations can be identified "...in addition to an almost incalculable influence on the language, modes of expression, and thought in the NT."³⁷

3.2 Introductory formulae

E. Hühn (1900) was the first to draw explicit attention to the formulas introducing direct quotations.³⁸ He paid attention to (a) the general formula to be found in quotations; (b) specific formulas indicating the Pentateuch, Prophets and Pss; and to (c) the only formula explicitly introducing "the second Ps" (Ac 13:33). According to him, this had to read "the first Ps". Also during 1900, *H.B. Swete* stated that formal quotations are those which are introduced by (a) a clearly defined introductory formula, as well as (b) those which, although without a clearly defined formula, are meant to be quotations, or compare closely with the reading of a certain part in the OT.³⁹

Both *H.M. Shires* (1974)⁴⁰ and *W.C. Kaiser* (1985)⁴¹ agree that explicit quotations are relatively easy to isolate, because of the presence of the clearly identifiable introductory formulae which introduce them.

3.3 The origin and *Textvorlage* of the quotations⁴²

3.3.1 *The character of the Textvorlage which was used*

As early as 1650, *L. Capellus*⁴³ had concluded that the apostles quoted from the Greek, and not from the Hebrew — as was generally accepted during his time.

More than a century later, *T. Randolph* (1782)⁴⁴ found that although the NT writers are generally in accordance with the Hebrew, they do sometimes quote the LXX,

³⁵ W.C. KAISER, *Uses of the OT*.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 2.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 3.

³⁸ E. HÜHN, *Citate*, title page. It was done within the broader scope of a study on "Die messianischen Weissagungen des israelitisch-jüdischen Volkes bis zu den Targumim".

³⁹ H.B. SWETE, *Introduction*, 392.

⁴⁰ H.M. SHIRES, *Finding the OT*, 66.

⁴¹ W.C. KAISER, *Uses of the OT*, 2.

⁴² Cf. also M. RESE, *Motive*, 26f.

⁴³ L. CAPELLUS, *Quaestio*, 53-67.

⁴⁴ T. RANDOLPH, *The Prophecies and other Texts Cited in the New Testament*, London 1782.

and even sometimes other translations or paraphrases. He found that 120 quotations are traceable back to the Hebrew, while 119 follow the LXX.

However, one of the first explicit textcritical studies on the NT quotations in comparison with the LXX, was done by *H. Owen* (1789).⁴⁵ He emphasized the differences between the readings of the quotations in the NT and the texts from which they were probably taken, and concluded that the NT writers normally used the LXX.

One of the best known works on the LXX and the NT is probably that of *E. Hatch* (1889) of Oxford,⁴⁶ which was reprinted almost a century later.⁴⁷ Attention was given to the enormous value of the LXX and the fact that LXX quotations were not only limited to the NT alone. He paid special attention to the first two centuries AD, in order to (a) compare the quotations of a single passage with the other data to make a decision about the specific passage; (b) compile all the quotations (from either a single book or the whole OT) used by a single author and to compare them with each other. He concentrated especially on extra-biblical authors (Philo, Clement of Rome, Barnabas and Judas).

W. Staerk,⁴⁸ in a series of articles published between 1892-1895, was the first to draw attention to differences between certain of the text traditions. In these articles he stated that considerable evidence is to be found in favour of the fact that the Evangelists used a recension of the LXX which is nearer to codex A than to our oldest, codex B. Evidence from the NT (almost without exception) showed that these quotations are nearer to Sinaiticus, Alexandrinus, Ambrosian and Lucian, rather than to Vaticanus.

During the nineties of the previous century then, both *W. Staerk* (from the perspective of the gospels) and *H. Vollmer* (1895)⁴⁹ (from the perspective of the Pauline literature) were in agreement that the used recension(s) of the LXX agree more with the Alexandrian tradition than with that of codex B. *H.B. Swete* (1900) too, noted that, according to the recensional changes of the quotations in the synoptic gospels, the usage of LXX material seems nearer to codex A than to codex B.⁵⁰ Although *T. Zahn* has reckoned the previous year (1899)⁵¹ that the text

45. H. OWEN, *Modes of Quotation Used by the Evangelical writers explained and vindicated*, London 1789.

46. Oxford stood out prominently during this time as a learning centre for LXX studies, with the existence of the Grinfield chair for LXX studies, — which exists still today.

47. E. HATCH, *Essays in Biblical Greek. Studies on the value and use of the Septuagint, on Origen's revision of Job, and on the text of Ecclesiasticus*, Amsterdam [1889] 1970.

48. W. STAERK, Die alttestamentlichen Citate bei den Schriftstellern des Neuen Testament, in: *ZWTh* 35 (1892), 461-485; 36 (1893), 70-98; 38 (1895), 218-230.

49. H. VOLLMER, *Die alttestamentlichen Citate bei Paulus*, Freiburg 1895.

50. There is no doubt for H.B. SWETE that "the LXX is the principal source from which the writers of the N.T. derived their O.T. quotations" (*Introduction*, 392). But "not the Old Testament only, but the Alexandrian version of the Old Testament, has left its mark on every point of the New Testament, even in chapters and books where it is not directly cited. It is not too much to say that in its literary form and expression the New Testament would have been a widely different book had it been written by authors who knew the Old Testament only in the original, or who knew it in a Greek version other than that of the LXX" (*Introduction*, 404).

51. See T. ZAHN, *Einleitung in das Neuen Testament*, Leipzig 1899.

witnesses on which *Staerk* relied, could have been influenced by the NT itself, *Swete* has defended the issue on the basis of the fact that a similar tendency is also to be found by *Josephus*, and also to a lesser degree by *Philo*. *Swete* reckons that there are also closer similarities with the *Theodotion* recension, against that of the LXX.⁵²

In *E. Hühn's* study, it was clearly said that there are also quotations in the NT that are to be found in extra-biblical sources. The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha were mentioned as examples — and with that the reader was referred back to the LXX! With the LXX text edition of *Swete* and the NT edition of *Westcott and Hort*, *Hühn* tried to come to terms with this complex comparative study. But he also recognized the need to look into this comparison with the LXX and into its text variants. In consultation with *Dittmar's* study of the previous year, he decided to work with the *Urtext* theory of *De Lagarde*.⁵³

Contrary to *Staerk*, *Vollmer* and *Swete*, who accepted codex A as a true witness of the LXX for the quotations in the NT, *A. Sperber* (1940)⁵⁴ preferred to see codex B as being closer, based on the fact that it is the oldest. He refers to an earlier article by himself⁵⁵ in which he has gone carefully through the whole Greek NT,⁵⁶ based on codex B. He has marked all the passages which are direct quotations from the OT, without paying attention to the introductory formulae. According to him, even in the absence of these formulae, the specific material could be traced back to the OT. This then was proof for him of the degree to which the language and thought of the NT writers were influenced by the OT text. Hereafter he has compared the identified OT material in the NT with the relevant OT passages in the Greek of codex B. After omitting those that were in agreement, there were approximately 300 passages in the NT which come to the foreground as quotations, but whose wording differs to a certain extent from that of their parallel readings in the OT. *Sperber* emphasizes the fact that these differences are of theological importance. The question is then: Did the NT writer changed the quotation arbitrarily where it differed with our known LXX readings, or did they have an OT translation in Greek at their disposal which agreed verbally with the NT quotations? These questions brought to a climax the long-standing quest for the reason for these differences with regard to certain NT quotations. *Sperber* then looked to what *Jerome* had said about this; he also looked at the work of previous researchers in the field, concentrating his criticism on *H.B. Swete* in particular.⁵⁷

⁵² H.B. SWETE, *Introduction*, 395.

⁵³ According to *P.A. de Lagarde* (1827-1891), all the existing Greek texts of the OT could be traced back to a so-called proto-LXX, or *Urtext*, which would have been the "mother text" from which the others evolved. This text theory has influenced especially the *Septuaginta Unternehmens* at Göttingen, of which the work of *Dittmar* is probably the first evidence.

⁵⁴ A. SPERBER, *NT and Septuagint*, 193-293.

⁵⁵ Which has appeared in Hebrew during 1934: A. SPERBER, *The New Testament and the Septuagint, Tarbiz* 6 (1934), 1-29.

⁵⁶ The textcritical edition of Nestlé.

⁵⁷ Without hiding his viewpoint on H.B. SWETE, he said: "I hope that on the basis of my preceding expositions I may say that *Swete* was far from realizing the problem as such, and that all his remarks are consequently to be put into the discard" (*Introduction*, 204).

With regard to the NT writers' use of LXX material, *B.F.C. Atkinson* (1947)⁵⁸ has reckoned that the NT writers would not correct the LXX on the basis of the "original" Hebrew. Differences between the MT and the LXX would be either the result of another Hebrew *Textvorlage* than that known today, or the result of an incorrect translation. Regarding the text of the quotations, *C. Smits* (1952-63) deals with the question about the differences of the NT quotations in comparison with the known and existing LXX editions. He states that the quotations show differences with the LXX, that is, they differ from the LXX as we read it. The outstanding question is then: In which textform did the NT writers have the Greek Bible before them?⁵⁹ According to *Smits*, there are no indications of explicit quotations (i.e. quotations introduced by introductory formulae) from the memory of the NT writers. The NT writers must have had an open written text in front of them. Although he realized the complexity of this issue,⁶⁰ he is clearly convinced that we should not talk too easily about quoting from memory. Minor differences with our known text editions do not prove this and even major differences might go back to another text tradition.

After the discovery of the Dead Sea scrolls (from 1947 onwards), these documents were added to the list of comparative material regarding the use of "the OT in the NT."

In *M. Karnetzky's* work (1955),⁶¹ the possible *Textvorlage* underlying that which was used for the quotations, came under discussion when he dealt with the textcritical aspect of his investigation. He suggests that the quotations from earlier sources (originally Aramaic), which are to be found in the *Sondergut* material of the Synoptic Gospels, could be traced back to the "Hebrew text" of the OT, which goes back to an Aramaic Targum. With the adoption of these, most of the quotations (except those in the *SMt*) were translated according to the LXX. However, quotations which are cited directly from the LXX are to be found in the *SLk* as well as in the other source material of Luke's Gospel.

The last volume of *C. Smits* appeared during 1963. In addition to dealing with the remaining NT document not covered in his first three volumes (Hebrews), he also sets aside a major section for a general discussion on the "Oude Testament in het Nieuwe". Again emphasis is laid on the fact that the text used by the NT writers was in general a Greek text. However, the original problem with which this field of studies has always had to deal, remains in the foreground: the differences between the known recensions of the LXX, or the answer to the question of whether other translations were in use which could have been produced within a Christian environment.⁶² *Smits* then concludes that throughout the NT the quotations clearly demonstrate a unique character, in that they agree, generally speaking, with the LXX readings. Some of the slight differences were clearly necessary for the re-use of this OT material within the context or argument of the relevant NT writer. But then

⁵⁸ B.F.C. ATKINSON, *Textual Background*, 39-69.

⁵⁹ C. SMITS, *Citaten I*, 9.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 14.

⁶¹ M. KARNETZKI, *Die alttestamentlichen Zitate in der synoptischen Tradition*, Tübingen 1955.

⁶² C. SMITS, *Citaten IV*, 597.

there are also some major differences, sometimes with regard to both the LXX and Hebrew readings. Earlier it was suggested that these cases were an indication of *ad hoc* translation by the NT writer. According to *Smits*, however, there is no proof for this. This does not mean that he himself has a complete solution, but he is convinced that certain indications for a solution are nonetheless present. Issues which should be taken thoroughly into account then, are the following: (a) each instance must be investigated individually and on its own, and (b) apart from the personal characteristics of the writer, there is also a Jewish influence present in the method or general rules which the NT writer has applied.

Paul's use of the OT has received much attention in the past, but from 1964 onwards the situation became more balanced, with the Lukan literature in particular receiving greater attention. During that year, *T. Holtz* submitted his "Habilitationsschrift" at Halle-Wittenberg, which dealt with the OT quotations to be found in Lk-Ac.⁶³ He deals especially with the question of the origin of the quotations.⁶⁴ Once again, the LXX text traditions were seen as the most probably source material, in this case, for Lk-Ac, "...denn nur sie hat er als die maßgebende Form des Alten Testaments gekannt".⁶⁵ The synoptic material also presents itself magnificently for such a study, as it could be worked with comparatively. *Holtz's* conclusion is that the explicit quotations are clearly traceable back to the LXX.⁶⁶ An important result from his study is that quotations which were taken from the 12P and from Is are clearly traceable back to the textform as it is to be found in codex A. This material is then to be found especially in the *Sondergut Lukas* (which, in turn, does not support evidence in favour of any other OT texttradition, than that of codex A.⁶⁷

For *H.M. Shires* (1974) too, the LXX "...was without question one of the most creative factors in the emergence of the N.T".⁶⁸ With regard to the Lukan writings, Lk shows almost no influence from the Hebrew texttraditions, while Ac has made exclusive use of LXX material.

In 1977 *I.H. Marshall* edited a collection of essays on the principles and methods of NT Interpretation. The third section, on the task of exegesis, included an essay by *E.E. Ellis*,⁶⁹ in which he formulated the results of his time, saying that the OT quotations in the NT are generally in agreement with the LXX, but also sometimes with other Greek editions, Aramaic targumim or independent translations from the Hebrew. Although the difference in textform might be due to

⁶³ T. HOLTZ, *Untersuchungen über die alttestamentlichen Zitate bei Lukas*, Berlin [1964] 1968.

⁶⁴ "...ob und in welchem Umfang ihr Text direkt einer der Formen des Alten Testaments entnommen ist oder ob er dem behandelten Schriftsteller durch die Tradition, sei es die mündliche oder die schriftliche, zugekommen ist (T. HOLTZ, *Untersuchungen*, 1).

⁶⁵ T. HOLTZ, *Untersuchungen*, 1.

⁶⁶ He said: "Nirgends hat sich ein Anhaltspunkt dafür ergeben, dass Lukas eine andere Textform des Alten Testaments bekannt gewesen ist" (*Untersuchungen*, 166).

⁶⁷ On this point, T. HOLTZ thus agrees with W. STAERK, H. VOLLMER and H.B. SWETE.

⁶⁸ He continues to say that, "No problem was raised for the Christian writers in citing O.T. passages from the translated Greek version rather than from the original Hebrew. Thus, an overwhelming majority of the O.T. citations are drawn from the LXX (*Finding the OT*, 82).

⁶⁹ E.E. ELLIS, *Uses*, 199-219.

the author's memory letting him down, this viewpoint attracts less attention now than it has done in the past.⁷⁰

W.C. Kaiser (1985) refers to the fact that some explicit quotations point to a source, or sources, which are unknown today. In his discussion of this issue, he could be linked with previous scholars, as far back as Johnson (1896),⁷¹ when he typifies these quotations as "quotations of substance", and with Gardiner (1887)⁷² when he describes these as being "summaries of the teaching of various parts of the older Scriptures".⁷³

3.3.2 Text-theories about the availability of OT material

Several theories were developed to answer the question about the practical availability of OT material for the writers of the NT. This was done after it became clear that there are several places in the NT where the readings of explicit material differ, in both minor and major detail, from its supposed source material. Although some of these differences could be explained by way of reference to the diversity of existing textmaterial, or by reference to the specific (exegetical) method used by a certain NT writer, there still seem to be some remaining instances for which, scholars believe, these explanations are inadequate.

Further possible explanations have therefore been developed. These theories fall into either of two basic categories: either the differences are explained in terms of a written source (testimonies, florilegia, etc.), or in terms of an oral source (including quotation from memory).

(a) Testimonies and/or florilegia⁷⁴ (E. Hatch, J.R. Harris)

Some of the most important *supporters* or representatives of this hypothesis, are the following:

E. Hatch⁷⁵ who, as early as 1889 argued, on scientific grounds, in favour of the existence of florilegia. According to this hypothesis, the writers of the NT made use of already existing collections of OT textmaterial. In 1895 this hypothesis was tested

⁷⁰. He said: "...citations diverge from the LXX because of deliberate alteration, i.e. by *ad hoc* translation and elaboration or by the use of a variant textual tradition, to serve the purpose of the New Testament writer. The variations, then, become an important clue to discover not only the writer's interpretation of the individual Old Testament passage but also his perspective on the Old Testament as a whole" (*NT Uses*, 199).

⁷¹. F. JOHNSON, *The Quotations of the New Testament from the Old considered in the light of General Literature*, London 1896.

⁷². F. GARDINER, *The Old Testament and the New Testament in their Mutual Relations*, London 1887.

⁷³. Cf. W.C. KAISER, *Uses of the OT*, 4.

⁷⁴. Cf. to O. MICHEL, *Paulus und seine Bibel*, Darmstadt 1972, 213-221; A.C. SUNDBERG, On Testimonies, in: *NT* 3 (1959), 268-281; M. RESE, *Motive*, 217-223; E.E. ELLIS, *Paul's Use*, 98-107; *idem.*, *OT in Early Christianity*, 59-61; and P. GRECH, The 'Testimonia' and Modern Hermeneutics, in: *NTS* 19 (1972/73), 318-324; C.A.J. PILLAI, *Early Missionary Preaching*, 43-44; W.C. KAISER, *Uses of the OT*, 10-13; D.A. KOCH, *Schrift als Zeuge*, 247-256.

⁷⁵. E. HATCH, *Essays*, 203-204.

by *Vollmer*⁷⁶ on the quotations of Paul. He concluded in favour of the hypothesis on the basis that the quotations differ so much from the LXX witnesses, that they could not have been taken from the LXX.

Two studies by *J.R. Harris*⁷⁷ made their appearance between 1916-1920 in three volumes under the title, "Testimonies". *Harris* wanted to prove that Christianity followed Judaism in their use of a collection of texts with a polemic-literary genre. He identified this collection with the well known Logia of Papias. The identification of the Logia with an anti-Jewish testimony-book was rejected in 1935, in a dissertation of *N.J. Hommes*⁷⁸ on the whole matter of testimonies as such. The latter thought, nonetheless, that there may have been some written collections in existence during the early Christian times, but concluded that these came into existence after the era of the NT. Comparing the quotations of the four gospels, he also suggested the possibility that these writers might have worked with already existing groups of texts. In 1947 the discovery of the *Dead Sea scrolls* presented some concrete evidence of the existence of early dated collections of texts in the forms of both testimonies as well as florilegia. This proved the theory of *Vollmer* that such collections were in existence in Hebrew at an early date. During the same period, *C. Smits* (1952) too argued that one had to take seriously the possibility of such written collections which could have been used by the writers of the NT.⁷⁹

The theory continued to receive support. Also *M. Wilcox* (1955), prefers a type of *testimonia* fragment which might contain a selection of "OT" excerpts with a messianic trend.

Some of the most important *non-supporters* or representatives against this hypothesis, are the following:

As early as 1929, even before the criticism by *Hommes* (1935) of *Harris*, *O. Michel*⁸⁰ stated in his study on Paul that the existence of such florilegia, or a testimony book, could only be limited to early Christian writers outside the NT corpus. *Michel* explained the strange text-combinations that are used by Paul, from the perspective of a rabbinic method of quotation.

K. Stendahl too, in his study on Mt (1954), found no grounds for accepting the theses of *testimonia* as an explanation for the occurrence of combined quotations. He thought that there are simpler reasons at hand to explain these combined quotations. This was supported by the later study (1975) of *R.H. Gundry*, who has also worked on Mt. His viewpoint is clearly summarized as follows: "First, it is

⁷⁶ H. VOLLMER, *Citate*.

⁷⁷ J.R. HARRIS, *Testimonies I-III*, Cambridge 1916-1920.

⁷⁸ N.J. HOMMES, *Het Testimonieboek. Studiën over O.T. citaten in het N.T. en bij de Patres, met kritische beschouwingen over de theorieën van J. Rendel Harris en D. Plooy*, Amsterdam 1935.

⁷⁹ C. SMITS said: "...dat in het vroeg-christelijk milieu uit de paranese, uit polemieken en propaganda, ook schriftelijk vastgelegde collecties vroegtijdig zijn gevormd in de vorm van afzonderlijke tractaten over diverse onderwerpen, die mogelijkwijze voortkomen uit oudere collecties, en naar omstandigheden vrij werden gebruikt. Tekstcombinaties worden reeds gevonden in sommige jongere boeken van het Oude Testament" (*Citaten I*, 20).

⁸⁰ O. MICHEL, *Paulus*, 213-221.

probable that the early Christians availed themselves of already existing Jewish catenae of Messianic texts and, following the Jewish example, compiled their own. Second, it is impossible to determine which quotations might have belonged to testimony traditions. Third, the heavy Semitic element throughout synoptic quotations, outside Marcan formal quotations, means that a Semitic textform does not imply testimony origin. Many of these Semitic quotations are not of the testimony kind. Fourth, the Testimony Book is not to be equated with τὰ λόγια which Papias said Mt wrote in the Hebrew dialect. Thus, the Testimony Book is a partially confirmed hypothesis which disappointingly explains little or nothing".⁸¹

(b) "*Bible of the apostles*" / "*of the early church*" (A. Sperber, C.H. Dodd)

According to C.H. Dodd (1952),⁸² the following conclusions could be made with regard to the testimonia-book-hypothesis: (i) this "book" of isolated prooftexts was the result, and not the starting-point of Scripture study by the early Christians; (ii) a study of OT texts which are quoted in more than one group of authors in the NT, points to the fact that the early church has studied and used only a highly selective corpus of OT passages; (iii) early Christian interpretations of the Scriptures were not atomistic — the citing of specific texts functioned much more as references to complete contexts; (iv) an oral tradition of Scripture interpretation is the substructure of all Christian theology; (v) the method and pattern of early Christian interpretation of the Scriptures was already laid down by Jesus himself. Dodd then, proposed a so-called "Bible of the early church".

This was not such a new idea, as already in the previous decade A. Sperber had indicated that there had been in existence a "Bible of the Apostles".⁸³ He posited the existence of a further Greek translation of the OT, independent of the LXX. This hypothetical "Bible of the Apostles" was then used as a source for quotations by the NT writers. The aim of his investigation was to focus on the problem of the source, or sources, of these differences as resulting from the influence of a completely different Greek OT translation than the known and existing witnesses. This theory of Sperber has not received any support at all.

(c) *Targumim* (M. Black, P. Kahle)

M. Black (1948) has contributed to the Aramaic stream of thinking, especially in his study on the Gospels and Ac,⁸⁴ although also in his other studies.⁸⁵ In these were to

⁸¹ R.H. GUNDRY, *The Use of the Old Testament in St. Matthew's Gospel: With Special reference to the Messianic Hope*, Leiden 1975, 165-166.

⁸² C.H. DODD, *According to the Scriptures*, London 1952.

⁸³ A. SPERBER has said: "By the term 'Bible of the Apostles' we don't mean to imply that the OT in Greek, which the respective authors or compilers of the entire NT used either as a basis for their narratives of events, or while expounding their theology, was a uniform textual type, so that all OT references therein could be made use of in our endeavors to reconstruct this Bible" (*NT and Septuagint*, 204-5).

⁸⁴ M. BLACK, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts*, 1946¹, 1967³.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, *Aramaic Studies and the New Testament: the Unpublished Work of the late A.J. WENSINCK of Leyden*, in: *JThS* 49 (1948), 157-165; *idem.*, *Unsolved New Testament Problems: The Problem of the Aramaic Element in the Gospels*, in: *ET* 59 (1948), 171-176.

be found probably some of the most acceptable arguments to date for explaining a reasonable amount of Semitisms in the NT. He has postulated, for example, against *G. Dalman (1898)* that Targumim Onkelos and Jonathan were influenced on its own by Hebrew and Babylonian Aramaic, and that they could therefore not be faithful witnesses. The work of *A.J. Wensinck (1948)* plays an important role for *Black*. *Wensinck* has reckoned that the old Palestinian Targum of the Pentateuch (which was found among the Cairo Geniza), was used with related *haggadaic* parts, which were preserved in the so-called pseudo-Jonathan and fragmentary targumim.⁸⁶ *P. Kahle*⁸⁷ (1947) has reckoned that the quotations and the readings in the NT which have no similarities with the LXX, represent the textforms of written Greek targumim. These targumim were in general use before Christianity adopted the LXX as the standard version of "the OT". This opinion of *Kahle* relates with his text-theory with regard to the origin of the Old Greek Version. He believed that it originated from the compilation of a group of Greek targumim, which in turn, had evolved naturally in the synagogues. There are supporters of this theory even today, although time has shown that it does not hold water. In addition to the several arguments against his hypothesis, one could also argue against the fact that the writers of the NT, who were responsible for quotations which could not to be traced back to the existing LXX traditions, were not limited to the Greek only.

(d) *Jewish-Hellenistic and Liturgical-homilies (G.D. Kilpatrick)*

*G.D. Kilpatrick*⁸⁸ (1946) suggested that the documentary source material of Mt, Mk, Q and M were read liturgically and expanded homiletically until it gained a certain stereotyped form. It was eventually written down as, for example, Matthew's gospel, which was meant for further liturgical use. However, *Kilpatrick* never explains the textform of the Matthean quotations. In particular, he has no criterion by which to consider if a LXX quotation is coming from the gospel writer himself, or from the liturgic homiletic tradition.

This theory has also influenced the study of the speeches in Ac, especially that of Ac 13. *J.W. Doeve (1953)*,⁸⁹ *J.W. Bowker (1967)*,⁹⁰ *D. Goldsmith (1968)*,⁹¹ *E.E. Ellis (1971)*,⁹² *L. Wills (1984)*⁹³ and *D.L. Bock (1987)*⁹⁴ are some of those who have argued about the underlying form of a (Hellenistic) Jewish sermon in Ac 13.

⁸⁶ See C.F.D. MOULE, *An Idiom-book of New Testament Greek*, Cambridge 1977, 189.

⁸⁷ P.E. KAHLE, *The Cairo Geniza*. (The Schweich Lectures 1941), Oxford 1959.

⁸⁸ G.D. KILPATRICK, *The Origins of the Gospel according to St. Matthew*, Oxford 1946.

⁸⁹ J.W. DOEVE, *Jewish Hermeneutics in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts*, Assen 1954. [Diss. Leiden 1953].

⁹⁰ J.W. BOWKER, Speeches in Acts. A Study in Proem and Yelammedenu Form, in: *NTS* 14 (1967/68), 96-111.

⁹¹ D. GOLDSMITH, Acts 13:33-37: A Peshet on II Sam 7, in: *JBL* 87 (1968), 321-324.

⁹² E.E. ELLIS, Midraschartige Züge in den Reden der Apostelgeschichte, in: *ZNW* 62 (1971), 94-104.

⁹³ L. WILLS, The Form of the Sermon in Hellenistic Judaism and Early Christianity, in: *HTHR* 77 (1984), 277-299.

⁹⁴ D.L. BOCK, *Proclamation*.

(e) *Semitic sources translated* (C.C. Torrey)

Some of the first most prominent works in this direction, were those of G.E. Lessing (1729-1781), who has proposed a primitive Aramaic gospel as being the origin for the three synoptic gospels,⁹⁵ as well as those of G. Dalman (1898)⁹⁶ and J. Wellhausen (1905).⁹⁷

This trend, to find Aramaic sources (orally or written), would continue to attract scholars. C.F. Burney (1909-1925) and C.C. Torrey would contribute the most in this direction. C.F. Burney has focused upon John's Gospel, and tried to indicate that it was to be traced back to an Aramaic origin.⁹⁸ According to C.C. Torrey, the quotations to be found in Mt and Mk were written in metrical Hebrew in an Aramaic book. The Greek translator of Mt then took those quotations which are similar in both Mt and Mk, from the Greek gospel of Mk. The remaining quotations in Mt were translated independently and accurately from the Hebrew.⁹⁹ He reckoned even that the gospels were done in their totality in Aramaic. It is therefore no wonder that, on the basis of his own reconstructions, he later found it necessary to publish new translations of the gospels! Torrey's contribution¹⁰⁰ was so far-reaching that it was later said to be an overstated case for actual Aramaic sources.¹⁰¹ Probably one of the most comprehensive criticisms of the work of Torrey came from J. de Zwaan who has proved that several of Torrey's conclusions were false.¹⁰²

But also M. Wilcox (1955) would criticize Torrey, saying that the Semitic element of the NT could not be attributed to one factor alone (Aramaic).¹⁰³ He made, for example, a distinction between three categories with regard to the Semitisms in Ac: (a) words, phrases, and verses reflecting some kind of affinity to, or

⁹⁵ Cf. G.E. LESSING, *Theses aus der Kirchengeschichte*, Teil 21, (1776), in: J. PETERSEN & W. VON OLSHAUSEN (hrsg), *Lessings Werke: Vollständige Ausgabe in funfundzwanzig Teilen*, Berlin 1925.

⁹⁶ G. DALMAN, *Die Worte Jesu. Mit Berücksichtigung des nachkanonischen jüdischen Schrifttums und der aramäischen Sprache*, Vol. I, Leipzig 1898. According to C.F.D. MOULE, Dalman has tried to reconstruct "the actual words used by Jesus in speaking of the leading ideas of his message. He distinguished between Judean and Galilean Aramaic, and conjectured that Jesus might have used both. To reconstruct the former, Dalman used mainly the Targum of Onkelos to the Pentateuch and that of Jonathan to the Prophets. For Galilean, he used mainly Talmudic sources" (*Idiom-Book*, 189).

⁹⁷ Cf. J. WELLHAUSEN, *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien*, Berlin 1905.

⁹⁸ C.F. BURNEY's most important works in this area included: *The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel*, Oxford 1922; *The Poetry of our Lord: An Examination of the Formal Elements of Hebrew Poetry in the Discourses of Jesus Christ*, Oxford 1925.

⁹⁹ R.H. GUNDRY shows, however, that "...wholesale revision of the LXX toward the NT is very improbable, especially in allusive quotations, which would hardly come to the mind of LXX-copyists" (*Use of the OT*, 153).

¹⁰⁰ Cf. for instance: *The Translations made from the Original Aramaic Gospels*, New York 1912; *The Composition and Date of Acts* (HTHS 1), Cambridge 1916; *The Aramaic Origin of the Gospel of John*, in: *HThR* 16 (1923), 305-344; and others.

¹⁰¹ So C.F.D. MOULE, *Idiom-book*, 189.

¹⁰² Cf. J. DE ZWAAN, *The Use of the Greek Language in Acts*, in: F.J. FOAKES JACKSON & K. LAKE (eds), *The Beginnings of Early Christianity. Part II: The Acts of the Apostles*, London 1922, 30f.

¹⁰³ M. WILCOX, *The Semitisms of Acts*, Oxford 1965. This is the publication of his Ph.D thesis at the University of Edinburgh in 1955 with the title: *The Semitisms of Acts 1-21*.

knowledge of, OT traditions, not Greek but Semitic; (b) words and phrases, Semitic in nature, possibly traceable to some kind of influence of the LXX; and (c) other words and phrases, Semitic in nature, not explicable in terms of LXX influence.

When looking specifically at the then controversial "Hebraic character of Ac 1-15", the fact of (a) has already led to the question of whether parts of Ac (especially Ac 1-15,¹⁰⁴ according to *Torrey*, were not probably translations of an Aramaic or Hebrew document. *Wilcox* reckoned, however, that "...whatever evidence we have here does not justify or even suggest the actual direct use by Luke of Semitic documentary sources".¹⁰⁵ Then there are also some Semitisms which, although they could probably be traced back to Hebrew or Aramaic, were possibly used by Luke in their already translated Greek forms.¹⁰⁶ *Wilcox* sees the case of the speeches in Ac as being different, with the LXX as the main source, but loose elements from other Scripture text traditions (mostly targumim) being used too. The fact that the "OT" material in these speeches could probably not be traced back to an alternative Greek "OT" textual witness, is more acceptable to *Wilcox*. Such a variant would be too complicated on the one hand, and would not be able to explain the remaining Semitisms, on the other hand.

Torrey's hypothesis was thus proved to be unsubstantiated by *Wilcox* and others, while these so-called Aramaisms could be traced back via the influence of the LXX language, and could therefore be typified as "Septuagintisms".¹⁰⁷

*R. Martin (1987)*¹⁰⁸ has conveniently summarized the various theories for the cause of Semitisms, which have been postulated and vigorously defended over the years, under the following categories:¹⁰⁹ (i) the use of Semitic sources; (ii) translation of an entire Semitic Gospel or, in the case of Ac, a Semitic document roughly equivalent to Ac 1-15; (iii) thinking in Hebrew or Aramaic¹¹⁰ whether the result of (a) those languages being the writer's vernacular, and/or (b) the writer's

104. The fact that many more references to the "OT" are to be found in the first half of Ac, was also later pointed out by W.K.L. CLARKE (The Use of the Septuagint in Acts, in: F.J. FOAKES-JACKSON & K. LAKE (eds), *The Beginnings of Christianity, Part I: The Acts of the Apostles*, London 1922, 66-105; here 98); and was later agreed to by M. WILCOX (*Semitisms*, 60); as well as by E. PLÜMACHER (*Lukas als hellenistischer Schriftsteller. Studien zur Apostelgeschichte*, Göttingen 1972, 39).

105. M. WILCOX, *Semitisms*, 181.

106. M. WILCOX said of these: "These little 'knots' of Semitic material surviving unrevised, although affording a rather strong indication of the general authenticity of the stories in which they are embedded, nevertheless do not permit us to argue in favour of translation of Aramaic or Hebrew sources by Luke" (*Semitisms*, 181).

107. So also in the same direction, E. PLÜMACHER, *Lukas*, 39-40; and A. WEISER: "Die angeblichen 'Aramaismen' erklären sich fast ausschließlich durch Sprachstil der Septuaginta. Ihr hat Lukas ja auch seine Zitate entnommen" (*App I*, 37).

108. Cf. R. MARTIN, Semitic Traditions in Some Synoptic Accounts, in: K.H. RICHARDS (ed), *SBL Seminar Papers* 26, Atlanta 1987, 295-335. Also *idem.*, *Syntactical Evidence of Semitic Sources in Greek Documents*, (SCS 3), Cambridge 1974.

109. R. MARTIN, *Semitic Traditions*, 295-335. However, according to him "...the question arises whether it is possible to distinguish between those Semitisms which indicate underlying sources and traditions, rather than merely being features of the writer's natural or consciously-artificial Semitic style" (295).

110. Cf. N. TURNER, Papyrus Finds (Second Thoughts 7). *ET* 76 (1964), 44-48.

familiarity with the LXX which has resulted in a 'Biblical Greek' vernacular; and (iv) conscious imitation of the language and style of the LXX.

(f) *Quotation from memory*

There is a trend in scholarship, although extremely small, to explain the differences between the readings of the LXX and the quotations in the NT, as being the result of quotation from memory. *Smits* has warned already against this in 1952.¹¹¹

3.4 Categorization, classification and modes of quotation

One of the earliest writings on the different modes of quotation was written by *H. Owen* (1789).¹¹² About a century later (1896), *F. Johnson*¹¹³ not only identified and numbered the quotations in the NT, but also paid attention to the modes of quotation. These categories could best be described as a conflation between the methods (modes) of quotation, on the one hand, and the exegetical hermeneutical method of the NT writer, on the other hand. He distinguished between: (a) quotation from memory, (b) fragmentary quotations, (c) combined quotations, (d) quotations where the main issue is stated, (e) changed meaning in quotations to suit their purpose, and (f) quotations with double references in the Bible. He attempted to explain, organize and classify the unqualified use of quotations in the NT. Important is that he constantly used the LXX as source and said that: (i) The writers of the NT, instead of translating their quotations directly from the Hebrew, and thus presenting us with exact transcriptions of the original text, have taken them, generally, from the LXX version, which is not free of faults; (ii) Their quotations from the LXX are often verbally inexact, and their variations from this version are seldom of the nature of corrections, since they seem usually to have quoted from memory.

In the second part of *E. Hühn's* book (1900), he has presented a discussion on, and a description of, the quotations (and references) under a *Rückblick*. Here he has tried to categorize the OT material identified in the first part. He has also realized that some of the quotations and references are to be found outside the "OT" corpus. On the same track as *Johnson*, attention was paid here also to the modes of quotation, although within only two categories: (a) formal use, and (b) factual (precise) use.

H.B. Swete (1900) searched for reasons (in the synoptic gospels) for the differences between the readings of the NT quotation and its source text: (a) free quotation, (b) substitution by way of a gloss for the precise words that the reader has pretended to quote, (c) need to adopt a prophetic context for the circumstances under which it is thought to be fulfilled, (d) the conflation of passages taken from different contexts, (e) recensional changes, (f) changes due to translation, independent from the original.

¹¹¹ C. SMITS, *Citaten II*.

¹¹² H. OWEN, *Modes of Quotation*.

¹¹³ F. JOHNSON, *Quotations of the NT*.

B.F.C. Atkinson (1947) has stipulated some ways in which, he believes, the NT writers have used the passages at their disposal: (a) inaccuracy when quoting from memory, (b) shortening of passages, because of the omission of single words, phrases, and even full sentences, (c) grammatical or syntactical adaptation, and (d) the syncretism or conflation of two or more passages in a single quotation.

An important distinction was made by *C. Smits* between "explicit quotations", being those which are introduced by a proper introductory formula, and "implicit quotations", being those without a clear introductory formula.

The study of *T. Holtz (1964/68)* is divided into three major categories: independent quotations, the Pentateuch in Lk-Ac, and quotations from different origins. Apart from this categorization, he also distinguishes more closely between quotations from the 12P, Is and the Pss when dealing with the independent quotations.

Although *H.M. Shires (1974)*¹¹⁴ has not drawn up an explicit typology of modes of quotation, his discussion implicitly identifies eight such categories: (a) free quotations, (b) combined quotations, (c) unidentified quotations, (d) extra canonical quotations, (e) series of joint quotations, (f) brief quotations, presupposing the rest of the context, (g) quotations repeated several times, and (h) quotations changed to suit the arguments.

In their synopsis, *G.L. Archer* and *G. Chirichigno (1983)* divided the quotations into six categories: (a) "reasonably or completely accurate renderings from the Hebrew of the MT into the Greek of the LXX and from there...into the NT passage"; (b) "...instances where the NT quotation quite closely adheres to the wording of the LXX, even where the LXX deviates somewhat"; (c) "...citations in which the NT adheres more closely to the MT than the LXX does..."; (d) "...passages in which the NT quotation adheres quite closely to the LXX rendering, even when it deviates somewhat from the MT"; (e) "...consists of those that give the impression that unwarranted liberties were taken with the OT text in the light of its context"; (f) "...many cases of close resemblance or complete identity between the OT source and the NT application".

With regard to the modes of quotation, *W.C. Kaiser (1985)* has made an important observation. Different modes of quotation were attributed in the past to causes such as (a) quotation from memory, (b) translation problems which have developed during the translation process from the Hebrew or Aramaic to the Greek, (c) the availability of different recensions of the Greek (as codex A^{LXX} or codex B^{LXX}). *Kaiser*, however, reckons that after the discovery of the Dead Sea scrolls, another explanation could be put forward. In these documents were found clear traces of the *pesher* method of exegesis. According to this method, the quoter or commentator could simply incorporate his own application or interpretation into the centre of his quotation.¹¹⁵ The pendulum has probably now started to swing away from focusing on the modes of quotation (described previously on the basis of differences which were detected via textual criticism), to the exegetical and hermeneutical methods which were employed by the NT writer.

¹¹⁴ H.M. SHIRES, *Finding the OT*.

¹¹⁵ W.C. KAISER, *Uses of the OT*, 6.

3.5 Function and interpretation of the quotations

F. Johnson (1896) has already paid implicit attention to the issue of the NT writers' interpretation of their scriptural material, and decided between (a) exegetical paraphrasing, (b) allegory, (c) non-logical arguing, and (d) rabbinic interpretation as possibilities for the occurrence of readings which differ in the NT and related LXX source material.

The doctoral thesis of *A. Vis* was published in 1936.¹¹⁶ According to him, the early Christians have seen these Scriptures (OT) as "Holy Scripture".¹¹⁷ His work then also touches upon the issue of changed LXX readings in the NT. He strongly emphasized the reason for this, which he found in the understanding of the authority of Scripture by the writers of the NT on the one hand, and their exegetical analyses on the other hand, in order to indicate that Jesus was the Messiah. According to him, the early Christians used the known methods of the rabbis, and found nothing strange in this as they were, for all practical purposes, still Jews.

The point of departure for *Smits* (1952), when discussing the quotations, is the messianic theme, as expounded earlier by *E. Hühn* (1900). From this starting-point, one can easily proceed to the theme of "Jesus and the OT (Scriptures)". *Smits* divides Jesus' use of the OT (Scripture) on the basis of his use of the Law, Prophets and implicit quotations in the expressions and speeches of Jesus.¹¹⁸ Longer speeches by Jesus show specific trends. The Sermon on the Mount would, for instance, be heavily inspired by expressions from the wisdom literature. In this type of literature, which emphasizes moral aspects, a more literal type of citing is found. In the parables, according to *Smits*, the quotations are of minor importance, as quotations in this *genre* are extremely rare; the few quotations which do appear are taken, largely, from the wisdom literature, and are used simply by way of illustration. The real theme is God's kingdom. In eschatological expressions, however, OT material is used extensively. Texts are combined, and this forms the basis for the compilation of the whole speech. The basis is formed by the prophetic books which are eschatologically focused.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶ A. VIS, *The Messianic Psalm Quotations in the New Testament - A critical study on the Christian "Testimonies" in the Old Testament*, Amsterdam 1936.

¹¹⁷ A. VIS wrote: "In this Word of God they expected, as a matter of course, a confirmation of their belief that in Jesus the expected Messiah had appeared". "...like the Jewish scribes, in giving a Messianic turn to the OT words, they ignored and distorted the meaning and intention of the original writers". "From the text available for them (in most cases this was the LXX) they drew out the hidden significance which they believed to underlie the words of the Scripture" (*Messianic Psalm Quotations*, 82).

¹¹⁸ C. SMITS summarizes the situation as follows: "In talrijke korte gezegden druk Jesus zijn gedachten uit in aanhalingen uit het Oude Testament. Door de omstandigheden, waarin ze worden uitgesproken, of door de context waarin ze worden gezet, krijgen deze uitspraken een zeer reële en diepe betekenis, die niet altijd volledig beantwoord aan die oorspronkelijke zin, maar gewoonlijk wel ligt in die lijn der oud-testamentische teksten. Elk geval moet op zichzelf in de context gezien worden" (*Citaten I*, 108-9).

¹¹⁹ C. SMITS, *Citaten I*, 109.

In the last volume of *Smits* (1963), he states explicitly that the discoveries at the Dead Sea have brought interesting parallels to the fore, which have confirmed previous presuppositions about texts and Jewish exegesis of them.¹²⁰

In his study of the explicit quotations *M. Reese* (1965/69) shifts the focus in the direction of the contextual use of the quotations. Attention is now paid to the functional aspect of the quotations in their context.¹²¹

A few years later, *C.K. Barrett* (1970) gave an exposition of "The Interpretation of the OT in the New".¹²² It gives a summary of the OT hermeneutics of Philo, the rabbinic exegetical methodology (in which the seven rules of Hillel figure prominently), the Qumran exegesis, and a discussion on the exegetical methods, as well as the contents and purpose of the use of OT material by the NT writers. It is an useful synthesis of the research results of the time.

During 1972 a collection of essays was presented in honour of *W.F. Stinespring*, edited by *J.M. Efrid*, with the main contribution by *D.M. Smith*.¹²³ Although the main focus here is on the hermeneutical aspect of the use of the OT in the NT, attention should also be paid to *Smith's* categorized division in this field. After a brief introduction on the anachronism of the phrase "the OT in the New", the study field is discussed thematically, although still within a chronological development. Important issues to which attention is paid, are the problems of the OT canon, the existence of several texts and recensions, and the use of the OT in late Judaism (all of which are discussed under the nomenclature of the use of the OT at the beginning of the Christian era). Jesus' use of the OT, that of the early church, and the function of the OT in the early Christian preaching and education, are treated later, under the discussion on the use of the OT by early Christianity. After this a brief discussion follows on the use of the OT by the NT writers. The study ends with a discussion on the importance of the OT for the NT. *Smith* reckons that the problem of Jesus' use of the OT is extremely complex. Ultimately, it cannot be separated from the question of the historical Jesus and the proclaimed Christ.¹²⁴

In the study of *H. Shires* (1974), he implicitly denies the standpoint of *Smits* (that the OT material in Jesus' parables are of minor importance. The difference between them is probably to be found in the emphasis on explicit quotations in *Smits's* study, while that of *Shires* could be labelled much more a study of "motifs". *Shires* has started to pay attention to the broader context and the intertextual relationship between the OT and the NT on a semantic basis, rather than approaching the study on the basis of *ad hoc* syntactical expressions. He pays attention to the already mentioned methods of promise-fulfillment and typology, and mentions also the literal method of exegesis which was used by the NT writers.¹²⁵

120. Cf. C. SMITS, *Citation IV*, 598.

121. M. REESE said: "Die Frage nach den alttestamentlichen Motiven in der Christologie des Lukas ist also ein Versuch, die Theologie des Lukas näher zu bestimmen" (*Motive*, 25).

122. C.K. BARRETT, *Interpretation*, 377-411.

123. D.M. SMITH, *Use of the OT*, 3-65.

124. "...there is a real problem as to the extent to which the use of the Old Testament in the New - even in the Gospel - reflects directly or indirectly Jesus' own meditation over, and interpretation of, the Scriptures" (*Use of the OT*, 21).

125. H.M. SHIRES, *Finding the OT*, 35.

During 1975 an extensive study by R. Longenecker was published on "Biblical Exegesis in the Apostolic Period".¹²⁶ Although it is a study which discusses the exegetical methods exclusively from the perspective of the OT quotations in the NT, these insights have implications for the rest of the OT material in the NT. Longenecker is of the opinion that the early Christian writings should be compared with Jewish interpretative documents from the same period, in order to understand first century exegetical procedures. It is of great importance to him that in such a determining study of these exegetical procedures, the LXX documents must remain at the background. Due to the fact that it might be seen as a "theological commentary", and as a "primary source for a knowledge of the hermeneutical procedures of the day", he is convinced that the importance of the LXX has been over-emphasized, "...therefore, the LXX will not be considered of major significance in determining the exegetical practices of first century Judaism".¹²⁷ The basic idea behind this is that Longenecker realizes that the LXX is a translation, and that any translation is in itself already an interpretation. With the targumim, however, he is of the opinion that this is a different issue, as "...their purpose in rendering the Hebrew into Aramaic was not just to give a vernacular translation of the Bible, but... 'to give the sense and make the people understand the meaning'".¹²⁸ In addition to the targumim, also the Mishna, midrashim, Jewish apocalyptic works, Dead Sea scrolls and Philo of Alexandria are used as witnesses for the study of early Jewish exegesis. Longenecker identifies then the following exegetical methods: (a) literal interpretation, (b) midrash, (c) pesher, and (d) allegory. With these as a frame, he then discusses Jesus' and Paul's use of the OT on the basis of their quotations. With regard to the hermeneutics of the NT writers, he showed that they have interpreted these Scriptures christologically. Paul, for instance, understood the OT (as the early Jewish Christians) christologically.¹²⁹

W.C. Kaiser (1985) elaborates further on the manner in which the NT writers have dealt with their Scriptures.¹³⁰ He discussed five such ways: (a) apologetic, (b) prophetic, (c) typological, (d) theological, and (e) practical use of the OT. Under the "apologetic use", he has taken those materials which were used for the purposes of an argument. It is the same as the literal interpretation of Shires and of Longenecker.¹³¹ With regard to the "prophetic use", Kaiser shares the understanding of the same as Ellis with his "New Covenant Exegesis" (promise-fulfillment).¹³² Today, however, this viewpoint is supported by only a handful of scholars. The

¹²⁶ R. LONGENECKER, *Biblical Exegesis in the Apostolic Period*, Michigan 1975.

¹²⁷ R. LONGENECKER, *Biblical Exegesis*, 21.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

¹²⁹ "And he worked from the same two fixed points: (1) the Messiahship and Lordship of Jesus, as validated by the resurrection and as witnessed to by the Spirit; and (2) the revelation of God in the Scriptures of the Old Testament" (R. LONGENECKER, *Biblical Exegesis*, 104).

¹³⁰ W.C. KAISER, *Uses of the OT*.

¹³¹ "It is in those texts more than in any other that we would expect the meaning of the OT text to be the same as the NT meaning" (W.C. KAISER, *Uses of the OT*, 17).

¹³² He here moves within the stream that believes "The amazing feature of OT prophecy is that there is a unity and a single plan throughout the testament - not diverse, separate, and scattered predications. Each new word is invariably added to the ongoing and continuous promise-plan of God..." (*Uses of the OT*, 63).

"typological use" deals with an exegetical method already known and accepted at the time. When *Kaiser* arrives at his discussion of the "theological use", he believes that he has pushed through to the heart of the problem of the relation OT-NT. At the end, one deals here with the "centre" of both testaments, i.e. God. His dealing with the "practical use", includes the NT writers' handling of wisdom literature and legal parts, in order to establish a practical and ethical lifestyle for their readers. It is clear that *Kaiser* uses a strong theological-hermeneutical basis as his point of departure, when establishing the exegetical hermeneutical methods of the NT writers. One could ask if his work is, in the end, perhaps nothing more than a compilation of existing viewpoints on OT theology and the relation OT-NT, and therefore the formation of his own hermeneutics, rather than the scientific result of historical research of the exegetical methods of the early Christians.

The 1982 doctoral study of *D.L. Bock* was published in 1987.¹³³ The particular focus of the study is *P. Schubert's* "proof from prophecy"-thesis, formulated in 1954, on the basis of Lk 24. According to *Bock*, this thesis was later contradicted by *M. Rese*, who tried to establish the influence of the OT on Luke, and its re-interpretation within the context of Luke's handling of the christology. The question that *Bock* then poses, is: Who is right? *Rese* or *Schubert*? He therefore once again pays attention to Luke's handling of the OT. What is important here is *Bock's* description of how researchers in the past have evaluated the "proof from prophecy"-motif in Lk-Ac. It has come increasingly under fire. This has led to increased efforts towards a clear understanding of Luke's purpose in his use of the OT. Where it was said in the past that Luke's purpose was to show that the Christ should suffer, be raised from death, and offer forgiveness of sins, *E. Franklin*¹³⁴ has seen it differently, i.e. that the use of the OT indicates that Jesus is the Lord.¹³⁵ All this again brought the question concerning Luke's hermeneutical method prominently to the foreground. According to *Bock*, this is then to be found in Luke's use of the OT for his christology. The christology thus forms the hermeneutical key to Luke's use of the OT. An important point of departure for *Bock's* work is to be found in the fact that he uses a far more thematic and contextual approach than most previous studies, which tended to a more fragmentary and *ad hoc* approach. Having selected a specific set of NT documents (Lk-Ac), *Bock* takes account of the context of the passages he discusses, as well as the hermeneutics of the NT writer with regard to his OT material.

In 1983 *D.-A. Koch* submitted his "Habilitationsschrift" at the Johannes-Gutenberg-Universität at Mainz; this was published in 1986 in the series "Beiträge zur historischen Theologie" under the title "Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums: Untersuchungen zur Verwendung und zum Verständnis der Schrift bei Paulus".¹³⁶ It is an excellent study, in which the long research history of Paul's use of the OT

¹³³ D.L. BOCK, *Proclamation*. (It was originally submitted in 1982 as a Ph.D-thesis at the University of Aberdeen).

¹³⁴ E. FRANKLIN, *Christ the Lord. A Study in the Purpose and Theology of Luke-Acts*, London 1975.

¹³⁵ "The OT texts are not used for apologetic but merely to interpret or explain theologically the meaning of the events of Jesus' career" (D.L. BOCK, *Proclamation*, 37).

¹³⁶ D.-A. KOCH, *Schrift als Zeuge*, title page.

reached a climax.¹³⁷ This is a study in which careful and conscious attention is paid to methodological accuracy. The author takes full account of the problematics surrounding the text which Paul could have had in front of him, the exegetical methods which Paul could have shared with his Jewish and Hellenistic contemporaries, the testimonia hypothesis, as well as the hermeneutical use of Scripture in the individual Pauline letters. The first two issues centre on Paul's use of Scripture ("Schriftverwendung") and the last two on Paul's understanding of Scripture ("Schriftverständnis"). In contrast with earlier studies, *Koch* points out that Paul's handling of introductory formulae is proof that his exegetical procedures did not follow those of the rabbinics as found in Alexandrian Judaism and at Qumran, but rather those of the diaspora Jews. According to *Koch*, Paul made primary use of material from Is, the Pss, Dt and Gn. Instead of following the hypothesis of testimonia, *Koch* is of the opinion that Paul rather used a LXX text, but one which was changed to be closer to the Hebrew. He admits that this does not explain all the differences between Paul's OT material and that of existing textual witnesses. The remaining differences could, on the other hand, also not be explained away as being the result of Paul quoting from memory. In his investigation into this category, he found that 52 of the 93 texts which are to be found in the 7 letters of Paul, were changed. These changes vary from minor differences (such as changes from singular to plural, or first-, second- and third-person changes to fit the context in which the quotation is presented) to major differences (in which omissions and additions are made, in order to give a new meaning to the OT material used by Paul).

With regard to Paul's exegetical methods, *Koch* highlighted four prominent methods: allegory, typology, midrash and pesher. Also the manner in which Paul deploys his quotations in his argumentation, is focused on: as illustration, or to confirm or explain what he is saying, to form a basis for his argument, and to continue an earlier argument.

According to *Koch*, Paul found the gospel in the OT, where it is a witness for the gospel, rather than a prophecy which had to be fulfilled.¹³⁸

A collective work under the editorship of *M.J. Mulder* and *H. Sysling* was published in 1988.¹³⁹ One of these essays deals with "Biblical Interpretation in the NT Church", written by *E.E. Ellis*.¹⁴⁰ This is a continuation and elaboration of the insights of *Ellis*' previous works of 1957 and 1977 specifically, with regard to the exegetical and hermeneutical methods of the NT writers. A usable overview is given on the introductory formulae, other exegetical terminology, the seven rules of Hillel, and on midrash exegesis. Regarding the NT writers' perspective on their Scriptures, *Ellis* is of the opinion that they had certain presuppositions in mind in at least four areas: (a) eschatology, (b) typology, (c) a corporate understanding of humanity and the Messiah, and (d) a concept of the Scriptures as the hidden Word of God. This is

¹³⁷ It is therefore no wonder that R.B. HAYS also, in his recension on D.-A. KOCH's work, typified it as "...the most comprehensive book ever written on Paul's use of Scripture, and probably also the best" (in: *JBL* 107 (1988), 331-333).

¹³⁸ Cf. E. BEST, Recent Continental New Testament Literature, in: *ET* 99 (1988), 296-300.

¹³⁹ M.J. MULDER & H. SYSLING (eds), *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (CRINT II 1), Philadelphia 1988.

¹⁴⁰ E.E. ELLIS, *Biblical Interpretation*.

a kind of redivision, to a certain extent, of the previous "traditional" division of exegetical methods. With regard to the exegetical methods themselves, *Ellis* deals primarily with the explicit quotations which are introduced by introductory formulae, as well as the use of the rabbinic rules of Hillel and the midrash method. Typology is rather seen as a hermeneutical point of departure than a specific exegetical method.¹⁴¹ His "new covenant" concept of 1957 still underlies his work as a "prophecy-fulfillment" schema. It is clear that for *Ellis*, it centres on a messianic focus — just as was the case with *E. Hübn* (1900), *A. Vrs* (1936), *C. Smits* (1952) and *R.H. Gundry* (1975).¹⁴²

¹⁴¹ E.E. ELLIS therefore said: "...Jesus and the NT writers present the new covenant as a 'fulfilment' that was prophesied by the OT...and that remains in a typological relationship to it. In this way the messianic hermeneutic continues, admittedly in a highly climactic manner, earlier prophetic interpretations of Israel's scriptures in terms of the current acts of God within the nation" (*Biblical Interpretation*, 691).

¹⁴² E.E. ELLIS said: "Biblical interpretation in the NT church...followed (the) exegetical methods common to Judaism and drew its perspective and presuppositions from Jewish backgrounds. However, in one fundamental respect it differed from other religious parties and theologies in Judaism, that is, in the christological exposition of the OT totally focused upon Jesus as the Messiah" (*Biblical Interpretation*, 724) (my own cursivation: *GJS*).

CHAPTER 2

IDENTIFICATION AND DISTRIBUTION OF EXPLICIT QUOTATIONS

In any investigation the question which is asked determines both the approach, or method, which will be employed, as well as the *apriori* which underlies the investigation. The following remarks are necessary in order to place this investigation within its broader framework of Lukan studies. They will reflect the fact that this investigation is historically orientated, and will give an indication of the presuppositions which will function during the course of the study.

What should be kept in mind constantly is that these remarks are simply a reflection on the result of other Lukan studies. It is not at all the intention to discuss them, but only to use them as a frame of reference in which this investigation could be placed.

1. LUKE'S USE OF SOURCES

Luke has used some sources during the compilation of his works. His introduction to his gospel (Lk 1:1-4) states this explicitly. Sources which it is assumed Luke might have used during his compilation of Ac specifically, are normally identified as: an "Antiochene source",¹ a source for the so-called "We-sections",² an "itinerary" source,³ a "Pauline-novelle",⁴ and a source for the "Pauline-wonders".⁵ What is left might be ascribed to the creative hand of Luke himself and might be typified as "Sondergut-Lukas". However, this does not mean at all that every piece of information to be found there has its origin with Luke. This SLk material normally reflects thorough knowledge of earlier traditions and motifs, closely integrated and interwoven within a complete new Lukan version.

In his gospel too, Luke has used as sources Mk as well as a so-called "Logion"-source,⁶ known both to him and Mt. The rest of his material is typified as being

¹ Cf. G. SCHNEIDER, *App I*, 82-103. Probably used in Ac 6:1-8;4; 8:5-13; 8:26-40; 11:19-26; 11:27-30; 12:25.

² Probably used in Ac 16:10-17(-24); 20:5-8(-15); 20:13-15; 21:1(-8)-18; 27:1-28:16. Sometimes definitely a stylistic feature (27:1f,6 for example).

³ Cf. M. DIBELIUS, *Die Apostelgeschichte als Geschichtsquelle*, in: H. GREEVEN (hrsg) *Aufsätze zur Apostelgeschichte* (FRLANT 60), Göttingen 1953, 91-95; J. ROLOFF, *App*, 274; G. SCHNEIDER, *App II*, 254f; A. WEISER, *App II*, 388-390. Probably used in Ac 16:6-8,10b,11-15; 17:1-4,10-11a,15a,34; 18:1-5a,7f,11,18,19-21b,22; 20:13-15. Although M. DIBELIUS has included also 13:5; 14:21; 14:24-26, this is not accepted today.

⁴ Probably used for Ac 9:1-19. The sources for 9:19b-30 cannot be reconstructed, i.e. the flight from Damascus. Some suggest that Ac 22:5-16 and 26:12-26 are based on it. Ac 22:1-21 is, however, a Pauline speech.

⁵ Probably used in Ac 13:8-11; 14:8-11; 16:16-18; 16:25-34; 19:11-19; 20:7-12; 28:1-10.

⁶ Also known in other circles as "Q".

"SLk". This material is peculiar to Luke, with no clear evidence of its being found in other written sources. Interesting is his knowledge and usage of "the" LXX in this "SLk" material.⁷ It demonstrates both a very thorough knowledge of these Jewish documents in their Greek form, as well as close textual similarities between their readings and Luke's own re-use of them. When reading Lk, it seems as if he had at his disposal collections of scriptural material already arranged in three groups under the headings — Moses, the Prophets and the Pss.⁸ This becomes especially clear when attention is paid to the following passages:

* Lk 24:25-27 = καὶ ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ Μωϋσέως καὶ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν προφητῶν διερμήνευσεν αὐτοῖς ἐν πάσαις ταῖς γραφαῖς τὰ περὶ ἐαυτοῦ.⁹

* Lk 24:44-45 = Εἶπεν δὲ πρὸς αὐτούς· οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι μου οὓς ἐλάλησα πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐτι ἂν σὺν ὑμῖν, ὅτι δεῖ πληρωθῆναι πάντα τὰ γεγραμμένα ἐν τῷ νόμῳ Μωϋσέως καὶ τοῖς προφήταις καὶ ψαλμοῖς περὶ ἐμοῦ. τότε διηνοιξεν αὐτῶν τὸν νοῦν τοῦ συνίεναι τὰς γραφάς.

If it is now assumed that these collections might also have been available during the compiling of his second work, one possible way in which the extent of LXX influence could be studied in Lk-Ac, would then be to try and trace this supposed influence back by way of the division of these three categories of scriptural sources.

When looking again at Ac as Luke's second work, it is striking to notice that all the explicit quotations are found in the speeches — and the speeches, in turn, are the creations of Luke!¹⁰ Thus in Ac a trend similar to that in Lk is manifested, in which the conscious usage of explicit scriptural (LXX)¹¹ material by Luke is most frequent in the "SLk".

2. THE SPEECHES¹²

The use of speeches in ancient literature was a widely accepted literary technique.¹³ It can be found both in the oldest Jewish, as well as in the Greek literature. Normally the idea was not to give a *verbatim* report of speeches delivered by ancient authorities, but rather to place specific important information in the mouths of

⁷ Cf. G.J. STEYN, LXX-intoed op die taal en styl van die Lukas-evangelie, Pretoria 1987 (MA-thesis), 136; *idem.*, Die manifestering van LXX-intoed in die 'Sondergut-Lukas', in: *HTS* 45 (1989), 864-873; *idem.*, The Occurrence of 'Kainam' in Luke's Genealogy: Evidence of Septuagint Influence?, in: *EThL* 65 (1989), 409-411; *idem.*, Intertextual Similarities between Septuagint Pretexts and Luke's Gospel, in: *Neot* 24 (1990), 229-246. So also M. KARNETZKY, *Zitate*.

⁸ So also T. HOLTZ, *Untersuchungen*, 166. According to him, the quotations from Is and the Minor Prophets resembles the text form of codex A. Cf. also G.D. KILPATRICK, Some Quotations in Acts, in J. KREMER (ed), *Les Actes des Apôtres - traditions, rédaction, théologie* (EThL 48), Leuven 1978, 81-97, here 89.

⁹ Compare also in Ac, for instance, Ac 3:18,21-25; 8:30-35 with Dt 18:15 (Law), Ps 22 (Pss) and Is 53 (Prophets).

¹⁰ The speeches are "SLk"-material. Cf also the work of M. DIBELIUS, *Aufsätze zur Apostelgeschichte*, in: H. GREEVEN (hrsg), Göttingen 1968, 157.

¹¹ Cf. A. WEISER: "Außerdem basieren die umfangreichen Schriftzitate in diesen Reden größtenteils auf der Septuaginta, der Bibel des Lukas, nicht aber der des Petrus" (*App I*, 99).

¹² Cf. also A. WEISER, *App I*, 30,98-100.

¹³ A. WEISER typifies it being a "literarische Gattung" which is "tragisch-pathetisch" and even nearer, as "biblisch-früjüdischen, hellenistisch-römischen Geschichtschreibung" (*App I*, 30-31).

authoritative people. This meant that this was far more than the simple communication of historical information; the importance attached to the strong rhetorical flavour of such speeches gives them the character of an appeal, or exhortation. Students were even trained in the Graeco-Roman societies to imitate the rhetorical discourses of their masters.¹⁴

The primary purpose of the speeches in Ac was not to attempt an exact account of what may have been said, but rather to use historical information rhetorically (or "kerygmatically") in order to persuade the hearers (and thus implicitly the readers) to change their minds.¹⁵ Supposing that the speeches of Peter, Paul, Stephen, etc. were based on the same principle as their Graeco-Roman counterparts, they must then be seen as rhetorical imitations of Jesus' speeches, as found in Lk.¹⁶

The role which the spoken word in the mouth of an accepted authority has played for the people of those times should not be underestimated. This was, to a large extent, still an oral society; strong evidence suggests that even when people did read from scriptural sources, they read aloud. The *spoken word* of Peter, Paul, etc. is seen as becoming here the *written word* by Luke.¹⁷

However, the purpose of this investigation is not to study the speeches in Ac. Rather, the aim is to explain the differences between the text readings of the explicit quotations in Ac (almost all of which are to be found in speeches) and the quoted texts of the LXX. Are these differences to be explained as being due to another *Vorlage* which Luke has used, or to his own hand, or to both? Both the existing textmaterial, as well as the NT context, must help here in order to explain each difference on its own merits.

For the purposes of this study, the speeches in Ac can be divided into three main groups, i.e. the Petrine, Pauline and other speeches.¹⁸ An indication is given at which speeches explicit quotations from the LXX are to be found (marked with an *) and from which sections of the Scriptures are quoted:

(a) *Petrine speeches:*

- 1* = 1:16-22 = The election of Matthias [Pss]
- 2* = 2:14-41 = Peter at Pentecost (*Missionary speech*) [Prophets, Pss]
- 3* = 3:11-26 = Peter at the Temple (*Missionary speech*) [Torah]
- 4 = 4:8-12 = Leaders of the Nation [None]

¹⁴. Cf. the method of μιμήσις (Lat: *imitatio*) among the Graeco-Roman historians: Dionesius of Halikarnass creates something; Sallust imitates Thukydides; Tacitus follows Sallust. Cf. Tac 4n II,24 and Jos 4nt I 13,3.

¹⁵. M. DIBELIUS was thus right in saying that "Lukas hat 'aus Geschichten Geschichte' gemacht" (*Aufsätze*, 113).

¹⁶. This aspect should, however, first be investigated thoroughly before this hypothesis could be accepted as a statement, but it does not fall within the scope of this study.

¹⁷. In the same way as Luke understood it in Ac 1:16, where "the Holy Spirit said through the mouth of David" and then quoting two passages from the Pss. (Cf. the discussion on this later in the study).

¹⁸. This does not deny the most popular differentiation between the normal speeches and the missionary speeches in Ac. "Die Gemeinsamkeiten zeigen sich vor allem im Zweck des Einfügens von Reden in größere Erzählzusammenhänge, in der Technik der *Mimesis* literarischer Vorbilder (in der Apg: LXX-Mimesis) und im Stilmittel der Archaisierung" (A. WEISER, *Apg I*, 99). Also E. PLUMACHER, *Lukas*, 32-79.

- 5 = 5:29-33 = Sanhedrin [None]
6 = 10:34-43 = Baptism of Cornelius [None]
7 = 15:6-11 = Apostolic Council [None]

(b) *Pauline speeches:*

- 1* = 13:16-48 = In Antioch before the Jews and godfearers
(*Missionary speech*) [Prophets, Pss]
2 = 14:14-18 = In Lystra before non-Jews [None]
3 = 17:22-33 = In Athens before non-Jews [None]
4 = 20:18-35 = In Milet before the oldest Christian church [None]
5 = 22:1-21 = Jerusalem (*Defense speech*) [None]
6* = 23:1-6 = Sanhedrin (*Defense speech*) [Torah]
7 = 24:10-21 = In Cesarea before the Roman, Felix (*Defense speech*) [None]
8 = 25:6-12 = Before Festus (*Defense speech*) [None]
9 = 26:2-32 = Before Festus and Judean King Agrippa II
(*Defense speech*) [None]
10* = 28:25-28 = In Rome before Jewish leaders (*Defense speech*) [Prophets]

(c) *Other speeches:*

- 1* = 4:23-31 = Prayer of the believers [Pss]
2* = 7:2-53 = Stephen before the Sanhedrin [Torah, Prophets]
3* = 8:32-33 = Ethiopian and Philip [Prophets]
4* = 15:14-21 = James at the Apostolic Council [Prophets]

It is astonishing that not much interest was shown by scholars in the past to *the function* of the explicit quotations within this context of the speeches.¹⁹

3. IDENTIFICATION OF EXPLICIT LXX QUOTATIONS IN ACTS

When dealing with the broad field of LXX influence in the NT ("use of the OT in the NT"), one can detect six different categories of influence on the language and style of the author:²⁰ (a) explicit quotations, introduced by clear introductory formulae; (b) direct phrases, without clear introductory formulae; (c) paraphrases, which are free versions of a foreign text;²¹ (d) references, being a single formulation from that tradition and being completely integrated into the presentation of the author; (e) allusions;²² and (f) and scriptural terminology, being words, concepts, technical terms, titles, etc. To these may be added a seventh category, namely (g)

19. Cf. M. RESE who made this observation just over a decade ago, saying: "Leider hat die Frage nach der Funktion der atl. Zitate und Anspielungen in den Reden der Apg kaum je so viel Interesse gefunden wie die Frage nach der Authentizität der Reden oder die nach in ihnen erhaltenen Traditionen" (Die Funktion alttestamentlichen Zitate und Anspielungen in den Reden der Apostelgeschichte, in: J. KREMER (ed), *Les Actes des Apôtres - Traditions, rédaction, théologie* (ETHL 68), Leuven 1979, 61-79, here 69. Although some *ad hoc* studies have been published since this trend is still to be found today.

20. The following are largely based on the division as found in D.-A. KOCH, *Schrift als Zeuge*, 11f.

21. C. SMITS and H.M. SHIRES called these "free quotations". (See Ch.1).

22. Categories c,d and e are all taken as "Anspielungen" by M. RESE, *Motive*, 36.

"motifs"; that is, the imitation²³ of larger structural patterns, tellings and traditions which are based on similar versions in the source texts.

The focus of this investigation is the first category, the explicit quotation within its context in Ac (specifically, the speeches). This study attempts to determine the differences, and explain them in terms of (a) the possibility of another *Vortlage* or (b) the possibility of Luke's own independent reworking and interpretation of the quotation.

The two main reasons for limiting this investigation to the explicit quotations, is (a) the fact that this is the only category where the question of the *Textvorlage* which was used can be verified to a certain extent, and (b) it seems a practical and comfortable limitation regarding the parameters of this specific study.

3.1 Identification

There seems to be consensus that explicit quotations can only be identified in the presence of clearly formulated introductory formulae. These formulae would be an indicator that the author has quoted consciously from his source.²⁴ The absence of such formulae, in turn, would make it difficult (if not impossible) to deduce that the author has meant the allusive sentences or phrases to be explicit quotations. However, regarding those quotations which are clearly linked with introductory formulae, it might be questioned whether they were quoted from some written source, or simply from memory. This, too, may be difficult to prove conclusively, but some indications may be gained by investigating the complete picture, or pattern of quotation, of a certain author. From what has been said above in connection with Luke's use of sources, there can be no doubt that he has made use of written sources when compiling his works. The possibility that he might have done so also with regard to his Jewish Scriptures (in Greek), can therefore not be excluded.

3.1.1 Introductory formulae

The following introductory formulae introduce explicit quotations in Ac:

(a) *From the Scroll of the 12 Prophets:*

Ac 2:16 = ἄλλα τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ εἰρημένον διὰ τοῦ προφήτου Ἰωήλ
[Jl 2:28-32 (3:1-5)]

Ac 7:42 = καθὼς γέγραπται ἐν βίβλῳ τῶν προφητῶν [Am 5:25-6]

Ac 13:40 = βλέπετε οὖν μὴ ἐπέλθῃ τὸ εἰρημένον ἐν τοῖς προφήταις
[Hab 1:5]

Ac 15:15 = καὶ τούτῳ συμφωνοῦσιν οἱ λόγοι τῶν προφητῶν καθὼς
γέγραπται [Am 9:11-12]

²³ Cf. E. PLÜMACHER: "... daß es sich hier offenbar nicht um unbewußte sprachliche Abhängigkeit, ein 'Nicht-anders-können', sondern vielmehr um ganz bewußte Anlehnung an diese bestimmte Sprachform, also um einen Stil, handelt" (*Lukas*, 39-40).

²⁴ Cf. also M. RESE who finds such a distinction between quotations introduced by introductory formulae, and those without them, very important (*Motive*, 36).

(b) *From the Scroll of Is:*

- Ac 7:48 = καθὼς ὁ προφήτης λέγει [Is 66:1-2]
 Ac 8:32 = ἡ δὲ περιοχὴ τῆς γραφῆς ἣν ἀνεγίνωσκεν ἦν αὕτη [Is 53:7-8]
 Ac 13:34 = οὕτως εἶρηκεν ὅτι [Is 55:3]
 Ac 13:47 = οὕτως γὰρ ἐντέταται ἡμῖν ὁ κύριος [Is 49:6]
 Ac 28:25 = ὅτι καλῶς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐλάλησεν διὰ Ἡσαίου τοῦ προφήτου πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ὑμῶν λέγων [Is 6:9-10]

(c) *From the Pss:*

- Ac 1:20 = γέγραπται γὰρ ἐν βίβλῳ ψαλμῶν [Ps 68(69):26 and Ps 108(109):8]
 Ac 2:25 = Δαυὶδ γὰρ λέγει εἰς αὐτόν [Ps 15(16):8-11]
 Ac 2:34 = οὐ γὰρ Δαυὶδ ἀνέβη εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, λέγει δὲ αὐτός [Ps 109(110):1]
 Ac 4:25 = ὁ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου στόματος Δαυὶδ παιδὸς σου εἰπὼν [Ps 2:1]
 Ac 13:33 = ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ ψαλμῷ γέγραπται τῷ δευτέρῳ [Ps 2:7]
 Ac 13:35 = διότι καὶ ἐν ἐτέρῳ λέγει [Ps 15(16):10]

(d) *From the Torah:*

- Ac 3:21 = ὧν ἐλάλησεν ὁ θεὸς διὰ στόματος τῶν ἁγίων ἀπ' αἰῶνος αὐτοῦ προφητῶν. Μωϋσῆς μὲν εἶπεν ὅτι [Dt 18:15-20 and [Lv 23:29(?)]
 Ac 3:25 = λέγων πρὸς Ἀβραάμ [Gn 22:18]
 Ac 7:3 = καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν [Gn 12:1]
 Ac 7:6 = ἐλάλησεν δὲ οὕτως ὁ θεὸς ὅτι [Gn 15:13]
 Ac 7:27 = ὁ δὲ ἀδικῶν τὸν πλησίον ἀπίσαστο αὐτόν εἰπὼν [Ex 2:14]
 Ac 7:33 = εἶπεν δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ κύριος [Ex 3:5,7-10]
 Ac 7:35 = Τοῦτον τὸν Μωϋσῆν ὃν ἠρνήσαντο εἰπόντες [Ex 2:14]
 Ac 7:37 = οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Μωϋσῆς ὁ εἶπας τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ [Dt 18:15]
 Ac 7:40 = εἰπόντες τῷ Ἀαρῶν [Ex 32:1,4,8,23]
 Ac 23:5 = γέγραπται γὰρ ὅτι [Ex 22:27]

Two *main forms* dominate in these formulae. In most cases they are found either with a form of *γράφω*²⁵ or with a form of *λέγω*.²⁶ The *location*, or place from which the quoted text is taken is clearly indicated several times in Ac. Quotations from (a) the 12P and Is) are often indicated by referring to ὁ προφήτης.²⁷ This is even more closely qualified in two instances, referring explicitly to Ἰωήλ²⁸ and Ἡσαίας.²⁹ In the same way (b) those which were taken from the Pss are often indicated as coming

²⁵ Cf. Ac 1:20; 8:32; 7:42; 13:33; 15:15; 23:5 — used to introduce 7 of the 26 explicit quotations.

²⁶ Cf. Ac 2:16,25,34; 3:21-22,25; 4:25; 7:3,6,27,33,35,37,40,48; 13:34,35,40,47(?); 28:25 — used to introduce 19 of the 26 explicit quotations.

²⁷ Cf. Ac 2:16; 7:42,48; 13:40; 15:15; 28:26. Totalling 6 times out of the 9 times that the Prophets are quoted.

²⁸ So in Ac 2:16. Cf. also the discussion on this later in the study.

²⁹ See Ac 28:26.

either from the (βίβλων) ψαλμοί³⁰ or from Δαυίδ.³¹ This too is, in one instance, even more finely qualified by the explicit statement that the quotation comes from the δευτέρου Ps.³² And (c) those which were taken from the Torah, are often indicated as being from Μωυσῆς.³³ That the *real origin* of the quoted texts is rooted in the announcement of God himself, is stated by way of parenthetic phrases such as λέγει ὁ θεός,³⁴ ὁ κύριος,³⁵ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον³⁶.

3.1.2 Explicit quotations

Taking only the explicit introductory formulae as syntactic indicators of deliberate, conscious quotations, allows the following 25 such quotations³⁷ (i.e. 27 quoted texts from "the OT") to be identified and grouped as follows:³⁸

(a) 4 Quotations from the Minor Prophets:

- | | |
|------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| [1] Jl 2:28-32(3:1-5) = Ac 2:17-21 | [2] Am 5:25-29 = Ac 7:42-43 |
| [3] Hab 1:5 = Ac 13:41 | [4] Am 9:11-12 = Ac 15:16-18 |

(b) 5 Quotations from Is:

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| [1] Is 66:1-2 = Ac 7:49-50 | [2] Is 53:7-8 = Ac 8:32-33 |
| [3] Is 55:3 = Ac 13:34 ³⁹ | [4] Is 49:6 = Ac 13:47 |
| [5] Is 6:9-10 = Ac 28:26-27 | |

(c) 6 Quotations from the Pss:

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------|
| [1] Ps 68(69):26; Ps 108(109):8 = Ac 1:20 (One combined quotation) | |
| [2] Ps 15(16):8-11 = Ac 2:25-28 | [3] Ps 109(110):1 = Ac 2:34 |
| [4] Ps 2:1 = Ac 4:25 | [5] Ps 2:7 = Ac 13:33 |
| [6] Ps 15(16):10 = Ac 13:35 | |

(d) 10 Quotations from the Torah:

- | | |
|---|----------------------|
| [1] Dt 18:15-20 = Ac 3:22; Lev 23:29 = Ac 3:23 (One combined quotation) | |
| [2] Gn 22:18 = Ac 3:25 | [3] Gn 12:1 = Ac 7:3 |

³⁰ Cf. Ac 1:20 (introducing two Ps-quotations) and 13:33. Totalling 3 times (1:20 counted 2 times) from the 7 times when the Pss are quoted.

³¹ Cf. Ac 2:25,34; 4:25. Totalling 3 times from the 7 times when the Pss are quoted.

³² So in Ac 13:33. See the discussion on this later in the study.

³³ Cf. Ac 3:22 (Dt); 7:35 (Ex); 7:37 (Dt). Totalling 3 times from the 10 times when the Torah is quoted.

³⁴ Cf. Ac 2:17 (see the discussion on this later in the study); 3:21; 7:6.

³⁵ Cf. Ac 7:33; 13:47.

³⁶ Cf. Ac 4:25; 28:25.

³⁷ Scholars differ slightly about the number of quotations to be found in Ac. This is due, as M. RESE has already pointed out, to the manner in which a quotation is defined by the specific scholar; this becomes especially evident in Stephen's speech (Ac 7), where it is not always easy to determine the difference between an explicit quotation and a direct phrase ("Anspielung") (cf. M. RESE, *Funktion*, 69). E.E. ELLIS therefore counts 23 quotations (*OT in Early Christianity*, 53), while M. RESE (*Funktion*, 69) and H.B. SWETE (*Introduction*, 388) count 24 quotations. But even when scholars agree on the same number (as the latter three above), they still differ on the identification of individual quotations. Others, as J. DUPONT, also includes the direct phrases, and ends, therefore with a higher number than the others (*L'utilisation apologetique de l'Ancien Testament dans les discours des Actes*, in: *idem*, *Études sur les Actes des Apôtres*, Paris 1967, 247-282).

³⁸ References are according to the division in the LXX.

³⁹ Not seen as an explicit quotation by L. VENARD, *Citations de l'Ancien Testament dans le Nouveau Testament*, in: *DBS II* (1934), 23-51, here 25.

[4] Gn 15:13 = Ac 7:6-7

[6] Ex 3:5,7-10 = Ac 7:33-34

[8] Dt 18:15 = Ac 7:37

[10] Ex 22:27 = Ac 23:5⁴²

[5] Ex 2:14 = Ac 7:27-28⁴⁰

[7] Ex 2:14 = Ac 7:35

[9] Ex 32:1,4,8,23 = Ac 7:40⁴¹

4. OCCURRENCES AND DISTRIBUTION OF EXPLICIT LXX QUOTATIONS IN ACTS

These quotations (quoted texts) are distributed in Ac from the beginning of the work until its very end, but with a concentration especially on the first 15 chapters,⁴³ i.e. they are (almost?) exclusively used where the hearers consist primarily, though not always exclusively, of Jews. All of these explicit quotations are to be found in direct speeches — except that of Ac 8:32-33.⁴⁴

Their manifesting frequency is as follows:

Scripture section	Petrine speeches	Pauline speeches	Other speeches	Total
<i>12 Prophets</i>				
Am	---	---	2x:Steph. + James	2 x
Jl	1 x	---	---	1 x
Hab	---	1 x	---	1 x
Is	---	3 x	2x:Steph. + Philip	5 x
Pss	4 x	2 x	1x:Prayer	7 x
<i>Torah:</i>				
Gn	1 x	---	2x:Steph.	3 x
Ex	---	1 x	4x:Steph.	5 x
Lv	1 x	---	---	1 x
Dt	1 x	---	1x:Steph.	2 x
TOTAL:	8 times	7 times	12 times	27 times

⁴⁰ Not counted as explicit quotation by M. RESE (*Funktion*, 69).

⁴¹ H.B. SWETE also saw this as explicit quotation (*Introduction*, 388). Not counted as quotation by M. RESE (*Funktion*, 69).

⁴² Also seen as explicit quotation by M. RESE (*Funktion*, 69). H.B. SWETE, however, did not want to include this as a quotation (*Introduction*, 388).

⁴³ With the exception of only two quoted texts: Ac 23:5 (Ex 22:27) and Ac 28:26-27 (Is 6:9-10).

⁴⁴ So also M. RESE: "Bis auf eine Ausnahme (Apg 8,32f.) finden sich alle atl. Zitate in Reden oder redenartigen Stücken der Apg..". (*Funktion*, 69).

5. DIRECT PHRASES WITHOUT INTRODUCTORY FORMULAE

The following are phrases or sentences from Ac which, in most cases, so closely resemble an exact reading of the OT Scriptures, that they are often mistakenly regarded as explicit quotations. They are presented, however, without any introductory formula or any other clear indication that they were meant to be explicit quotations, and could have been meant either to be explicit quotations or only references presented in "Biblical words". This group must be distinguished clearly from the first, because it would be almost impossible to ask here any questions on a possible *Textvorlage* which might underly them.⁴⁵ The following are identified:

(a) 3 *Similar phrases from the Pss:*

Ps 89:21 = Ac 13:22⁴⁶

Ps 146:6 = Ac 4:24

Ps 146:6 (again) = Ac 14:15

(b) 6 *Similar phrases from the Torah:*

Gn 48:4 = Ac 7:5

Ex 1:8 = Ac 7:18

Ex 3:6 = Ac 3:13⁴⁷

Ex 3:6,15 = Ac 7:32

Ex 20:11 = Ac 14:15

Ex 21:4 = Ac 7:27,35⁴⁸

6. THE PROBLEM, THESES AND PURPOSE OF THIS INVESTIGATION

The fact of LXX quotations in Ac centres on a threefold problem which can best be described as texthistorical, methodological and hermeneutical in nature.⁴⁹

(i) *The first deals with the question of the origin of the quotations and the possible Textvorlage which Luke might have used for his explicit quotations.* Where did Luke get these quotations? Did Luke use material from independent oral or written traditions which have also referred, in their turn, to these ancient authoritative books (as in the hypothetical *testimonia* or *florilegia*), or did he get it himself personally from available "LXX" manuscripts? Is he thus simply the collector, compiler and re-writer of available traditions, or is he much more creatively and independently involved in the whole process of re-writing history by way of getting his own "LXX" material and reinterpreting it in order to suit his goal? When the origin, or at least, prior knowledge of the specific quotations are established, then their *Textvorlage* should be established.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ Cf. J. DUPONT, *L'utilisation*, 281f who did not make this distinction in his list of quotations.

⁴⁶ Taken by M. RESE as explicit quotation, in combination with 2 KJ(Sm) 13:14 (*Funktion*, 69).

⁴⁷ Taken as explicit quotation by M. RESE (*Funktion*, 69), but not by H.B. SWETE (*Introduction*, 388).

⁴⁸ This occurrence is counted as an explicit quotation by H.B. SWETE, *Introduction*, 388.

⁴⁹ Cf. R. HANHART, *Die Bedeutung der Septuaginta in neutestamentlicher Zeit*, in: *ZThK* 81 (1984), 395-416.

⁵⁰ Cf. also M. RESE who asks the question: "Was wird zitiert?" (*Motive*, 35).

(ii) *The second deals with the question of his usage of Scripture (more specifically his method of application).* How did he apply the quotations within their new context? What changes does he make? Here it is important to establish the way in which he quotes.⁵¹

(iii) *The third deals with the NT writer's own understanding of Scripture.* In what way does this "LXX" material contribute to his "salvation-historical approach"? Is it done with/via a certain theological perspective and a specific aim or purpose in mind, and if so, with what purpose? The function of the quoted text⁵² within its new context therefore becomes crucial when considering this aspect.

Some of the most prominent *apriori* of this study are to be found in the hypothesis that Luke has used as part of his *repertoire* of written sources, some well known LXX documents as his "Scripture". From these he has selected material which he could use in such a way as to support his argument. The other part of his *repertoire* consists of traditions from early Judaism and early Christianity, which have already included material from these "Scriptures." He got his LXX quotations thus either from these early traditions or from the written LXX itself. He created and reconstructed his own understanding of the Christian message from these (written) sources to form a compendium of his own hermeneutical framework of events.

6.1 The text-historical aspect of the problem

Before any differences between the readings of the NT and the LXX can be determined, the texts of these versions must first be established. References to the OT found in the NT cannot simply be categorized as "LXX influence". The people of these times did not have bound copies of "a OT", "a NT" or "a LXX" at hand. Biblical manuscripts were scarce in those days and not widely available. They circulated mainly in the synagogues and libraries, and were therefore in very limited manner available to most of the people. They were handled almost exclusively by scribes and religious leaders. Thus, to speak of so-called "LXX influence" in the NT is to work anachronistically with more recent (religious) categorizations. Nearer to reality would be to work with a reconstruction of this early biblical history as a primary basis for any type of research. We must especially, for example, not categorically distinguish between the Hebrew and the Greek OTs — although we definitely have to do with different traditions and manuscripts.

In both instances, Ac and the LXX, one encounters an intensely complex problem. It must be stated clearly that the existing text editions of the NT (NA26) and that of the LXX (Göttingen) are reconstructed texts. The identification of certain changes or differences between "the" NT reading (Ac) and "the" LXX reading must therefore be done extremely carefully. Although it is a highly specialized field, one cannot ignore the fundamental importance of textual criticism at this point of intertextual comparison. When paying attention to the textcritical

⁵¹. Cf. also M. RESE who asks the question: "Wie wird zitiert?" This deals with the "Form des Zitats". (*Motive*, 35).

⁵². So taken to be important by M. RESE, who asks the question: "Warum wird zitiert?" The issue is then that of the "Bedeutung des Zitats" (*Motive*, 35).

data and all the alternative readings which exist, it becomes clear that at least some of the (so-called interpretive) changes between the readings of Ac and LXX might disappear if one were to reconstruct "the" reading of the quoted text in Ac.⁵³ But each reconstruction brings its own problems. When bearing in mind that the early Christian church (and also the church of the following centuries) modified their texts in order to correlate them with *their* known OT text readings, the situation even become more complicated.⁵⁴ For the purposes of this investigation, those reconstructed and printed critical editions of NA26 and the Göttingen editions are used as a basis in identifying the differences between Ac and the LXX. In discussing each of the differences between the texts of NA26 and the reconstructed Göttingen-LXX, attention will be paid to some of the most important and problematical textcritical problems.

*Codex D (Bezae Cantabrigiensis)*⁵⁵

It is said that it seems as if this codex agrees in general more closely with our known LXX readings.⁵⁶ One must not forget, however, that codex D has a general tendency of making modifications, of which several "appear to reflect an emphasis on Gentile interests,⁵⁷ sometimes approaching what has been called the anti-Jewish bias of the Western reviser".⁵⁸

6.1.1 *The peculiar and problematic nature of the text of "the" LXX*

a. *A Text theory of a "Diversity of texts"*

Several problems come to the fore when one proceeds to a study which includes the LXX. One of the most prominent issues to reckon with in such studies is the different versions which were already circulating during the time of the NT. One

⁵³. Extensive studies with the purpose of establishing "the original text of Ac" have already been done, for example by L. CERFAUX, *Citations scripturaires et tradition textuelle dans le Livre des Actes*, in: L. CERFAUX & J. DUPONT (eds), *Aux sources de la Tradition Chrétienne. Mélanges offerts à M. Maurice Goguel*, Paris 1958, 43-51; E. HAENCHEN, *Schriftzitate und Textüberlieferung in der Apostelgeschichte*, in: *ZThK* 51 (1954), 153-167; A.F.J. KLIJN, *In Search of the Original Text of Acts*, in: L.E. KECK & J.L. MARTYN (eds), *Studies in Luke-Acts: Essays Presented in Honor of Paul Schubert*, Nashville 1966, 103-110; and G.D. KILPATRICK, *Some Quotations*, 1978.

⁵⁴. Cf. M. RESE: "Die Lesarten, die der Intention des Verfassers entgegenkommen, haben einen gewissen Anspruch auf Ursprünglichkeit, wenn auch die Möglichkeit nicht ausgeschlossen werden darf, daß ein Späterer im Sinne des Verfassers ergänzt hat". "Höchstwahrscheinlich sekundär sind jene Lesarten, in denen sich klar die Tendenz von nur einem MS 'widerspiegelt' (z.B. D). Diese Tendenz müßte dann aber aufgrund einer Untersuchung des ganzen MS bekannt sein, ehe man sie einfach behauptet" (*Motive*, 48).

⁵⁵. See also M. WILCOX, *Luke and the Bezan Text of Acts*, in: J. KREMER (ed), *Les Actes des Apôtres - traditions, rédaction, théologie* (ETHL 48), Leuven 1979, 447-455; J.N. BIRDSALL, *The geographical and cultural origin of the Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis: a survey of the status questionis, mainly from the paleographical standpoint*, in: W. SCHRAGE (hrsg), *Studien zum Text und zur Ethik des Neuen Testaments. Festschrift zum 80. Geburtstag von Heinrich Greeven*, Berlin 1986, 102-114.

⁵⁶. Cf. also G.D. KILPATRICK, *Some Quotations*, 96.

⁵⁷. Compare here the work of E. EPP, *The Theological Tendency of Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis in Acts*, Cambridge 1966.

⁵⁸. So B.M. METZGER, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, New York 1971, 295.

discovers very soon that it is almost impossible to talk of "a" or "the" LXX.⁵⁹ The Old Greek Version was revised several times, not only by the Jews (cf. Kaige/proto-Theodotion, Aquila and Symmachus), but also later by the Christians (cf. Origen, Lucian and Hesychian).⁶⁰ In addition to all these revisions and recensions, it is assumed today that there could also have been several local translations which supplied the needs of specific groups. Some of these were verbal translations, others were much more paraphrased and interpretative. No wonder that certain text theories about the origin and development of the LXX assumed that it developed out of a targumim context.⁶¹

The most accepted text theory today is that which was developed by *Talmon*⁶² and *Tov*.⁶³ The latter calls it a "synthetic view, which may be characterized as a theory of "multiple textual traditions", in which "...one Greek translation must be presupposed as the base of the MSS of most, if not all the books of the LXX".⁶⁴ According to this theory then, there was once an existing single Greek translation of every book. Soon, however, there developed a diversity of texts, without the Hebrew texts being necessarily used again. Each text tradition - Hebrew, Targum or Greek - manifests its own movement of internal text tradition development, which leads to the development of new text forms, without being influenced by another tradition. One should therefore rather speak of *texts* than of *texttypes*. Four stages of development are being differentiated in the LXX tradition: (a) the original translation; (b) a diversity of text traditions based on the supplements and corrections until the first century A.D; (c) textual stability in the first and second centuries A.D; (d) the recensions of Origen and Lucian in the third and fourth centuries A.D.⁶⁵

b. Other prominent characteristics⁶⁶

It must never be forgotten that we are dealing with translated *Hebrew* religious terminology in the LXX documents. The LXX documents therefore bear a Jewish-Hellenistic nature.

⁵⁹ Cf. G.J. STEYN on a hypothetical reconstruction of the history of the origin of the "Old Greek Version(s)": (Die ou Griekse vertaling (Septuagint) Deel I: 'n Kort oorsig oor die moontlike ontstaansgeskiedenis, in: *ThEv* 22 (1989), 9-18).

⁶⁰ Cf. G.J. STEYN, Die ou Griekse vertaling (Septuagint) Deel 2: 'n Kort oorsig oor die ontwikkelingsgeskiedenis en bestaande teksteorieë, in: *ThEv* 22-3 (1989), 2-13).

⁶¹ Cf. the work of P.E. KAHLE: *Cairo Geniza*.

⁶² Cf. S. TALMON, The Old Testament Text, in: P.R. ACKROYD & C.F. EVANS (eds), *From the beginnings to Jerome* (CHB I), Cambridge 1970, 159-199.

⁶³ Cf. E. TOV, *The Text-critical use of the Septuagint in Biblical research*, Jerusalem 1981. He based his theory to a large extent on E.J. BICKERMAN, Some Notes on the Transmission of the Septuagint, in: S. LIEBERMAN (ed), *Alexander Marx Jubilee Volume on the occasion of his 70th birthday*, New York 1950, 149-178. See also J. COOK, The Plurality of Old Testament Texts and Exegetical Methodology, in: J. MOUTON, A.G. VAN AARDE & W.S. VORSTER (eds), *Paradigms and Progress in Theology* (HSRC Studies in Research Methodology 5), Pretoria 1988, 362-377.

⁶⁴ E. TOV, *Text-critical use*, 41.

⁶⁵ So E. TOV, *Text-critical use*, 42.

⁶⁶ See also F.E. DEIST, *Witnesses to the Old Testament. Introducing Old Testament textual criticism*, Pretoria 1988; S. OLOFSSON, *The LXX Version. A Guide to the Translation Technique of the Septuagint* (CBOTSer 30), Stockholm 1990.

Another important issue is the fact that several translators were involved, and we therefore find some books to be translated more literally (e.g. Gn) than others that are much more paraphrased in character (e.g. Pr).

6.2 The methodological aspect of the problem

This specific way of handling the comparative material forces the researcher to ask explicitly for the framework of adaptation of those quotations by the specific NT writer. In order to achieve any understanding of the framework, one must try to grasp something of the quotational techniques, and the ways of adapting quoted material within its new context. In some circles it is thought that exegetical methods used in rabbinical circles could be especially useful in throwing light on the use made of OT material by the NT writers. Research has shown that the ancient methods of allegory, typology, midrash, *pesher*, (also *midrash-pesher*) and historical-literal analysis, have played at one or other stage an important role in this type of comparative study. There seems, however, to be considerable disagreement about just how widely these methods were known and used in the ancient world of first century Christianity. The fact that several of the *termini technici*, which were normally used to indicate these practices, are lacking in Lk-Ac, for instance, raises some doubt about the formal usage of these methods by Luke himself. Instead of trying to force Luke's peculiar method of scriptural adaptation into these categories, this study, when analysing the relevant passages, will simply describe the features he uses to apply and reinterpret each quoted text within its new context.

The emphasis will be on the *changes* which were made by Luke to the texts from which he quotes, while the *function* of those changes will be discussed under "Luke's interpretation" of his quoted text, i.e. the hermeneutical aspect of the problem.

6.3 The hermeneutical aspect of the problem

General changes in modern linguistics have contribute a great deal to the reconstruction of the ancient "biblical" era. Especially the general trend, started in the 1950's by *Saussure*, to move the focus of literary studies away from a fragmentary approach where words and phrases were dealt with by way of *ad hoc* studies, to a more holistic approach where the context and broader units were seen as central and the contents thereof as elements contributing to this context.

The first signs of explicit attention to the broader context and a more *functional approach* became therefore more visible during the middle of our current century. The focus was slowly but surely moving from the author and the text to the reader, his environment and interpretation of the text. With this paradigm-shift came the collapse of the one-sidedness of the diachronical methods, such as the grammatio-historical and historico-critical methods, and the increasing prominence of synchronical methods like structural analysis, narrative analysis and reader-response criticism.

However, the problem of one-sidedness remains. The pendulum has only moved away from the one side to the other. There has developed a drastic need in

biblical interpretation for something that could accommodate both the diachronical and synchronical approaches; some analysis where the relationship author-text on the one hand, *as well as* the relationship text-reader on the other hand, receives the necessary attention.

Especially for the purposes of this field of study, attention must be paid therefore not only to the linguistic *form*, to the syntax and the separate fragments of the text as a working object, but also to the linguistic *contents*, to the semantics and the context of the text. In such a combined methodology we are not working with an "either...or - method", neither with totally mixed methods, but instead with two main contributing elements which always draw the attention to the question of the *function* of the material found in a given context.

The main emphasis in this section will thus be on the function of these quotations within their immediate context, but also within the broader context of Luke's theological paradigm. Clarity should be found on Luke's *purpose* in using these quotations and his reasons for changing them in the way he did. Is his intention to present them simply as (a) Scriptural proof, or does he use them in (b) apologetical, historical and polemic ways?⁶⁷ Are they used in a (c) prophetic manner, especially in terms of promise-fulfillment,⁶⁸ or are they used (d) typologically, (e) christologically⁶⁹ and/or (f) eschatologically?

Most important is that each quotation, or rather, quoted text, should be taken first on its own and within its own context. Only after that might some general lines be drawn regarding Luke's peculiar way of understanding his Scripture.

⁶⁷. Suggested by H.J. CADBURY, The Speeches in Acts, in: F.J. FOAKES JACKSON and K. LAKE (eds), *The Beginnings of Christianity, Part I: The Acts of the Apostles, Vol.5*, London 1933, 402-427.

⁶⁸. Cf. P. SCHUBERT, The Structure and Significance of Luke 24, in: W. ELTESTER (hrsg), *Neutestamentliche Studien für Rudolf Bultmann zu seinem siebenzigsten Geburtstag am 20. August 1954* (BZNW 21), Berlin 1954, 165-186.

⁶⁹. So suggested in the different studies of M. RESE, *Motive* (1965/69); D.L. BOCK, *Proclamation* (1987), 278-279; and D. JUEL, *Messianic Exegesis* (1988).

SECTION II: ANALYSIS. THE PETRINE SPEECHES

CHAPTER 3

PETER'S FIRST SPEECH
(Acts 1:16-22)

1. THE BROADER CONTEXT AND BACKGROUND

Luke's gospel does not include an account of the death of Judas.¹ Such an account is to be found within the setting of the first Petrine speech at the beginning of Ac, a speech which was probably the creation of Luke himself,² although with the help of already existing (probably written?)³ source material. Accounts of the death of Judas, the piece of land and the curse combined with it, seem to have been well known during these times, and are presented, in their own way, in the literature of other early Christian writers — which reflects the existence of different independent versions and variations.⁴

(a) It is to be found, independently from the version in Ac, in *the gospel of Matthew* (27:3-10). The versions of Ac and Mt are nonetheless quite different, and about the only similarity is that the piece of land which Judas bought, was known as "land of blood" (Akeldamah).⁵ One of the most prominent differences between both,

¹. Cf. Mt 27:3-10.

². Cf. A. WEISER, *Die Nachwahl des Matthias* (Apg 1,15-26). Zur Rezeption und Deutung urchristlicher Geschichte durch Lukas, in: G. DAUTZENBERG (hrsg), *Zur Geschichte des Urchristentums* (QD 87), Freiburg 1979, 97-110, here 102.

³. According to A. WEISER, "(läßt) die Art der Verarbeitung durch Lukas...vermuten, daß es sich bereits um schriftliche Überlieferung handelte" (*Nachwahl des Matthias*, 99).

⁴. Cf. A. WEISER for an overview of the different tradition historical models which try to present a reconstruction of the pre-Lukan version (*Apg I*, 64-66). Also E. NELLESSEN, *Tradition und Schrift in der Perikope von der Erwählung des Matthias* (Apg 1,15-26), in: *BZ* 19 (1975), 205-218; here 207-211. The best way to see the whole matter, is probably as H. CONZELMANN has formulated it: "Die Legende vom Tod des Judas ist erzählerisch nicht ausgebildet; sie ist nicht ein zersagtes Spätstudium einer stülgemäßen Personallgende, sondern nur eine etwas ausgestaltete und von Lk geformte Fassung eines bekannten Motivs..". (*Die Apostelgeschichte* (HNT 7), Tübingen 1972, 29). In the same direction: J. ROLOFF, *Apg*, 30-31. M. WILCOX is thus right when he said that "...it seems plain that this speech of Peter is not simply an invention of Luke, but incorporates traditional material of some kind" (*The Judas-Tradition in Acts 1.15-26*, in: *NTS* 19 (1972/73), 438-452, here 438). So also G. LÜDEMANN, *Das frühe Christentum nach den Traditionen der Apostelgeschichte. Ein Kommentar*, Göttingen 1987, 40.

⁵. So also J. SICKENBERGER, *Judas als Stifter des Blutackers*; Apg 1,18f., in: *BZ* 18 (1929), 69-71, here 69; C. SMITS, *Citaten II*, 200; T. HOLTZ, *Untersuchungen*, 46; J. ROLOFF, *Apg*, 31; A. WEISER, *Apg I*, 69. For a brief but good summary on the similarities and differences between the accounts of Mt and Ac, see R.H. FULLER, *The Choice of Matthias*, in: E.A. LIVINGSTONE (ed), *Studia Evangelica VI* (= TU 112), Berlin 1973, 140-146, here 143; and G. LÜDEMANN, *Christentum*, 40.

regarding the use of Scripture, is the fact that Luke's quotation from Ps 68(69):26 is not to be found in the version of Mt, while Mt's quotation from Zch 11:12-13/Jr 39(32):6-9⁶ is not to be found in the version of Ac. It is, however, noteworthy to see that both included a quotation from Scripture which is combined with the piece of land.

(b) The version is also to be found later in the second century in a *fragment (III) of Papias*, bishop of Hierapolis, quoted by Apollinaris of Laodicea.⁷ Both Ac and this fragment agree that Judas had bought himself a piece of land with the money which he received from his corrupt deed, and that he had died there in some horrible way.⁸ Papias' version also shows probable influences from Nm 5:21f,²⁷ and also from Ps 68(69):24.⁹ There might thus be a possibility that the linking of Ps 68(69) with the death of Judas, could have existed already before Luke's time from this evidence in the Papias fragment,¹⁰ which is accepted as being independent from Ac.¹¹

Especially then the etiology about the name of the piece of land, contributes to the fact that there was a well known tradition about the death of Judas.¹² Although the existing evidence does not agree on the version itself, there are definite traces to be found of similarities of *elements* in this tradition.

Luke's version of the death of Judas is used here in Ac as substantiation for the need to complete once again the number of the apostles, by way of finding a successor to Judas.¹³ This version in Ac, regarding the selection of another faithful witness in the place of Judas, has striking similarities with Luke's version of the selection of the twelve by Jesus in Luke's gospel. Compare the following:

⁶. There are also possible influences from Jr 18:2f.; 19:1f. according to the following: P. BENOIT, *Der Tod des Judas*, in: *idem., Exegese und Theologie*, Düsseldorf 1965, 167-181; E. HAENCHEN, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (KEK III), Göttingen 1956 (1st 1968), 125; and J. ROLOFF, *Apg*, 30.

⁷. It was probably written in the mid-second century (J. ROLOFF, *Apg*, 30) or nearer: between 120-130 AD (A. WEISER, *Apg I*, 69).

⁸. According to G. LÜDEMANN, the gruesome swelling of Judas' body according to the Papias-fragment, resembles Ps 108(109):18: "Er liebte den Fluch — so mag er über ihn kommen... Er zog den Fluch an wie ein Gewand, und er kam wie Wasser in seine Eingeweide." Dieses Anschwellen seines Körpers, auch seiner Augenglieder war so schlimm, daß Judas völlig erblindete. Die Aussage von der Blindheit des Gottlosen ist wiederum zu lesen in Ps 69,23/68,23 (LXX)" (*Christentum*, 40).

⁹. Cf. E. SCHWEIZER, *Zu Apg 1,16-22*, in: *ThZ* 14 (1958), 46; E. HAENCHEN, *Apg*, 125; H. CONZELMANN, *Apg*, 29; A. WEISER, *Apg I*, 65.

¹⁰. So also H. CONZELMANN, *Apg*, 29; and G. LÜDEMANN, *Christentum*, 40.

¹¹. Cf. T. HOLTZ, *Untersuchungen*, 45.

¹². Supplementary to this, A. WEISER means that also "...sprachliche Indizien weisen auf Überlieferungstoff hin, und die Art der Verarbeitung durch Lukas läßt vermuten, daß es sich bereits um schriftliche...Überlieferung handelte" (*Apg I*, 64). So also E. SCHWEIZER, *Zu Apg*, 46; W. WATER, *Komposition als Mittel der Interpretation im lukanischen Doppelwerk* (Unpublished Diss.), Bonn 1972, 77; and G. LÜDEMANN, *Christentum*, 40.

¹³. Cf. I.H. MARSHALL who points to the fact that in Luke's gospel "the Twelve had a special function as apostles to the Jews and could look forward to sitting on thrones to judge the twelve tribes of Israel (Lk 9:1-6; 22:28-30)" (*The Acts of the Apostles. An Introduction and Commentary* (TNTC), Leicester 1988, 63).

Lk 6:12-16

- ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις
- Jesus prayed (the whole night)
- He called followers, chose 12
- Called them "apostles"
- Peter was called first

Ac 1:15-26

- καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις
- The group of believers prayed
- Two are presented, one selected
- Apostle in the place of Judas
- Peter has taken the initiative

The first two elements are not to be found in any of the other existing versions where the twelve are called.¹⁴ These twelve were selected in order to be sent out to preach the kingdom of God and had received the power of exorcism and healing.¹⁵ They had also included "Judas Iscariot, who became a traitor" (Lk 6:16) and "leading them" who caught Jesus, although being "one of the twelve" (Lk 22:47).

2. OVERVIEW OF THE TEXT OF THE SPEECH¹⁶

15 Καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις ἀναστὰς Πέτρος ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν εἶπεν· ἦν τε δῆλος ὀνομάτων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ὡσεὶ ἑκατὸν εἰκοσι·

Section I. The death of Judas as fulfillment of Scripture (1:16-20c)

16 ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί,

Subsection 1: The Scripture had to be fulfilled (1:16+20)

ἔδει πληρωθῆναι τὴν γραφήν
ἣν προεῖπεν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον
διὰ στόματος Δαυὶδ

Subsection 2: The death of Judas (1:16-19)

- περὶ Ἰούδα
τοῦ γενομένου ὁδηγοῦ τοῖς συλλαβοῦσι Ἰησοῦν,
- 17 ὅτι κατηριθμημένος ἦν ἐν ἡμῖν
καὶ ἔλαχεν τὸν κλῆρον τῆς διακονίας ταύτης.
- 18 αὐτός μὲν οὖν ἐκτήσατο χωρίον ἐκ μισθοῦ τῆς ἀδικίας
καὶ πρηνὴς γενόμενος ἐλάκησεν μέσος
καὶ ἐξεχύθη πάντα τὰ σπλάγχνα αὐτοῦ.
- 19 καὶ γνωστὸν ἐγένετο πᾶσι τοῖς κατοικοῦσι Ἱερουσαλήμ,

¹⁴ Mt 10:1-4; Mk 3:13-19 and Jn 1:35f. Cf. also W. DIETRICH: "Die Formulierung unserer Stelle ist als eine bei Lukas erscheinende Stilleigentümlichkeit zu werten fungiert in der Regel als Einleitung von Perikopen". He refers to Lk 1:39; 6:12; Ac 1:15; 6:1; 11:27 — all references are situated in the "Sondergut Lukas", except for Lk 6:12 (*Das Petrusbild der lukianischen Schriften* (BWANT 5), Stuttgart/Berlin 1972, 168-9).

¹⁵ Cf. Lk 9:1-6.

¹⁶ Compare also the proposed translation of VV.15-22 by R.L. OMANSON in which he has tried to accommodate the implicit meaning of this section (How does it all fit together? Thoughts on translating Acts 1.15-22 and 15.19-21, in: *BiTr* 41 (1990), 416-421, here 417).

ὥστε κληθῆναι τὸ χωρίον ἐκεῖνο
τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλέκτῳ αὐτῶν Ἀκελδαμάχ.
τοῦτ' ἔστιν χωρίον αἵματος.

Subsection 3: Contents of the Scripture (1:20)

- 20a γέγραπται γὰρ ἐν βίβλῳ ψαλμῶν
b γενηθήτω ἡ ἔπαυλις αὐτοῦ ἔρημος
c καὶ μὴ ἔστω ὁ κατοικῶν ἐν αὐτῇ

Section II. Demand to choose another witness in the place of Judas (1:20d-22)

- d καὶ τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν αὐτοῦ λαβέτω ἕτερος.
- 21 δεῖ οὖν τῶν συνεληθόντων ἡμῶν ἀνδρῶν
ἐν παντὶ χρόνῳ
ᾧ εἰσῆλθεν καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς,
22 ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ βαπτίσματος Ἰωάννου
ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ἧς ἀνελήμφθη ἀφ' ἡμῶν,
μάρτυρα τῆς ἀναστάσεως αὐτοῦ
σὺν ἡμῶν γενέσθαι ἓνα τούτων.

This first Petrine speech¹⁷ is introduced in accordance with the same prominent structural markers also to be found at the beginning of the other speeches in Ac, and is therefore clearly indicated as being direct speech: (a) The gesture of the speaker is given: "Peter stood up among the brethren" (ἀναστὰς Πέτρος ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν = V.15); (b) Then follows the verb of saying: "and said" (εἶπεν = V.15); (c) The speech itself begins with the naming of the hearers: It is introduced by the words, ἀνδρες ἀδελφοί (V.16).¹⁸

The whole speech forms a cohesive unit¹⁹ and there is no necessity to divide it into shorter sections. However, in order to relate the quotation (which consists of two quoted texts from different Pss²⁰ and which forms the centre of the speech),

17. It is strange that scholars have often omitted this first Petrine speech in their discussions on the speeches in Ac. Cf. for example, E. SCHWEIZER, Zu den Reden der Apostelgeschichte, in: *ThZ* 13 (1957), 1-11.

18. Compare the similar beginnings of Peter's second speech with the words ἀνδρες Ἰουδαῖοι (Ac 2:14); Peter's third speech with ἀνδρες Ἰσραηλίται (Ac 3:12); Peter's seventh speech with ἀνδρες ἀδελφοί (Ac 15:7); Paul's first speech with ἀνδρες Ἰσραηλίται (Ac 13:16); Paul's second speech with ἀνδρες (Ac 14:15); Paul's third speech with ἀνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι (Ac 17:22); Paul's fifth speech with ἀνδρες ἀδελφοί (Ac 22:1); Paul's sixth speech with ἀνδρες ἀδελφοί (Ac 23:1); Stephen's speech with ἀνδρες ἀδελφοί (Ac 7:2); James' speech with ἀνδρες ἀδελφοί (Ac 15:13). See also the other occurrences in Ac 2:29,37; 13:15,26,38; 23:6; 28:17 and 4Mac 8:19. Cf. also to the general discussion of the speeches in Ch 2 of this study.

19. So also A. WEISER: "eine geschlossene Erzähllichkeit" (*Nachwahl des Mattias*, 98).

20. So also L. CERFAUX, *Citations*, 48; H. CONZELMANN, *App*, 28-29; E. HAENCHEN, *Schriftzitate*, 163; and E. HAENCHEN, *App*, 124. They have convincingly argued here that "γραφὴ ist die einzelne Schriftstelle". The latter also stressed: "die Schrift" = αἱ γραφαί. Die beiden Psalmverse 69,26 (der Tod des Judas) und 109,8 (die Ersatzwahl) werden als eine einzige Stelle behandelt" (124,n.6). Cf. also B.M. NEWMAN & E.A. NIDA, *A Translator's Handbook on the Acts of the Apostles* (HeTr), New York/Stuttgart 1972, 25: "The scripture refers to a passage or a text of Scripture rather

with the rest of the speech context around it, and in order to understand its relation better within these immediate preceding and following contexts, the unit is divided into two sections on the basis of the two different themes.²¹ The first part (Ac 1:16-20c) deals with the death of Judas as a fulfillment of Scripture, concluding climactically with Ps 68(69):26,²² while the latter part (Ac 1:20d-22) deals with the obligation to find another faithful witness²³ who could replace Judas as an apostle, and starts with a quoted text from Ps 108(109):8.²⁴ The first part, with its quotation, forms the substantiation or *reason* (οὖν, V.21) for the second part, i.e. that another witness *must* (δεῖ, V.21) be chosen — with the necessity on a par with the first part where it was stated that the Scripture *had* to be (ἔδει, V.16) fulfilled with regard to the life of Judas.²⁵

The combination of the two themes — the death of Judas and the election of Matthias — (which were probably already *individually* well known when Ac was written), could have been the work of Luke himself,²⁶ by way of using this combined

than to the entire Old Testament”.

²¹ The whole pericope is longer than this unit which consists of the speech alone. It is normally accepted that the pericope starts at Ac 1:15 and ends at Ac 1:26. Cf. H. CONZELMANN, *Apg*, 28; E. HAENCHEN, *Apg*, 122f; W. DIETRICH, *Petrusbild*, 166; A. WEISER, *Apg I*, 64; J. ROLOFF, *Apg*, 29; G. SCHNEIDER, *Apg I*, 214; R. PESCH, *Die Apostelgeschichte (Apg 1-12)* (EKK 5/1), Zürich 1986, 84; and D.-A. KOCH, Die Überlieferung und Verwendung der Septuaginta im ersten nachchristlichen Jahrhundert, in: D.-A. KOCH & H. LICHTENBERGER (hrsg), *Begegnungen zwischen Christentum und Judentum in Antike und Mittelalter. Festschrift für Heinz Schreckenberg*, Göttingen 1993, 215-244, here 238.

²² Against B.M. NEWMAN & E.A. NIDA, *Translator's Handbook*, 28, who prefer to relate this first quoted text, together with the second, with the context that follows hereafter. The matter will be discussed further below.

²³ That is, someone who was a witness to the whole life of Jesus — from his baptism by John, through his resurrection, up to his ascension (Ac 1:22). Emphasis is laid on witnessing the resurrection of Jesus. So also B.M. NEWMAN & E.A. NIDA, *Translator's Handbook*, 28.

²⁴ So also divided by T. HOLTZ, *Untersuchungen*, 44. Cf. A. WEISER, *Apg I*, 65, and *idem.*, *Nachwahl des Matthias*, 99-101 for an overview of the different viewpoints regarding the possible combination of the two quotations with each other and with the two different contexts. D.-A. KOCH, *Überlieferung und Verwendung*, 238; G. SCHNEIDER, *Apg I*, 214; and R.L. OMANSON are also in agreement with the fact that the second part of the quotation refers to the next theme (*Translating Acts I*, 417-418).

²⁵ E. HAENCHEN said: "δεῖ besagt bei Lukas, daß Gott etwas will und es deshalb geschehen muß" (*Apg*, 124,n.5). He has also stated that codex D did not understand that this unit consists of two different themes: the death of Judas that belongs to the past (ἔδει), and the reselection of another witness which the early church must (δεῖ) do according to the will of the Lord. Codex D has therefore substituted the ἔδει through δεῖ, and thereby reduced both themes to one. So also H. CONZELMANN, *Apg*, 28; B.M. METZGER, *Textual Commentary*, 285; and G. LÜDEMANN, *Christentum*, 38. Compare the parallel of divine necessity in hellenistic literature, found in *Aelius Aristides* 1,67, and pointed out by P.W. VAN DER HORST, Hellenistic Parallels to the Acts of the Apostles: 1:1-26, in: *ZNW* 74 (1983), 17-26, here 24.

²⁶ So E. HAENCHEN, *Apg*, 126.128; G. SCHNEIDER, *Apg I*, 214; and T. HOLTZ, *Untersuchungen*, 44, (who draws attention to Ac 1:25 which refers back to the death of Judas: "Damit werden die beiden Geschichten auch expressis verbis von Lukas miteinander verknüpft"). Also A. WEISER, *Apg I*, 65; *idem.*, *Nachwahl*, 100-101; J. ROLOFF, *Apg*, 30; and R. PESCH, *Apg I*, 85-86. See also O. BAUERNFEIND, *Kommentar und Studien zur Apostelgeschichte* (WUNT 22), Tübingen 1980, 25-27; E. NELLESSEN on Luke's role in the compilation of this pericope (*Tradition und Schrift*, 205-206); and D.-A. KOCH, *Überlieferung und Verwendung*, 239.

quotation. That he has also linked each theme with its quoted text is, however, not so obvious. Concerning the first theme, and its combination with Ps 68(69), it may be possible that there already existed at least a pre-Lukan combination of Ps 68(69) with the theme of Judas' death.²⁷

3. SECTION I. ACTS 1:16-20c

The death of Judas as fulfillment of the Scripture
 & the quotation from Ps 68(69):26

3.1 The composition of the section

This section consists of three subsections: (a) VV.16 and 20; (b) VV.16-19; (c) V.20.

3.1.1 Subsection 1: The Scripture had to be fulfilled

— The manner of the announcement — (Ac 1:16+20)

In this section great emphasis is laid on the fulfillment of the Scripture²⁸ and therefore on the things that were already being foretold "by the Spirit". This is done by way of five prominent markers which emphasize that the things which have happened were already foretold in the past: (a) V.16: ἔδει πληρωθῆναι τὴν γραφὴν²⁹ = The Scripture had to be fulfilled; (b) V.16: ἦν προεῖπεν³⁰ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον³¹ = It (Scripture) was already foretold by the Spirit; (c) V.16: διὰ στόματος Δαυὶδ = David was used as an instrument (by the Spirit)³² to verbalise this message; (d) V.20a: γέγραπται γὰρ ἐν βίβλῳ ψαλμῶν = It is written in the

²⁷. So also L. CERFAUX, *Citations*, 48; E. HAENCHEN, *Schriftzitate*, 163; T. HOLTZ, *Untersuchungen*, 45; H. CONZELMANN, *ApG*, 29; A. WEISER, *ApG I*, 64-65; J. ROLOFF, *ApG*, 30-31; G. SCHNEIDER, *ApG I*, 214; R. PESCH, *ApG I*, 86; M. WILCOX, *Judas-Tradition*, 438-452; and E. NELLESSEN, *Tradition und Schrift*, 211.217. See A. WEISER, *ApG I*, for an overview of the supporting arguments. Contrary to P-H. MENOUD, *Les additions au groupe des douze apôtres d'après le livre des Actes*, in: *RHPPhR* 37 (1957), 71-80; E. SCHWEIZER, *Zu ApG*, 46; W. WIATER, *Komposition*, 75; R.H. FULLER, *Choice of Matthias*, 141.

²⁸. So also A. WEISER, *Nachwahl des Matthias*, 102.

²⁹. According to R.H. FULLER, "The phrase πληρωθῆναι τὴν γραφὴν reflects a characteristically Lucan concern (Luke 4:21; 24:44)" (*Choice of Matthias*, 141). G. LÜDEMANN suggests that "Der Gedanke der Notwendigkeit eines Geschehens ist sicher vorlukanisch und von den ersten Christen in der Verteidigung der Passion Jesu unter Bezug auf die Schrift ausgebildet worden (vgl. Mk 14,21.49...)" (*Christentum*, 38).

³⁰. According to R.H. FULLER, προεῖπεν "in the sense of prophetic prediction" is a *hapax legomenon* (*Choice of Matthias*, 142).

³¹. See 2 Pt 1:21: ὑπὸ πνεύματος ἁγίου φερόμενοι ἐλάλησαν ἀπὸ θεοῦ ἄνθρωποι. See also Ael Aristides 1,67 and 48,26 (P.W. VAN DER HORST, *Hellenistic Parallels*, *Ac I*, 24).

³². For David being "used by the Spirit" to verbalise the message and thereafter explicitly quoting from the Ps, see *Ac 4:25* (ὁ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου στόματος Δαυὶδ παῖδος σου εἶπών + Ps 2:1); *Mk 12:36* (Δαυὶδ εἶπεν ἐν τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ + Ps 109(110):1); *Mt 22:43* (Δαυὶδ ἐν πνεύματι λέγων + Ps 109(110):1); *Heb 3:7* (Διό, καθὼς λέγει τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον + Ps 94(95):7-11). There is a close resemblance between this motif and that found in the contents of 2 Ki(Sm) 23:1-2. See also *Ac 28:25* where it is said again that it is the Holy Spirit who has spoken "through" the prophet Isaiah (ὅτι καλῶς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐλάλησεν διὰ Ἡσαΐου τοῦ προφήτου), and then linking a quotation from Is 6:9f. G. LÜDEMANN draws attention to Ps 41:10 (*Christentum*, 38).

book of the Pss; (e) V.20b-c: The explicit presentation of the first quoted text, i.e. that from Ps 68(69):26.

All these expressions help to emphasize the fact that the things that happened to Judas (περὶ Ἰούδα, V.16) were the fulfillment of some authoritative announcement in the past (a prophecy?). This proof that God's Spirit has said through the mouth of David (as it is found in the quoted texts from the Pss), will happen.

3.1.2 Subsection 2: The death of Judas (Ac 1:16-19)³³

The events with Judas (περὶ Ἰούδα)³⁴ are then to be found enclosed by the announcements of the foretelling. Before Judas' death is discussed, *the manner* in which they were announced in the past is stated (a,b,c above = Scripture, Spirit, David), and after they are named, *the content* of the foretelling itself is given (d, above = formula, quoted text).³⁵

The events themselves are then explicitly named (between the manner of the announcement and the contents of the announcement) by describing them as consisting of both the positive part as well as the negative parts of Judas' life. *Positive* (V.17): (introduced by ὅτι) as being formerly reckoned as one of the apostles,³⁶ as well as being chosen or elected for this service (τῆς διακονίας ταύτης).³⁷ *Negative* (V.16,18): introduced by both the genitive construction after περὶ τοῦ γενομένου κτλ. = being a guide of those who caught Jesus)³⁸ and the demonstrative pronoun οὗτος (V.18). The last describes the consequences (οὖν) of the first in a fourfold manner by way of the particles μέν - καί - καί - καί : (a) buying a piece of land (ἐκτίσαστο χωρίου, V.18)³⁹ with the money that he got from his

³³ P.W. VAN DER HORST mentions the following references: *Hdt* IV 205; *Paus* IX 36,2-3; *LucAlex* 59; *DioSic* XXXVI 13,2-3 (a priest of Cybele); *PlutVitParSull* 36,2; *Appolod, Bibl* III 5,1-2; and the following examples from Jewish literature: Haman in *Es* 7; Holophernes in *Jdth* 13; Antiochus IV in *2Mac* 9; Apion in *JosAp* II 143 (*Hellenistic Parallels, Ac* I, 24).

³⁴ Cf. E. BAASLAND, Die περὶ-Formel und die Argumentation(ssituation) des Paulus, in: *StTh* 42 (1988), 69-87. He draws attention to this feature in the Pauline literature and refers also to the same tendency in Sir. According to him, these are examples of the influence of the hellenistic-rhetorical tradition (71).

³⁵ E. TROCMÉ, *Le "Livre des Actes" et l'Histoire*, Paris 1957, 199; E. NELLESSEN, *Tradition und Schrift*, 212; and R.H. FULLER, *Choice of Matthias*, 141, are but some of the scholars who agree that Ac 1:16(-17) links up with V.20.

³⁶ G. SCHNEIDER reckons that the ὅτι expresses here the idea that these things happened to Judas "...weil er 'einer von der Zwölf' gewesen war" (*App* I, 217).

³⁷ See here E. NELLESSEN (*Tradition und Schrift*, 213) who lists several reasons why he thinks that V.17 was part of the election tradition. R.H. FULLER reckons that "The description of the function of the Twelve as a διακονία reflects Lucan theology about the apostolate. The word was current in the Hellenistic churches to denote the activity of wandering preachers and was taken up by Paul from his opponents to describe his own apostolate. The two words διακονία and ἀποστολή are used by Luke almost synonymously" (*Choice of Matthias*, 142-3).

³⁸ See Lk 22:47 where it is stated that Judas led the group, although there the verb προέρχομαι is used. This is not mentioned by Mt, Mk or Jn. Cf. also G. LÜDEMANN, *Christentum*, 38.

³⁹ See J. SICKENBERGER, who argues that we probably have itacism here, and that instead of ἐκτίσαστο it should read ἐκτίσαστο, "Dann ergibt sich der mit Mt völlig übereinstimmende Sinn, daß Judas das Geld für den Kauf eines Ackers hergegeben hat, also...der Stifter des berüchtigten Blutackers geworden ist" (*Judas als Stifter*, 71).

corrupt deed, (b) falling and bursting open, (c) all his intestines pouring out,⁴⁰ and (d) the incident becoming known to "all the inhabitants of Jerusalem" (πᾶσι τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν Ἱερουσαλήμ).⁴¹ The notoriety of the place is reflected in the name given to it in the mother tongue:⁴² Ἀκελδαμάχ (V.19), "field of blood". Two basic elements in this negative part are thus the piece of land (χωρίον, V.18,19) and the "curse" associated with it (Ἀκελδαμάχ, χωρίον αἵματος, V.19).

3.1.3 Subsection 3: Contents of the Scripture (Ac 1:20)

The contents of Subsection 1 make it quite clear: The Scripture had to be fulfilled (ἔδει πληρωθῆναι). The contents of that Scripture is now given here. This is indicated by way of the connection between the τὴν γραφὴν...διὰ στόματος Δαυιδ (V.16) and the γέγραπται...ἐν βίβλῳ ψαλμῶν (V.20a).⁴³ The quoted text itself (Ps 68(69):26), however, refers here to only *one* of these things regarding Judas,⁴⁴ that is, to one aspect of the consequences surrounding Judas' dreadful deed(s), namely that "his habitation" (=χωρίον.⁴⁵ V.18,19) shall "become desolate and that no one (shall) live in it" (=curse). The connection between the quoted text and that single consequence is made possible by way of the following back references: (a) γενηθήτω (Ac 1:20b) referring back to γνωστὸν ἐγένετο...ὥστε κληθῆναι (V.19); (b) ἡ ἔπαυλις αὐτοῦ (Ac 1:20b) referring back to τὸ χωρίον ἐκεῖνο (V.19); (c) ἔρημος (Ac 1:20b) referring back to χωρίον αἵματος (V.19); (d) ὁ κατοικῶν (Ac 1:20c) which might possibly have some connection with πᾶσι τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν Ἱερουσαλήμ (V.19).⁴⁶

⁴⁰ Cf. Hom^{II} IV 525-6; Act^{N4} IV 52; QuintSmyr VIII 302 (P.W. VAN DER HORST, *Hellenistic Parallels, Ac I*, 25).

⁴¹ See also Ac 2:14; 4:10; 13:38; 19:17; 28:22. A. WEISER has indicated that this "...entspricht den lukanischen Formulierungen" (*Nachwahl des Matthias*, 103).

⁴² Although using Peter here as the speaker, this points probably to the fact that it is not Peter, but Luke himself who is at word here, referring to "their own language" (τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλέκτῳ αὐτῶν, V.19), the language of the Jews. So also R.H. FULLER, *Choice of Matthias*, 143; R.L. OMANSON, *Translating Acts I*, 418.

⁴³ With G. SCHNEIDER, *App I*, 216.218; G. LÜDEMANN, *Christentum*, 38; and A. WEISER, *Nachwahl des Matthias*, 98: "Ankündigung eines Schriftwortes über Judas V.16", "das angekündigte Schriftwort V.20". Also R.L. OMANSON: "He says in verse 16 what happened to Judas had to occur in order to fulfill what the Holy Spirit had spoken in scripture through the words of David. But before Peter quotes the words of David in verse 20..., Luke interrupts Peter's speech in order to add his own comment to the reader of Acts..." (*Translating Acts I*, 416-417). Contrary to those who thought that the references in V.16 are not related with that in V.20. So, for example, C. SMITS, *Citaten II*, 200.

⁴⁴ So also G. SCHNEIDER, *App I*, 217.

⁴⁵ E. HAENCHEN chose to translate χωρίον with "kleines Landgut" (*App*, 125), and not with something like "Feld" as ἀγρός in Mt 27:7.

⁴⁶ G. LÜDEMANN draws attention to the fact that this phrase reflects peculiar Lukan style. See Ac 4:16; 9:42 and 19:17 (*Christentum*, 38).

3.2 The quoted text from *Ps 68(69):26* in *Ac 1:20b-c*⁴⁷

After presenting the introductory formula (and thereby vividly indicating that the words which follow are to be seen as an explicit quotation), two brief quoted texts from the Psalms are given. They are extremely closely linked with the speech context itself. The first is taken from *Ps 68(69):26* and forms a climactic ending and conclusion of the preceding context.

Some scholars want to see the two quoted texts to be so closely combined,⁴⁸ preferring to relate the first section of the quotation (*Ps 68(69):26*) with the context that follows, (i.e. with the need to elect another witness),⁴⁹ rather than with the preceding context. According to these scholars, it was better to end the story of Judas' death before the introductory formula and to begin the next section (that of the election of Matthias) with the combined quotation as starting point. Several arguments against this alternative could be mentioned: (a) As was indicated above during the discussion on the composition of the first section, there is a clear connection, not only between V.16 and V.20 (making VV.16d-19 a parenthetical unit which describes the things around Judas in brief),⁵⁰ but also between V.19 and V.20. (b) If it is accepted that *Ac 1:20b-c* links up better with the second part of the unit, it becomes extremely difficult to explain the reason for Luke's choice and application of *Ac 1:20c*, i.e. the second phrase of the quoted text from *Ps 68(69):26*.⁵¹ It then serves no purpose in the context of the second part, so that only the second quoted text (*Ps 108(109)*) still remains suitable. A better alternative would be to try and understand Luke's interpretation of this specific quoted text within his constructed context. (c) Another argument for taking *Ps 68(69)* as referring to the preceding theme, is that there seems to be traditional evidence of an already existing pre-Lukan combination of both.⁵²

3.2.1 Other occurrences of *Ps 68(69)*

⁴⁷ While not being seen as *christological* on the one hand, this quotation is left undiscussed by M. RESE, *Motive*, and D.L. BOCK, *Proclamation*, and not being a *missionary speech* on the other hand, being left undiscussed by E. SCHWEIZER, Concerning the Speeches in Acts, in: L.E. KECK & J.L. MARTYN, *Studies in Luke-Acts*, New York 1968, 208-216; E. PLÜMACHER, *Lukas*, and U. WILCKENS, *Missionsreden*. It was seen as part of those quotations which were "Free Versions of the LXX. in Acts" (88) and categorized under the third group of H.B. SWETE, (i.e. those that shown "a desire to adapt a prophetic context to the circumstances under which it was thought to have been fulfilled") as being the cause "which may have produced variations from the standard text of the LXX" (93-94) by W.K.L. CLARKE, *Use of the Septuagint*, 66-105.

⁴⁸ So, for example, J. GEWIESS, *Die urapostolische Heilsverkündigung nach der Apostelgeschichte* (BSHT 5), Breslau 1939, 25; and E. HAENCHEN, Quellenanalyse und Kompositionsanalyse in Act 15, in: W. ELTESTER (hrsg), *Judentum - Urchristentum - Kirche. Festschrift für Joachim Jeremias* (BZNW 26), Berlin 1964, 153-164.

⁴⁹ Cf., for example, B.M. NEWMAN & E.A. NIDA, *Translator's Handbook*, 28.

⁵⁰ According to R.L. OMANSON, "Luke's parenthetical comment" stretches between VV.18-19 (*Translating Acts I*, 417).

⁵¹ The only way in which this alternative might be accommodated is on the basis of tradition-history, that is, to assume here a pre-Lukan combination of both quotations, as does P-H. MENOUD, *Les additions*, 71-80; E. SCHWEIZER, *Zu Apg*, 46; and E. NELLESSEN, *Tradition und Schrift*, 211.217. The second phrase of the first quoted text remains, however, a problem.

⁵² Cf. the argumentation above concerning this matter.

Ps 68(69) was no foreign text for the writers of the NT.⁵³ V.10 is used as an explicit quotation both in Rm 15:3 and Jn 2:17,⁵⁴ and V.23-24 as explicit quotation in Rm 11:9-10.⁵⁵ It might have been possible that a pre-Lukan combination of the version of the death of Judas and this quotation from Ps 68(69) could have existed.⁵⁶

3.2.2 The introductory formula (Ac 1:20a)

This quotation is indicated as an explicit citation by way of a clearly formulated introductory formula: γέγραπται⁵⁷ γὰρ⁵⁸ ἐν βίβλῳ⁵⁹ ψαλμῶν.⁶⁰ The quotation

⁵³. See C.H. DODD, *According to the Scriptures*, London 1954, 57-59; M. DIBELIUS, *Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums*, Tübingen 1961, 185; B. LINDARS, *New Testament Apologetic*, Philadelphia 1961, 99-108; T. HOLTZ, *Untersuchungen*, 45; G. SCHNEIDER, *App I*, 216,n.33; and R. PESCH, *App I*, 89. J. DUPONT refers to the following texts: Mt 27:34,48; Mk 15:36; Lk 23:36; Jn 15:25; 19:29; (2:17); Rm 11:9-10; 15:3 (*Nouvelles études sur les Actes des Apôtres* (LeDiv 118), Paris 1984, 98. Cf. also the Jewish Targum on this Ps: "Ihre Behausung sei zerstört (verwüstet) und in ihren Wohnungen sei kein Bewohner" (according to STR-BILL, *Kommentar II*, 595).

⁵⁴. According to D-A. KOCH, V.10a is explicitly quoted here in Jn 2 for the first time after Paul in a christological manner (*Schrift als Zeuge*, 325).

⁵⁵. That Ps 68:10b (LXX) was used in combination with a passion theology during Paul's time, as taken by J. DUPONT (*Nouvelles études*, 98) and G. SCHNEIDER (*App I*, 216) could however not be accepted. Cf. D-A. KOCH: "Die ausdrückliche Begründung der christologischen Verwendung von Ψ 68,10b spricht auch dagegen, daß eine passionstheologische Interpretation von Ψ 68 insgesamt z.Zt. des Pls bereits selbstverständlich war" (*Schrift als Zeuge*, 325).

⁵⁶. So T. HOLTZ, *Untersuchungen*, 44-45; G. SCHNEIDER, *App I*, 214; and A. WEISER, *Nachwahl des Matias*, 100; *ibid.*, *App I*, 64-65. The latter substantiates it as follows: "Ps 68(69),26 dürfte schon vorluk mit der Judas-Tod-Tradition verbunden gewesen sein, weil Ps 68(69) als Lied vom Leiden des unschuldigen Gottesknechtes schon früh auf das Wirken und Leiden Jesu bezogen worden ist (vgl. Mk 15,36; Joh 2,17; 15,25); weil auch bei Mt 27,9f. ein Schriftzitat begegnet und weil auch das Papiasfragment Anklänge an Ps 68(69) enthält".

⁵⁷. The introductory formula constructed with γέγραπται is found frequently in the NT: (a) *standing alone* in Mt 4:7; 11:10; 21:13; Lk 4:8; 7:27; 10:26; 19:46; [Jn 20:31]; 1 Cor 4:6; (b) *with γὰρ and/or ὅτι* in Mt 2:5; 4:6,10; 26:31; Mk 11:17; 14:27; Lk 4:4,10; Jn 8:17; Ac 1:20; 23:5; Rm 12:19; 14:11; 1 Cor 1:19; 3:19; 9:9; 14:21; Gl 3:10,13; 4:22,27; 1 Pt 1:16; (c) *with ὡς* in Mk 7:6; Lk 3:4; Ac 13:33; 1 Cor 10:7 (ὡςπερ); (d) *with καθὼς* in Mt 26:24; Mk 1:2; 9:13; 14:21; Lk 2:23; Ac 7:42; 15:15; Rm 1:17; 2:24; 3:4,10, 4:17; 8:36; 9:13,33; 10:15; 11:8,26; 15:3,9,21; 1 Cor 1:31; 2:9; 2 Cor 8:15; 9:9; (e) *with οὕτως* in Mt 2:5; Lk 24:46; 1 Cor 15:45. It was probably also a well known formula in the Dead Sea scrolls. Cf. for example: CD 1:13; 5:1; 7:10,19; 9:5; 11:18,20; 4QFlor I:2,12,15(2x), etc.

⁵⁸. The translation of γὰρ here, is probably nearer to the German "denn" in the sense of "so...denn", than to see it as substantiation for the previous thoughts. "Progression des Gedankens, statt Subordination!" So C. SIGWALT, who reckoned that Peter has said in Ac "...daß Judas über den Acker 'im Handel war'" (Eine andere Erläuterung von dem 'Besitzer des Blutackers,' in: *BZ* 9 (1911), 399).

⁵⁹. Cf. also the formula in Ac 7:42 which introduces the quoted text from Am 5:25-27 (LXX): καθὼς γέγραπται ἐν βίβλῳ τῶν προφητῶν.

⁶⁰. Cf. also the other NT locations where it is explicitly stated that the author is quoting from the Pss: *Lk 20:42* (γὰρ Δαυὶδ λέγει ἐν βίβλῳ ψαλμῶν + Ps 109(110):1); *Ac 2:34* (οὐ γὰρ Δαυὶδ ἀνέβη εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, λέγει δὲ αὐτός + Ps 109(110):1); *Ac 4:25* (ὁ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου στόματος Δαυὶδ παύδος σου εἶπῶν + Ps 2:1); *Ac 13:33* (ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ ψαλμῷ γέγραπται τῷ δευτέρῳ + Ps 2:7); *Mt 22:43* (πῶς οὖν Δαυὶδ ἐν πνεύματι καλεῖ αὐτὸν κύριον λέγων + Ps 109(110):1); *Rm 11:9* (καὶ Δαυὶδ λέγει + Ps 68(69):23f); *Heb 4:7* (ἐν Δαυὶδ λέγων μετὰ τοσούτου χρόνου, καθὼς προείρηται + Ps 94(95):7f). When comparing Lk 20:42 above — which refers only to one quoted text — it could not be agreed with R. PESCH when he said: "Lukas hat die Zitationsformel 'denn es steht geschrieben' vermutlich um 'im Psalmbuch' (vgl. Lk 20,42) erweitert, zumal er so leichter beide Psalmzitate unterbringen kann" (*App I*, 88-89).

itself consists, however, of a combination of two quoted texts and the introductory formula thus serves as an introduction to both quoted texts and as a pointer to both as one explicit quotation.⁶¹

3.2.3 Determining and explaining the textual differences

NT (NA26)	LXX	MT
Ac 1:20b-c	Ps 68:26	Ps 69:26
γενηθήτω ἡ ἑπαυλις αὐτοῦ	γενηθήτω ἡ ἑπαυλις αὐτῶν	יְהִי מִן־יְהוּדָה
ἔρημος καὶ	ἡρημωμένη καὶ ἐν τοῖς σκηνώμασιν αὐτῶν	מִן־יְהוּדָה מִן־יְהוּדָה
μὴ ἔστω ὁ κατοικῶν ἐν αὐτῇ	μὴ ἔστω ὁ κατοικῶν	יְהִי־לֵאמֹר :בְּשֵׁם

There are no major differences between the readings of the MT and the LXX at this point.⁶² The LXX reading thus represents here a relatively exact or literal translation of the Hebrew. According to this, it has to be said that there is no evidence here that the author of Ac (and/or his tradition) has used the LXX and not the MT, or *vice versa*. He could have used here either the Greek or the Hebrew.⁶³

Textual differences between Ac and LXX

There are 4 changes to be found between the readings of Ac and the LXX. Against the text of the LXX, the following changes are to be found in Ac: 1 addition (ἐν αὐτῇ after ὁ κατοικῶν); 1 omission (ἐν τοῖς σκηνώμασιν αὐτῶν between ἡρημωμένη καὶ and μὴ ἔστω); 1 change of the pronoun (αὐτῶν is substituted by αὐτοῦ); and 1 change of the participle to an adjective (ἡρημωμένη is substituted by ἔρημος).

⁶¹. So also G. SCHNEIDER, *Apk 1*, 218; and C.K. BARRETT, *Luke/Acts*, 240.

⁶². Cf. G.L. ARCHER & G. CHIRICHIGNO, *Quotations*, 75. They want to see a minor difference between the singular יְהוּדָה of the MT on the one hand, and the ὁ κατοικῶν of the LXX and Ac on the other hand.

⁶³. Cf. also T. HOLTZ, *Untersuchungen*, 47. R.H. FULLER even has said that "the use of the word ἑπαυλις in Acts 1:20 makes it fairly clear that Acts is citing the LXX, not translating independently from the Hebrew" (*Choice of Matthias*, 141).

(a) *Addition*: ἐν αὐτῇ (Ac 1:20c)

This phrase is inserted into the text of Ac (including codex D) at the end of the quoted text, after ὁ κατοικῶν. At no stage in the existing LXX textual history is there any textcritical evidence of any LXX witness supporting this textual change. The addition must therefore be attributed either to Luke himself, or to his tradition.

If the addition is attributed to Luke, an important question arises (and one that will come to the fore again later in this study): Did he mean to replace the former omission (ἐν τοῖς σκηνώμασι αὐτῶν) at this point by a reformulated insertion?⁶⁴ If, on the other hand, the addition is attributed to the tradition (i.e. pre-Lukan), the same question would still apply (with regard to the tradition), but still due to the adaptation of the quoted text to its new context.

(b) *Phrase omission*: ἐν τοῖς σκηνώμασι αὐτῶν (Ps 68(69):26)

As with the other changes in this text reading of Ac, this omission also is found not to be textcritically supported by any LXX textual witness. The omission (which is also to be found in the reading of codex D) might therefore relatively easily be ascribed either to Luke's hand, or that of his tradition. It forms a parallel in the reading of the LXX with ἡ ἔπαυλις, and while being repetitive in a certain sense there, might therefore being replaced by Luke (or his tradition) with a stylistic change by way of the shortened insertion, ἐν αὐτῇ — thereby referring to ἡ ἔπαυλις αὐτῶν as antecedent.⁶⁵ A clear chiasmic structure manifests itself here: A (ἡ ἔπαυλις αὐτοῦ) | B (ἔρημος) | B (μὴ ἔστω ὁ κατοικῶν) | A (ἐν αὐτῇ).

(c) *Pronoun change*: αὐτῶν (LXX) —> αὐτοῦ (Ac 1:20b)

Again, not a single witness in the LXX text tradition supports this change in Ac, and it can be accepted that it is due to Luke (or his tradition). The quotation is reinterpreted so as to be applicable to the life of Judas as an individual; thus, being no longer related to the haters of David (plural = αὐτῶν) as in the LXX, it has been changed to the singular (αὐτοῦ).⁶⁶

⁶⁴ ἐν αὐτῇ refers here implicitly to ἡ ἔπαυλις, which is paralleled by the synonymn τὸ σκῆνωμα (i.e. the Lukan omission) in the reading of the LXX.

⁶⁵ So also W.K.L. CLARKE, *Use of the Septuagint*, 94; E. HAENCHEN, *Apg*, 126; T. HOLTZ, *Untersuchungen*, 47; G.L. ARCHER & G. CHIRICHIGNO, *Quotations*, 75; R. PESCH, *Apg I*, 89; and D.-A. KOCH, *Überlieferung und Verwendung*, 214.

⁶⁶ So also W.K.L. CLARKE, *Use of the Septuagint*, 94; E. HAENCHEN, *Apg*, 126; T. HOLTZ, *Untersuchungen*, 47; B.M. NEWMAN & E.A. NIDA, *Translator's Handbook*, 28; J. ROLOFF, *Apg*, 33; G.L. ARCHER and G. CHIRICHIGNO, *Quotations*, 75; R. PESCH, *Apg I*, 89; and E. NELLESSEN, *Tradition und Schrift*, 215.

(d) *Participle changed to an adjective:*

ἐρηωμένη (LXX) —> ἔρημος (Ac 1:20b)⁶⁷

This textual change too does not find any textcritical support among the witnesses of the LXX tradition. Here, the LXX reads a verb in the perf/part/pass,⁶⁸ while Ac has it in adjective form.⁶⁹ The use of a predicate adjective as in classical Greek (used in the same sense as an adverb or prepositional phrase in English), seems to be rare in the NT, with most instances found in the Lukan writings.⁷⁰ This might explain the stylistic preference at this point (assuming the change is due to Luke, and not his tradition). But then there are other instances where Luke has not changed the verbal form of this same word when he took it from another source!⁷¹ There is thus another possibility that cannot be ruled out, namely that this adjective reading might already have existed in Luke's (or his tradition's) *Vorlage*. Although there is no existing textual support for this from the known LXX witnesses, the *feature* of translating this same Hebrew verb by means of an adjective, is to be found once in the LXX.

The LXX has translated the *nifil* of $\text{D}\eta\psi$ (verb) in Ps 69:26 (MT) with a perf/part/pass of the Greek verb ἐρημώω — thus a good "literal" translation.⁷² In Ezk 35:12, however, the same Hebrew verb is translated with the adjective (ἔρημα)!⁷³

3.2.4 Method of quotation

The quoted text from Ps 68(69):26 is linked with that of Ps 108(109):8 and presented as a single quotation with a single introductory formula. The quoted text from Ps 68(69) represents by far the greatest number of changes (= 4) of all 7 the explicitly quoted Ps texts in Ac. The remaining 6 have either no change, or only a single change, in comparison with the relevant quoted LXX text. Do these changes originate from (a) a pre-Lukan stage, with Luke taking this quotation (already combined with, and adapted to the version of Judas' death), from the tradition?⁷⁴ Or is it exclusively due (b) to a Lukan stage where, either *the new context* (by way of

67. Also in Lk 13:35 (par. Mt 23:38) is ἔρημος chosen, to represent the same motif about desertedness (although there applied to Jerusalem): ἰδοὺ ἀφίεται ὑμῖν ὁ οἶκος ὑμῶν ἔρημος. This reminds of the reading in Jr 22:5: ὅτι εἰς ἐρήμωσιν ἔσται ὁ οἶκος οὗτος. The dilemma with this argument is that there exist in both NT instances problematic textcritical readings, so that they cannot be taken as supporting evidence.

68. The LXX thus presents here an accurate translation by using its translation equivalent in the form of a passive participle, being on a par with the Hebrew which has used also a *nifil* participle. So also T. HOLTZ, *Untersuchungen*, 47.

69. So also T. HOLTZ, *Untersuchungen*, 47; and G.L. ARCHER & G. CHIRICHIGNO, *Quotations*, 75.

70. See BL-DBR § 243.

71. Compare Lk 11:17 (par. Mt 12:25), where the unchanged form of his Q-material is to be found.

72. So also in Lv 26:22; Is 33:8; 54:3; Jr 40(33):10; Ezk 29:12; 30:7(2x); 32:15.

73. See E. HATCH & H.A. REDPATH, *Concordance I*, 545-546. A similar feature appears again in the version of codex A of Ezk 29:12 (LXX), as well as in Is 54:1 (LXX), where the Hebrew verbal form is substituted by way of a noun in the LXX.

74. Cf. also T. HOLTZ, *Untersuchungen*, 48.

compilation of traditions and his own redactory work) forced Luke to make these changes himself when relating a passage from Scripture to this context, or his *personal linguistic and stylistic preferences* came to the foreground when adapting and editing the quotation? Or (c) does it simply represent a mixture of both?

There are some reasons why the latter (c) might be preferred: Firstly, as will become clearer during the course of this study, there seems to be a tendency to substitute omissions by way of reformulated additions within the quotations. This might be a peculiar stylistic feature of Luke himself. Secondly, the stylistic preference of the predicate adjective, instead of the passive participle, which is to be found almost exclusively in Lk-Ac, could point to another peculiar stylistic feature of Luke. Thirdly, there might also be some vague evidence that the verb-adjective-

change could have been the result of another *Vorlage*, i.e. tradition. Fourthly, the pronoun change is the result of adaptation to the new context with which it is linked and (if it is agreed that the quoted text was already found by Luke in combination with the theme of Judas' death), might be ascribed to the pre-Lukan tradition.

3.2.5 Interpretation of the quoted text by Luke

The divine message, its notification by elected and authorized prophets in the Scriptures, as well as its revelation and/or fulfillment through elected persons later in history, are all very closely linked with the prominent role of the Holy Spirit in Lk-Ac. This first Petrine speech is one such culminating point (cf. V.16). David (as prophet)⁷⁵ has verbalised the divine message in the form of Scripture⁷⁶ — a message which he has received from the Holy Spirit. This message was to be fulfilled later in history.⁷⁷ Judas, although elected as apostle and reckoned as one of them, has then, by his own will,⁷⁸ fulfilled Jesus' proclamation, and has borne the full consequences of his choice: he has died in a horrible way, and the land he bought with the money from his corrupt deed has been left empty and deserted, with a stigma attached to it.

By changing the αὐτῶν from Ps 68(69):26 to αὐτοῦ, the quoted text is reinterpreted as referring to Judas.⁷⁹ The ἡ ἔπαυλις which became empty (and to which the quotation from Ps 68(69):26 refers), refers here (Ac 1:20b) to the piece of

⁷⁵ Compare Ac 2:25f on Luke's holding David as a prophet. Also the introductory formula in Mt 13:35, quoting Ps 78:2.

⁷⁶ Note here the interesting construction: τὴν γραφὴν...προεῖπεν...διὰ στόματος. Luke thus has seen Scripture here as the written form of the pronounced divine words.

⁷⁷ See also Lk 24:7,25-27,44-46; Ac 2:23; 3:18; 13:27 on the divine necessity of the passion (J. DUPONT, *Nouvelles études*, 99).

⁷⁸ See Mt 26:54-56 and Mk 14:50 where Jesus has stated that this is the way that things have to go in order that the Scripture had to be fulfilled.

⁷⁹ This adaptation made the connection with the following quoted text (from Ps 108:8) also more obvious. The αὐτοῦ which is to be found there, links with this changed form here to refer to Judas. G. LÜDEMANN draws attention to the temptation narrative where Satan has left Jesus "until a certain time" (ἔχρι καρπού, Lk 4:13). That time came when Satan got into Judas (Lk 22:3) and used him as an instrument against Jesus. "Die prädestinatorische Auslegung von Ps 69,26 steht dazu nicht in Widerspruch". He refers then to the occurrence of δεῖ (Christentum, 38).

land that Judas had bought for himself — the τὸ χωρίον ἐκεῖνο (V.19).⁸⁰ Luke (and/or his tradition) might also have linked the negative stigma attached to Judas' "land of blood" (χωρίον αἵματος, V.19) with the desertedness (ἔρημος, V.20b) of the dwelling place mentioned in the quotation. This desertedness is stressed by the second part of the same quoted text by way of the phrase, καὶ μὴ ἔστω ὁ κατοικῶν ἐν αὐτῇ (V.20c). If the quotation from Ps 68(69):26 was meant to refer more closely to the following context⁸¹ than to the preceding context, Luke would have omitted at least this second phrase.⁸² The fact that nobody must be allowed to live in this dwelling place (V.20c), contrasts with the demand that another witness be elected in Judas' place (V.20d). It must therefore be presumed that Luke (as well as his tradition) has related the quotation from Ps 68(69):26 only to the death of Judas,⁸³ emphasizing the horrible consequences of such godless deeds.⁸⁴

Note also that Luke (or the tradition from which he received it), has re-used this text from Ps 68(69) without abolishing its original context. That context must have been well known by the quoter, as it also deals with the curses which are connected with those who are godless.

An interesting feature with regard to this motif in Ps 68(69):26, is that it is to be found also in Is 6:11: ἕως ἂν ἐρημωθῶσι πόλεις παρὰ τὸ μὴ κατοικεῖσθαι, καὶ οἶκοι παρὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἀνθρώπους, καὶ ἡ γῆ καταλειφθήσεται ἔρημος. These are "God's words" to Isaiah.

To conclude: All this means that although the quoted text comes from the Pss, and not from the books of the Prophets, it was nonetheless understood by Luke (and/or his tradition) as being a *prophecy* which was written down by David (seen as a prophet), and which found its fulfillment in the death of Judas. David's prophecy of a future event is fulfilled. Ps 68(69):26 is thus interpreted here as "*ex eventu*

⁸⁰. So seen also by C. SMITS, *Citaten II*, 200; T. HOLTZ, *Untersuchungen*, 45-46; H. CONZELMANN, *App*, 29; E. HAENCHEN, *App*, 125-6; J. ROLOFF, *App*, 30; G. SCHNEIDER, *App I*, 216-217, n.34; and R. PESCH, *App I*, 88. Probably forced too much by the last six when (HAENCHEN, for example) took "kleines Landgut" (125,n.7) as translation equivalent for χωρίον, and "Gehöft" for ἔπουλις (126), thereafter concluding that the first part of V.20 "...setzt voraus, daß Judas ein Gehöft besaß, nicht ein Feld". GNB (1982) translates "ein Feld", and so does the RSV (1988): "field". Cf. W. BAUER, s.v. χωρίον: "Grundstück, Stück Land, Landgut" (*Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der übrigen urchristlichen Literatur*, Berlin/New York 1971). With B.M. NEWMAN & E.A. NIDA there must be warned against the tendency to presume that Judas would have been able to purchase a farm or an estate. They, quite rightly, draw attention to the fact that the word "field" is also used elsewhere in Ac (4:34; 5:3,8; 28:7) (*Translator's Handbook*, 27). Cf. also Lk 21:21 = οἱ ἐν ταῖς χώραις μὴ εἰσερχέσθωσαν εἰς αὐτήν.

⁸¹. Some have wrongly thought it to be the case, and wanted to see it as referring to the apostolic office that became empty. Cf. P. FEINE, *Eine vorkanonische Überlieferung des Lukas in Evangelium und Apostelgeschichte*, Gotha 1891, 165; F. SPITTA, *Die Apostelgeschichte, ihre Quellen und deren geschichtlicher Wert*, Halle 1891, 14; J. WEISS, *Über die Absicht und den literarischen Charakter der Apostelgeschichte*, Göttingen 1897, 487; and B.M. NEWMAN & E.A. NIDA, *Translator's Handbook*, 28.

⁸². So also H.H. WENDT, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (KEK), Göttingen 1913, 74; O. BAUERNFEIND, *App*, 28; E. HAENCHEN, *App*, 126; and T. HOLTZ, *Untersuchungen*, 44,48.

⁸³. With E. HAENCHEN, *App*, 126; T. HOLTZ, *Untersuchungen*, 44; A. WEISER, *App I*, 65; and R. PESCH, *App I*, 85. So also D-A. KOCH in personal discussion.

⁸⁴. See also the other arguments above for preferring to connect the quoted text of Ps 68(69):26 with the first part of the unit.

proof⁸⁵ of what has happened.

3.3 Possible broader knowledge of Ps 68 (LXX) in the rest of the section (Language, Style and OT-motifs)

There are two implicit indicators to be found in this section of the speech that might point to the fact of possible broader knowledge of Ps 68(69) (and not only V.26) by Luke (and/or by the tradition from which Luke got this version in combination with the quoted text):

- (a) The reference to the prophecy as coming "through the mouth of David" (διὰ στόματος Δαυὶδ, Ac 1:16) indicates a probability that Luke knew of the heading to this Ps already during his time as "a Ps of David" (τῷ Δαυὶδ, Ps 68(69):1).⁸⁶
- (b) Also striking are the similarities between the themes of the Ps (the godless haters of David and the Lord) on the one hand, and the version of Judas' life (being a traitor) on the other hand.⁸⁷

4. SECTION II. ACTS 1:20d-22

Command to choose another witness in the place of Judas

4.1 The composition of the section

The second part of this Petrine speech deals with the demand to choose another faithful witness in Judas' place. It starts with the second part of the quotation, i.e. the second quoted text from the Pss (Ps 108(109):8). With the emphatic function of οὖν, the preceding quoted text is indicated as being the reason why another faithful witness of Jesus' resurrection (μάρτυρα⁸⁸ τῆς ἀναστάσεως, V.22) *had to be* (δεῖ⁸⁹ V.21) elected.⁹⁰ In its turn, this second part of the quotation with its following

⁸⁵. See C.H. COSGROVE, *The Divine ΔΕΙ in Luke-Acts. Investigations into the Lukan Understanding of God's Providence*, in: *NT 26* (1984), 168-190, here 174.

⁸⁶. In the same direction R. PESCH, *App I*, 87. Cf. also Lk 20:42; Ac 2:25 and 4:25 where David is taken by Luke to be the author of the Pss (G. SCHNEIDER, *App I*, 216,n.32).

⁸⁷. Cf. here the ὀδύκιος of Ac 1:18 and the ὀδύκιος of Ps 68(69):5.

⁸⁸. R.H. FULLER has pointed out that "The word μάρτυς includes witness both of what is conceived to be historical fact, and its salvation-historical significance. This usage is unknown to Paul and Mark, and was first introduced into New Testament usage by Luke" (*Choice of Matthias*, 144). According to H. BRAUN, the *totality* of the apostles as μάρτυρες, is central here, with a close relationship between μάρτυς and the resurrection of Jesus. Of the 13 μάρτυς-loci in Ac, 8 of them are connected with Jesus: 1:8,22; 2:32; 3:15; 5:32; 10:39,41; 13:31 (Zur Terminologie der Acta von der Auferstehung Jesu, in: *ThLZ 9* (1952), 533-536, here 534). See also C. SCHNEIDER, s.v. μάρτυς, in: *TDNT IV*, 492.

⁸⁹. Δεῖ is to be found 101 times in the NT, thereof 18x in Lk and 22x in Ac. Cf. also Barn 5:13. Cf. W. GRUNDMANN: "The word δεῖ expresses the necessity of the eschatological event, and is thus an eschatological term in the NT. It is well adapted for this role, since the eschatological event is one which is hidden from man, which can be known only by special revelation and which sets man before an inconceivable necessity of historical occurrence grounded in the divine will." "Not a blind belief in destiny, but faith in God's eternal plans formulates this δεῖ" (s.v. δεῖ, in: *TDNT II*, 23).

⁹⁰. R.H. FULLER said: "It is Luke who restricted the apostles to the *numerus clausus* of Twelve, and who insists that they are witnesses of a series of historical facts, the earthly ministry of Jesus from John the Baptist to the ascension" (*Choice of Matthias*, 144). C. SMITS suggests that there might be a connection between this need to fill the number of apostles and the promise of Jesus to them that they would judge the twelve tribes of Israel (referring to Lk 22:30) (*Citaten II*, 201). H. CONZELMANN has said: "Nicht jeder Apostel soll ersetzt werden, sondern nur diese eine Verlorene, damit die notwendige Zwölfzahl wieder voll ist. Die Apostel gelten als die Repräsentanten des eschatologischen Israel" (*App*, 29). In this direction, cf. A. WEISER who refers to the pre-Lukan emphasis on the

context, are the results of the things that has happened in the preceding part.

The group from which somebody (ἓνα τούτων, V.22) is to be selected, is that small gathered group addressed by Peter in his speech as ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί (V.16), the "crowd of the Name" (ὄχλος ὀνομάτων,⁹¹ V.15), the "approximate 120" (ὡσεὶ ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι, V.15), "the gathered brothers (τῶν συναλεθόντων...ἀνδρῶν, V.21). But the requirement, or qualification, explicitly stated in VV.21-22 is that this new witness must be chosen from among those who have been the whole time (ἐν παντί χρόνῳ) with the Lord Jesus (ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς), from his coming and going from them (ᾧ εἰσῆλθεν καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς),⁹² beginning with his baptism by John (ἀρξάμενος⁹³ ἀπὸ τοῦ βαπτίσματος Ἰωάννου)⁹⁴ up and until the day of his ascension (ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ἧς ἀνελήμφθη ἀφ' ἡμῶν), a person who was a witness to Jesus' resurrection⁹⁵ with the other eleven disciples (μάρτυρα τῆς ἀναστάσεως αὐτοῦ σὺν ἡμῖν γενέσθαι).

Luke starts his second work with a reference to his gospel in which he has described "all that Jesus had done and taught, from the beginning until the day of his ascension" (Ac 1:1-2).⁹⁶

necessity of the number of apostles, referring to 1 Cor 15:5, Mt 19:28 (par. Lk 22:30) (*App I*, 68). Also J.A. FITZMYER, Jewish Christianity in Acts in Light of the Qumran Scrolls, in: L.E. KECK & J.L. MARTYN (eds), *Studies in Luke-Acts*, New York 1968, 233-257, here 236; M. HOOKER, *Studying the New Testament*, Minneapolis 1979, 112; J. ROLOFF, *App*, 31; and G. LÜDEMANN, *Christentum*, 39.

⁹¹. Plural after the singular noun, ὄχλος: *constructio ad sensum* in Greek. Compare also Lk 2:13, and see BL-DBR § 134.

⁹². G. LOHFINK has drawn attention to the fact that similar double expressions (as εἰσῆλθεν καὶ ἐξῆλθεν, V.21) are to be found several times in the LXX: cf. Ex 28:35; Nm 27:17-21; Jos 14:11; 2 Chr 1:10; 1Mac 9:29; etc. (*Die Himmelfahrt Jesu. Untersuchungen zu den Himmelfahrts- und Erhöhungstexten bei Lukas* (StANT 26), München 1971, 218-223, here 221f).

⁹³. Cf. R.H. FULLER on the references in Lk 23:5 and Ac 10:38 with regard to summaries on Jesus' Galilean ministry. Also G. LOHFINK has said: "Die Ausrichtung des Satzes auf den terminus ad quem des Wirkens Jesu macht eine Nennung des terminus a quo wahrscheinlich. Dies um so mehr, als auch in App 1,22 und Lk 23,5 terminus a quo und terminus ad quem der wirksamkeit Jesu zusammen genannt werden. Besonders wichtig aber ist, daß in Proömium des Ersten Buches ebenfalls der Gedanke vom *Anfang* vorliegt: οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἐκτόπιται. So scheint abschließend folgende Lösung am sichersten: Lukas will bewußt umschreiben (HAENCHEN!). Eine Beeinflussung durch Gn 2,3 läßt sich dabei nicht ausschließen (TABACHOVITZ!)" (*Himmelfahrt Jesu*, 219-220). D. TABACHOVITZ suggests that some LXX influence is to be found in the formulation of ἑξήκοντα (*Septuaginta*, 24-29).

⁹⁴. References to John the Baptist in Ac are also to be found in 10:37 and 13:24f. G. LÜDEMANN reckons that "Beide Male werden das Auftreten Johannes des Täufers und das Jesu voneinander abgesetzt, so daß der Eindruck entsteht, es handele sich um zwei verschiedene Epochen" (*Christentum*, 38).

⁹⁵. For R.H. FULLER, "The resurrection remains for Lucan theology the centre of the Christian message" (*Choice of Matthias*, 145).

⁹⁶. So also G. LOHFINK who has drawn attention to the similarities in structure and terminology between Ac 1:1f and Ac 1:21f, pointing out that it seems as if this is "...von größter Bedeutung für die Himmelfahrtstheologie des Lukas" (*Himmelfahrt Jesu*, 218-223).

4.2 The quoted text from Ps 108(109):8 in Ac 1:20d

4.2.1 Pre-Lucan NT-usage of Ps 108(109)

It is accepted that Luke might have used some older sources, which he has reworked in a literary way, for compiling this second part of the speech, i.e. the section on the election of Matthias.⁹⁷ The quoted text is, however, not to be found explicitly used in other known literature — as is the same case with the rest of Ps 108(109) itself⁹⁸ which is also not to be found in other literature — and is to be seen here as coming probably from Luke himself.⁹⁹ The yet unanswered questions are then: How did Luke come to the selection of this specific quoted text here? How did he find it and what were his purposes with it in this context?¹⁰⁰ These questions will be taken up again later in the discussion on Luke's interpretation of the quotation.

4.2.2 The introductory formula (Ac 1:20a)

The quoted text from Ps 108(109):8 is presented by Luke in combination with that of Ps 68(69):26 as one combined but single quotation, introduced by a single introductory formula, indicating that both quoted texts were taken from the "Book of the Pss": γέγραπται γάρ ἐν βίβλῳ ψαλμῶν.¹⁰¹

4.2.3 Determining and explaining the textual differences

NT (NA26)	LXX	MT
Ac 1:20d	Ps 108:8	Ps 109:8
καὶ	καὶ	
τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν	τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν	יְהוֹרֵשׁ
αὐτοῦ	αὐτοῦ	
λαβέτω ἕτερος	λάβοι ἕτερος	: יְהוֹשֻׁעַ בֶּרְיָהּ

⁹⁷ Cf. H.H. WENDT, *App*, 73; O. BAUERNFEIND, *App*, 27; J. RENIE, L'Élection de Matthias (Act. 1,15-26). Authenticité du récit, *RB* 55 (1948), 43f, here 43; C.H. DODD, *Scriptures*, 58; and C. SMITS, *Citaten II*, 199-200; K.H. RENGSTORF, Die Zuwahl des Matthias (Apg 1,15ff), in: *StTh* 15/1 (1962), 35-67, here 42; G. STÄHLIN, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (NTD 5), Göttingen 1968, 22; E. HAENCHEN, *App*, 124; H. CONZELMANN, *App*, 28-29; W. DIETRICH, *Petrusbild*, 170-171; G. SCHNEIDER, *App I*, 214; and D.-A. KOCH, *Überlieferung und Verwendung*, 239.

⁹⁸ So also J. DUPONT, *Études sur les Actes des Apôtres* (LeDiv 45) (Collected Essays), Paris 1967, 300; T. HOLTZ, *Untersuchungen*, 46; A. WEISER, *Nachwahl des Matthias*, 101; *idem.*, *App I*, 65. It must be fully agreed with the latter (66) that there is no direct reference to Ps 108(109) in the Papias fragment as E. SCHWEIZER has thought (*Zu App*, 46). Against R. PESCH who has still recently thought this also to be the case (*App I*, 89).

⁹⁹ So also T. HOLTZ, *Untersuchungen*, 46; A. WEISER, *App I*, 65; and R. PESCH, *App I*, 86. Against P.H. MENOUD, *Les additions*, 71-80; E. SCHWEIZER, *Zu App*, 46; E. NELLESSEN, *Tradition und Schrift*, 211.217; J. ROLOFF, *App*, 30-31; and G. SCHNEIDER, *App I*, 214-215.

¹⁰⁰ A. WEISER so rightly has said: "das Zitat selbst hat nichts mit dem Tod des Judas zu tun, und daß es zur Matthias-Wahl-Tradition gehört hätte, ist durch nichts erwiesen...". (*Nachwahl des Matthias*, 101).

¹⁰¹ Cf. the remarks on this introductory formula above at the discussion on Ps 68(69):26.

As was the case with the first quoted text, this one also could have been taken either directly from a text similar to the known MT, or one similar to the reconstructed LXX. There are no major differences between the MT and the LXX.¹⁰²

(a) *Textual differences between Ac and LXX*

The few words taken as quotation from Ps 108(109), are presented in almost identical form by Luke in their new context. There is only one change to be found between the Ac-reading and that of the LXX, i.e. the change of the time of the verb λάβοι (LXX) to λαβέτω (Ac).

a.1 *Time of the verb changed: λάβοι (Ps 108:8) —> λαβέτω (Ac 1:20d)*

The optative form of the LXX is replaced here with the imperative form in Ac¹⁰³ (including the reading of codex D). Although this change in Ac finds support in the majuscule R (6th cent. AD) among the textual witnesses of the LXX, it can be accepted, because of its relatively late date, that this supported LXX reading was made under the influence of the NT (Ac) text.¹⁰⁴ This stylistic change in Ac was then probably made by Luke in order to support the connection between the two quoted texts by way of the imperative forms of the verbs. This will be discussed further under the next heading.

4.2.4 *Method of quotation*

The two quoted texts are held tightly together by several connective markers: (a) The καί at the beginning of Ac 1:20d should probably be seen here as a connecting word which is used to connect the two quoted texts.¹⁰⁵ This does not necessarily mean that this καί is an "either...or" situation and that it is therefore not to be seen as being part of the second quoted text itself.¹⁰⁶ It may well be part also of the second quoted text; it is, in any case, in exact agreement with the LXX reading.¹⁰⁷ In

¹⁰² R.H. FULLER, however, argues that the use of the word ἐπιτακτικῶν both in LXX and in Ac 1:20 "...makes it fairly certain that Acts is quoting from the LXX rather than translating independently from Hebrew" (*Choice of Matthias*, 141).

¹⁰³ So also H. CONZELMANN, *App*, 29; E. HAENCHEN, *App*, 126; T. HOLTZ, *Untersuchungen*, 47; J. ROLOFF, *App*, 33; and R. PESCH, *App I*, 89. E. HAENCHEN says: "Aus diesem menschlichen Wunsch wird...eine göttliche Anweisung" (*App*, 126). So also G. SCHNEIDER, *App I*, 218. The change is overlooked by G.L. ARCHER & G. CHIRICHIGNO in the comments of their synopsis (*Quotations*, 75), as well as by H. RINGGREN, *Luke's Use*, 233.

¹⁰⁴ See A. RAHLFS, *Psalmi cum Odis* (Septuaginta. Vetus Testamentum Graecum. Auctoritate Academiae Litterarum Göttingensis editum, vol X), Göttingen 1967, 10.

¹⁰⁵ So also G. SCHNEIDER, *App I*, 218, n.52; and R. PESCH, *App I*, 89.

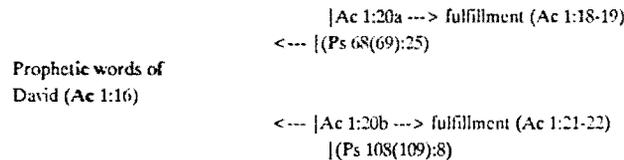
¹⁰⁶ So thought to be by G.D. KILPATRICK, *Some Quotations*, 87.

¹⁰⁷ For a similar method of combining texts quoted (almost exclusively) from the Pss, see also: *Lk 4:10-11* (= Ps 90(91):11 + Ps 90(91):12); *Mt 4:6* (= Ps 90(91):11f + Dt 6:16); *Rm 3:10-18* (= Ps 13(14):1-3 + Ps 5:10 + Ps 138(139):4 + Ps 9:28(10:7) + Is 59:7 + Ps 34(35):2); *Rm 10:18-21* (= Ps 17(18):5 + Dt 32:21 + Is 65:1 + Is 65:2); *Rm 15:9-12* (= Ps 16(17):50 + Dt 32:43 + Ps 116(117):1 + Is 11:10); *I Cor 3:19-20* (= Job 5:12f + Ps 92(93):11); *Heb 1:5-13* (= Ps 2:7 + 2 Ki(Sm) 7:14/1 Chr 17:13 + Dt 32:43 + Ps 95(96):7 + Ps 102(103):4 + Ps 43(44):7 + Ps 100(101):26-28 + Ps 108(109):1; *Heb 2:12-13* (= Ps 20(21):23 + Is 8:17 + Is 8:18); *Heb 5:5-6* (= Ps 2:7 + Ps 109(110):4).

comparison with the *καὶ* between Ac 1:20b and V.20c the two quoted texts are syntactically presented as if they are three lines or phrases from one single quotation. (b) The two quotations are further combined by αὐτοῦ (Ac 1:20b with V.20d). The first of these was changed by Luke so that both refer to Judas. Also (c) the *imperative forms* of the verbs are used here to combine the two quotations (γενηθήτω and ἔστω = V.20b-c, with λαβέτω = V.20d). The last was changed from the optative form to the imperative in order to support the connection. (d) The fact that both explicitly quoted texts were taken from *the Pss* contributes to their connection with each other, as does the fact (e) that they share a single *introductory formula*. (f) The wider contexts of both quoted texts deal with the *same theme*, i.e. that of the godless being cursed.

If it is accepted that Luke has combined the theme of Judas' death (with its connected quoted text) with the theme of the election of Matthias, then he has used this second quoted text in a masterly way in order to combine these themes. Two stories are told simultaneously, the one being the reason, or even the substantiation, for the other.

The relation between V.16 and V.20, as well as the relation between V.20 and VV.18-19, 21-22, has recently been presented in an useful diagrammatic manner:¹⁰⁸



4.2.5 Interpretation of the quoted text by Luke

The absence of the (supposedly) most relevant line from Ps 108(109) (i.e. γενηθήτωσαν αἱ ἡμέραι αὐτοῦ ὀλίγαι, V.8a) in this quoted text, has already been noted.¹⁰⁹ To assume that "the failure to quote this most appropriate line may at once suggest that the quotation was originally made to illustrate some other context than the death of Judas",¹¹⁰ is an unfair typification of the way in which the people of those times interpreted and related their Scriptures. What today looks "appropriate", may have been interpreted very differently, seen from the perspective of the values of the people of those times. The fact remains: not V.8a but V.8b is quoted here.

It is possible that Luke had some other source for the first quoted text (Ps 68(69):26); however, it is almost generally accepted that he found Ps 108(109):8 himself.¹¹¹ The problem is *how* Luke found this specific quotation. The whole matter will be referred to later again. It is, however, interesting to note here (a) the connective elements between both quoted texts,¹¹² and (b) the heading of this Ps in

¹⁰⁸ See R.L. OMANSON, *Translating Acts I*, 418.

¹⁰⁹ See G.D. KILPATRICK, *Some Quotations*, 86-87.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 87.

¹¹¹ Cf. T. HOLTZ, *Untersuchungen*, 46; and A. WEISER, *App I*, 65.

¹¹² These have been pointed out several times above.

the LXX (εἰς τὸ τέλος), which differs from that in the MT (פְּאַרְחֵל). The same trend is to be found widely represented in the rest of the Pss¹¹³ and there is no textual evidence to cast doubt on the reading of the LXX.¹¹⁴ This difference between the readings of the headings in the LXX and the MT is probably due to the (conscious or unconscious) positioning of the final vowel of the same Hebrew word by the translator(s) of the Pss.¹¹⁵ Another interesting notion is the occurrence of γενηθήτω(σαν) in Ps 108(109).¹¹⁶ This *Leitwort* might have been used as a connecting link between Ps 68(69) and Ps 108(109).

Ps (108(109)) was then probably used by Luke to combine the two themes with each other.¹¹⁷ It represents almost the exact LXX reading, with the exception of the optative which was changed to an imperative. Although it might well have been a stylistic change due to the linguistic trends of the times,¹¹⁸ it could also have been a conscious change of the human wish of misfortune (as represented by the optative in the LXX reading) to a divine demand (represented by the imperative in the Ac reading).¹¹⁹ Bearing the broader context in mind, the latter (i.e. a conscious change by Luke) seems to make more sense. It was explicitly stated in the first theme that the Scripture had to be fulfilled ("divine δεῖ"); this fulfillment occurred when Judas died and his piece of land became desolate (past).¹²⁰ The demand that Scripture be fulfilled ("divine δεῖ") plays an emphatic role in the second theme as well. It forms the reason or substantiation for the need to elect another faithful witness (future). Thus, "Luke introduces Scripture prophecy not only after its fulfillment (as a proof) but also narratively before. In the latter case it functions both as a proof of divine endorsement and as an imperative to be obeyed."¹²¹ Another apostle had to be chosen since it is *demanded* in the Scripture.¹²² This demanding nature is stressed by

¹¹³ Cf. the headings of the LXX Pss 4-6, 8-13, 17-21, 29-30, 35, 38-41, 43-46, 48, 50-61, 63-69, 74-76, 79-80, 83-84, 87, 108, 138-139.

¹¹⁴ This is not the same as some of the other Pss where the same change is to be found. Cf. the textual remarks concerning LXX Pss 29-30, 40-41, 43-44, 46, 50, 83, 87, 138-139. However, most of these are later omissions, made to be probably in accordance with the reading of the MT.

¹¹⁵ D-A. KOCH in his discussion of Is 25:8 in 1 Cor 15:24, draws attention to the fact that the same trend is to be found in Symmachus. He refers to: Is 13:20, 33:20, 57:16, Ps 67:17, 88:47 (*Schrift als Zeuge*, 63). Note that the scope is wider than in the LXX, where it is limited to the Pss. This is probably due to the influence of (the later dated) Symmachus (ca. 170 AD), who was influenced by the theology of his time.

¹¹⁶ Cf. VV.8,9,12,13,15,19.

¹¹⁷ Cf. A. WEISER: "Die Funktion des Zitats läßt sich am besten verstehen als kompositionelles Verbindungsglied beider Traditionen und als Erweis für die Gottgewolltheit der Ersatzwahl" (*Nachwahl des Mattias*, 101; *Apk I*, 66). So also T. HOLTZ, *Untersuchungen*, 46.

¹¹⁸ Cf. BL-DBR § 384: "The optative proper used to denote an attainable wish...is still in use in the NT... There is, however, a strong tendency to use the imperative instead of the optative..." (*Greek Grammar*, 194). They are referring here to this occurrence as an example of this tendency. Also § 387: "The imperative...is by no means confined to commands, but also expresses a request or a concession..." (195). Supporting this view is T. HOLTZ, *Untersuchungen*, 47.

¹¹⁹ So E. HAENCHEN, *Schriftzitate*, 163; and J. DUPONT, "Filius meus es tu": L'interprétation de Ps 117 dans le NT, in: *RSR* 35 (1948), 522-535.

¹²⁰ Compare Lk 21:22 which states that when God implements his punishment, it is the fulfillment of all that has been written: ὅτι ἡμέραι ἐκδικήσεως αὐταὶ εἰσὼν τοῦ πληθύνειν πάντα τὰ γεγραμμένα.

¹²¹ So formulated by C.H. COSGROVE, *Divine ΔΕΙ*, 174. He explicitly refers here to Luke's report of Judas' replacement in Ac 1 as a striking example of this.

¹²² Cf. also Ac 13:47 where the same trend is to be found, i.e. the divine demand that the Scripture had to be fulfilled: οὕτως γὰρ ἐντέλλεται ἡμῖν ὁ κύριος.

way of (a) beginning this next theme with the words of the given authoritative Scripture that prescribed it (emphatic position); (b) also with the introduction of δεῖ οὖν (Ac 1:21) immediately thereafter, indicating that they *must therefore* elect another person; (c) and probably also by consciously changing the optative (wish-)form of the LXX reading (λάβοι), to a more demanding imperative form (λαβέτω). This could easily be done with the support of the immediate contexts of both, the preceding quoted text in Ac 1:20b-c,¹²³ as well as the immediate context of Ps 108(109) from which Luke takes this part of his quotation (V.20d).¹²⁴

Another interesting feature (as with the preceding quoted text from Ps 68(69)), is that Luke has re-used this text without abolishing its original context. That context seems to be well known to the quoter, as it also deals with the curses which are connected with those who are godless. In Ps 108(109) it is used negatively against David by his enemies; later, David turns (the same curses) back on his enemies. Luke re-uses it here negatively of Judas, but at the same time in a positive sense as a divine demand.

To conclude: Luke was probably the first to link this quoted text from Ps 108(109):8 with the election of Matthias. At the same time he also used it to combine the two themes with each other. Although taken from the Pss, and not from the Prophets, this text is used and understood in the same way as if it would have been a *prophecy* (from David) that had to be fulfilled in the circumstances in which the apostles found themselves. It is therefore used as a divine instruction, as an "ante eventum divine imperative".¹²⁵

5. THE ROLE OF THE LXX IN THE COMPOSITION OF THE SPEECH

Both quoted texts (Ps 68(69):26 and Ps 108(109):8) might have been found by Luke (or his tradition) in either, what is known today as "the LXX", or in "the MT" as there exist no differences between the two versions of OT-readings. However, bearing in mind the broader context of Lk-Ac where enough evidence is found that Luke has preferred "the LXX" above "the MT", there is nothing here that indicates the contrary.

If it is accepted that Luke might have found the first quoted text already combined (with Judas' death) and at hand in an earlier tradition (oral or literary), this was probably not the case with the second quoted text. The chances are good that this selection, adaptation and combination of the second quoted text with its new context, might have been Luke's own invention.¹²⁶

Both quoted texts are taken from the Pss¹²⁷ (with the LXX heading: εἰς τὸ τέλος) and linked with the Holy Spirit who has foretold these things (ἦν προεῖπεν

¹²³ The verbs are presented here in their imperative form: γενθήτω and (μὴ) ἔστω.

¹²⁴ Almost all of the verbs in Ps 108(109):6-19 are found in their imperative form — in keeping with the cursing character of this section. The part of text which is quoted (Ps 108(109):8b), is also to be found encircled by γενθήτωσαν (Ps 108(109):8a and 108(109):9a), i.e. by an imperative form.

¹²⁵ C.H. COSGROVE, *Divine ΔΕΙ*, 174. *Contra* R.H. FULLER who suggests that the two LXX citations are used in "passion apologetic" (*Choice of Matthias*, 146).

¹²⁶ Cf. to the discussion above.

¹²⁷ Cf. G. SCHNEIDER: "Man darf...annehmen, daß die Auswahl der benutzten Bücher mit der christologischen Verwendung der heiligen Schriften zusammenhängt." (*Schrift und Tradition in der theologischen Neuinterpretation der lukanischen Schriften*, in: *BiKi* 34 (1979), 112-115, here 113).

τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, V.16) through the mouth of (the prophet) David (διὰ στόματος Δαυὶδ, V.16). Striking is the implied resemblance with 2 Ki(Sm) 23:1-2, which are "the last words of David" (οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι Δαυὶδ οἱ ἔσχατοι): πνεῦμα κυρίου ἐλάλησεν ἐν ἐμοί, καὶ ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ γλώσσης μου. Being therefore a prophecy and part of God's divine plan, this meant that the Scripture had to be fulfilled (ἔδει πληρωθῆναι τὴν γραφήν, V.16).

The whole of the first Petrine speech thus centres on the Scripture. Luke bases this speech on Scripture, on the Spirit's prediction of what would happen (and did happen, according to Luke, or his tradition's interpretation of Scripture, in the person of Judas); Luke backs this up by quoting explicitly Ps 68(69):26. The Spirit (via Scripture) therefore instructs the disciples to elect another witness in Judas' place (in order to restore the number of disciples representing a "new Israel"); Ps 108(109):8 is quoted explicitly in support of this. The latter then forms *structurally* part of the first quoted text (and so also of the first theme), but it *refers in terms of content* to the second theme.

6. SUMMARY

(a) Two different texts from the Psalms are explicitly quoted in the first Petrine speech. It might be possible that Luke got the first quoted text (Ps 68(69):26) from tradition. This seems, however, not to be the same case with the second quoted text (Ps 108(109):8), which he probably found on his own.

(b) Luke and/or his tradition has made changes to the first quoted text, partly so as to apply the text to the context of Ac. The known LXX textual witnesses do not support these changes. The single stylistic change in the second quoted text can probably be ascribed to Luke's hand, due to the adaptation of the text within the immediate context.¹²⁸

(c) The two quoted texts are linked together with a καὶ. Both are then presented as one single explicit quotation, and so indicated and introduced by way of a clearly formulated single introductory formula.

(d) Although both quoted texts are taken from the Pss, they are treated on the same level as material which could have come from the prophets: thus in a *prophetic* manner. This is not strange, because David is here seen as a prophet, and as a mouthpiece of the Holy Spirit.

(e) Luke (and/or his tradition) might have been aware of the original LXX contextual themes (i.e. that of the godless being cursed), but reinterpreted his quoted texts by applying them as *authoritative scriptural emphases*¹²⁹ (proofs) for both the consequences resulting from Judas' criminal deed(s) (the land and the curse attached to it), as well as for substantiating the need to elect another faithful witness.¹³⁰

¹²⁸ See App. A for a survey of the changes.

¹²⁹ Their positions in the contexts of the two themes contribute to their emphatic use: the first is placed at the end of the first part and the second is placed at the beginning of the second part.

¹³⁰ B.M. NEWMAN & E.A. NIDA said: "The primary meanings of the Scripture passages to which Peter has reference...are to be found in their original Old Testament setting. But because the character and actions of Judas are similar to those reflected in these passages from the Psalms, Peter can say that these Scriptures apply to Judas. This is quite typical of the manner in which the first Christians interpreted the Old Testament; they read it in light of the things which had taken place in connection with the life and ministry of Jesus" (*Translator's Handbook*, 25).

(f) The first quoted text had to be fulfilled (ἔδει), and has been fulfilled (past) with the death of Judas (his place of residence is empty). The second must be (δεῖ) fulfilled (present) with the election of another witness in his place.¹³¹ The latter is thus taken as a divine instruction for the early Christian church.¹³² This could be supported by the change of the LXX optative to the imperative in Ac — to function as an "*ante eventum* imperative".¹³³

¹³¹. Cf. C. SMITS: "De inhoud van het eerste citaat is een gebruikelijke aanduiding van straf. De inhoud van het tweede is een gewoon gevolg van de straf" (*Citaten II*, 201). There are no grounds to be found for accepting this.

¹³². According to C.K. BARRETT, Ps 68(69):26 and Ps 108(109):8 "give the requisite instruction" (*Luke/Acts*, 240). He also categorized this quotation (two quoted texts) as one of those which are to be related with giving "direction for the church's life".

¹³³. C.H. COSGROVE, *Divine ΔΕΙ*, 174.

CHAPTER 4

PETER'S SECOND SPEECH (Acts 2:14-41)

1. THE BROADER CONTEXT AND BACKGROUND

This second Petrine speech has been discussed extensively in the past,¹ being viewed from different perspectives and with different purposes in mind. It is generally accepted as the most prominent and important speech in Ac, and has even been called "the foundation...for all the other speeches in Acts".²

There exists a definite parallel between this second speech of Peter (in Jerusalem) and the first speech of Paul (in Antioch) (Ac 13:16-41) — especially when one compares their theology and interpretation concerning David.³ It seems as if both accounts share a common christological focus point or perspective on this issue. Also interesting is the tendency for these two speeches to quote from both the *duodecim prophetae*⁴ and from the Pss.

Another parallel might be found in the structure of Luke's gospel on the one hand, and Ac on the other. Shortly after Jesus was anointed by the Spirit at his baptism (Lk 3:21-22), and sent by the Spirit to the desert to be tested (Lk 4:1-13, he delivered his "inaugural address" at the synagogue in Nazareth (Lk 4:14-30). In the same trend, Peter too delivered this speech after the "anointing" by the Spirit, setting the keynote for the rest of Ac.⁵

The composition of the second Petrine speech is probably the creative work of Luke himself,⁶ although he might have derived sections of the material from already

¹ See for instance, R.F. ZEHLE, *Peter's Pentecost Discourse: Tradition and Lukan Interpretation in Peter's Speeches of Acts 2 and 3* (SBLMS 15), Nashville 1971; A. KERRIGAN, The 'Sensus Plenior' of Joel III, 1-5 in Act. II, 14-36, in: J. COPPENS, A. DESCAMPS & É. MASSAUX (eds), *Sacra Pagina. Miscellanea Biblica Congressus Interpretationis Catholici de re Biblica. Vol. II*, Paris 1959, 295-313.

² Cf. H.N. RIDDERBOS, *The Speeches of Peter in the Acts of the Apostles*, London 1962, 12.

³ R.F. O'TOOLE points to the following similarities: (a) the structure, common to all the missionary speeches in Ac; (b) the issue of salvation (Ac 2:21,40,47; 13:23,26,38-39,47); (c) the quoting of Ps 15(16) (Ac 2:25-32; 13:34-37); (d) the forgiveness of sins (Ac 2:38; 13:38); (e) the promises to David (Ac 2:24-36; 13:22-23,32-37); (f) kerygma about Jesus (Ac 2:21-38; 13:23-39,46-48); (g) the possibility that 2 Ki(Sm) 7:12-16 might form the background of Luke's resurrectional assertion in each passage where Luke also makes reference to Ps 88 (Ac 2:30; 13:22) (Acts 2:30 and the Davidic Covenant of Pentecost, in: *JBL* 102 (1983), 245-258, here, 253). Compare this with G. SCHNEIDER, *Apf I*, 264,n.6.

⁴ Ac 13:41 = Hab 1:5.

⁵ Cf. D.L. TIEDE: "Thus as the Isaiah prophecy in Luke 4 serves to articulate the program of the Spirit-anointed Jesus, so the direct citation of the Book of Joel identifies the new phase of the eschatological activity of God's Spirit which is being disclosed at Pentecost" (Acts 2:1-47, in: *Interpr* 33 (1979), 62-67, here 63).

⁶ With G. LÜDEMANN, *Christentum*, 53. Contrary to F.F. BRUCE, *The Speeches in the Acts*, London 1942, 8; *idem.*, *Speeches: Thirty Years After*, 53; T.F. GLASSON, *The Speeches in Acts and Thucydides*, in: *ET* 76 (1964-65), 165; J.H.E. HULL, *The Holy Spirit in the Acts of the Apostles*, Cleveland 1967, 70; W.W. GASQUE, *Speeches of Acts*, 232-250; as well as against A. KERRIGAN who has said: "...the speeches of Acts, though not *verbatim* reports of what the speakers said on the

existing source material.⁷

2. OVERVIEW OF THE TEXT OF THE SPEECH

It is important to get an overview of the structure of the speech itself in order to determine Luke's interpretation of his LXX material within the context of the speech. This might probably help to explain both the reason why Luke has used LXX material here, as well as the reasons for changing his source material in some instances, thereby revealing his purpose with this LXX source material and manifesting his hermeneutics.

14 Σταθεῖς δὲ ὁ Πέτρος σὺν τοῖς ἑνδεκά
ἐπῆρεν τὴν φωνὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπεφθέγγετο αὐτοῖς

Section I: Beginning of the last days and the JI-quotation

ἄνδρες Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες Ἱερουσαλὴμ πάντες,
τοῦτο ὑμῶν γνωστὸν ἔστω
καὶ ἐνωτίσασθε τὰ ῥήματά μου.
15 οὐ γὰρ ὡς ὑμεῖς ὑπολαμβάνετε οὗτοι μεθύουσι,
ἔστιν γὰρ ὥρα τρίτη τῆς ἡμέρας,
16 ἀλλὰ τοῦτό ἐστω τὸ εἰρημένον διὰ τοῦ προφήτου Ἰωήλ
17
καὶ ἔσται
ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις, λέγει ὁ θεός,
ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματός μου ἐπὶ πᾶσαν σάρκα,
καὶ προφητεύσουσιν οἱ υἱοὶ ὑμῶν καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες ὑμῶν
καὶ οἱ νεανίσκοι ὑμῶν ὄρασεις ὄψονται
καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ὑμῶν ἐνυπνίους ἐνυπνιασθήσονται

occasions in question, are faithful summaries containing the gist of the arguments used' (*Sensus Plenior*, 296). Even scholars as B. REICKE, who accepts the speech to be a pure historical fact, regards it as a Lukan creation: "Übrigens hat niemand die sicher ungeschriebene Rede stenographisch aufzeichnen können. Die angeführte Rede dürfte also vielmehr ein Werk des Berichterstatters oder des Lukas sein, indem sie die Situation dramatisieren sollte" (*Glaube und Leben der Urgemeinde. Bemerkungen zu Apg. 1-7* (ATHANT 32), Zürich 1957, 39). So also I.H. MARSHALL: "We cannot prove that Luke has recorded verbatim what Peter said on this occasion, and in any case the speech recorded here is too brief to be a full account of what was said" (*Acts*, 72).

⁷. More than three decades ago, E. SCHWEIZER has already said about the speeches in Ac that "Ever since Martin Dibelius' essay about this subject, it has been more and more widely recognized that the speeches are basically *compositions by the author of Acts* who, to be sure, utilized different kinds of material for particular passages" (*Speeches*, 208). Cf. M. DIBELIUS, *The Speeches in Acts and Ancient Historiography*, in: H. GREEVEN (hrsg), *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles*, London 1956, 138-185. Followed also by E. HAENCHEN, *Apg*, 38-39; R.F. ZEHLE, *Pentecost Discourse*, 136; and U. WILCKENS, *Missionsreden*, 59. According to D.L. TIEDE, "The speech is a carefully crafted literary exemplar of early Christian mission preaching..." with the substance of the repeated appeals to the audience being "...consistently scriptural, further suggesting very careful work with literary resources which have been thoroughly integrated in the composition" (*Acts* 2, 64). So also G. LÜDEMANN, *Christentum*, 53.

Chapter 4: Second Petrine Speech

- 67 -

- 18 καί γε ἐπὶ τοῖς δούλοις μου
καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς δούλας μου
ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις
ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματός μου,
καὶ προφητεύσουσιν.
- 19 καὶ δώσω τέρατα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ὡς καὶ σημεῖα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κάτω,
αἷμα καὶ πῦρ καὶ ἀτμίδια καπνοῦ.
- 20 ὁ ἥλιος μεταστροφῆσεται εἰς σκότος
καὶ ἡ σελήνη εἰς αἷμα,
πρὶν ἐλθεῖν ἡμέραν κυρίου τὴν μεγάλην καὶ ἐπιφανῆ.
- 21
καὶ ἔσται
πᾶς ὃς ἂν ἐπικαλέσῃται τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου σωθήσεται.

Section II: The resurrection of Jesus and the quotation from Ps 15(16)

- 22 Ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλίται,
ἀκούσατε τοὺς λόγους τούτους·
Ἰησοῦν τὸν Ναζωραῖον,
ἄνδρα ἀποδειγμένον ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ
εἰς ὑμᾶς δυνάμει καὶ τέρασι καὶ σημείοις
οἷς ἐποίησεν δι' αὐτοῦ ὁ θεὸς ἐν μέσῳ ὑμῶν
καθὼς αὐτοὶ οἴδατε,
- 23 τοῦτον τῇ ὠρισμένῃ βουλῇ καὶ προγνώσει τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκδοτὸν
διὰ χειρὸς ἀνόμων προσπήξαντες
ἀνεῖλατε,
- 24 ὃν ὁ θεὸς ἀνέστησεν
λύσας τὰς ῥάβδους τοῦ θανάτου,
καθότι οὐκ ἦν δυνατόν κρατεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.
- 25 Δαυὶδ γὰρ λέγει εἰς αὐτόν·
προσώμην τὸν κύριον ἐνώπιόν μου διὰ παντός,
ὅτι ἐκ δεξιῶν μου ἔστιν ἵνα μὴ σαλευθῶ.
- 26 διὰ τοῦτο
ἠύφρανήθῃ ἡ καρδία μου
καὶ ἠγαλλιάσατο ἡ γλῶσσά μου,
ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἡ σὰρξ μου κατασκηνώσει ἐπ' ἐλίπιδι,
- 27 ὅτι οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψεις τὴν ψυχὴν μου εἰς ἄηνα
οὐδὲ δώσεις τὸν ὄσιόν σου ἰδεῖν διαφθοράν.
- 28 ἐγνώρισάς μοι ὁδοὺς ζωῆς,
πληρώσεις με εὐφροσύνης μετὰ τοῦ προσώπου σου.

Section III: Jesus' exaltation and David (Quotation from Ps 109(110))

- 29 Ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί,
ἐξὸν εἰπεῖν μετὰ παρησιᾶς πρὸς ὑμᾶς
περὶ τοῦ πατριάρχου Δαυὶδ

- ὅτι καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν καὶ ἐτάφη,
καὶ τὸ μνήμα αὐτοῦ ἔστω ἐν ἡμῖν ἄχρι τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης.
- 30 προφήτης οὖν ὑπάρχων
καὶ εἰδώς
ὅτι ὄρκω ὤμοσεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς ἐκ καρποῦ
τῆς ὀσφύος αὐτοῦ καθίσει ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ,
- 31 προϊδῶν ἐλάλησεν
περὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ
ὅτι οὐτε ἐγκατελείφθη εἰς ᾗδην
οὔτε ἡ σὰρξ αὐτοῦ εἶδεν διαφθοράν.
- 32 τοῦτων τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀνέστησεν ὁ θεός,
σὺ πάντες ἡμεῖς ἐσμὲν μάρτυρες·
- 33 τῇ δεξιᾷ οὖν τοῦ θεοῦ ὑψωθείς,
τὴν τε ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου
λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς,
ἐξέχεεν τοῦτο ὃ ὑμεῖς {καὶ} βλέπετε καὶ ἀκούετε.
- 34 οὐ γὰρ Δαυὶδ ἀνέβη εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς,
λέγει δὲ αὐτός·
Ἔειπεν [ὁ] κύριος τῷ κυρίῳ μου·
κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου,
- 35 ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου.
- 36 ἀσφαλῶς οὖν γινωσκέτω πᾶς οἶκος Ἰσραὴλ
ὅτι καὶ κύριον αὐτῶν
καὶ χριστὸν
ἐποίησεν ὁ θεός,
τοῦτον τὸν Ἰησοῦν ὃν ὑμεῖς ἐσταυρώσατε.

Section IV: Reaction of the hearers and reference to J1-quotation

- 37 Ἀκούσαντες δὲ
κατενύγησαν τὴν καρδίαν
εἰπόν τε πρὸς τὸν Πέτρον καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀποστόλους·
τί ποιήσωμεν, ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί;
- 38 Πέτρος δὲ πρὸς αὐτούς·
μετανοήσατε, [φησὶν]
καὶ βαπτισθῆτω ἕκαστος ὑμῶν
ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
εἰς ἄφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ὑμῶν,
καὶ λήψεσθε τὴν δωρεάν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος.
- 39 ὑμῖν γὰρ ἔστιν ἡ ἐπαγγελία
καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις ὑμῶν
καὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς εἰς μακράν,
ἵσους ἂν προσκαλέσεται κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν.
- 40 ἐτέροις τε λόγοις πλείωσιν διεμαρτύρατο

καὶ παρεκάλει αὐτοὺς λέγων·
σώθητε ἀπὸ τῆς γενεᾶς τῆς σκολιᾶς ταύτης.

41 οἱ μὲν οὖν

ἀποδεξάμενοι τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ
ἐβαπτίσθησαν

καὶ προσετέθησαν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ψυχαὶ ὡσεὶ τρισχίλια.

42 Ἦσαν δὲ προσκαρτεροῦντες τῇ διδασκίᾳ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ, τῇ κλάσει τοῦ ἄρτου καὶ ταῖς προσευχαῖς.

2.1 Division of the First Petrine Speech

Peter's second speech is presented obviously by Luke as direct speech. The same elements are found at the beginning of the speech, as are found at the beginning of Peter's first speech:⁸ (a) The gesture of the speaker: "Peter then stood up with the eleven others" (Σταθεὶς δὲ ὁ Πέτρος σὺν τοῖς ἑνδεκά, V.14); (b) A verb of saying introducing the direct speech: "He 'lifted' his voice and said to them..". (ἐπῆρεν τὴν φωνὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπεφθέγγετο⁹ αὐτοῖς, V.14); (c) Naming of the hearers at the beginning of the speech: "Jewish brothers and all the inhabitants of Jerusalem" ("Ἄνδρες Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες Ἱερουσαλὴμ πάντες, V.14).

His hearers are addressed in this manner several times during the speech, indicating hereby simultaneously the change between the ending of the explicit quotations used in the different units, as well as the continuation of Peter's words.¹⁰ These phrases then also indicate the borders of the most prominent structural units of which the speech consists.¹¹

According to this feature, the speech can be divided into four main units:¹² (a) *section I* (Ac 2:14b-21) which deals with the eschatological (re-)interpretation of the quotation from Jl 2:28-32 (3:1-5); (b) *section II* (Ac 2:22-28) which deals with the resurrection of Jesus and the interpretation of Ps 15(16):8-11; (c) *section III* (Ac 2:29-36) which deals with Jesus' exaltation and the interpretation of a quotation from Ps 109(110):1 in this context; (d) *section IV* (Ac 2:37-41)¹³ refers to the reaction of the hearers and records the appeal to them to be converted, by way of reference to Jl 2:32 (3:5). Sections I and IV thus have some connection with each

⁸. Compare E. SCHWEIZER for an overview of the elements in the structure of the whole speech (*Zu den Reden*, 2,6-8).

⁹. This verb is taken up from V.4. It is to be found only once more in Ac 26:25 (G. LÜDEMANN, *Christentum*, 50).

¹⁰. See VV.22, 29 and 36.

¹¹. Cf. V.22 ("Ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλίται); V.29 ("Ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί); [V.36 (πᾶς οἶκος Ἰσραὴλ)]. Also the response of his hearers is indicated in this manner: V.37 (ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί).

¹². Compare also L. O'REILLY who has arrived at the same conclusion (*Word and Sign in the Acts of the Apostles. A Study in Lucan Theology* (AnGr 82), Rome 1987, 66. G. SCHNEIDER (*App I*, 263-264); G. LÜDEMANN, *Christentum*, 50; and H. VAN DE SANDT (The Fate of the Gentiles in Joel and Acts 2. An Intertextual Study, in: *ETHL* 66 (1990), 56-77, here 56) divides it in roughly the same way. W. DIETRICH has indicated that each one of the first three sections ends with a quotation from Scripture (*Petrusbild*, 200-201).

¹³. The speech ends at V.40 and not at V.36 as seen by D. MINGUEZ, *Pentecostés. Ensayo de Semiótica narrativa en Hch 2* (AnBib 75), Rome 1976, 64. Compare this with L. O'REILLY's legitimate criticism (*Word and Sign*, 64-66). See also A. WEISER, *App I*, 92-95.

other on the basis of their common reference to JI,¹⁴ while sections II and III are dealing exclusively with the resurrection and exaltation of Jesus (the christology) by way of reference to the Pss. The four main sections can now be examined individually.

3. SECTION I. ACTS 2:14b-21

Beginning of the last days & the quotation from JI 2:28-32 (3:1-5)

3.1 Composition of the section

Knowing that his hearers have assumed the disciples to be drunk, Peter uses a strong antithesis to emphasise the opposite.¹⁵ His construction is build up by a negation (οὐ γὰρ...οὔτοι μεθύουσιν) and a statement of the contrary as the positive (ἀλλὰ τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ εἰρημένον). This τὸ εἰρημένον is described closer as being that, coming διὰ τοῦ προφήτου Ἰωήλ, and even more closer by way of a parenthesis, as words coming directly from God (λέγει ὁ θεός). Presented in this manner, the indication is clear: something that was already foretold by the prophet (τὸ εἰρημένον διὰ τοῦ προφήτου), presented as the divine words of God, is happening at this moment (τοῦτό ἐστιν), i.e. an old prophecy is being fulfilled here.¹⁶ This implied moment is then seen here as "the last days" (ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις, V.17), or "those days" (ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις, V.18). The "great and glorious day of the κύριος" (ἡμέραν κυρίου τὴν μεγάλην καὶ ἐπιφανῆ, V.20), probably refers here not to the same moment in time. It seems as if the "last days/those days" would have preceded this "great and glorious day of the kurios" on the basis of the πρὶν ἐλθεῖν in V.20.

The first line and last line of the quotation itself, both begin with καὶ ἔσται (V.17, V.21). By way of this "and it will (shall) be", two major thoughts are emphasised. The first is that "...from the Spirit' (ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος) will be poured out", as well as that signs and wonders would be given, and the second is that all those who should call on the name of the κύριος, will be saved. There are alternative approaches to dividing and understanding the words in V.17. The καὶ προφητεύουσιν can be taken either with (a) πᾶσαν σάρκα, or (b) with οἱ υἱοὶ ὑμῶν καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες ὑμῶν, which represents the traditional viewpoint, and may be seen in most Bible translations. The *first alternative* would then take the οἱ υἱοὶ ὑμῶν καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες ὑμῶν with the καὶ οἱ νεανίσκοι ὑμῶν as a coherent combination on its own. The meaning of this would be that it is "all 'flesh' (people) that will prophesy"; this is then explained and expanded in the description that

¹⁴. There is some kind of parallelism, according to G. SCHNEIDER, between the first (2:14b-21) and the fourth units (2:38-40): "Möglicherweise sind also 2,14b-21,38-40 ebenso wie 2,1-13 als lukianische Komposition zu bewerten. Es fragt sich, ob die Traditionsgrundlage der beiden 'inneren' Rede-Teile 2,22-28,29-36 anders zu beurteilen ist. Abgesehen von den situationsbezogenen Versen 32b,33, könnte der Schriftbeweis der beiden 'christologischen' Teile traditionell sein" (*Apg I*, 264).

¹⁵. Cf. G. SCHNEIDER: "Der Topos mit dem Mißverständnis der Hörer wird auch 3,12 und 14,15 als literarisches Mittel benutzt" (*Apg I*, 267). Also G. LÜDEMANN, *Christentum*, 50.

¹⁶. A. WEISER says: "Petrus weist den Vorwurf der Trunkenheit zurück und erklärt, daß das, was die Menge gesehen und gehört hat (vgl. Vers 33), die Erfüllung einer alten Prophetie ist" (*Apg I*, 91).

follows — that "their sons, and their daughters and their young men will see visions", and that "their elders will dream dreams". When *καὶ προφητεύουσιν* is taken with the *πᾶσαν σάρκα*, it is thus still implied that the sons and daughters would prophesy — being part of "all 'flesh'!". The *second alternative* would divide between the *οἱ υἱοὶ ὑμῶν καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες ὑμῶν* on the one hand, and the *καὶ οἱ νεανίσκοι ὑμῶν* on the other hand. The meaning of this would then be that when (from) the Spirit is "poured out" on all "flesh", "their sons and their daughters will prophesy" and that "their young men will see visions".

In favor of the first alternative:

Strictly synchronically taken, without paying attention to any changes of this text against its source text, the first alternative could make good sense on the following grounds:

(a) The three prominent groups which are here the objects of the *ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματός μου*, as well as the subjects of the *καὶ προφητεύουσιν*, are clearly indicated by *ἐπί*. These three *ἐπί*-sentences are encircled by the parallelistic unit (V.17, V.18), enclosing it thus in an inclusio:¹⁷ *ἐν ταῖς ... ἡμέραις* — *ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματός μου* — *καὶ προφητεύουσιν*. This analogous and cohesive unit would then contradict the second alternative. *Καὶ προφητεύουσιν* would lack in this unit at the beginning when it is to be taken with the *οἱ υἱοὶ ὑμῶν καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες ὑμῶν*.

(b) If it is preferable to take the *καὶ προφητεύουσιν* with the *οἱ υἱοὶ ὑμῶν καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες ὑμῶν*, it would be reasonable to expect some kind of reading which places the verb of the sons and daughters at the end of that unit; something like the following: *ἐπὶ πᾶσαν σάρκα* — *καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ ὑμῶν καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες ὑμῶν προφητεύουσιν* — *καὶ οἱ νεανίσκοι ὑμῶν ὁράσεις ὄψονται* — *καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ὑμῶν ἐνυπνίους ἐνυπνιασθήσονται*. Placing the verb after the subjects, as in the last two instances here, provides for a better fit into the parallelistic structure of the unit. This would, however, not be exclusively necessary.

In favour of the second alternative:

The following arguments could be brought in against the first alternative, and in favour of the second (traditional) alternative:

(a) The fact that the unit starts directly with *οἱ υἱοὶ* and without a prominent *καὶ* — as in the case of both the *οἱ νεανίσκοι* and the *οἱ πρεσβύτεροι*. But what then about the fact that the same incident is to be found also in V.19-20?¹⁸

(b) Also the fact that Luke might have moved the unit, *καὶ οἱ νεανίσκοι ὑμῶν ὁράσεις ὄψονται*, from its fourth position (after the *πρεσβύτεροι*) to this third position. But this argument is based on diachronical grounds and not synchronical grounds! It might, nonetheless, be true of his source text. However, we are dealing at the moment with the synchronic text of Ac!

¹⁷ The place of *καὶ προφητεύουσιν* after *ἐπὶ πᾶσαν σάρκα* in V.17, is due to the syntax of the sentence. *Ἐπί* refers here to the objects of the *ἐκχεῶ*.

¹⁸ Cf. the phrases (a) *αἶμα καὶ πῦρ καὶ ἄμμιδα κοπινοῦ* and (b) *ὁ ἥλιος μεταστραφήσεται εἰς σκότος*. The latter especially correlates by presenting the two parallelistic units of *ὁ ἥλιος...καὶ ἡ σελήνη* in this combination, and not with an additional *καὶ* at its beginning — so also then here: *οἱ υἱοὶ...καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες*.

It must be noticed that both alternatives seem possible on a pure syntactical basis. The first alternative, however, fits in better with the correlating strong cohesive unit as paralleled in V.18. However, the only way by which a definite choice may be made against one, and in favour of the other, would be on a semantic basis with the broader context of Ac in mind.

The "darkening of the sun" (ὁ ἥλιος μεταστραφήσεται εἰς σκότος, V.20) and the "changing of the moon to blood", (καὶ ἡ σελήνη εἰς αἷμα, V.20) probably refer to the "wonders in heaven above" (τέρατα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἄνω, V.19): on the basis of both the sun and the moon as "above" and "in heaven". The "blood, fire and clouds of smoke" (αἷμα καὶ πῦρ¹⁹ καὶ ἀτμίδια καπνοῦ, V.19) are probably meant to be the "signs on earth below" (σημεῖα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κάτω, V.19), according to its position in the sentence, i.e. following directly after those signs on earth.

3.2 The quoted text from JI 2:28-32 (3:1-5) (Ac 2:17-21)

This quotation from JI 2:28-32 (3:1-5)²⁰ in Ac 2, is probably the most discussed explicit quotation in Ac. It is therefore no wonder that *Haenchen* typified it, even during his time, as a "berühmtes Zitat!"²¹ One of several questions which arises here, is why Luke used such a long quotation.²² This confronts one with the issue of the relevance of this specific quotation, and of all the elements in the cited text from JI 2:30-32 (3:1-5). Were all these elements really necessary for his argumentation, i.e. for their function in the speech itself?²³ Another question concerns the textform which Luke could have used. His quotation does not correlate directly with our known versions of either the LXX or the MT, but differs on several points with both.²⁴ Were these changes already present in the source text used by Luke; or were

¹⁹. With regard to the witnessing power of heavenly fire, see W. SPEYER, Die Zeugungskraft des himmlischen Feuers in Antike und Urchristentum, in: *idem., Frühes Christentum im antiken Strahlungsfeld. Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, Tübingen 1989, 235-253. Reference is made explicitly to the angel Gabriel who testified about a son who will be born (249). "Die ältesten christlichen Schriften, in denen das Motiv vom zeugenden himmlischen Feuer begegnet, sind die Evangelien des Matthäus, Lukas und Johannes sowie die Apostelgeschichte. Abgesehen vom Wort des Johannes über die Feuer taufe Jesu und dem Ausspruch Jesu über die Feuer taufe ist das Motiv vom himmlischen Feuer in Berichten über eine übernatürliche Zeugung eingearbeitet: Taufe Jesu bei einer bestimmten Gruppe früherer Christen, Pfingsten als Tauf tag der Apostel in der Apostelgeschichte und die Szenen der Verkündigung bei Lukas" (251).

²⁰. The beginning of the words "Ἀνδρες Ἰσραηλίται, marks the end of this quotation (G. SCHNEIDER, *App I*, 270).

²¹. E. HAENCHEN, *Schriftzitate*, 161.

²². Although this question will be answered later in this study, attention can be drawn here to the remark of O. BAUERNFEIND that this long citation from JI was already used before Luke in connection with the warding off of accusations of drunkenness (*App*, 34). Against this view, E. HAENCHEN (*App*, 141) and M. RESE (*Motive*, 45-6) have already shown convincingly that this argument does not have any solid basis.

²³. M. RESE thought that the long form of this quotation could be understood within the purpose of the speech itself: "Das Zitat erklärt nicht nur die Erscheinung des Geistes, sondern es enthält die wesentlichen Aussagen, die in der Petrusrede entfaltet und dargelegt werden" (*Motive*, 46). RESE therefore includes it in his choice of citations for his christological study.

²⁴. It cannot be accepted *unqualified* that "...es (folgt) nicht dem hebräischen Bibeltext, sondern dem griechischen der LXX" (J. ROLOFF, *App*, 52). In the same direction, also A.W. ARGYLE, *The Theory of an Aramaic Source in Acts 2,14-40*, in: *JThS* 4 (1953), 213-214, here 214; C. SMITS, *Citaten II*, 180; H. CONZELMANN, *App*, 33; I.H. MARSHALL, *Luke- Historian and Theologian*, Exeter 1970,

they the result of his (or the redactor's) own interpretation, or do they represent both? In other words: Why did Luke choose this quotation specifically here,²⁵ in this specific textual form and this specific length?²⁶

3.2.1 *Pre-Lucan occurrence of Jl 2:32 (3:5) in Rm 10:13*²⁷

— πᾶς ὃς ἐὰν ἐπικαλέσῃται τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου σωθήσεται —

Jl 2:28 (3:5) was already used by Paul in Rm 10:13 in a christological manner²⁸ (as evidence that the Gentiles too could share salvation).²⁹ Luke is thus not the first to have made this connection with Jl, though he uses a longer unit, and uses it in his own way. No attempt will be made here to determine whether Luke knew any of the Pauline epistles. The fact remains that the christological-soteriological connection with Jl 2:28 (3:5) could have been familiar to Luke.³⁰

3.2.2 *The introductory formula (Ac 2:16)*

Among the interesting similarities between the speeches of Ac 2:14-41 (second Petrine) and 13:16-41 (first Pauline), is the introductory formula³¹ which is almost identical in both accounts where Luke quotes from the *duodecim prophetae*. The reference in this formula that the quotation comes from Jl might, however, be a later addition.³²

161; U. WILCKENS, *Missionsreden*, 32; and H. RINGGREN, *Luke's Use*, 233. Although the text of Ac 2:17-21 might seem to be nearer to the LXX, it must be said clearly that it also definitely differs from the LXX on several points. A more qualified statement is to be found by B. REICKE, *Glaube und Leben*, 43; F. MUSSNER, "In den letzten Tagen" (Apg. 2,17a), in: *BZ* 5 (1961), 263-265, here 263; M. RESE, *Motive*, 46; B.M. NEWMAN & E.A. NIDA, *Translator's Handbook*, 42; and G. LÜDEMANN, *Christentum*, 50. Even nearer to the truth seems to be G.D. KILPATRICK when he typified this quotation from Jl as "anonymous" (*Some Quotations*, 82). He adds that this is also "true of the other quotations from the prophets listed above". These are Hab 1:5; Am 5:25-27; 9:11f and Is 66:1f.

²⁵ This is similar to M. RESE's "Bedeutung der Zitate" (*Motive*, 31).

²⁶ This issue could broadly be classified as the same as that which M. RESE understood under the "Form der Zitate" (*Motive*, 29).

²⁷ See also Ac 9:14,21; 22:16 and 1 Cor 1:2. It is assumed here that Luke must have known (at least some of) the Pauline epistles. G. LÜDEMANN points to 1 Cor 1:2 where Paul could name the Christians in general those "who call upon the Lord". He concludes that on the basis of this, it might be possible that Jl 2:32 could have been used already before 1 Cor 1:2 for the interpretation of the Jesus-*kyrigma* (*Christentum*, 53). See also M. RESE, *Motive*, 64, and R. BULTMANN, *Theologie des Neuen Testaments*, (herausgegeben von O. MERK) (UTB 630), Tübingen 1984, 127f.

²⁸ Cf. also K. KLIESCH, *Das heilsgeschichtliche Credo in der Reden der Apostelgeschichte* (BBB 44), Bonn 1975, 251.n.18; and G. LÜDEMANN, *Christentum*, 53.

²⁹ Cf. also A. KERRIGAN, *Sensus Plenior*, 297.

³⁰ So also I.H. MARSHALL, *Acts*, 73. A. KERRIGAN has formulated it even clearer: "...the Christological interpretation of this text was familiar to circles other than Peter's" (*Sensus Plenior*, 297).

³¹ Ac 2:16 = ἀλλὰ τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ εἰρημένον διὰ τοῦ προφήτου Ἰωηλ. Ac 13:40 = βλέπετε οὖν μὴ ἐπέλθῃ τὸ εἰρημένον ἐν τοῖς προφήταις.

³² Cf. here the discussion by G.D. KILPATRICK, *Some quotations*, 94-5. But textcritical grounds for its omission here are too limited. So also B.M. METZGER, *Textual Commentary*, 294. This "Genauigkeit der Stellenangabe" can thus not be used as an argument in favour of Luke's use of Scripture, as is done by K. KLIESCH, *Credo*, 127.

3.2.3 Determining and explaining the textual differences

In order to try and get some explanation for these differences, attention must be paid, in the first instance, to the texts themselves.

The reading of Codex W³³ is almost identical with that of the reconstructed LXX text found in the Göttingen edition of this particular unit. There are, however, also some striking differences to be found: (a) the insertion of γε between καὶ and ἐπὶ in J1 2:29 by the second hand, i.e. the first corrector of codex W,³⁴ and (b) the addition of κάτω in V.30. These aspects are discussed in greater detail below.

NT (NA26) Ac 2:17-21	LXX J1 2:28-32	CODEX W J1 2:28-32	MT J1 3:1-5
17 Καὶ ἔσται ἐν ταῖς ἑσχάταις ἡμέραις, λέγει ὁ θεός, ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματός μου ἐπὶ πᾶσαν σάρκα, καὶ προφητεύουσιν οἱ υἱοὶ ὑμῶν καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες ὑμῶν, καὶ οἱ νεανίσκοι ὑμῶν ὄρασεις ᾄψονται	28 Καὶ ἔσται μετὰ ταῦτα	28 Καὶ ἔσται μετὰ ταῦτα	וְהָיָה 1 כִּי יִשְׁפַּע רוּחִי עַל כָּל בָּשָׂר וְנָבְאוּ בְנֵי יְכָנְיָו
καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ὑμῶν ἐνυπνίσις ἐνυπνιασθήσονται·	ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματός μου ἐπὶ πᾶσαν σάρκα, καὶ προφητεύουσιν οἱ υἱοὶ ὑμῶν καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες ὑμῶν, καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ὑμῶν ἐνυπνία ἐνυπνιασθήσονται, καὶ οἱ νεανίσκοι ὑμῶν ὄρασεις ᾄψονται·	ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματός μου ἐπὶ πᾶσαν σάρκα, καὶ προφητεύουσιν οἱ υἱοὶ ὑμῶν καὶ οἱ θυγατέρες ὑμῶν, καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ὑμῶν ἐνυπνία ἐνυπνιασθήσονται, καὶ οἱ νεανίσκοι ὑμῶν ὄρασεις ᾄψονται·	וְנָבְאוּ בְנֵי יְכָנְיָו וְרָאוּ וְנָבְאוּ בְנֵי יְכָנְיָו
18 καὶ γε ἐπὶ τοὺς δούλους μου καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς δούλας μου ἐν ταῖς	29 καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς δούλους καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς δούλας ἐν ταῖς	29 καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς δούλους καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς δούλας ἐν ταῖς	וְנָם 2 עַל הַעֲבָדִים עַל הַיְכָנְיָו

³³ H.A. SANDERS has already described the papyrus manuscript, Codex W (Washingtoniensis, 3rd cent. AD), with its history, paleography, characteristics and reprinted texts. He states that "in so old a manuscript as this papyrus one may safely assume freedom from the influence of Origen as well as from the later editions, and this assumption is supported by the examination of the text" (*The Minor Prophets in the Freer Collection*, New York 1927, 25).

³⁴ This then has the same authority as the first hand (author), because this hand (first corrector) has corrected the readings on the basis of the same *Textvorlage*. This καὶ also appears prominently later in the text of J1 (3:4) of this codex W.



ἡμέραις ἐκεῖναις ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματός μου, καὶ προφητεύσουσιν. 19 καὶ δώσω τέρατα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἅνω καὶ σημεῖα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κάτω, αἷμα καὶ πῦρ καὶ ἀτμίδια καπνοῦ. 20 ὁ ἥλιος μεταστραφήσεται εἰς σκότος καὶ ἡ σελήνη εἰς αἷμα, πρὶν ἔλθεῖν ἡμέραν κυρίου τὴν μεγάλην καὶ ἐπιφανῆ. 21 καὶ ἔσται πᾶς ὃς ἂν ἐπικαλέσεται τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου σωθήσεται.	ἡμέραις ἐκεῖναις ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματός μου. 30 καὶ δώσω τέρατα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, αἷμα καὶ πῦρ καὶ ἀτμίδια καπνοῦ. 31 ὁ ἥλιος μεταστραφήσεται εἰς σκότος καὶ ἡ σελήνη εἰς αἷμα πρὶν ἔλθεῖν ἡμέραν κυρίου τὴν μεγάλην καὶ ἐπιφανῆ. 32 καὶ ἔσται πᾶς ὃς ἂν ἐπικαλέσεται τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου σωθήσεται.	ἡμέραις ἐκεῖναις ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματός μου. 30 καὶ δώσω τέρατα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κάτω, αἷμα καὶ πῦρ καὶ ἀτμίδια καπνοῦ. 31 ὁ ἥλιος μεταστραφήσεται εἰς σκότος καὶ ἡ σελήνη εἰς αἷμα πρὶν ἔλθεῖν ἡμέραν κυρίου τὴν μεγάλην καὶ ἐπιφανῆ. 32 καὶ ἔσται πᾶς ὃς ἂν ἐπικαλέσεται τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου σωθήσεται.	םימי ההוא רוח :הנני נתת 3 מופתים ישפיע והארץ תהיה כח שמים והירח תהיה כדם לפני בוא יום ההוא הגדול והנראה :והיה 5 כל אשר יקרא שם היה ישוע
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NT Textual Variants³⁵

Codex D (Bezae Cantabrigiensis) reads (a) πάσας σάρκας and not πᾶσαν σάρκα, and (b) changes the pronoun ὑμῶν to αὐτῶν, while (c) omitting the last two occurrences of the pronoun completely (Ac 2:17).³⁶ It also omits the phrases (d) ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκεῖναις, (e) καὶ προφητεύσουσιν, (f) αἷμα καὶ πῦρ καὶ ἀτμίδια καπνοῦ (Ac 2:19), and (g) καὶ ἐπιφανῆ (Ac 2:20), supported by Codex X.³⁷ P⁷⁴ (Papyrus Bodmer XVII) reads (a) ἐν τες ἡμέραις and not ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις (Ac 2:18); (b) ἐλθεῖν τὴν ἡμέραν and not ἐλθεῖν ἡμέραν (Ac 2:20); and (c) πᾶς ὃς ἐάν and not πᾶς ὃς ἂν (Ac 2:21).

Previous studies of this quotation, although numerous, have not provided satisfactory explanations for all the textual changes between the Ac reading and that in existing manuscripts from the LXX.³⁷ One major step forward was the explicit

³⁵ See also the discussions of T. HOLTZ, *Untersuchungen*, 6-9; and D.L. BOCK, *Proclamation*, 158-161.

³⁶ According to E. EPP (followed by R.P. MENZIES, *The Development of Early Christian Pneumatology, with special reference to Luke-Acts*, Sheffield 1991, 213), these readings reflect a theological tendency by D, which is characteristic of the Western text (*sic*), namely a heightening of the universalism of Luke (*The Theological Tendency of Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis in Acts*, Cambridge 1966, 66-70).

³⁷ One extreme explanation was presented by W.K.L. CLARKE in his comparison of the quotations in Ac with the LXX. He has simply typified the JI-quotation under the heading: "Free Versions of the LXX. in Acts" (*Use of the Septuagint*, 88). (So also the Hab-quotation of Ac 13:41). This was probably due to the trend of the day to talk too easily and categorically of "the LXX" without qualifying which textual traditions or recensions they are dealing with. The textual changes that CLARKE found between Ac and the LXX (TISCHENDORF's edition; *Use of the Septuagint*, 85,n.4) are thus seen by him to be the result primarily of a free quotation of the source text by Luke. As yet, unfortunately, insufficient work has been done attempting to trace at least some of the changes to variants in other textual traditions. But in support of the argument against a so-called "free quotation", cf. T. HOLTZ, *Untersuchungen*, 13.

statement that this quotation is preserved in two forms, represented by codex B and by codex D.³⁸ Some attempts have been made to choose one or the other as representative of the authoritative tradition,³⁹ while others have thought such a choice to be impossible.⁴⁰ Comparing the two forms today, the best choice seems to be to prefer the text as found in the Alexandrian tradition (of which codex B is one representative), above the formerly wrongly called "western" text⁴¹ (represented here by codex D).⁴² However, despite such developments, major studies still fall short of a clear identification of the differences,⁴³ or they overlook the possibility of ascribing some of the changes to the hand of the Ac writer, and/or to the macro context from which the quoted texts were taken.⁴⁴ They even overlook all the alternatives supplied by the existing textual witnesses which could contribute to a better understanding on some of these changes.⁴⁵

Thus, the important question to be answered here is: are the changes between Ac and the writer's source text, (a) unknown to us today, or (b) Luke's own theological interpretation and/or stylistic preference, or (c) a combination of both? In order to attempt to give answers to these questions, all the different parallels and readings must be identified as accurately as possible; thereafter an attempt could be made to draw conclusions about which changes were due to the source text and

³⁸ Cf. J.H. ROPES, Detached Note on xiii.27-29, in: F.J. FOAKES JACKSON & K. LAKE (eds), *The Beginnings of Christianity, Part I: The Text of Acts, Vol. III*, London 1926, 261-265; L. CERFAUX, *Citations*, 47; E. HAENCHEN, *Schriftzitate*, 161; M. RESE, *Motive*, 47; H. CONZELMANN, *App*, 33; B.M. METZGER, *Textual Commentary*, 295. The latter sums it up as follows: codex B "agrees almost exactly with the text of the Septuagint", while codex D "embodies a series of changes from the Septuagint, most of which make the quotation more suitable for the occasion". He suggests that there are two possibilities here: (a) the adaptation as represented in codex D could have been the work of the original author, while the agreement of the B text with the LXX might have been produced by an editor, or (b) the author could have "copied exactly, or nearly so, from his Septuagint", and the "Western reviser" (*sic*) of codex D was responsible for the modifications. In comparison with the general trend and characteristics of codex D, it seems more probably that the latter is to be preferred (B.M. METZGER, *Textual Commentary*, 295).

³⁹ Cf. J.H. ROPES, *Note*, 16; L. CERFAUX, *Citations*, 47; and E. HAENCHEN, *Schriftzitate*, 161.

⁴⁰ Cf. K. LAKE and H.J. CADBURY, *The Beginnings of Christianity 1,4: The Acts of the Apostles*, London 1933, 21; M. RESE, *Motive*, 47.

⁴¹ K. ALAND and B. ALAND point this out clearly and said: "daß der Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis trotz seines griechisch-lateinischen Textes nicht im Westen geschrieben worden ist, sondern entweder in Nordafrika oder Ägypten, steht nach den Untersuchungen der Paläographen fest" (*Der Text des Neuen Testaments*, Stuttgart 1989, 61).

⁴² K. ALAND and B. ALAND show convincingly that the changes as found in codex D "haben keinen Anspruch darauf, als Urtext zu gelten" (*Text des NT*, 60-61). Cf. also the remarks about codex D at the beginning of this thesis.

⁴³ Cf. here for example the overlooking of the insertion of $\gamma\epsilon$ in Ac 2:18 by M. RESE, *Motive*, 1969; and D.L. BOCK, *Proclamation*, 156-169; as well as the list of differences in H. RINGGREN, *Luke's Use*, 233; and G. LÜDEMANN, *Christentum*, 50.

⁴⁴ Cf. here for example the discussion below on $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota\ \acute{\omicron}\ \theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ which was probably inserted due to Luke's knowledge of the broader context of J1, differently explained by M. RESE, *Motive*, 49; and E. HAENCHEN, *App*, 142.

⁴⁵ Cf. here for example the discussion below on the occurrence of $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega$ in Ac 2:19, which is also to be found in codex W.

(a) *Textual differences between MT and LXX*

The NT follows the reading of the LXX, against that of the MT, on two points:

- (i) The insertion of ἀπό before τοῦ πνεύματος.⁴⁷
- (ii) The "great and terrible day of the Lord" in the MT becomes "the great and manifest day" of the Lord in the LXX and Ac, because of a possible mistaken translation of אָרְרָב ("terrible") which the LXX derives from אָרְרָב in stead of אָרְרָב.⁴⁸

(b) *Textual differences between Ac and LXX*

The following 11 textual differences between the readings of Ac 2:17-21 and Jl 2:28-32 (3:1-5) have been identified: 8 *additions*: (1) λέγει ὁ θεός appears after ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις in Ac 2:17; (2) γε between καί and ἐπί in Ac 2:18; (3) and (4) μου occurs two times in Ac 2:18 — after δούλους and after δούλας; (5) καὶ προφητεύουσιν is added after ἐκχεῖ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος μου at the end of Ac 2:18; (6) ἄνω appears after οὐρανῷ in Ac 2:19; (7) κάτω appears after τῆς γῆς in Ac 2:19; (8) σημεῖα is added between καί and ἐπί in Ac 2:19. Only 1 *substitution*: (9) μετὰ ταῦτα (LXX) is changed to ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις in Ac 2:17. Also 1 *transposition*: (10) the phrase, καὶ οἱ νεανίσκοι ὑμῶν ὁράσεις ὄψονται, was moved forwards from its position in the LXX at the end of the "list" (i.e. after the sons, daughters and old men), to its current position in Ac 2:17 between the sons and daughters on the one hand, and the old men on the other hand. There is also a single change of the *case* (11) when ἐνσπνία is changed in Ac 2:17 to ἐνσπνίους. Although no *omissions* are to be found, the question must be answered why the quotation ended at this specific point.

b.1 Additions:

[1] λέγει ὁ θεός⁴⁹ (Ac 2:17)

Looking at the NT, there is no reason to doubt the occurrence of this phrase in Ac, as it is represented by both the main textual witnesses on the one hand, as well as codex D on the other hand (taking the alternative of κύριος/ὁ θεός as a separate

⁴⁷ According to D.-A. KOCH (in personal discussion), the remark of G.L. ARCHER and G. CHIRICHIGNO that this is perhaps done in order to avoid the false impression that all of the third Person of the Trinity would be poured out into believers (*Quotations*, 149), is intolerable, because the Trinitarian dogma was not yet known and developed in the LXX.

⁴⁸ Cf. also É. HAENCHEN, *App*, 142; H. CONZELMANN, *App*, 34; G. SCHNEIDER, *App* I, 270, n.54; and H. RINGGREN, *Luke's Use*, 233.

⁴⁹ Some texts prefer the reading: λέγει κύριος (cf. for example Codex D). According to M. RESE this might be due to a resemblance to the other places in the NT where the insertion λέγει κύριος is found (*Motive*, 48). Another possibility, mentioned by G.D. KILPATRICK, is that the reading was later changed to ὁ θεός because it was ambiguous (meaning either God or Christ) and could have been easily misunderstood (An eclectic Study of the Text of Acts, in: J.N. BIRDSALL and R.W. THOMSON (eds), *Biblical and Patristic Studies in Memory of Robert Pierce Casey*, Freiburg 1963, 65-66). R.P. MENZIES agrees with this, noting that "it is also possible that D has modified the original text to bring it into conformity with 2.43". He, nonetheless, finds that "the external evidence strongly favours ὁ θεός" (*Early Christian Pneumatology*, 213). There is, however, no basis for this argument as B.M. METZGER has convincingly pointed out (*Textual Commentary*, 296). So also D.L. BOCK, *Proclamation*, 158.342.

problem on its own). But turning to the OT, these words are not to be found at the relevant place in Jl 2:28 (3:1). It is also absent in the readings of codex W and of the MT at this specific point, and could therefore be seen as an addition by the hand of the author of Ac. Presented as a parenthesis, it was meant to be read at the very beginning of this long quotation. It could therefore also be seen as still being part of Luke's introduction (i.e. introductory formula) to his quotation.

A similar inserted λέγει κύριος is also to be found in other NT quotations.⁵⁰ Such insertions might have had the function of emphasizing the fact that the quoted words are coming (via the prophet) from God.⁵¹ Nevertheless, and without detracting from this as an explanation; a further explanation may lie in Luke's knowledge of the broader context of Jl.⁵² If this latter explanation is accepted, it might be inferred that Luke had seen and understood this quotation, quite rightly, as part of the long direct speech of God in Jl, and therefore had stressed the divine origin of the section from which he quoted. This broader context of Jl (i.e. that the quoted section came originally from the direct word of God) and the possibility that Luke knew of it, seems to have been overlooked in the past by some scholars.⁵³ On the basis of its being the *lectio difficilior*,⁵⁴ as well as on the basis of this knowledge of the broader context of Jl, the λέγει ὁ θεός-reading could be preferred above the λέγει κύριος-reading.

To conclude: It seems thus more probable that this phrase was an insertion made by the author of Ac, rather than a different reading found in his source text at this specific place. It could be seen as being part of the introductory formula,⁵⁵ and might have been inserted here because of the author's knowledge of the broader context of Jl in order to accentuate the divine origin of these words.⁵⁶

[2] (καὶ) γε⁵⁷ (Ac 2:18): When comparing the NT text with that of the LXX, it

⁵⁰ Ac 7:49; Rm 12:19 (= Heb 10:30f); 1 Cor 14:21; 2 Cor 6:16f. Except for cases where it indeed forms part of the OT reading, for example: Ac 15:17; Rm 14:11; Heb 8:8-12; 10:16; Rv 1:8. Cf. also D.-A. KOCH, *Schrift als Zeuge*, 246.

⁵¹ Cf. M. RESE who also thinks that the answer to the question about why this formula was included in the quotations, is to be found in the fact that "auf diese Weise Gott selbst als Sprecher bezeichnet werden soll" (*Motive*, 48-49). T. HOLTZ, too, says that "Diese Zufügung soll deutlich machen, daß es sich bei dem Zitat um Gottesrede handelt" (*Untersuchungen*, 6) and G.D. KILPATRICK typifies it as "divine authentication" (*Some Quotations*, 82), while D.L. BOCK too thinks in this direction when saying that "the point of the insertion serves to remind the reader of the divine origin of the text, and therefore, when applied to this event as its fulfillment, a note of divine sanction is added to the discussion" (*Proclamation*, 158). Compare also K. KLIESCH, *Credo*, 127; and R.P. MENZIES, *Early Christian Pneumatology*, 217.

⁵² Compare Ac 2:17 (λέγει ὁ θεός) with Jl 2:12 (καὶ νῦν λέγει κύριος ὁ θεός ὑμῶν). So also R.P. MENZIES, *Early Christian Pneumatology*, 217 — although he refers to Jl 2:27.

⁵³ Cf. E. HAENCHEN who has seen it to be "gegenüber der LXX" (*App*, 142).

⁵⁴ With M. RESE, *Motive*, 48.

⁵⁵ Cf. for example Jr 21:7 where a similar situation appears: καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα — οὕτως λέγει κύριος — δώσω τὸν Σεδεκιαν...

⁵⁶ For more background on "the word of God", see for instance G. DELLING, *Wort Gottes und Verkündigung im Neuen Testament* (SBS 53), Stuttgart 1971; C.-P. MARZ, *Das Wort Gottes bei Lukas. Die lukanische Worttheologie als Frage an die neuere Lukasforschung* (Erfurter Theologische Schriften 11), Leipzig 1974.

⁵⁷ Cf. J. REIDER & N. TURNER, *An Index to Aquila* (V.T.S 12), Leiden 1966, 122. See also J. ZIEGLER on "Wechsel der Partikeln", where also in codex A of the 12P, Hos 5:7 reads καὶ γε, with the MT (*Duodecim Prophetarum* (Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum. Auctoritate Academiae Litterarum Göttingensis editum, Vol XIII), Göttingen 1984, 41). Note the interesting feature that the Greek column of Codex D reads here καὶ ἐν ἐπί and the Latin, "et ego super". D.C. PARKER suggests

seems as if Luke has inserted a *ye* here between the *kaí* and the *éni*.⁵⁸ But if *Schneider* is right in saying that Luke "hat das steigernde *ye* kaum selbst eingefügt",⁵⁹ — and it is indeed generally accepted to be the case⁶⁰ — this might be the result of Luke's *Textvorlage* which could have already read it at the point in time when Luke used this section for his long quotation.⁶¹ It may also be significant that Luke used here a version which resembles (at least this specific shared characteristic of) the so-called *kaiye* version⁶² of the LXX.⁶³ In fact, codex W has shown textual proof of the existence of this reading at a relatively early stage among the rest of the textual witnesses. This leaves room for the possibility that the "addition" of *ye* could be seen as an "insertion" which the author of Ac might have found already in his

that the manuscript of Codex D has read originally ΕΓΩ, which was later (unsuccessfully?) changed to *ye* (*Codex Bezae. An Early Christian Manuscript and its Text*, Cambridge 1992, 152).

⁵⁸ The occurrence of *kai ye* is found only once more in the NT, in Ac 17:27 in the third speech of Paul, held in Athens. *Contra* R.P. MENZIES who categorically equates Luke's use of *ye* in general with the combination *kai ye*, by saying that "...*kai ye* is characteristic of Luke". He therefore regards it as redactional (*Early Christian Pneumatology*, 219). Cf. also the textual notes in NA26 at Lk 19:42: codex W reads here *kai ye*.

⁵⁹ G. SCHNEIDER, *App I*, 268.

⁶⁰ See, for example, T. HOLTZ, *Untersuchungen*, 10.

⁶¹ The Ac reading is supported by the following textual witnesses of the LXX: W^c X^c [A(106,26)-Q(544)-49(764)-198-233(710,410)-534] [36-LI(62,147)-LII(46,86,711)]. (Cf. the table in App. A). This provides strong support by the Alexandrian text-tradition. It is also on this evidence that W.K.L. CLARKE attributed this change of the Ac text to recensional causes (i.e. the fifth group of H.B. SWETE, *Use of the Septuagint*, 92-93). According to H.A. SANDERS this insertion of *ye* between *kai* and *éni* is found elsewhere (among the witnesses of codex W) only in the hand of the first corrector as represented in MS 40, as well as in the Complutensian edition. This might explain that it was "derived from Aquila or Theodotion on the evidence of Syro-Hex, but also from the original Hebrew. A different connective is reported for Symmachus" (*Minor Prophets*, 27). SANDERS reckons, however, that if one considers the place which Theodotion's revision had held among the Christians, it would be "wiser to assume no indebtedness on the part of W than to refer these two or three cases, all doubtful, to his influence". He also considers that there is clear proof of the direct influence of the original Hebrew on W as well as of a sparing use of the translations of Symmachus and Aquila; these sources would then be sufficient to account for all of the peculiarities of W without having recourse to Theodotion as a source. SANDERS' view is opposed by W. GROSSOUW (*The Coptic Versions of the Minor Prophets. A contribution to the study of the Septuagint* (MBE 3), Rome 1938, 113) and J. ZIEGLER, *Duodecim Prophetarum*, 33-34). The last draws attention to the remarks of GROSSOUW, namely that "it is perhaps best expressed by stating that numerous 'Hebrew corrections' in Ach-Sa, unlike those of the Greek MSS, in which they are derived (in substance) from Theodotion via the Hexapla, were mainly taken from the translations of Aquila and Symmachus and from one or more other translations of which we have hardly any knowledge (quinta, sexta, septima?); similar cases are found in the closely allied Egyptian papyrus W. Direct dependence from the Hebrew remains very unlikely".

⁶² D. BARTHÉLEMY has identified the possible existence of a "Kaige"-version which seems to be on a par with Theodotion and proto-Theodotion. His results were based on the evidence of the Dead Sea scrolls which were found from 1947 onwards (*Les Devanciers d'Aquila* (VT.S 10), Leiden 1963). Unfortunately for the debate on this quotation, no preserved text from JI exists in the "Roll of the Minor Prophets" (S^hevXIIgr) on which BARTHÉLEMY based his theory. If the rest of this quotation had shown a closer resemblance to the Hebrew, there would be a stronger basis for supposing that this *kaige*-text might have been used here. This is not the case. The quotation in general could, on the contrary, even been typified as being nearer to the LXX than to the Hebrew. On this one point, however, *kai ye* is nearer to the Hebrew.

⁶³ G.D. KILPATRICK also thought that this could have been the case (*Some Quotations*, 82), although the quotation "as a whole...still remains remote from the M.T. at several points" (97).

source text, and thus as part of the *Textvorlage*.⁶⁴ Any attempt to pinpoint that text today would be speculative.

{3} and {4} μου (Two times in Ac 2:18)

There can be no doubt that this possessive pronoun is, in both instances, part of the Ac text, due to the fact that it is supported by all the main textual witnesses — including codex D!⁶⁵ Contrary to this, strong textcritical evidence *against* the addition of μου in Jl 2:29 (3:2) is to be found in,⁶⁶ among others, the papyrus codex W.⁶⁷ It is also lacking in the reading of the MT. This does not mean at all, however, that one must assume its omittance also from the *Vorlage* that Luke had in front of him.⁶⁸

The important issue is not to speculate whether this was already to be found in Luke's source text, or not, — but to realise that he reinterprets the δοῦλοι of Jl. They are not slaves here,⁶⁹ but Christians,⁷⁰ i.e. another group,⁷¹ and as representatives of this new social group, they are now servants and maids of God!⁷²

To conclude: It is difficult to be sure whether Luke simply adopted μου from his source text, or whether he added it himself, as part of his interpretation.⁷³ Textcriticism of the LXX text indicates that μου was not part of the LXX. Thus if

⁶⁴. So also K. KLIESCH, *Credo*, 127. For the *contra* argument see R.P. MENZIES, *Early Christian Pneumatology*, 200-221.

⁶⁵. *Contra* D.L. BOCK, *Proclamation*, 159; as well as R.P. MENZIES, who states that "...D omits μου after δοῦλους and δούλας..." (*Early Christian Pneumatology*, 213,n.2).

⁶⁶. *Contra* to K. KLIESCH, *Credo*, 127.

⁶⁷. Cf. J. ZIEGLER: δοῦλος W B-N^a-V AchSaP = M] + μου rel. According to him, the omission must be preferred: "Eine Reihe wichtiger Lesarten, die vielfach als ursprünglich in den Text aufgenommen werden können, wird nur von W B-X, manchmal auch von V und einigen abhängigen Minuskeln und sonstigen Zeugen überliefert" (*Duodecim Prophetiae*, 30). This omission of μου in the reading of the LXX is then one of them. Also H.A. SANDERS has said that there are only a few agreements between codex W on the one hand, and the few fragments of the true Old Latin text and citations from the earlier Church Fathers on the other hand. However, one of these agreements which is however noteworthy, is the support in favour of the omission of μου in Jl 2:29. This reading is thus supported by N^a V W Compl Ach OL^{Text} (*Minor Prophets*, 40). See also the work of D.-A. KOCH in connection with the occurrence of μου in Hab 2:4b and the relevant places where it is quoted in the NT. He has found that μου was scratched here in Hab 2:4b by the hand of the *second* corrector (third hand) in codex W. The second corrector has used another *Vorlage* than that which was used by the first hand and also by the first corrector (second hand) for his corrections. These readings of the second corrector (third hand) are therefore not as authoritative as the first two hands (Der Text von Hab 2,4b in der Septuaginta und im Neuen Testament, in: ZNW 76 (1985), 68-85). Here in Jl 2:29 μου is omitted by all the hands of codex W.

⁶⁸. Cf. the LXX textcritical witnesses in favour of this inclusion: B (only at δοῦλους) N^c [A(106,26)-Q(544)-49(764)-198-233(710,410)-534] [L(2,36,48,51,231,719,763)-L1(62,147)-L11(46,86,711)]. (See also the table in App. A). On the basis of the support of the Alexandrian group here again, W.K.L. CLARKE sees the inclusion of μου as being due to recensional causes (H.B. SWETE's fifth group) (*Use of the Septuagint*, 93-95). Also G. SCHNEIDER states that it could not be excluded, "daß das μου schon im LXX-Text des Lukas stand" (*App I*, 268). D.L. BOCK seems to indicate agreement when saying that although "Haenchen suggests that these additions of μου make the servant's relationship to God clearer", "this relationship seems implied already in the OT texts" (*Proclamation*, 159).

⁶⁹. So also G. SCHNEIDER, *App I*, 268; and R.P. MENZIES, *Early Christian Pneumatology*, 218.

⁷⁰. T. HOLTZ, *Untersuchungen*, 10.

⁷¹. H. CONZELMANN, *App*, 34. Against the viewpoint of E. HAENCHEN that we are not dealing here with a new group (*App*, 142).

⁷². Cf. also J. ROLOFF, *App*, 53; and G. LÜDEMANN, *Christentum*, 50.

⁷³So also D.L. BOCK, *Proclamation*, 162.

Luke used the LXX, the assumption must be that he added μου as part of his interpretation of the text.

[5] καὶ προφητεῶσσι (Ac 2:18)

Although most scholars agree that these words are omitted in the LXX, there is substantial disagreement when they come to deal with the question of its occurrence in most of the NT textual witnesses on Ac.⁷⁴ The textual situation related to this phrase has been discussed in detail recently, and it was proposed that these words be excluded from Ac.⁷⁵ A proposal for the omission of this phrase in Ac is nothing new.⁷⁶ However, when the textcritical data are compared, it is clear that witnesses supporting the inclusion of these words in Ac definitely outweigh those who are against it, and there is no reason to query the readings of P⁷⁴ & A and B — especially not when found in this combination.⁷⁷ Assuming then that καὶ προφητεῶσσι was not part of Luke's source text,⁷⁸ it then follows that it was added by Luke himself.⁷⁹ It therefore differs from the LXX reading and was thus probably the result of Luke's reinterpretation of his source text.⁸⁰ Prophecy is now not only, as before, limited to individual prophets, but has become a sign for all who believe in Christ,⁸¹ especially then the δούλοι μου!

⁷⁴. The problem is that it is indeed difficult to determine if this was the result of a pre-Lukan change or the work of the compiler of Ac (G. SCHNEIDER, *Apg I*, 268-9). E. HAENCHEN (*Apg*, 142) and T. HOLTZ (*Untersuchungen*, 11) have even thought it to be a "Schreibfehler".

⁷⁵. Cf. P.R. RODGERS (Acts 2:18. καὶ προφητεῶσσι, in: *JThS* 38 (1987), 95-97, here 95). His argument develops in the following way: "The addition is supported by the vast majority of manuscripts (P⁷⁴ & A B C E etc.) and the omission is attested in only a few witnesses (D it^d P Tertullian, Rebaptism, Priscillian)". The fact that Priscillian, Bishop of Avila from 381-5, omitted this phrase in his quotation of Ac 2:18 (*Tract* 1:59, CSEL 18.32) attests, according to Rodgers, "to its absence at least in the manuscript tradition known to him, a tradition which includes elements of both B and D types, but also displays independence from both types of text" (*Acts* 2, 96-7). His conclusion is that "these considerations...suggest that the original text of Acts is not presented by either B or D, but by an earlier form of text of which these two types represent revision or corruption" (*Acts* 2, 97). Contrary to this viewpoint, T. HOLTZ (following G.D. KILPATRICK, *Eclectic Study*, 66), had already argued two decades earlier that the omission this phrase in D it, etc. "...ist nachträgliche Angleichung an die LXX" (*Untersuchungen*, 11).

⁷⁶. Also according to A.F.J. KLIJN, these words must be rejected (*In Search*, 103-110). He rejects them on the grounds that, in his view, D agrees with the LXX (G.D. KILPATRICK, *Some Quotations*, 96). Against this, G.D. KILPATRICK has argued that "...there is no reason for thinking that D and the LXX are right automatically when they agree, however rarely this happens. Other things being equal, the text which diverges from the LXX seems more likely to be right" (97).

⁷⁷ So also J.J. KILGALLEN, The Unity of Peter's Pentecost Speech, in: *BiTod* 82 (1976), 650-656, here 652.

⁷⁸. Its inclusion among the witnesses of the LXX is limited to a section of the Lucian group: 36-LII(46,86,711)-49(613). Cf. also the table at App. A.

⁷⁹. Cf. also R.P. MENZIES, *Early Christian Pneumatology*, 221; and K. KLIESCH, *Credo*, 127. The latter uses Ac 19:6 as support for his argument, but admits that this is controversial. T. HOLTZ, for instance, does not regard this as possible, but opts for dittography, "...als ein Versehen...". (*Untersuchungen*, 12). And even before him, already E. HAENCHEN, *Apg*, 142. This makes sense, but will remain difficult, however, to determine if it was Luke or an earlier writer.

⁸⁰. According to W.K.L. CLARKE, the repetition of these words here "makes the prophecy more appropriate to the events". He prefers then to see the addition as being due to "a desire to adapt a prophetic context to the circumstances under which it was thought to have been fulfilled" (*Use of the Septuagint*, 93-94), i.e. H.B. SWETE's third group. G. SCHNEIDER says that its repetition here gives "Jedenfalls...dem προφητεῶσσι als Geistwirkung ein sachliches Schwergewicht" (*Apg I*, 269).

⁸¹. So W. DIETRICH, *Petrusbild*, 202 — although he wanted to limit it still only to Jews. Cf. also D.L. BOCK: "The insertion serves to underscore that these Spirit-anointed people, as well as Peter himself, speak the Word of God. As such the insertion is a theological addition..." (*Proclamation*, 162).

[6] and [7] ἄνω ... (κάτω) (Ac 2:19)

Codex D, as well as all the main textual witnesses, support the inclusion of these words in the Ac text. It seems, however, as if they are lacking in "the" LXX. Although the single word, κάτω, was thought to be a "conscious addition" by Luke,⁸² it is found in codex W⁸³ as part of the text! Some reading(s) which include this word, might then have already existed in one or more of the several versions of the LXX that were circulating during this time. The possibility is then by no means excluded that this could have been part of the source text that Luke might have had at his disposal.⁸⁴ When looking to the rest of the parallelistic phrase, it is noteworthy that it is only here in the NT that the combination of ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κάτω is to be found with ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἄνω. When one compares the occurrences of the phrase ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἄνω καὶ ... ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κάτω in Is,⁸⁵ and bearing in mind that Is was one of the prophets best known by Luke, the possibility cannot be excluded that he consciously changed⁸⁶ the reading of his source text at this point to correlate with an already known phraseological combination from the OT — in its Greek form.⁸⁷ Another possibility might be traced to Luke's preference for strong contrasts.⁸⁸ That this could have been the manner in which it found its way is, however, not so important. Significant is the fact that this is not found in either the LXX or the Hebrew texts of Jl, and therefore could be treated as a conscious addition by Luke.⁸⁹

To conclude: It seems possible that Luke could have made these changes, (or at least that of the addition of ἄνω⁹⁰), and that the changes were probably due to his interpretation of his text.⁹¹

⁸² So G. SCHNEIDER, *Apq I*, 269. Also M. RESE, *Motive*, 52-53; and D.L. BOCK, *Proclamation*, 162.

⁸³ As well as with an accompanying minuscule, 407, and support from the Lucianic group: 22^c-36-*LII*(46,86^mg,711)-49(764,613). See table in App. A. According to T. HOLTZ, the occurrence of κάτω in W-407 is probably a sign therefore, that the text, which is read in our LXX editions, "...erst das Produkt einer Angleichung an den MT ist und ursprünglich anders aussah..." (*Untersuchungen*, 13).

⁸⁴ H.A. SANDERS states that "in so old a manuscript as this papyrus one may safely assume freedom from the influence of Origen as well as from the later editions, and this assumption is supported by the examination of the text" (*Minor Prophets*, 25). This seems also to be true about influence from the text of Ac.

⁸⁵ Cf. for example Is 8:21 and 37:31 which are exact parallels. 'Εν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἄνω alone is also to be found in Is 7:3; 7:11(Th) — here in connection with σμῆμα; 34:10; 36:2. (About κάτω also in the OT: Ex 20:4; Dt 4:39; 5:8; Job 2:11; 15:19; 3 Ki(1 Ki) 8:23; Ec 3:21; 5:1; Is 5:30; 8:22; 51:6; Jr 38(31):37). L. O'REILLY disagrees on probable influence from Is (*Word and Sign*, 165).

⁸⁶ Cf. also G. SCHNEIDER, *Apq I*, 269.

⁸⁷ Being part of Ex 20 (V.4), it was indeed a well known phrase.

⁸⁸ So L. O'REILLY, *Word and Sign*, 165. He points to the following passages: Lk 2:14; 10:15,18,19; 12:56; 21:25; Ac 4:24; 10:11,12; etc. According to R. MORGENTHAUER, Luke has then found this stylistic feature in the LXX and has used it here to accentuate the existing contrast (*Die lukanische Geschichtsschreibung als Zeugnis, Bd. I* (ATHANT 14), Zürich 1949, 30-32).

⁸⁹ Cf. T. HOLTZ: "Lukas wird in den Text eingegriffen haben, aber es ist nicht ausgemacht, daß der LXX-Text so ohne Aufforderung dazu war, wie er heute erscheint" (*Untersuchungen*, 13).

⁹⁰ Supported among the LXX textual witnesses only by X^c and a section of the Lucianic group: 22^c-36-*LII*(46,86,711)-49(764,613)-407. Cf. also the table at App. A.

⁹¹ This does not mean at all that this quotation has to be typified as "free citation" (as W.K.L. CLARKE has seen it and categorized it within the first group of possible causes mentioned by SWETE) (*Use of the Septuagint*, 93).

[8] σημεῖα (Ac 2:19)

The inclusion of σημεῖα in the text of Ac, against that of the LXX, is supported by the main textual witnesses, including codex D. This NT inclusion has already, quite rightly, been identified as a conscious addition by Luke.⁹² Less clear is Luke's reason for making the addition: was it because of the context of what follows immediately hereafter in the speech (V.22),⁹³ or did it arise from Luke's knowledge of the LXX or any other tradition (oral or written).

It should be noted here that this combination of τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα was a common expression during the time of Luke.⁹⁴ It would have been well known in the LXX.⁹⁵ One has to distinguish here, however, between τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα which were done by Jesus,⁹⁶ τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα which were done later by the apostles,⁹⁷ and τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα as cosmic signs⁹⁸ (i.e. part of apocalyptic language, and referring to events in nature due to occur just before the "great and glorious day of the Lord", before his second coming). All three alternatives are presented in Ac 2. It is clear that V.22 refers to signs and wonders performed by *Jesus*. Later in Ac it

⁹². Cf. K. LAKE & H.J. CADBURY, *Beginnings* IV, 23; E. HAENCHEN, *App*, 142.149; U. WILCKENS, *Missionsreden*, 124; T. HOLTZ, *Untersuchungen*, 12; D.L. BOCK, *Proclamation*, 162-163; G. SCHNEIDER, *App I*, 269; K.H. RENGSTORF, s.v. σημεῖον, κ.τ.λ., in: *TDNT* VII, 240-241. With regard to the latter, L. O'REILLY finds the theological motivation for the distinction between σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα and τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα in Ac "...less than convincing" (*Word and Sign*, 165). Its inclusion among the witnesses of the LXX, does not convince: N^c-V 22^c-36-L11(46,86,711)-49(764,613). Compare also the table in App. A.

⁹³. So seen by T. HOLTZ, *Untersuchungen*, 13; M. RESE (*Motive*, 49). According to the latter, this first occurrence (here within the quotation), was inserted as a link with the second occurrence later in the speech. C. SMITS also sees it in this way. He says: "Petrus geeft na het citaat een beschrijving van Jesus' daden die gebaseerd is op de woorden van Joël over wondertekenen" (*Citaten II*, 180). Cf. also U. WILCKENS, *Missionsreden*, 33; O. BAUERNFEIND, *App*, 45; K. KLIESCH, *Credo*, 127. But here it probably refers *not* (as Ac 2:22) to those done by the historical Jesus. So also F. MUSSNER, *Letzten Tagen*, 264; B. REICKE, *Glaube und Leben*, 43; and L. O'REILLY, *Word and Sign*, 164.

⁹⁴. Cf. however, L. O'REILLY who points to the fact that it is here in Ac 2:19 "...something of an exception to the general rule..." (*Word and Sign*, 163-164).

⁹⁵. Cf. Ex 7:3 and Ps 104(105):27 and also the following in the LXX = Dt 13:1,2; 28:46; 34:11; 2Ezr 19(Nch 9):10; Ps 134(135):9; Wisd 8:8; 10:16; 1s 8:18; 20:3; Jr 39:(32):20,21; Dn 6:28(Th). Note, however, that it is always used in the combination order σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα, except in Wisd 10:16. It is also re-used from the LXX in the NT in texts such as Ac 7:36, for example. See also the comments of C. BREYTENBACH on this expression in his discussion on Mk 13:22. He typifies it as "im Neuen Testament fast eine feste Formel" and as "ein Biblizismus", referring also (except the instances above) to Ac 4:43; 7:36; [15:2 - which ought to be 15:12]; Jn 4:48; 2 Th 2:9 and Heb 2:4 (*Nachfolge und Zukunftserwartung nach Markus. Eine methodenkritische Studie* (ATHANT 71), Zürich 1984, 295-296).

⁹⁶. So, for example, G. STÄHLIN, *App*, 42-45; U. WILCKENS, *Missionsreden*, 33; G. LÜDEMANN, *Christentum*, 51.

⁹⁷. F. STOLZ has drawn attention to the frequency of the latter: "Zumist bezeichnet der Ausdruck σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα in der Apostelgeschichte aber die Machttaten im Leben der Gemeinde erfahrene Wirksamkeit des erhöhten Christus". He referred to Ac 2:34; 4:30; 5:12; 6:8; 14:3; 15:12 (Zeichen und Wunder. Die prophetische Legitimation und ihre Geschichte, in: *ZThK* 69 (1972), 125-144, here 143). With regard to the background of "signs and wonders" in Ac, L. O'REILLY has pointed out that "...it is not surprising therefore that it is in a prophetic setting that the origin of 'signs and wonders' is to be found", and "As was the case in the neighbouring religions, so too in Israel, the man of God who did not possess an institutional standing had to provide a sign, often in the form of a prediction, whose fulfillment would show that his word could be trusted as coming from God" (*Word and Sign*, 173). See also A. WEISER, *App I*, 92; and E. HAENCHEN, *Schriftzitate*, 161.

⁹⁸. So also G. SCHNEIDER, *App I*, 269; D.L. BOCK, *Proclamation*, 167; J. KREMER, *Pfingstbericht*, 172-174.

becomes clear that there was already at that time a living idiom that the *apostles* did τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα.⁹⁹ V.43 refers to those of the apostles. In the quotation itself, however, reference is made to the cosmic signs of Jesus' parusia. Jesus' very own prophecy as spelled out in Lk 21:25-28 may be at the back of Luke's mind at this point. When this whole quotation is interpreted in an eschatological manner, indicating here the beginning of "the last days", the "signs and wonders" referred to may be those which are to follow later during the time of the apostles, just before the coming of Christ.¹⁰⁰ Another explanation for the addition of σημεῖα might thus be that it could have been the result of this living idiom, and serving as an eschatological pointer to the things which would follow in the era of the apostles. Luke might thus be introducing these future cosmic events as events of the eschaton. Both occurrences in this second speech of Peter (VV.19,22), as well as the one in V.43, would then be better explained from this perspective, i.e. that this phrase was already part of the tradition, and that it points here to the future. This is more satisfactory than to try to explain the first occurrence (V.19) as being dependent on the second occurrence in V.22. Thus, the "signs and wonders" referred to in V.19 are apocalyptic, those in V.22 are those performed by Jesus, and those in V.43 are those of the disciples.

b.2 Substitution:

[9] μετὰ ταῦτα (LXX) --> ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις,¹⁰¹ (Ac 2:17)

⁹⁹. Compare the following: Ac 2:43; 4:30; 5:12; 6:8; 14:3; 15:12; Rm 15:19; 2 Cor 12:12. (See Ac 7:36). According to R.P. MENZIES, it should be noted that the phrase occurs in introductory (Ac 5:12; 6:8) and summary statements (Ac 2:43; 14:3; 15:12), which are generally recognized as Lukan (*Early Christian Pneumatology*, 221). L. O'REILLY says that "...the 'signs and wonders' of the last days are the miracles of the apostles which accompany the preaching of the word. The prophetic Spirit of Pentecost confers not only the power to preach the word of God but also the power to do 'signs and wonders' like those of Jesus and those of Moses" (*Word and Sign*, 166). Compare Mk 16:15-17 with Ac. The risen Jesus sent the eleven disciples "into all the world" (πορευθέντες εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἅπαντα, V.15; cf. Ac 1:8; 28:26-28) to "preach the gospel" (κηρύξατε τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, V.15; cf. Ac 2:14-40; 8:5; 9:20; 10:37,42; 18:9; 19:13,20; 20:25; 28:31) so that "he who believes and is baptized will be saved" (ὁ πιστεύσας καὶ βαπτισθεὶς σωθήσεται, V.16; cf. Ac 1:5; 2:38,41; 8:12,13,16,36,38; 9:18; 10:47-48, 11:16; 16:15,33; 18:8; 19:3-5; 20:21; 22:16). A list of *signis* is then presented which "will accompany those who believe" (σημεῖα δὲ πιστεύσασιν ταῦτα παρεκολουθήσει, V.17; cf. Ac 2:43; 4:16,22,30; 5:12; 6:8; 8:6,13; 14:3; 15:12), and which will be manifested "in Jesus' name" (ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι μου, V.17; cf. Ac 2:21,38; 3:6; 3:16; 4:7,10,12,17-18,30; 5:28,40-41; 8:12,16; 9:14-16,21,27-28; 10:43,48; 15:14,17,26; 16:18; 19:5,13,17; 21:13; 22:16; 26:9). These *signis* in Mk are: the casting out of demons (cf. Ac 19:11), "speaking in new tongues" (cf. Ac 2:3-4,11; 10:46; 19:6), picking up serpents (cf. Ac 28:3-6), they will not die when drinking poison, ill persons will be healed (cf. Ac 3:1-10; 14:8-11; 19:11; 28:8-9). Comparison with the context of the rest of Ac, reveals many similarities! When comparing the reconstructed text readings of Ac and LXX, they seem to be the nearest to codex A — which also included this, normally accepted to be a later dated, unit in Mk.

¹⁰⁰. See Lk 21:25: καὶ σημεῖα ἐν ἡλίῳ καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ ἀστροῖς, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς...

¹⁰¹. In favour of this substitution in Ac are: X A D E I P S 462 vg syr Iren Hil Mac Chrys Aug *al.* Against it: B 076 cop^{sa} Cyr (Jer). Scholars as E. HAENCHEN (*Schriftzitate*, 162,166; *App.* 142); E. SCHWEIZER, (s.v. πνεῦμα, in: *TDNT* VI, 332-431) and T. HOLTZ (*Untersuchungen*, 7-8) choose the reading of B here (which reads μετὰ ταῦτα) because it suits the Lukan understanding of the church much better — that it does not have any eschatological quality: "keine Naherwartung". Others, as I.H. MARSHALL, *Luke*, 161; H. CONZELMANN, *App.* 34; (contrary to his viewpoint in *Die Mitte der Zeit. Studien zur Theologie des Lukas* (BHT 17), Tübingen 1964, 87); M. RESE, *Motive*, 51-52; F. MUSSNER, *Letzten Tagen*, 263-5; B.M. METZGER, *Textual Commentary*, 295; and K. KLIESCH, *Credo*, 251,n.18, have argued convincingly for the contrary view. According to B.M. METZGER, the

Luke has changed the *μετὰ ταῦτα*, which the LXX has taken from the Hebrew, to *ἐν ταῖς ἑσχάταις ἡμέραις*.¹⁰² It seems likely that this change was not due to Luke's *Vorlage*, but was a conscious substitution by the NT author, possibly an intentional adoption of an existing traditional formula.¹⁰³

Ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις itself is a phrase which is typical of both Luke and the LXX. It could not be seen as being only typical of the *koine* at this time, otherwise it must have manifested itself also heavily in other NT documents. It may therefore be seen as indicating that Luke had substantial knowledge of the LXX. It is possible then that Luke's use of the phrase springs from his knowledge of the context of J1 itself.¹⁰⁴ A comparison of Ac 2:17 (*ἐν ταῖς ἑσχάταις ἡμέραις*) with J1 1:2 (*ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ὑμῶν ἢ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῶν πατέρων ὑμῶν*), where a similar phrase occurs twice, bears this suggestion out. There is an obvious link between Luke's use of the phrase, and that of J1, except that the latter lacks *ἑσχάταις*. However, once the link has been accepted, the problem of the occurrence of *ἑσχάταις* still remains. Noteworthy then, is this additional *ἑσχάταις* which refers to the "last days",¹⁰⁵ and therefore pinpoints this as referring to eschatological expectation.¹⁰⁶ A second

texts that support the reading of *μετὰ ταῦτα*, represent "the work of an Alexandrian corrector who brought the quotation in Acts into strict conformity with the prevailing text of the Septuagint" (*Textual Commentary*, 295). So also D.L. BOCK, *Proclamation*, 160-161; and R.P. MENZIES, *Early Christian Pneumatology*, 213.

^{102.} According to B.M. NEWMAN and E.A. NIDA, this "is a typical Jewish expression used to describe the time of the Messianic age in which God would fully accomplish those promises that he had made to his people. It was taken over by the first Christians and applied to the period which began when Jesus came into the world, especially from the time of his resurrection onward. It is quite significant that these words are not in the Hebrew or Greek texts of Joel but supplied by Peter" (*Translator's Handbook*, 43).

^{103.} E. PLÜMACHER saw this as the taking on of a traditional formula (*Acta Forschung I*, 11). So also E. GRÄSSER, *Die Parusieerwartung in der Apostelgeschichte*, in: J. KREMER (éd), *Les Actes des Apôtres. Traditions, rédaction, théologie* (ETHL 48), Gembloux/Leuven 1979, 99-127, here 119; D.L. BOCK, *Proclamation*, 161; and R.P. MENZIES who, however, does not agree that it comes from one tradition, but attributes it directly to the hand of Luke himself (*Early Christian Pneumatology*, 217).

^{104.} This could then strengthen the possibility that he has also inserted *λέγει ὁ θεός*, again on the same basis of his knowledge of the broader context of J1. If he knew this broader context, both additions are explained on their own.

^{105.} Cf. also in the NT: Jn 6:39,40,44,54; 7:37; 11:24; 12:48; 2 Tm 3:1; Heb 1:2; Ja 5:3; 2 Pt 3:3. And in the LXX: Gn 49:1; Nm 24:14; Dt 4:30; 8:16; 31:29; 32:20; Jos 24:27; Neh 8:18; Pr 31:25; Hs 3:5; Mi 4:1; Is 2:2; Jr 23:20; 25:18(49:39); 37(30):24; Ezk 38:16; Dn 2:28,45; 10:14; 11:20; Dn 2:28(Th); 10:14(Th).

^{106.} So also implied by I.H. MARSHALL: "Peter regards Joel's prophecy as applying to the last days, and claims that his hearers are now living in the last days. God's final act of salvation has begun to take place" (*Acts*, 73). E. HAENCHEN's viewpoint (*Schriftstudie*, 162), that this phrase is a secondary emendation, cannot be supported. HAENCHEN's view subsequently received support from T. HOLTZ, with his categorical statement that this cannot be seen as Lukan eschatology, as the time of the outpouring of the Spirit is not yet the endtime (*Untersuchungen*, 7). A re-evaluation and more careful formulation of the issue is needed. Except for scholars such as F. MUSSNER (*Letzten Tagen*, 263-265); J. KREMER (*Pfingstbericht*, 171); and R.P. MENZIES (*Early Christian Pneumatology*, 215) who have rejected the above viewpoint of E. HAENCHEN, also A. KERRIGAN has said long ago for instance that "in the New Testament the expression *ἑσχατος* is rarely used to describe time". According to him, (for Peter) the *Last Times* constitute here "a wide period extending from the appearance of Jesus to the moment when salvation will be definitely revealed" (*Sensus Plenior*, 299-300). An even more useful formulation of Lukan eschatology is to be found in the summary of G. SCHNEIDER'S viewpoint of the "Parusieerwartung" by Luke: "...an der Parusieerwartung hält Lk vielmehr 'energisch' fest (lediglich die Terminfrage lehnt er ab) und empfiehlt eine 'Stetsbereitschaft im Blick auf das Ende' (142), zumal mit der Zeit der Kirche 'die Endzeit angebrochen ist' (137); mit Hinweis auf die gegen LXX und hebräischen Text erfolgte Änderung des Joelzitates in Apg 2,17" (summarized by E. PLÜMACHER, *Acta-Forschung I*, 11). E. PLÜMACHER himself, however, wants to see the *ἑσχαται*

possibility is that it might have been used by Luke from the "eschatological introduction" of Is.¹⁰⁷ Problematic to explain when this alternative is chosen, is the rest of the quotation which follows directly hereafter. It might therefore be taken as some kind of a "combined quotation", but syntactically the καὶ ἔσται of Ac 2:17 is nearer to the reading of JI than to that of Isaiah (ὅτι ἔσται). A third possibility is that μετὰ ταῦτα was simply seen as some kind of synonym to ἔσχατος itself.¹⁰⁸ The whole inserted phrase could then be an explanatory substitution by Luke for that found in his *Vortage*.

It is difficult to choose one of the three possibilities mentioned above. One thing, however, becomes vividly clear when these are compared: Luke's inserted phrase resembles a motif which seems to be found linked with the style of the prophetic literature — eschatological expectation. This is supported either by the phrase ἐν ταῖς (ἐσχάταις) ἡμέραις or by the synonomous usage of ἔσχατος and μετὰ ταῦτα.

To conclude: This phrase might have been deliberately changed by Luke. There is no such reading to be found in either the LXX or the MT. He has changed this to provide for his interpretation of the quoted section in terms of his understanding of eschatology.¹⁰⁹

b.3 Transposition:

[10] καὶ οἱ νεανίσκοι ὑμῶν ὁράσεις ὄψονται (Ac 2:17)

This phrase is found in the LXX after the πρεσβύτεροι. The order in the LXX is thus: υἱοὶ - θυγατέρες - πρεσβύτεροι - νεανίσκοι. This order is changed in Ac to: υἱοὶ - θυγατέρες - νεανίσκοι - πρεσβύτεροι. While there is no textcritical support to be found among the LXX witnesses for the order as it is in Ac, it might be assumed here that it was probably moved by Luke himself¹¹⁰ in order to place the young men directly after the sons and daughters and before the elders, presenting a better (logical) hierarchical structure.¹¹¹

ἡμέραι to be the same as the καιροὶ ἐθνῶν (Lk 21:24): "die letzte Epoche vor der Parusie" (*Acta-Forschung I*, 38).

¹⁰⁷. Compare Is 2:2 ("Ὅτι ἔσται ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις...") with Ac 2:17 (καὶ ἔσται ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις...). This was already suggested by W.K.L. CLARKE who thought that it might have come from Is 2:2, and saw it as an example of "the fusing together of passages drawn from different contexts" — according to H.B. SWETE's fourth group (*Use of the Septuagint*, 93-94), as well as by C. SMITS who has said: "De beginwoorden van het uitgebreide citaat zijn wel door Lucas overgenomen uit een eschatologische inleiding van Isaias (2.2)" (*Chaten II*, 180). Cf. also F.F. BRUCE, *Acts*, 61,n.62.

¹⁰⁸. Cf. Is 44:6: "Ἐγὼ πρῶτος καὶ ἐγὼ μετὰ ταῦτα, πλὴν ἐμοῦ οὐκ ἔστι θεός. Also Hs 3:5: καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα...ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν. Cf. further Dn 2:29(Th); 2:45(Th).

¹⁰⁹. So also D.L. BOCK: "...the alteration suggests that a turning point has taken place in salvation history. This alteration has a clear theological motive. With the pouring out of the Spirit the movement towards the eschatological Day of the Lord is declared to have begun" (*Proclamation*, 161).

¹¹⁰. So also G. SCHNEIDER, *App I*, 268; R.P. MENZIES, *Early Christian Pneumatology*, 218; and others. Even codex D supports the transposition in Ac. But there is no single textcritical witness of the LXX that supports this transposition. Cf. to the table in App. A.

¹¹¹. So also G. SCHNEIDER, *App I*, 268; R.P. MENZIES, *Early Christian Pneumatology*, 218; D.L. BOCK, *Proclamation*, 162; and G. LÜDEMANN who calls it "eine sachliche Verbesserung" (*Christentum*, 50). H. RINGGREN jumps too easily to the conclusion that this reversed order in Ac is "an indication of quoting from memory" (*Luke's Use*, 233). To prove that Luke has quoted here from memory is about as impossible as it is to prove that he has actually cited here directly from a written source. T. HOLTZ suggests that this could have been the result of "Versehen", "...es ist

b.4 Case change:

[11] ἐνσπνία → ἐνσπνίους (Ac 2:17)

One finds in Ac the dative ἐνσπνίους — a *hapax legomenon*¹¹² — instead of the accusative ἐνσπνία of the LXX, of which the latter seems to be a better translation of the Hebrew, beside the fact that ἐνσπνιάζομαι normally takes the accusative.¹¹³ This does not lead to any change in meaning, however. It also contributes to a better parallel structure, agreeing with the ending of ὁράσεις of the previous unit. There exists some possibility that this reading could have been due to Luke's *Vorlage*.¹¹⁴

b.5 Quotation-ending:

Although there are no omissions to be found within the quoted section itself, it must be asked why the quotation was ended at this specific point, and why the material following directly afterwards was excluded.¹¹⁵ Some scholars suggest that this was done so that the salvation would be seen as applying *not* exclusively to the Jews.¹¹⁶ The specific sentence would then be excluded here in order to modify, reinterpret, and to relate the quotation with the new given context. The rest of it is, however, not left out. In V.39 we find the remaining elements woven implicitly into the discourse.¹¹⁷ It seems then as if Luke found it important to interrupt his quotation here in order to avoid any misunderstanding that it was meant for the Jews alone. The portion of the quotation thus interrupted is then represented, in a modified form, later in the discourse. In addition, it must be said that the christological kerygma forms the centre of the speech itself. Luke thus quotes this section up to

unwahrscheinlich, daß sie auf Grund bewußter Überlegung erfolgte" (*Untersuchungen*, 12).

¹¹² The following word, ἐνσπνισθήσονται, is to be found only once more in the NT, in Jude 8.

¹¹³ Cf. T. HOLTZ, *Untersuchungen*, 9; R.P. MENZIES, *Early Christian Pneumatology*, 218; and D.L. BOCK, *Proclamation*, 162.

¹¹⁴ So also K. KLIESCH, *Credo*, 127; and T. HOLTZ, *Untersuchungen*, 10. The Ac reading finds support among the following LXX witnesses: N^c-V A(106,26)-Q(544)-49(764)-198-233(710,410)-534. See the table in App. A. It is thus strongly supported by the Alexandrian tradition. W.K.L. CLARKE then has preferred to see this change as being due to the fact that "the quotations in Acts show the usual New Testament tendency in that they follow the A text of the LXX, as against the B", and therefore more being due to recensional causes (i.e. the 5th group of H.B. SWETE) (*Use of the Septuagint*, 95). According to R.P. MENZIES, however, the dative was presumably preferred here by the redactor (*Early Christian Pneumatology*, 218).

¹¹⁵ The rest of J1 2:32(3:5) reads as follows: ὅτι ἐν τῷ ὄρει Σιών καὶ ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἔσται ἀνασφύζομενος, καθότι εἶπε κύριος, καὶ εὐαγγελιζόμενοι, οὓς κύριος προσκέκληται. M. RESE (*Motive*, 50) mentions that this notification was done already by A. LOISY (*Les Actes des Apôtres*, Paris 1920, 201).

¹¹⁶ Cf. for example M. RESE: "Bewußt wird durch die Kürzung des Zitats die Einschränkung der Verheißung von Joel 3 auf die Juden vermieden" (*Motive*, 50). In the same direction also J. DUPONT, *Études*, 393-419; A. KERRIGAN, *Sensus Plenior*, 311; and G. LÜDEMANN, *Christentum*, 51.

¹¹⁷ Cf. here J. ROLOFF: "Der hier zunächst weggelassene Schluß der Joelstelle (Joel 3,5b) wird später bei der Entfaltung dieses Umkehrrufs (V.39) noch eine Rolle spielen" (*App.*, 53). So also H. CONZELMANN, *App.*, 35; A. KERRIGAN, *Sensus Plenior*, 311; H. VAN DE SANDT, *Fate of the Gentiles*, 70. The latter has drawn attention also to Ac 13:2 and 16:10.

the point where he could link this κύριος (V.21) with Jesus of Nazareth who was made both κύριος and χριστός (V.36).

3.2.4 Method of quotation

A similarity to the way in which the quotation (quoted texts) was used in the context of the *first Petrine speech*, can be detected here. In the first Petrine speech, (a) the theme of Judas' death is discussed (1:16-20a); (b) the discussion ends with the first part of an explicit quotation (first quoted text, 1:20b-c) which is connected with this theme, thus indicating that the Scripture here quoted has been fulfilled. Luke exploits the change of theme which occurs in the quotation; the need for the election of a new witness is a consequence of the death of Judas. (c) Thus Luke uses the second part of the same quotation (second quoted text, 1:20d) to point forwards to something which now needs to be fulfilled, i.e. the election of another faithful witness in the place of Judas. (d) This election is then discussed as the next theme (1:21-22).

In this *second Petrine speech*, a similar pattern appears: (a) the theme of the happenings surrounding the "coming" of the Spirit and the reaction of the apostles (2:1-13) is taken up (2:14-17) and (b) explained by way of the connection with the first part of the quotation (2:17-18); this part of the quotation rounds off the theme, and implies that the Scripture here quoted has now been fulfilled. (c) The second part of the same quotation (2:19-20) is used to point forwards, to those things which have yet to be fulfilled, i.e. the wonders and signs, the cosmic events involving the sun and the moon, and the coming of the great and glorious day of the Lord.¹¹⁸ Also, of course, that everybody who calls on the Name of the κύριος during this time, would be saved (2:21). (d) The κύριος (Jesus of Nazareth), his death, resurrection and exaltation (with the use of additional quotations), as well as salvation in his Name, is explained in the rest of the speech (2:22-40).

This can be presented schematically as follows:

<i>First Petrine speech</i>	<i>Second Petrine speech</i>
(a) Theme: Judas (1:16-20a)	(a) Theme: Spirit, reaction (2:14-17)
(b) Quoted text [1] (1:20b-c)	(b) Quoted section [1] (2:17-18)
= Fulfilled	= Now beginning to be fulfilled
(c) Quoted text [2] (1:20d)	(c) Quoted section [2] (2:19-20/21)
= Yet unfulfilled	= Yet unfulfilled
(d) Theme: elect witness (1:21-2)	(d) Theme (κύριος, salvation) (2:22-40)

In the section of the prophetic speech of Jesus, as recorded in Lk 21:25-27 (par. Mk 13:21-27; Mt 24:23-31), Luke has omitted the explicit quotations from Is 13:10 (Mk 13:24; Mt 24:29a) and Is 34:4 (Mk 13:25; Mt 24:29b) situated between the σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα (Mk 13:22; Mt 24:24) and the quotation from Dn 7:13 (Mk 13:26; Mt 24:30). The reference to σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα is not to be found in Luke's gospel, but the quotation from Dn 7:13 is, however, included. Does Luke, in Ac 2, replace the

¹¹⁸ Cf. also H. CONZELMANN, *Apk.* 34, and G. LÜDEMANN: "Auf die Charakterisierung der Kirche als durch den Geist bestimmt (V.17-18) folgt V.19-20 der Übergang von der Gegenwart 'zur apokalyptischen Zukunft, was der Darstellung von Lc 21 entspricht' (*Christentum*, 51).

quotations from Is 13:10 and 34:4 with the quotation from Jl 3:1-5(2:28-32)?¹¹⁹

3.2.5 Interpretation of the quotation by Luke

The second Petrine speech with its quotations, is presented not only as an explanation of the incorrect interpretation of what has happened (2:1-13),¹²⁰ but also as an opportunity for *apostolic kerygma*.¹²¹

[1] The fact that Luke has inserted the phrase, λέγει ὁ θεός, in a parenthesis at the beginning of his quotation, clearly emphasizes the *divine authority* with which he means to invest this quotation: these are the direct words of God! Peter and the others are authoritative witnesses to this, and therefore the "δούλοι μου" of God, who are experiencing the miracle of the "outpouring" of the (power of) the Holy Spirit.

[2] Although this long Jl-quotation has tended, in the past, to be interpreted by scholars in a christological way,¹²² the question must now be asked whether Luke did not tend, in fact, towards a more *eschatological* understanding of this text.¹²³ His

¹¹⁹Cf. for instance F.F. BRUCE who suggests on a similar issue that it seems to be "...a practice attested several times in Luke-Acts: Luke will omit altogether, or pass over lightly, a Synoptic theme from the appropriate context of his Gospel in order to introduce it later, in an appropriate context in Acts" (*Paul's Use*, 77).

¹²⁰ So also, for example, M. DIBELIUS, *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles*, New York 1956, 138-185; E. SCHWEIZER, *Speeches*, 208-216; U. WILCKENS, *Missionsreden*, 32-56; I.H. MARSHALL, *Acts*, 73; K. KLIESCH, *Credo*, 127; C.A. EVANS, The Prophetic Setting of the Pentecost Sermon, in: *ZNW* 74 (1983), 148-150, here 148; H. VAN DE SANDT, *Fate of the Gentiles*, 56; and R.P. MENZIES, *Early Christian Pneumatology*, 213-228. The latter even talked about "Peter's *pesher* of the Joel citation for Luke's pneumatology", finding the link between this first-century Judaistic method of biblical exegesis in the "this is that"-formula of Ac 2:16 (214). See also Ac 3:12 and 14:15.

¹²¹ U. WILCKENS has formulated it: "Rein formal gesehen, erweist sich also das Joel-Zitat als bewußt gesetzte und geschickt gewählte Klammer zwischen Situation und Predigt, besonders zwischen Situation und Jesuskerygma, das nun unmittelbar eingeführt werden kann (2,22-24)" (*Missionsreden*, 34).

¹²² Cf. for example D.J. LAFFERTY, Acts 2:14-36: A study in Christology, in: *DunR* 6 (1966), 235-253; M. RESE, *Motive*, and D.L. BOCK, *Proclamation*.

¹²³ C. SMITS was thinking in this direction when he drew attention to the "strengthening of the eschatological trend of this quotation here by way of the change in the introductory words. He hereby understands it as that the apostles seen themselves here as the new Israel of the last days" (*Citaten II*, 180). So also J.T. CARROLL, The Uses of Scripture in Acts, in: *SBL Sem Papers* 126/29 (1990), 512-528, here 520; and B. REICKE, who held this viewpoint, the latter by typifying the Jl-quotation as an "eschatologische Weissagung" (*Glaube und Leben*, 42). F. MUSSNER has agreed with B. REICKE and divided this quotation into four sections: (a) the outpouring of the Spirit upon all flesh during the last days, of which the major result is the prophetic speech of those who have received the Spirit, (b) cosmic signs proclaim the "day of the Lord", (c) then comes the "day of the Lord" itself, (d) the person who calls in due time on the Name of the Lord, could be saved. F. MUSSNER goes on to say: "Von der Verheißung des Propheten haben sich nach der Pfingstpredigt des Petrus die ersten beiden Punkte (a und b) schon erfüllt und zwar im Pfingstereignis selbst und in der Glossolalie der Apostel. Was noch aussteht, ist 'der groß und offenbare Tag des Herrn' ...christlich gesprochen: die Parusie Jesu". He therefore does not agree with others on this point, as U. WILCKENS who does not accept the eschatological character of the outpouring of the Spirit, while he has linked the cosmic signs for "the day of the Lord", with the "mighty deeds, wonders and signs" of the historical Jesus (Ac 2:22) (*Letzten Tagen*, 264). G. LÜDEMANN has followed U. WILCKENS in his interpretation: "Man sollte nicht bestreiten, daß der 'apokalyptische Teil' des Joel-Zitats bereits auf den christologisch-kerugmatischen Teil (V.22b-24) überleitet. Die Ausdrücke *semeia* (dem LXX-Text hinzugefügt) und *terata* werden ja

conscious change of μετὰ ταῦτα το ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις must be seen here as an important indicator in this direction.¹²⁴ The conscious presentation and inclusion of the second part of the quotation — and its climax in the phrase: πρὶν ἔλθειν ἡμέραν κυρίου τὴν μεγάλην καὶ ἐπιφανῆ — also strengthens the case for this eschatological understanding.¹²⁵ In this second part of the quotation, the remaining two events (the wonders and signs, and the salvation in the Name of the κύριος via the work of the apostles), have not yet taken place at this moment when Peter describes them in his speech.¹²⁶ These are events which must follow the coming of the Spirit at Pentecost.¹²⁷ Therefore, for Luke, the second part of the quotation points to the (immediate?) future,¹²⁸ while the first part is seen as having been fulfilled by recent events.¹²⁹

dort (V.22b) bewußt aufgenommen" (*Christentum*, 51). Contra D.L. TIEDE, who finds the purpose of the JI-quotation in the fact that it is used "...for the entire episode to document the fulfillment of the eschatological prophecies in the events of Pentecost..." (*Acts* 2, 64) [my emphasis, GJS].

¹²⁴. So also C. SMITS, *Citäten II*, 180; and J.H.E. HULL who reckoned that "after these things," which to a Hellenist, or certainly to a Hellenist unfamiliar with the Jewish Scriptures, would have a less 'final' ring" (*Holy Spirit*, 73). Also R.P. MENZIES, *Early Christian Pneumatology*, 216; and G. SCHNEIDER, who says: "Es geht, so will Lukas verdeutlichen, eine Verheißung Gottes für die Endzeit in Erfüllung" (*Apg I*, 268).

¹²⁵. Compare this with the eschatological "day of Yahweh" in the OT prophetic literature (e.g. Is 13:9-10, 24:21-23 and the darkening of the sun and moon). If this is the case, then one cannot agree with J.W. BOWKER (*Speckes*, 96-111) nor with E.E. ELLIS (*Midraschartige Züge in den Reden der Apostelgeschichte*, in: ZNW 62 (1971), 94-104) that we are dealing here with "midraschartiger Auslegung;" nor with A. WEISER (*Apg I*, 91) who agrees with them when saying that "Diesen Teil des Joelzitates bezieht Lukas...auf das vorausgegangene Geschehen und deutet es". This would be true only of the first part (event) of the quotation, i.e. that they would receive the Holy Spirit and prophesy (prophetism from the Holy Spirit?). Cf. also A. KERRIGAN: "...the outpouring of the Spirit and the cosmic cataclysm could be regarded as events which precede the coming of Yahweh's day" (*Sensus Plenior*, 308).

¹²⁶. Cf. the remark of A. WEISER: "Lukas will mit seiner Änderung des Joel-Textes aber nicht etwa sagen, daß nun das Ende eintrete; sondern für ihn ist die ganze Zeit seit Jesu Wirken bereits 'Endzeit' deren Ende aber unberechenbar bleibt" (*Apg I*, 92). This is true in general of Luke's understanding of the endtime. When he quotes this section from JI, he understands it in terms of further stages which follow after the coming of Christ, in this same *eschaton*. So also R.P. MENZIES, *Early Christian Pneumatology*, 216; and A.J. MATTILL: "In Acts the *eschaton* was thought of as one great divine event, consisting of the advent of the Messiah, his works and teaching, his death, resurrection, exaltation, the gift of the Spirit, and the parousia" (*Luke and the Last Things. A perspective for the understanding of Lukan thought*, Dillsboro 1979, 49).

¹²⁷. F. MUSSNER is therefore right in saying: "Die Zeit zwischen der ersten Geistausgießung auf die Apostel und dem Tag der Parusie ist demnach der große Kairos, der Israel zur Bekehrung noch gelassen wird" (*Letzten Tagen*, 264). On Luke's use of καιρός, cf. Lk 1:20; 4:13; 8:13; 12:42,56; 13:1; 18:30; 19:44; 20:10; 21:8,24,36; Ac 1:7; 3:20; 7:20; 12:1; 13:11; 14:17; 17:26; 19:23; 24:25.

¹²⁸. This aspect has caused scholars such as J.T. CARROLL to see this second Petrine speech as "a programmatic passage that sets the agenda for the rest of the story" (*Uses of Scripture*, 520). He is following R.F. ZEHLE, *Pentecost Discourse*. So also A. KERRIGAN, *Sensus Plenior*, 298; W. DIETRICH, *Petrusbild*, 197; H. VAN DE SANDT, *Fate of the Gentiles*, 57. The latter says: "Joel 3,1-5 is in fact significant for the whole of Acts. It is the guiding text of the book and outlines the programme that is realized in the next chapters of the narrative".

¹²⁹. So also perceived by J.T. CARROLL when he says: "This passage from the prophet not only interprets the signs of the Holy Spirit's activity at Pentecost (2:1-13), but also proleptically depicts the Spirit-impelled mission..." (*Uses of Scripture*, 522). Cf. also F. MUSSNER, *Letzten Tagen*, 264. Contrary to L. O'REILLY, who reckons that "The Joel prophecy as Luke found it suited his purpose remarkably well but not perfectly", (165); he goes on to say that the addition of σημεῖα "...was a deliberate modification by Luke in order to dilute the apocalyptic imagery and inject a reference to salvation history into the context. Once this was done the transition to the story of Jesus and his salvific miracles

[3] Strong emphasis is laid on "prophecy"¹³⁰ with Luke's addition of *καὶ προφητεύσουσιν* in V.18. The addition of this *καὶ προφητεύσουσιν* after *ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματός μου*¹³¹ in Ac 2:18 resembles the occurrence of this same phrase in V.17. With this addition, the combination of *πνεύματος* with *προφητεύσουσιν* in this context, becomes emphatically clear.¹³² It must also be remembered that in the preceding part of Ac, attention was already drawn implicitly to this combination through the mentioning of the following: (a) The disciples would receive power (*δύναμις*) when the Holy Spirit came unto them,¹³³ and they would be witnesses (Ac 1:8);¹³⁴ (b) They received "tongues" which looked like fire in Ac 2:3;¹³⁵ and after the Holy Spirit had "filled" them all (*καὶ ἐπλήσθησαν πάντες πνεύματος ἁγίου*), they started to talk in different "tongues" (*ἤρξαντο λαλεῖν ἑτέρας γλώσσας*) in Ac 2:4.¹³⁶

was smoothed out and a perfect link established between the scripture quotation and the rest of the speech" (*Word and Sign*, 166). Also against E. HAENCHEN who has said: "Die kosmischen Zeichen des Endes konnte Lukas mit der Predigtsituation freilich nicht unmittelbar verbinden..." (*App*, 149). The distinction between the first half of the quoted text which points to the past events, and the second half which points to the events to follow, should be clearly noted.

¹³⁰. Cf. also E. HAENCHEN: "Die Joëlstelle hat freilich nicht von diesem", (that is the "Erscheinung des eskatologischen Geistes". *GJS*) "sondern von der Prophetie gesprochen" (*App*, 149). So also I.H. MARSHALL: "What was happening was to be seen as the fulfilment of a prophecy by *Joel*, and here Peter proceeded to cite the relevant passage..." (*Acts*, 73); and R.P. MENZIES: "The corollary is that the disciples, as recipients of the gift, are not inebriated men — they are eschatological prophets proclaiming the word of God" (*Early Christian Pneumatology*, 221). Also G. SCHNEIDER, *App I*, 268.

¹³¹. For a combination of "spirit" and "prophecy" in the OT, compare: Nm 11:29; 12:6-8; 2 Kz 23:2(LXX); Is 11:2; 40:13; 42:1; 59:19, 23; 61:1; (63:10,11,14); Jl 2:28-32[=3:1-5LXX]; Hs 9:7; (Hg 2:5). See also Rv 1:4; 4:5; 5:6.

¹³². A. KERRIGAN (following E. SCHWEIZER, s.v. *πνεῦμα*, in: *TDNT VI*, 332-451), has said: "...for Luke the Spirit is essentially the Spirit of prophecy" (*Sensus Plenior*, 304). Cf. also U. WILCKENS: "Im Zusammenhang der Predigt wird diese Weissagung als jetzt und hier erfüllt, — das Wort *προφητεύειν* also sicherlich dem verbreiteten urchristlichen Sprachgebrauch entsprechend als Weise pneumatischer Verkündigung verstanden" (*Missionsreden*, 32).

¹³³. Cf. W. SPEYER: "Der Heilige Geist ist seinem Wesen nach Kraft, Dynamis" (*Zeugungskraft*, 246).

¹³⁴. This refers back to Lk 24:49.

¹³⁵. It is extremely important here to notice that it was not "fire-tongues" (flames), or fire which looked like tongues — as it is formulated for example by C.A. EVANS, *Prophetic Setting*, 148; also L. O'REILLY, *Word and Sign*, 28-29; as well as in some Bible translations: NEB (1979); TEV (1981); GNB (1982); NAB (1985); DLB (1982). When this was meant, the Greek would have had *φλόξ* (as in other places in the NT where fire-tongues (flames) were meant: Ac 7:30; 2 Th 1:8; Rv 1:14; 2:18; 19:12) and not *γλώσσα* (as here in Ac 2:3 and Ja 3:6). It is explicitly stated that it was "tongues" which looked like fire (*γλώσσα ὡσεὶ πυρὸς*). So rightly translated by the KJV (1977); RSV (1988); OAB (1971). Cf. also A. KERRIGAN: Luke "is at pains to tell us that the Spirit manifested himself in the form of *γλώσσα* which were in the act of being distributed (*διαμεριζόμεναι*) to each person present in the cenacle" (Ac 2:3) (*Sensus Plenior*, 302); and so also correctly described by J.J. KILGALLAN as "visible tongues as of flame" (*Pentecost Speech*, 653).

¹³⁶. According to I.H. MARSHALL, "tongues could be broadly described as a kind of prophecy" (*Acts*, 73). Cf. also here to M.D. GOULDER (*Type and History in Luke-Acts*, London 1964, 184) and R.F. O'TOOLE (*Davidic Covenant*, 246) who points to the similarity with Philo who talked about "speech like flames of fire" (*De Dec*. 33-35, 46-49). R.F. O'TOOLE, however, rightly points out that its "...influence on the mainstream of Judaism and on Luke cannot be easily determined" (246).

This combination is a motif which is found frequently in Lk-Ac.¹³⁷ The fact that it is stated here in the quotation that "from the Spirit" would be "poured out", could not be overlooked — although this change (against the Hebrew) was made already in the translation of the LXX. It could have been understood by Luke to be "something else", another object (other than the Spirit himself) that would be poured out from the Spirit. If he has understood it that it would be the Spirit himself,¹³⁸ he would have changed the reading also here, as he has changed it at other places, to suit his purpose. He must have accepted it with the inclusion of ἀπό at this point, because he has understood it in a certain sense without it being strange or unusual to him. This object ("power", Ac 1:8) with which the Spirit "filled" them, was probably understood by Luke in this quotation as being the "gift" (δωρεάν)¹³⁹ of prophecy (Ac 2:17,18).¹⁴⁰ A new dispensation has come, where all will share in this gift, not only prophets, kings and priests (as during OT times),¹⁴¹ and "without distinction of age, sex, or social standing".¹⁴² The υἱοὶ and the θυγατέρες will prophesy (both sexes);¹⁴³ also the νεανίσκοι and the πρεσβύτεροι are involved (old and young, all ages); and even the slaves (from the lowest social standing). But at this point Luke brings in a new meaning with his addition of μου: It is now not meant to be a social class, but those who belong to God.¹⁴⁴

[4] More difficult to determine is the question about what Luke might have understood by the "wonders in heaven above" and the "signs on earth below".¹⁴⁵ Some have thought the former to be the coming of the Holy Spirit, and the latter to

¹³⁷. For a combination of "Spirit" and (prophetic) "speech", or preaching, by Luke, cf. for example, Lk 1:41-42; 1:67; Ac 1:8; 1:16-17; 2:4; 2:14; 2:17,18; (4:8); 4:31; 6:10; 7:55-56; (8:29-30); 11:15; 11:27-28; 13:9-11; 15:28; 16:6; 19:6; 21:10-11; 26:25.

¹³⁸. Cf. B.M. NEWMAN and E.A. NIDA "what Peter means by the use of this phrase is obvious: God will let all people share in his Spirit" (*Translator's Handbook*, 43). This is an unsatisfactory explanation for the existence of ἀπό in this connection.

¹³⁹. Cf. Ac 2:38; 8:20; 10:45; 11:17.

¹⁴⁰. G.W. HAWTHORNE then finds a link between "early Christian prophets" and their interpretation of OT Scripture: "Perhaps the Old Testament was a key catalyst for their prophetic insight and utterances (cf. Ac chaps. 2 and 15)" (*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 1987, 119-133, here 126). Compare this with A. KERRIGAN: "In the Old Testament the Spirit, generally speaking, is regarded as extraordinary divine power that enables one to do unwonted things" (*Sensus Plenior*, 303). Also R.P. MENZIES draws attention to the fact that "...this emphasis on the gift of the Spirit as the source of prophetic inspiration is characteristic of Luke" (*Early Christian Pneumatology*, 221).

¹⁴¹. So also I.H. MARSHALL, *Acts*, 73.

¹⁴². A. KERRIGAN, *Sensus Plenior*, 295; also 305-306.

¹⁴³. Cf. Ac 21:9 about the four daughters of Philip, who have the gift of prophecy.

¹⁴⁴. According to A. KERRIGAN, "the members of the church at Jerusalem, who, as we know, had been given the Spirit, style themselves οἱ δοῦλοι σου when addressing God in prayer" (Ac 4:29). He also refers to the fact that the pythoness described Paul and his companions as δούλοι τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου (Ac 16:17) (*Sensus Plenior*, 306). R.P. MENZIES says that "The motive for such redactional activity was undoubtedly a desire to emphasize that the disciples of Jesus, as recipients of the Spirit of prophecy, are indeed members of this community", i.e. "the eschatological community of salvation" (*Early Christian Pneumatology*, 219).

¹⁴⁵. Wrongly translated here in Ac 2:19 in the NAB (1985) as "tekens bo in die lug en wonders onder op die aarde" ("signs in heaven" and "wonders on earth"), but correctly translated in Ac 2:22. The TEV (1981) has also wrongly translated "wonders on earth" (Ac 2:19).

be the speaking in different languages;¹⁴⁶ others suggest that the former might refer to the darkening of the sun, and the latter to the tearing of the curtain in the temple during Jesus' crucifixion.¹⁴⁷ Others again, have interpreted the first as cosmic happenings which would characterize the end of the world, while the second would be the gift of tongues and the healing miracles in the rest of Ac.¹⁴⁸ When interpreting this quotation in an eschatological manner, however, and bearing in mind the difference between the ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις (2:17) and the ἡμέραν κυρίου τὴν μεγάλην καὶ ἐπιφανῆ (2:20), we must differentiate between the two moments in time. Within the first moment (in the ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις) would follow the ability to prophesy through the gift of power given by the Spirit, which marks the beginning of these last days. According to Luke, this had just taken place at Pentecost. This would then be followed by the "wonders and signs". If the disciples have now received power from the Holy Spirit to prophesy, it can be expected that signs and wonders would follow.¹⁴⁹ The darkening of the sun, and the moon becoming like blood, might be events that were expected later in this eschaton.¹⁵⁰ The principal purpose of ἄνω and κάτω is "thus not to distinguish between two spheres of divine intervention (heaven and earth), but rather to emphasize the universal character of the 'signs and wonders' — they are portents that cannot be overlooked".¹⁵¹

[5] The only part of the quotation that may have christological (soteriological) significance, is the last sentence (καὶ ἔσται πᾶς ὃς ἂν ἐπικαλέσῃται τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου σωθήσεται). This is the same unit already used by Paul in Rm 10:13. It forms the third major event to take place in "these last days". In JI, κύριος referred to Yahweh. This is now reinterpreted via the existing Greek translation (LXX) to mean Jesus (and not Yahweh).¹⁵²

¹⁴⁶ So J. ROLOFF, *App*, 53. Also J.J. KILGALLEN argued in the same direction: "Though the exact signs and wonders of Joel are not found in the description of the Christian Pentecost, the generic idea of disruptions in nature seems to provide a link between the two descriptions; Luke presents us with such signs as a sound as of a violent wind, visible tongues as of flame, a noise which attracts so many Jews from all over the city. Thus the Joel quotation continues to describe the Pentecost event..." (*Unity of Pentecost Speech*, 652-3). This explanation cannot be accepted, as this is clearly apocalyptic language. So also A. KERRIGAN, *Sensus Plenior*, 307.

¹⁴⁷ So M. RESE who finds a possible parallel between the darkening of the sun in Lk (who is the only evangelist who adds τοῦ ἡλίου ἐκλιπούτος: Lk 23:45), and the quotation from JI in Ac (*Motive*, 54). Against this viewpoint: I.H. MARSHALL, *Acts*, 74.

¹⁴⁸ So, for instance, I.H. MARSHALL, *Acts*, 74.

¹⁴⁹ F. STOLZ has drawn attention to the relation between δύναμις and σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα. According to him, the phrase σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα is sometimes complemented by δύναμις: "...in Röm 15,19 sind die Begriffe δύναμις, πνεῦμα, σημεῖα und τέρατα einander zugeordnet; in 2Kor 12,12 sowie Hebr 2,4 stehen σημεῖα, τέρατα und δυνάμεις völlig parallel". He continues by saying that the normal expression for the experience of a wonder was δύναμις; which was interpreted in "OT language" (sic) by σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα (*Zeichen und Wunder*, 145).

¹⁵⁰ In the same direction also B. REICKE, *Glaube und Leben*, 43; and I.H. MARSHALL, *Acts*, 73. [Compare here the striking parallels between Ac and Rv (especially Rv 8-9) in terms of references to blood, fire, smoke, and the darkening of the sun and the moon]. L. O'REILLY is therefore right in saying that "...the immediate reference here is to apocalyptic signs rather than to miracles or events of salvation history" (*Word and Sign*, 163).

¹⁵¹ So R.P. MENZIES, *Early Christian Pneumatology*, 222-223.

¹⁵² Cf. also I.H. MARSHALL: "...if Peter were citing the text in Hebrew, the reference would be clearly to Yahweh, and therefore an application to Jesus would be clear only to readers or hearers of the text in Greek" (*Acts*, 74). So also H. CONZELMANN, *App*, 35; and D.L. BOCK, *Proclamation*, 164. See also the interesting contribution of J.A. FITZMYER, *The Semitic Background of the New Testament Kyrios-Title*, in: *idem*, *A Wandering Aramean. Collected Essays* (SBLMS 25), Missoula 1979,

To summarise: Luke has used this quotation from Jl in an eschatological way in order to emphasise three major points, i.e. (a) that they would receive (power from) the Spirit and prophesy (prophetism from the Spirit), — that which has just taken place, and therefore pointing backwards — (b) that wonders and signs would follow, and (c) that those who call on the Name of the κύριος, would be saved. These things would follow in "the last days", but before "the great and glorious day of the κύριος". The last point thus incorporates the christological kerygma within the eschatology.

3.3 Possible broader knowledge of Jl (and LXX) in the rest of the section (Language, Style and OT-motifs)

There exist some indicators in the speech which probably point to a wider knowledge of Jl by the quoter, than the section which he quoted.¹⁵³ To determine if these were indeed the result of conscious imitation of "the LXX", is very difficult. These indicators might especially be traced to the influence of certain well known phrases, motifs, or formulations of belief which were current during Luke's time. The parallels are nonetheless interesting, and attention could be paid to the following:

[i] The phrase, "Ἄνδρες Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες Ἱερουσαλὴμ πάντες"¹⁵⁴ (Ac 2:14¹⁵⁵), might resemble Jl 1:2 (...οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, καὶ...πάντες οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὴν γῆν). This type of expression is, however, not unknown to the prophetic literature in general.¹⁵⁶ Is the usage in Ac then some kind of imitation of the style of the prophetic literature?¹⁵⁷ The fact that the vocative-forms are used heavily in Ac,¹⁵⁸ and that the double salutations are not found elsewhere in the NT,¹⁵⁹ might support this suggestion.

[ii] The words, καὶ ἐνωπίασθε (Ac 2:14), of which the last is a *hapax legomenon*,

115-142.

¹⁵³ C.A. EVANS has said that "...the setting that Luke has created for Peter's sermon is laced throughout with language taken from Joel" (*Prophetic Setting*, 149). He lists 20 words in Luke's narrative and in Peter's opening remarks which may be traced to Jl. H. VAN DE SANDT has identified intertextual relations and functions between Jl and Ac 8:1-13; 11:19; 13:1-3 and 16:6-10 (*Fate of the Gentiles*, 58). Cf. also C. GHIDELLI, *Le citazioni dell' Antico Testamento nel cap.2 degli Atti*, in: *Il Messianismo* (ASB 18), Brescia 1966, 285-305.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. also Ac 1:19; 2:5; 4:16; 13:27; [Lk 24:18].

¹⁵⁵ Cf. also V.22.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. Is 41:1; 42:18; 43:1; 44:1; 46:12; 47:8; 48:1,12(x2); 49:1; 50:4,5,10; 51:1,4,7,21; 66:5; also Is 1:2; Jr 8:6; and even Gn 4:23; Jdg 5:3; Job 32:11.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. also E. HAENCHEN (*Apg*, 141) and E. PLÜMACHER (*Lukas*, 42) who points to this as a heavily used *parallelismus membrorum* of the LXX, referring to Jr 19:3 for example. Also typified as a "LXX-Formel" by R. PESCH (*Apg I*, 119). Also interesting are the parallels in Rv 13:8 (καὶ προσκυνησοῦσιν αὐτὸν πάντες οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, οὐ οὐ γέγραπται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ ἁγίου) and Rv 17:8 (καὶ θαυμάσθησονται οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὧν οὐ γέγραπται τὸ ὄνομα ἐπὶ τὸ βιβλίον τῆς ζωῆς ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου).

¹⁵⁸ Cf. Ac 1:11; 2:22; 3:12; 5:35; 13:16; 17:22; 19:35; 21:28 (ἄνδρες Ἰουδαῖοι), and 1:16; 2:29,37; 7:2; 13:15,26,38; 15:7,13; 22:1; 23:1,6; 28:17 (ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί).

¹⁵⁹ Cf. also G. SCHNEIDER, *Apg I*, 267.

can both be found also in Jl 1:2, as well as abundantly in the rest of the LXX.¹⁶⁰ [iii] The words, [ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλῖται] ἀκούσατε τοὺς λόγους τούτους (Ac 2:22), are reminiscent of those at the beginning of Jl: Ἀκούσατε ταῦτα (Jl 1:2). But again, these are commonly used in the prophetic literature.¹⁶¹ The expression is also used several times more in this second Petrine speech: 2:14; 2:22; [2:37]; 2:33. The fact that this expression is typical of OT style, but less typical of Jewish-hellenistic literature, might support the suggestion that it could have found its way into Ac via the author's knowledge of the OT literature (in its Greek form).¹⁶²

[iv] There seems to be a similarity in content between the words of Ac 2:22 (... οὓς ἐποίησεν δι' αὐτοῦ ὁ θεὸς ἐν μέσῳ ὑμῶν, καθὼς αὐτοὶ οἶδατε) and those of Jl 2:27 (καὶ ἐπιγνώσεσθε ὅτι ἐν μεσῶ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἐγὼ εἰμι). However, it is quite probable that this was a faith formula, a common expression¹⁶³ at the time of Luke, and therefore not necessarily derived from Jl or the prophetic literature.

Except for these parallels, things are even more difficult with the following expressions. They are normally typified by scholars as "Septuagintisms", but can also be found represented to a certain extent in other ancient literature around these times. Examples are the following: (a) ἐπῆρεν τὴν φωνήν (Ac 2:14);¹⁶⁴ Although seen as being a "Septuagintism",¹⁶⁵ it could also have been a fixed expression from these ancient times;¹⁶⁶ (b) [τοῦτο ὑμῶν] γνωστὸν ἔστω (Ac 2:14);¹⁶⁷ Also seen as known via the LXX;¹⁶⁸ (c) προγνώσει (Ac 2:23);¹⁶⁹ (d) διὰ χειρὸς (Ac 2:23);¹⁷⁰ Thought to be a "Septuagintism",¹⁷¹ it is however also to be found several times in this exact form in the hellenistic Greek around the 1st century BC to the 1st century AD.¹⁷²

3.4 Conclusions

1. That (at least one phrase of) the quotation might already have been known in the tradition of the early church at the time when Luke wrote Ac, is possible. The fact

¹⁶⁰ Cf. Job 32:11 = [ἐνωτίσασθε] τὰ ῥήματά μου. (See also Barn 9:3 in the combination with τὰ ῥήματα). In the rest of the LXX, also: Gn 4:23; Nm 23:18; Jdg 5:3; 34:16; 37:14; Ps 5:2; Jl 1:2; Is 1:2; 28:23; Jr 8:6; et.al. C. SMITS especially draws attention to the occurrence of ἐνωτίσασθε at the beginning of Is (1:2), on which he also bases his argument that Is 1:2 and Jl 2:28-32 (3:1-5) are combined (*Citaten II*, 180). See also BL-DBR §123(2), 67; E. HAENCHEN, *Apg*, 141; E. PLÜMACHER, *Lukas*, 42; and G. SCHNEIDER, *Apg I*, 267.

¹⁶¹ Compare this ἀκούσατε with the general trend in the prophetic literature: Is 41:1; 42:18; 43:1; 44:1; 46:12; 47:8; 48:1,12(x2); 49:1; 50:4,5,10; 51:1,4,7,21; 66:5; also Is 1:2; Jr 8:6 and Gn 4:23; Jdg 5:3; 9:7; Job 32:11 and Jdth 14:1.

¹⁶² So also B. REICKE: "Es dürfte sich dennoch hier um eine bewusste Anpassung an das Alte Testament handeln" (*Glaube und Leben*, 41-42).

¹⁶³ The ἐν μέσῳ-phrase is also used in Lk 22:32; Ac 17:22 and 27:21.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. Jdg 2:4; 9:7; Ruth 1:9,14; 2 Ki 13:36(LXX); Ps 92:3. Cf. also Lk 11:27; Ac 14:11; 22:22.

¹⁶⁵ So E. HAENCHEN, *Apg*, 141; E. PLÜMACHER, *Lukas*, 41; and R. PESCH, *Apg I*, 119.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. Dem 18:291 (ca. 4th cent BC); ApolRh 5:33 (ca. 3rd cent. BC); Char 5:7:10 (ca. 1st-2nd cent. AD); Philostr vi (ca. 3rd cent. AD).

¹⁶⁷ Cf. also Ac 4:10; 13:38; 28:28; — Job 32:11(LXX). γνωστὸν ἔστω = cf. Ex 33:16; 1Ezr 6:8; 2Ezr 4:12; Wisd 16:28; Is 19:21; Ezk 36:32.

¹⁶⁸ So, for example, E. PLÜMACHER, *Lukas*, 41.

¹⁶⁹ Only found 2x in NT: Ac 2:23 and 1 Pt 1:2. Also only found 2x in LXX: Jdth 9:6 and 11:19.

¹⁷⁰ Also in Ac 5:12; 7:25; 11:30; 14:3; 15:23; 19:11; Mk 6:2. In the MT it is also used in the singular: 171. Cf. in the LXX: Gn 30:35; 2 Chr 35:4,6; Jdth 13:14; Wisd 12:6; Ezk 27:21; 30:10; 1Mac 5:62.

¹⁷¹ So E. HAENCHEN, *Apg*, 143; and E. PLÜMACHER, *Lukas*, 42.

¹⁷² Cf. for example: Barn 16:7; DionHalIoc 4; PluMor ForRom 318; Am 767; Au 813.

that it had been used, in a shorter form, by Paul in Rm 10:12f strengthens this possibility.¹⁷³ There has been a tendency to use evidence such as this in support of the theory of a *testimonium* which could have been the source of such quotations. There is not enough evidence, specifically here in Ac, to support this theory.¹⁷⁴

2. It also seems possible that Luke himself has used a version of the 12P which was known to him. The length of the quotation upports this supposition.¹⁷⁵ He appears to quote from this written source, which seems to have differed in minor details from the readings which are known today. It was probably a LXX text (as becomes clear from the similarities between the LXX and NT, against the Hebrew), but it seems, on some points, to be nearer still to the Hebrew.

3. In addition, Luke has consciously changed his source text in several places to accommodate for his own understanding and interpretation¹⁷⁶ of the text. In general, these changes were made on theological rather than stylistic grounds, and probably in order to emphasize an eschatological viewpoint.¹⁷⁷

4. The quoted section ends strategically and emphatically with the soteriological statement of salvation in the name of the κύριος.¹⁷⁸ The difference between the

¹⁷³. Against D.L. BOCK who cites the "mixture of changes" as evidence for the rooting of the quotation in the tradition (*Proclamation*, 163). He explains "the incongruity of the LXX version with the Acts 2 context" by way of "the possible presence of an older tradition" (160) and says later that "nowhere does Luke present a quotation from the OT with so many changes from the LXX" and the "mixture of changes suggests that Luke is not responsible for this quotation as a whole unit" (163).

¹⁷⁴. The matter was already referred to at the beginning of this study; it will suffice here to quote D.-A. KOCH who argues in particular against C.H. DODD's "bible of the early church" in his discussion of this passage in Rm 10:13: "...daß Paulus Joel 3:5a nur deswegen habe zitieren können, weil ihm Joel 2-4 insgesamt als Teil einer 'bible of the early church' bereits in besonderer Weise vorgegeben war, ist eine willkürliche Hypothese, die zusätzlich neue Fragen aufwirft. Denn wenn Joel 2-4 ein Text war, den die frühe Kirche sich bereits z.ZL des Paulus bewußt angeeignet hatte (und zwar in seinem gesamten Umfang), dann bleibt es unverständlich, warum erst in Act 2,17-21 die Ankündigung des Geistes aus Joel 3,1ff aufgegriffen wird, während bei Paulus — auch in 1 Kor 2,10ff und Gal 3,1ff — dieser Text überhaupt keine Rolle spielt" (*Schrift als Zeuge*, 225).

¹⁷⁵. B. REICKE holds the quotation to be part of a long "exordium" within an early Christian homily (42), which he saw fundamentally as a "Missions- oder Bekehrungspredigt" (*Glaube und Leben*, 44). Although this hypothesis cannot easily be proved, his observation deserves attention, namely that this quotation is not explained later in the context, and has thus to speak for itself - substantiating therefore the differences between Ac and LXX. The latter was also suggested by D.-A. KOCH in personal discussion, i.e. that long quotations seem to be meant self-explanatory.

¹⁷⁶. M. RESE is right when he typifies this quotation as "*hermeneutischer Schriftverwendung*", "...denn die Schrift ist hier nicht Mittel des Beweises, sondern Mittel der Interpretation" (*Motive*, 38). The same trend is also to be found in the other citations from the minor prophets (Hab 1:5; Am 5:25-29 and 9:11f).

¹⁷⁷. So also B. REICKE (*Glaube und Leben*, 42). One must disagree with C. SMITS (and others) that these changes that were made by Luke are not important at all: "Het eigenlijke citaat is volgens de Septuagint, ofschoon er veranderingen zijn aangebracht: weglatingen, toevocgingen, onwissingen van verzen. Zakelijk zijn deze van weinig belang" (*Citaten II*, 180).

¹⁷⁸. G. SCHNEIDER has said: "Lukas hat den Joeltext bis zu den Stichwort σαθήσεται zitiert, weil ihm — im Anschluß an diese göttliche Zusage — an der Bedingung für die einsige Rettung gelegen ist, dem Anrufen des Namen des Herren" (*Apk I*, 270). And D.L. TIEDE states: "...the author does not stop with a pneumatological or christological discourse... Just when the sweeping christological conclusions are reached (2:22-23,33,36), the soteriological goal of the chapter is disclosed..." (*Acts 2*, 64).

meaning of this unit in J1 itself,¹⁷⁹ and its reinterpretation in Ac,¹⁸⁰ is obvious. This is in line with Luke's understanding of the continuity of the salvation history.¹⁸¹

5. An implied note of universalism is also to be found in the quotation. It cannot be assumed that Ac 2 as a whole was addressed exclusively to Jews,¹⁸² or that a conflict exists between the list in Ac 2 and the beginning of the speech.¹⁸³ The universalistic character is valid and typical for the whole speech.

4. SECTION II: ACTS 2:22-28

Jesus' resurrection & the quotation from Ps 15(16):8-11

In Ac, the most comprehensive link between the resurrection of Jesus and the Scripture comes in Ac 2:24-31 and Ac 13:34-37.¹⁸⁴ The theme of Jesus' resurrection from death, mentioned in Lk 20:27-40, was already linked with the theme of the Son of David (Lk 20:41-44) which follows immediately thereafter.

4.1 Composition of the section

This next section starts in approximately the same way as the first. After the hearers are addressed ("Ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλίται, V.22), their attention is drawn to the importance of the words which will follow (ἀκούσατε¹⁸⁵ τοὺς λόγους τούτους,

¹⁷⁹. Cf. A. WEISER: "Das Prophetenwort Joels verheißt die Rettung der Jahwegläubigen aus den Schrecknissen des Tages Jahwes, von denen sie indessen nicht verschont bleiben. Sie werden 'durch die Endnot hindurchgerettet'" (*App I*, 121).

¹⁸⁰. Cf. C. SMITS (*Citation II*, 183) and G. SCHNEIDER, who said: "Demgegenüber denkt App 2, 40b an eine schon durch die Taufe ermöglichte Rettung 'aus diesem verkehrten Geschlecht' (vgl. V 47 σωζόμενοι, ferner 15,11) und die Parusie bringt nach Lk 21,28 die ἀπολύτρωσις der Christusgläubigen" (*App I*, 270).

¹⁸¹. A. WEISER has pointed out that one of the fundamental points in the Lukan theology is to be found in his understanding of this continuation of salvation history (*App I*, 82).

¹⁸². Against G.D. KILPATRICK: "So we may conclude that the maker of the quotation wished in his reshaping of its text to stress the note of universalism in contrast to the writer of Ac 2 who consistently confines himself to Israel" (*Some Quotations*, 82). In dialogue with D-A. KOCH, he has pointed this out clearly; there are simply too many references in Ac 2 which indicate that this could not have been directed to Jews only. One such indicator is the list of hearers mentioned in VV.5-13. Another is the point at which the quotation from J1 ends; in order to exclude any possible misunderstanding that the salvation was meant exclusively for the Jews, the rest of V.32 was left out. (Cf. the viewpoint of M. RESE (*Motive*, 50) about this in the discussion above). H. VAN DE SANDT supports this with two additional references: (a) "the outpouring upon 'all flesh'" (Ac 2:17 = J1 3:1), and (b) "whoever calls" (Ac 2:21 = J1 3:5a). All these are confirmed by Ac 2:39 (*Fate of the Gentiles*, 70). So also J.H.E. HULL, *Holy Spirit*, 73.

¹⁸³. So B. REICKE, who presumed that the persons addressed as "Jews and inhabitants of Jerusalem", must be *only* Jews (*Glaube und Leben*, 39). This supposed conflict evaporates if one assumes, from the broader context, that those referred to as "inhabitants of Jerusalem", include those named earlier in the list of nations, or, if one follows B. NOACK, that the increase in the numbers of the early Christian community in this speech, is due to diaspora Jews, "...who, in many respects, differed from the orthodox Jews of Palestine" (*The day of Pentecost in Jubilees, Qumran, and Acts*, in: *ASTI* 1 (1962), 73-95, here 93).

¹⁸⁴. So also G. DELLING, *Die Jesusgeschichte in der Verkündigung nach Acta*, in: *NTS* 19 (1972/73), 373-389, here 374.

¹⁸⁵. Compare V.37: ἀκούσατε δὲ κατενύγησαν τὴν καρδίαν. Also Ac 13:16. G. KITTEL said on the background of ἀκούω: "The hearing of man represents correspondence to the revelation of the Word, and in biblical religion it is thus the essential form in which this divine revelation is appropriated" (216). This comes especially to the foreground in the OT when (a) the prophets proclaim God's Word,

V.22). A whole new theme is introduced here: *The kerygma of the events concerning Jesus of Nazareth*,¹⁸⁶ or "the story of Jesus".¹⁸⁷ This is taken up from the end of the JI-quotation where reference was made to the fact that whoever calls on the Name of the κύριος, would be saved. The rest of the speech is used to convince the hearers (readers) that Jesus of Nazareth is this κύριος.¹⁸⁸ The importance of the issue at stake is emphasized by the prominent position of Ἰησοῦν τὸν Ναζωραῖον (V.22), placed first in the unit itself, and also first in the sentence. The rest of this section consists of smaller units referring back to this Jesus: ἀνδρα (V.22), τοῦτον (V.23), ὄν (V.24), and αὐτον (V.25). The last reference is linked with a quotation from David. Also prominent here is the role of God, who takes the initiative and remains the Subject.¹⁸⁹ This man, Jesus, was made known to them "by God" (ἀποδοδειγμένον ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ) in V.22, and it is God who has done the powerful things, wonders and signs¹⁹⁰ through Jesus (οἷς ἐποίησεν δι' αὐτοῦ ὁ θεός, V.22).¹⁹¹ It was according to the will and pre-knowledge of God that Jesus was given into the hands of the lawless (τῇ ἄρισμένῃ βουλῇ¹⁹² καὶ προγνώσει τοῦ θεοῦ

(b) Scripture was read aloud and being heard, and (c) during the *Schema* ("Hear, O Israel"), as a daily confession (s.v. ἄκουα, in *TDNT* I, 218-219).

¹⁸⁶ According to C.H. COSGROVE, *Ac* 2:23-4 "the Lukan kerygmatic history, in its narrow sense, is expressed in a nutshell: 'Jesus of Nazareth - attested - delivered up - crucified and killed - raised'" (*Divine ΔΕΙ*, 184).

¹⁸⁷ So popularly called by some scholars: cf. for example J.J. KILGALLEN, *Pentecost Speech*, 650-656; and L. O'REILLY, *Word and Sign*, 91.

¹⁸⁸ Cf. also E.E. ELLIS, *Midrascharige Züge*, 99-101; and H. VAN DE SANDT, *Fate of the Gentiles*, 56. The latter talks about the JI quotation "...as starting point for extensive commentary" (*Ac* 2:22-40). B. REICKE reckons that in the section of *Ac* 2:22-39 within this second Petrine speech, three basic elements are to be found: (a) thesis, (b) arguments, and (c) conclusion. He identifies these elements in all the so-called "missionary" speeches (*Glaube und Leben*, 44). This seems to be somewhat forced and one could ask, for instance, why *Ac* 2:14-21 is not also taken into account here.

¹⁸⁹ So also U. WILCKENS, *Missionsreden*, 34; and O. GLOMBITZA, *Der Schluß der Petrusrede Acta 2:36-40*, in: *ZNW* 52 (1961), 115-118, here 116-117. This was also emphasized in the JI-quotation with Luke's insertion of the words: λέγει ὁ θεός (*Ac* 2:17). Cf. also W. DIETRICH: "Jede der im zweiten Abschnitt aufgezählten Phasen nennt Gott als Handelnden; in V.22-24 wird θεός viermal als Subjekt des Geschehens erwähnt. Diese Häufung läßt deutlich werden, daß die christologischen Aussagen theologisch orientiert sind" (*Petrusbild*, 203). It is interesting that U. BUSSE has indicated that the *theocentric priority* is also an amazing phenomenon in the Lukan interpretation of Jesus' wonders as encountered in Luke's gospel (*Die Wunder des Propheten Jesus* (fzB 24), Stuttgart 1977, 475).

¹⁹⁰ Cf. G. LÜDEMANN: "Die Nennung der *dynamis, terata* und *semeia* bezieht sich auf das Evangelium zurück. Dort sind die Wunderbeweise des Propheten Jesus konstitutiv für die Christologie" (*Christentum*, 51). Also H. CONZELMANN: "Es sind in der Darstellung *Lc* 4,16ff. wie in der weiteren Erzählung die *Taten*, welche die Erfüllung der Schrift demonstrieren" (*Mitte der Zeit*, 178). See also U. BUSSE, *Wunder*, 475.

¹⁹¹ F. STOLZ is therefore right in saying: "Nicht die Fähigkeit, außerordentliche Wunder zu tun, legitimiert also Jesus, sondern die Verankerung dieser Wunder in der von Gott veranstalteten, bereits im Alten Testament angebahnten und vorausbestimmten Heilsgeschichte" (*Zeichen und Wunder*, 143).

¹⁹² Compare also *Lk* 7:30; *Ac* 4:28; 5:38-39; 13:36 and 20:27 where Luke speaks of God's βουλῇ. F.J. MATERA, suggests Luke has made "it clear that the Jerusalemites paradoxically fulfilled God's definite plan (ἄρισμένῃ βουλῇ) and foreknowledge" (Responsibility for the death of Jesus according to the Acts of the Apostles, in: *JSNT* 39, 77-93, here 79). According to G. SCHRENK, βουλῇ is mostly used of the divine counsel. "This counsel is predetermined and inflexible. Both phrases emphasise the resolute and inviolable determinateness of the decree" (s.v. βουλῇ, in: *TDNT* I, 635). J.R. WILCH says: "Lukas verbindet das Leiden des Christus immer mit dem göttlich veranlaßten 'Muß' oder mit einem Schriftbeweis, um diese überragende Tatsache herauszustellen". He refers to *Ac* 3:18; 17:3; 26:23; *Lk* 17:25; 24:7,26f,44,46 (Jüdische Schuld am Tode Jesu — Antijudaismus in der Apostelgeschichte?, in:

ἐκδοτον, V.23), and God himself has resurrected Jesus from death (ὁ θεὸς ἀνέστησεν) in V.24.¹⁹³

There may be some implied antithetic parallelisms between V.23 and V.24:

V.23a = God has handed Jesus over

V.24a = God has resurrected Jesus

V.23b = Jesus was crucified by the hand(s) of the lawless

V.24b = Jesus was released from the "bands" of death

V.23c = Jesus was killed¹⁹⁴ by these lawless people

V.24c = Death does not have power over him

Interesting in the next unit, which consists of the quoted text (Ac 2:25-28), is the emphatic role of praise here (V.26-27): "My heart is glad" (ἠψφράνθη ἡ καρδία μου) and "my tongue is extremely joyful" (ἠγαλλιάσατο ἡ γλῶσσά μου), and "my 'flesh' dwells in hope" (ἡ σὰρξ μου κατασκηνώσει ἐπ' ἐλπίδι) — all because (ὅτι) "neither my spirit would be left behind in *hades*" (οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψεις τὴν ψυχὴν μου εἰς ᾗδην), "nor would your pious one be given over to see decay" (οὐδὲ δώσεις τὸν ὁσίον σου ἰδεῖν διαφθοράν). He therefore now knows "the ways of life" (ἐγνώρισάς μοι ὁδοὺς ζωῆς). All this is the result of the fact that the person (David) always sees "the κύριος in front of him" (προορώμην τὸν κύριον ἐνώπιον μου, V.25), because he is "at his right hand so that he will not shiver" (ὅτι ἐκ δεξιῶν μου ἐστιν ἵνα μὴ σαλευθῶ, V.25). The whole situation is summarised by way of the concluding sentence, which at the same time forms an *inclusio* with the first sentence of the quotation, i.e. he is "filled with joy" before the presence of the κύριος; πληρώσεις με εὐφροσύνης μετὰ τοῦ προσώπου σου (V.28).

The whole quotation is thus taken here as an announcement made by David about him (εἰς αὐτόν, V.25), about this Jesus of Nazareth (V.22).

4.2 The quoted text from *Ps 15(16):8-11* (Ac 2:25-28)

After focusing on Jesus' resurrection from death and the fact that death does not have any hold on him, Luke refers to this next quotation. The same pattern occurs in Ac 13:33-35, where the same quotation appears again, although in a shorter form.

4.2.1 *Intra-textual occurrence in Ac 13:35*

οὐδὲ δώσεις τὸν ὁσίον σου ἰδεῖν διαφθοράν: This quotation is used in exactly the same context, namely that of Jesus being resurrected from death, such that death no

W. HAUBECK and M. BACHMAN (hrsg), *Wort in der Zeit. Neutestamentliche Studien. Festgabe für Karl Heinrich Rengstorff zum 75. Geburtstag*, Leiden 1980, 236-249, here 238). Also H. CONZELMANN (*Mitte der Zeit*, 141-144), and G. LÜDEMANN (*Christentum*, 52) point to the fact that "Die Passion erfolgt, luk. Theologie gemäß, nach Gottes Plan".

¹⁹³. Compare F.J. MATERA: "...these statements are set in the context of a formula which contrasts the action of human beings with the action of God; the Jews crucified and killed Jesus, but God raised him up" (*Responsibility*, 78). J.R. WILCH formulates it well: "von Gott gewollt, von Menschen verschuldet" (*Jüdische Schuld*, 238). It is outside the scope of this investigation to discuss the debate in scholarship that it was "the Jews" who were guilty of the death of Jesus — an impression which might be given in Ac 2:22f,36; 3:15; 4:10; 5:30; 7:52; 10:39; and 13:28. The debate can be followed in F.J. MATERA, *Responsibility*, 77-93; J.R. WILCH, *Jüdische Schuld*, 236-249; and others.

¹⁹⁴. Cf. Ac 26:10 where the same verb is used: ἀναπέω.

longer has any hold on him. It will be discussed in more detail as part of the exposition of the quotations in Ac 13.

4.2.2 The introductory formula (Ac 2:25)

Although the words, Δαυὶδ γὰρ λέγει εἰς αὐτόν (V.25), form the introductory formula for this explicit quotation,¹⁹⁵ the connecting role of V.24 (ὃν ὁ θεὸς ἀνέστησεν λύσας τὰς ῥάβδους τοῦ θανάτου, καθότι οὐκ ἦν δυνατόν κρατεῖσθαι αὐτόν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ)¹⁹⁶ should not be ignored. The substantiating role of γὰρ should also be noted¹⁹⁷ — functioning as a link between the introductory formula and its quoted text on the one hand, and the immediately preceding context on the other hand.

4.2.3 Determining and explaining the textual differences

NT (NA26)	LXX	MT
Ac 2:25-28	Ps 15:8-11	Ps 16:8-11
25 προοράμην τὸν κύριον ἐνώπιόν μου διὰ παντός, ὅτι ἐκ δεξιῶν μου ἔστιν ἵνα μὴ σαλευθῶ.	8 προοράμην τὸν κύριον ἐνώπιόν μου διὰ παντός, ὅτι ἐκ δεξιῶν μου ἔστιν ἵνα μὴ σαλευθῶ.	8 שְׁנִיתִי יְהוָה לְנֶגְדִי חֲסִיד כִּי מִיְמִינִי כַל־מַחְסֵי:
26 διὰ τοῦτο ἠὲ φράνθη ἡ καρδία μου καὶ ἠγαλλώσατο ἡ γλῶσσά μου, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἡ σὰρξ μου κατασκηνώσει ἐπ' ἐλπίδι.	9 διὰ τοῦτο ἠὲ φράνθη ἡ καρδία μου, καὶ ἠγαλλώσατο ἡ γλῶσσά μου, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἡ σὰρξ μου κατασκηνώσει ἐπ' ἐλπίδι.	9 לִכְן מִשֶׁ לִכִּי וְנִגַּל כְּבוֹדִי אֶזְכָּרֶנּוּ בְּפִי יְשׁוּב לֵךְ:
27 ὅτι οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψεις τὴν ψυχὴν μου εἰς ἄδην οὐδὲ δώσεις τὸν ὄσιόν σου ἰδεῖν διαφθοράν.	10 ὅτι οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψεις τὴν ψυχὴν μου εἰς ἄδην οὐδὲ δώσεις τὸν ὄσιόν σου ἰδεῖν διαφθοράν.	10 כִּי לֹא־תַעֲזֹב נַפְשִׁי לְמָוֶת לֹא־תַחַגֵּן חֲסִידֶיךָ לְרֵאוֹת שַׁחַח:
28 ἐγνώρισάς μοι ὁδοὺς ζωῆς, πληρώσεις με εὐφροσύνης μετὰ τοῦ προσώπου σου,	11 ἐγνώρισάς μοι ὁδοὺς ζωῆς, πληρώσεις με εὐφροσύνης μετὰ τοῦ προσώπου σου,	תּוֹרֵי עֲנִי אֲנַח חַיִּים שִׂנְע תְּחַפְּזֵנִי חַפְּזֵךְ

¹⁹⁵ R.F. O'TOOLE says that "Luke was convinced that David wrote all the psalms" (*Davidic Covenant*, 245). Cf. also Ac 13:33-37 and Lk 20:42f which refer to David as author of the Pss (C.K. BARRETT, *Luke/Acts*, 238). According to W.C. KAISER, the actual title of Ps 15(16) "designates David either as the author ('from David') or the one praised in the psalm ('to David')" (223). KAISER chooses the second alternative: "David says with reference to (eis) him," rather than 'concerning (peri) him' (which would have meant that the total reference was of the Messiah alone)" (*The Promise to David in Psalm 16 and Its Application in Acts 2:25-33 and 13:32-37*, in: *JETS* 23 (1980), 219-229, here 228).

¹⁹⁶ Compare also Ps 17(18):6; Ps 114(116):3; 2 Ki(Sm) 22:6.

¹⁹⁷ Cf. M. RESE: "Irgendwie begründet (γὰρ; V.25!) das Zitat irgendetwas aus dem vorangehenden Text, und offensichtlich wird die Zitierung in den anschließenden Versen 29-31 gerechtfertigt"

ζωῆς, πληρώσεις με
εὐφροσύνης μετὰ τοῦ
προσώπου σου.

In V.26 of the NT reading we find the alternative reading μου ἡ καρδία (N^a B Clem)¹⁹⁸ instead of ἡ καρδία μου (P⁷⁴ N^c A C D E Ψ 0123 M) as accepted here in NA26.¹⁹⁹ The alternative reading is probably to be understood as "a more artificial order which may have been introduced by Alexandrian scribes in order to provide a chiasmic contrast with the following ἡ γλῶσσά μου".²⁰⁰ Codex D differs on three minor points: It reads (a) ἐφ' ἔλπιδι instead of ἐπ' ἔλπιδι (Ac 2:26); (b) ἐγκαταλείψεις and not ἐγκαταλείψεις (Ac 2:27); (c) γνώρισες and not ἐγνώρισες (Ac 2:28) — all of which might have been the result of hearing-errors during the rewriting process of the manuscript at later stages.

(a) *Textual differences between MT and LXX*²⁰¹

The following are the most important changes which appear in a comparison between the translation of the LXX, on the one hand, and the MT on the other hand. These changes in the reading of the LXX, resemble the reading followed by Luke, and could be taken as evidence that Luke has used here a version of the LXX, rather than a version based on the known MT. The points of difference are:

[1] The LXX (Ps 15:8) reads προωρώμην instead of the יִהְיֶה of the MT (Ps 16:8). This results in a minor difference: According to the MT, "Yahweh is always 'kept before'" David. But according to the LXX (and Ac 2:25), David "always 'sees' the Lord before him".²⁰² Attention has already been drawn to the fact that this translation stands out because nowhere else is the phrase translated in this way.²⁰³

The following are four possible explanations for προωρόσθαι in V.2a:²⁰⁴ (a) It has the same meaning as in the Hebrew text; (b) it could have been caused by the frequent expressions "the face of God seen" or

(*Funktion*, 73). So also R.F. OTOOLE: "Luke cites David and Psalm 15 in Acts 2:25 which should be considered with Acts 2:24 because V.25 begins with an explanatory 'for (γάρ)'" (*Davidic Covenant*, 255).

¹⁹⁸ In the old text editions of B.F. WESTCOTT and F.J.A. HORT (*The New Testament in the Original Greek*, Cambridge/London 1890), A. MERK (*Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine*, 8. Editio, Roma 1957) and E. NESTLE (*Novum Testamentum Graece*, 25. Auflage, Stuttgart 1963) this was thought to be the most acceptable reading.

¹⁹⁹ Also thought to be the best reading by L. CERFAUX, *Citations*, 44; and E. HAENCHEN, *Schriftzitate*, 154, although they have used reconstructed NT text editions which have read and accepted μου ἡ καρδία. T. HOLTZ (*Untersuchungen*, 48) and J. DUPONT (*L'interprétation*, 361) on the other hand, have agreed with this and taken it as an additional difference between the readings of Ac and the LXX.

²⁰⁰ B.M. METZGER, *Textual Commentary*, 299.

²⁰¹ It is not the purpose to try and give possible solutions to each of these instances where the LXX differs from the MT, as the main focus of the thesis is on the differences between the LXX and Ac. Only those instances (if any) where Ac disagrees with the LXX and agrees with the MT, will be discussed more comprehensively.

²⁰² Cf. also D.L. BOCK who thinks this to be "natural stylistic strengthening of the Semitic language" (*Proclamation*, 172).

²⁰³ The only other occurrence in 1Ezr 5:63 (οἱ προεωρακότες τῶν...οἴκου) is found exclusively in the reading of codex A. Codex B translates it as: ἐωρακότες. It was thus found to be "...sicher sekundär und daher zu Recht in der Handausgabe von Rahlf's in den Appar verewiesen" (A. SCHMITT, Ps 16,8-11 als Zeugnis der Auferstehung in der Apg, in: *BZ* 17 (1973), 229-248, here 233). The other *loci*

"God seen" in the OT literature: (c) an interpretation with a Graeco-Hellenistic spirit might have been present; according to the Greeks, in a religious situation "seeing" has absolute priority over "believing" or "hearing"; (d) the most probable explanation, however, might still be found in the context. VV.9-11 of the LXX talks about the belief in resurrection and immortality. These futuristic perspectives are stressed by προοράσθαι.

[2] The $\text{D}\text{I}\text{N}\text{X}\text{-}\text{L}\text{I}$ ("I will not stumble") of the MT (Ps 16:8), is changed or translated by the LXX (Ps 15:8) to $\text{I}\text{V}\text{A}\ \mu\eta\ \sigma\text{A}\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\theta\omega$ ("so that I will not tremble") — which is again followed by the reading of Ac 2:25.

[3] "My glory" ($\text{I}\text{I}\text{I}\text{I}\text{I}$) in Ps 16:9 (MT) is translated as "my tongue" ($\eta\ \gamma\lambda\omega\sigma\sigma\acute{\alpha}\ \mu\omicron\upsilon$) in Ps 15:9 (LXX), followed by Ac.²⁰⁵

[4] According to Ps 15:9b (LXX) "my body²⁰⁶ will also dwell in hope".²⁰⁷ This translation already permits the meaning of V.10b ("you will also not let your holy one see decay") to be connected with the bodily resurrection from death.²⁰⁸ At the time when the LXX came into being, the belief in the resurrection was thriving. It is thus not surprising to find traces of it here.²⁰⁹ The LXX then, appears at this point the better candidate for adoption by Luke in Ac.²¹⁰

It is a different case with the MT. Here, the last verse is not connected with the hope of resurrection; rather, the person who was praying hoped for Yahweh's help

mentioned by SCHMITT where it is translated by other equivalents, are the following: Ps 20(21):6 ($\epsilon\pi\iota\theta\epsilon\iota\upsilon\upsilon\alpha\iota$); Ps 88(89):20 ($\tau\iota\theta\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$); Ps 118(119):30 ($\sigma\upsilon\kappa\ \epsilon\pi\iota\lambda\omicron\upsilon\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$).

²⁰⁴ Cf. A. SCHMITT, *Ps 16*, 233-4.

²⁰⁵ In contradiction of the viewpoint of E. HAENCHEN, i.e. that the LXX translated the Hebrew "ganz frei" here (*Apq.* 144). A. SCHMITT proposes a better alternative, namely, that this translation may have been influenced by the several places in the Pss where the announcement of joy is done by way of "the mouth", "tongue" or "lips". He says: "Die LXX hatte hier die gleichen Schwierigkeiten, wie sie jeder moderne Übersetzer an dieser Stelle empfindet. Daher ist es keineswegs notwendig, für die LXX in Ps 16,9a eine vom MT abweichende Vorlage zu rekonstruieren" (*Ps 16*, 235). The best explanation, however, seems to be that of M. RESE, who chose to follow VON RAD in his argument that $\text{I}\text{I}\text{I}\text{I}\text{I}$ is virtually synonymous with $\text{V}\text{I}\text{I}\text{I}$ or $\text{D}\text{I}\text{I}\text{I}$, and that the LXX has not understood the MT and has therefore translated it totally differently (*Motive*, 56). Nevertheless, the fact is that the NT follows here the reading of the LXX against that of the MT.

²⁰⁶ A. SCHMITT says of this noun: "Das Nomen *basar* umschreibt hier in Übereinstimmung mit der alttestamentlichen Anthropologie den Menschen in seiner Gesamtheit. Vom griechischen Begriff $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{x}$ läßt sich das Gleiche nicht aussagen, vielmehr wird damit ein Teilaspekt des Menschen angesprochen." "Die $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ wird wenig später in V.10a angesprochen; *naepa*s vertritt in V.10a die Stelle eines Personalpronomens, aber die griechische Version $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$, eingebettet in den vorliegenden Kontext, eröffnet eine neue Verstehensmöglichkeit im Sinne der griechischen Anthropologie" (*Ps 16*, 235). Although this might be true about the semantic fields of these words, one must be careful not to read too much into these words here. Both $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{x}$ and $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ probably already had their parallels in the Hebrew source text, and it might be that the translator simply used known translation equivalents of the LXX at this point.

²⁰⁷ See also Jdg 18:7; Ps 4:9; Pr 1:33; Ezk 28:26; 34:28; Hs 2:20(18); Zph 2:15 (3:1). These are also translated in the same manner: by $\epsilon\pi\text{'}/\epsilon\nu\ \epsilon\lambda\pi\iota\delta\iota$.

²⁰⁸ According to R. PESCH, "... die Wiedergabe von 'Grube' mit 'Verderben'='Verwesung' (LXX) erfolgt im Horizont solcher Neudeutung...des hebr. Textes, der im Sinne der gewachsenen Auferstehungshoffnung gelesen wurde" (*Apq I*, 122). PESCH thinks it is also important that Ps 15(16):8b supplied a "Stichwortverbindung" with Ps 109(110):1.

²⁰⁹ So also A. SCHMITT (*Ps 16*, 237-8). Cf. also Is 26:19; Dn 12:2; 2Mac 7:9-14; 12:43f; 14:46; PssSol 3:11f.

²¹⁰ So A. SCHMITT: "Mit der Wendung $\epsilon\tau\iota\ \delta\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \eta\ \sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{x}\ \mu\omicron\upsilon\ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\sigma\kappa\eta\nu\omega\sigma\epsilon\iota\ \epsilon\pi\text{'}\ \epsilon\lambda\pi\iota\delta\iota$ wird eine neue Dimension in diesem Psalm durch die griechische Übersetzung eröffnet." "Somit kann aus V.9b gefolgert werden, daß hier eine eschatologische Perspektive erkennbar wird, indem sich der Glaube an die Auferstehung ausspricht" (*Ps 16*, 237).

against the acute danger of death.²¹¹ The Hebrew would thus be translated: "my flesh also dwells in *security*...you do not let your pious one see *sheol*".²¹²

[5] The rendering of ΠΠΨ ("pit") (Ps 16:10 MT), probably from ΠΓΨ ("grave"), as διαφθορά ("decay, deterioration, corruption")²¹³ in the LXX raises the question of whether the ΠΠΨ was read by the LXX (Ps 15:10) as if it were ΠΓΨ, (from ΠΠΨ, "decay"), and therefore rendered διαφθορά.²¹⁴ However, as became clear from the occurrences in the LXX, both Hebrew words (ΠΠΨ and ΠΓΨ) were translated as διαφθορά. Also it seems that ΠΠΨ is almost exclusively translated as διαφθορά in the *Pss*, while in the *prophetic literature* διαφθορά is the characteristic translation of ΠΠΨ. This may support the argument, when one bears in mind that different books were probably translated by different translators; this would also explain the trend in the rest of the *Pss*.

What is significant is that Ac 2:27 follows the LXX reading at this point and (changed consciously or unconsciously by the LXX translator(s) of the *Pss*), Luke made it "... central to Peter's application of the verse to Christ's body, which did not decay in the grave"²¹⁵ — therefore emphasizing his physical resurrection. This connection with the bodily raising from death was thus only possible from the existing Greek translation(s), while in the Hebrew it is clearly excluded.²¹⁶

[6] The translation of *sheol* as ᾠδης must be seen on the one hand as nothing more than a mere translation equivalent,²¹⁷ but on the other hand one also has to take cognizance of the semantic significance behind this term. In the post-exilic era *sheol*

²¹¹ So also G. SCHNEIDER, *Apg 1*, 273.

²¹² The proposed translation is that of H.W. BOERS, Psalm 16 and the historical origin of the Christian faith, in: *ZAW* 60 (1969), 105-110, here 106.

²¹³ Also translated in the same way in Job 33:28,31; Ps 9:15 LXX; Ps 29(30):9; Ps 34(35):7; Ps 54(55):23; Ezk 19:4,8. Διαφθορά seems to be a well known word, used already by Aesch, *Hdt* (cf. W. BAUER, s.v. διαφθορά); the LXX; Philo *Migr.Abr* 17; L.A. 3:162-8); Jos 4p II 259, and also later by *ChrysOr* XIV 152-153).

²¹⁴ So E. HAENCHEN, *Apg*, 144; M. RESE, *Motive*, 57; G.L. ARCHER and G. CHIRICHIGNO, *Quotations*, 63. Translated in this way in Hs 13:9; Zph 3:6; Jr 13:14; 15:3. According to D.L. BOCK, referring to the work of R.E. MURPHY, ("Shachal" in the Qumran Literature, in: *Bib* 39 (1958), 60-66) "...the meaning corruption seems to have turned up at Qumran in Semitic texts of the first century, though it is to be questioned whether a different root origin is to be sought for the word". Texts cited by MURPHY are: 1QM 3:9,26-7; 1QS 9:16-17; 10:19-20; 11:13; and especially 1QS 4:11-14. According to these texts, it "would be possible that a Semitic reader would have understood ΠΠΨ in terms of physical corruption in association with Gehenna. He maintained this understanding would be independent of the LXX." "If Murphy is correct, no mistranslation has occurred and no alteration of the MT has taken place; but instead the word conceptually has been concretized as time passed" (*Proclamation*, 175). Another possibility was presented by A. SCHMITT — building on the work of J. ZIEGLER (*Der textkritische Wert der Septuaginta des Buches Job* (MiscBib 2), Rome 1934, 280f) — namely that one has to bear in mind that the LXX frequently translates "Konkreta" as "Abstrakta". "Ein solcher Fall könnte nun auch hier vorliegen, indem nämlich für das Konkretum *sahat* ('Grab') das Abstraktum διαφθορά ('Vernichtung') in die griechische Version eingebracht wurde" (*Ps 16*, 238). See also the comments on this word in the discussion of the quotation from Ps 2:7 in Ac 13.

²¹⁵ So G.L. ARCHER & G. CHIRICHIGNO, *Quotations*, 63.

²¹⁶ Cf. also M. RESE: "Hier scheint die griechische Übersetzung ganz eindeutig Voraussetzung für ein christologisches Verständnis von Ps 16,10 zu sein; es sei denn, man könnte zeigen, daß auch schon im Hebräischen oder Aramäischen nicht vom Grab, sondern von der Verwesung gesprochen wird" (*Motive*, 57).

²¹⁷ So rightly, D.L. BOCK, *Proclamation*, 173.

was understood in its Jewish concept, as a place of punishment where the dead were kept for a time. It was now in this post-exilic era no longer the eternal lot of *all* who died, but the souls of the righteous were thought to go immediately to heaven.²¹⁸

It would be speculative to assume here *another source* for the second reference to this Ps (Ac 2:31) purely on the scanty evidence of the alternative reading (ἄδου = A C D E Ψ M) in the second reference.²¹⁹ Not only is there authoritative support for the ἄδου-reading, but this second reference has to be seen within the broader context as part of the commentary on the long quotation which preceded it. Even when it is assumed that the ἄδου-reading is to be preferred, one must bear in mind that V.31 forms part of the commentary. It does not have to be a direct quotation, it could be a reference to what was said previously!

[7] "The life well pleasing to God" (MT) to "the way of life" ὁδοῦς ζωῆς (LXX). According to the MT, it is a life to which God responds, while the LXX translation sees it as "a good life which ends in eternal life".²²⁰

(b) Textual differences between Ac and LXX

Ac 2:25-28 consists of an explicit quotation, taken from Ps 15(16):8-11,²²¹ and which seems to be almost identical in both the current reconstructed readings of the NT and LXX texts.²²² The reading of Ac 2:25-28 agrees exactly with that of Ps 15:8-11 (LXX), except for προορώμην²²³ instead of προωρώμην.²²⁴ It is otherwise identical and no additions, omissions, substitutions, transpositions or any other changes of Ac, in comparison with the text of the LXX, are to be found. The only other issue that deserves a remark here, is the question of why Luke has ended his quotation at this

²¹⁸ Cf. H.W. BOERS, *Ps 16*, 107-8; A. SCHMITT, *Ps 16*, 238; and R. PESCH, *Apg I*, 122. The best explanation for this Greek word in the new context of Ac, is summed up by the remarks of H. CONZELMANN: "Lk meint aber: 'im Hades, nämlich im Tode, lassen'; 'Für die Vorstellung einer Hadesfahrt ist die Stelle nicht auszuwerten; Lk kennt diese Vorstellung nicht, und ein vorlukanischer Sinn ist nicht zu erschließen" (*Apg*, 35). Also J. ROLOFF who considers that *hades* here refers not to the place of the dead souls, but "vielmehr Verkörperung der Todesmacht im Sinne von V.24" (*Apg*, 57). Cf. also PssSol 2:7.

²¹⁹ This alternative was suggested by T. HOLTZ (*Untersuchungen*, 50) who finds the alternative reading to be supportive of his argument that this second reference is to be traced back to *another source* than the one used for the longer quotation of the same Ps in Ac 2:25-28. He reckons that X B 81 *al* (or a common earlier text from which these derived) have modified V.31 according to V.27. This train of reasoning is in keeping with, and provides support for HOLTZ's thesis that Luke made use of "bereits vorgegebenen Testimonien" — especially when his quoted text differs from our known (reconstructed) LXX text. At places where both the LXX text and Luke's text agree (as in VV. 25-28) he presumes that Luke himself gets it from his LXX and not from testimonia.

²²⁰ D.L. BOCK, *Proclamation*, 176.

²²¹ The introduction with the words Ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, marks the end of the quotation. So also G. SCHNEIDER, *Apg I*, 270-271.

²²² So also T. HOLTZ: "...in fast völliger Übereinstimmung mit der LXX" (*Untersuchungen*, 48).

²²³ Supported among the LXX textual witnesses by B-X U L^{pa} U Z A-1219-55. Cf. also T. HOLTZ, *Untersuchungen*, 49, n.4.

²²⁴ The morphological difference between -ο- and -ω- was not a major issue during these times and both were used interchangeably. See also T. HOLTZ: "Der Frage kann aber überhaupt nur geringes Gewicht beigemessen werden, da mindestens zur Zeit des Lukas bereits nicht mehr sorgfältig zwischen ο und ω geschieden wurde" (*Untersuchungen*, 49).

specific point.²²⁵ This might have been due either to the adjustment to the context, or to shortening it due to theological *apriori*. The latter seems to be a better choice.²²⁶

4.2.4 Method of quotation

Although some scholars have identified a "Pescher-Technik" here,²²⁷ the opposite case has been satisfactorily proved.²²⁸

The combination of the themes of Jesus' resurrection and being the son of David, was already found in Lk 20:27-44. That is now continued here in this second Petrine speech. *How* Luke came to this quoted text, is unclear, but there seems to be no doubt *that* it is to be traced back to the hand of Luke himself, especially with regard to the fact that it is to be found nowhere else than in Ac. It is also clear that this text is quoted from a LXX version, rather than from those of the Hebrew. The substantial differences between the readings of the MT and that of the LXX makes this clear. The bridging function of the LXX between the Hebrew Jewish Scriptures and early Christianity, is evident here.

The headings of the two previous quoted Pss in Ac 1 have read εἰς τὸ τέλος. Interesting is that Ps 15(16) ends with this *Leitmotiv*: εἰς τέλος. The citing of the quotation itself, as well as this eschatological dimension,²²⁹ serve the goal of being explanatory to the fact of Jesus' resurrection (by God) from death. This interpretation was only possible by way of the LXX-reading of the quotation.²³⁰

4.2.5 Interpretation of the quotation by Luke²³¹

Attention has already been drawn to the fact that Luke has made use of several presuppositions (which he did not explicitly state) when taking this quotation from the Pss and reinterpreting it in his text.²³² After explicitly quoting the text, he

²²⁵ Cf. M. RESE: "...so ist es etwas merkwürdig, daß Ps 16(15),11c: τερνότητες ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ σου εἰς τέλος nicht mütiziert wird" (*Funktion*, 73).

²²⁶ So M. RESE: "Um den Fehlschluß zu vermeiden, daß der Geist für immer in der 'Rechten Gottes' ist, streicht er Ps 16,11c und bringt in v 33 die nach seiner Meinung richtige Darstellung des Sachverhaltes: Jesus ist zur Rechten Gottes, und er gießt den Geist aus" (*Motive*, 55-56).

²²⁷ So, for example, E.E. ELLIS, *Midrascharige Züge*, 97. He draws attention to the repetitions of δεξιός (VV.25,33); ὄνος (VV.27,31); σάπξ (VV.26,31) and ἰδεῖν διαφθορᾶν (VV.27,31).

²²⁸ According to M. RESE, a formal reference to repetitions is not a valid argument for a "Pescher-Technik" (*Funktion*, 73-74).

²²⁹ Cf. A. SCHMITT: "Bezüglich der LXX-Version von Ps 16,8-11 ergibt sich, daß die LXX eine eschatologische Interpretation vorgenommen hat. Es kann nicht nachdrücklich genug festgestellt werden, daß dieses Ergebnis nur aufgrund des Kontextes gewonnen wurde." "Erst durch den Kontext wird das Glaubensverständnis der letzten Jahrhunderte v. Chr. erkennbar, das darin kulminiert, daß Auferstehung und ewiges Leben in den Mittelpunkt religiösen Denkens rücken" (*Ps 16*, 242-243).

²³⁰ So also G. SCHNEIDER: "Die vier Doppelverse des Zitats konnten in der LXX-Fassung auf Jesu Auferstehung bezogen werden...weil diese den ursprünglichen Sinn des Psalms bereits umgedeutet hatte, und zwar in Richtung auf eine 'eschatologische Interpretation'" (*Apk I*, 272-273).

²³¹ See W.C. KAISER for a possible interpretation of Ps 15(16) itself (*Promise to David*, 222-227).

²³² So J. ROLOFF: "Bei der Übertragung des Psalms auf Jesus und seine Auferweckung geht Lukas nun allerdings von einer Reihe nicht deutlich ausgesprochener Voraussetzungen aus: 1. Der Psalm spricht von einer leiblichen Auferweckung aus dem Tode. In der Tat war das bereits die Meinung des pharisäischen Judentums. - 2. Sein Verfasser war der König David, der in ihm als Prophet (V.30) spricht. - 3. Jesus ist Davids Sohn, er gehört 'nach dem Fleische' (Röm 1,3) dem davidischen

presents an explanation or exposition of this quoted text. He made it vividly clear that these words were only "prophesied" (προφήτης οὖν ὑπάρχων)²³³ by David (πατριάρχου²³⁴ Δαυίδ), who had died long before, and could not therefore be the subject of the prophecy himself.²³⁵ Instead, it was the resurrection of Christ (ἀναστάσεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ)²³⁶ which was seen in advance (προϊδών) by David.²³⁷ Although the words are quoted as the words of David, they are reinterpreted in terms of Christ — thus *christological*.²³⁸ The κύριος to which J1 3 has referred (and by who's name will be saved all those who call on it), is interpreted by Luke as the same κύριος in Ps 15:8 (LXX) — which was the LXX translation of "Yahweh" in Ps 16:8 (MT). Here in Ac 2:25 this translation also helps conveniently to make the

Geschlecht an. David konnte also in Ich-Aussagen, die nicht auf seine individuelle Person begrenzt waren, sondern, antikem jüdischem Denken entsprechend, kollektiv seine gesamte Nachkommenschaft umfaßten, von der Auferstehung Jesu sprechen" (*Apg*, 57).

²³³. Cf. Ac 1:16; Heb 11:32 and Barn 12:10, which take a similar approach, also seeing David as a prophet. See also U. WILCKENS, *Missionsreden*, 35. According to B.M. NEWMAN and E.A. NIDA "prophet" is to be understood in this context as "one who sees and foretells the future" (*Translator's Handbook*, 54). "Der Psalm müsse also prophetisch gemeint sein" (B. REICKE, *Glaube und Leben*, 48).

²³⁴. In the NT to be found only here, as well as in Ac 7:8.9 and Heb 7:4. According to G. SCHNEIDER, "handelt (es) sich um einen LXX-Ausdruck, der verschiedene hebräische Äquivalente wiedergibt: 1 Chr 24,31; 27,22; 2 Chr 19,8; 23,20; 26,12; 4 Makk 7,19; 16,25 (stets pluralisch), s. auch TestAbr A 20; ApkEsr 30,25. David wird Apg 2,29 offensichtlich wegen seiner messianischen Stammvaterschaft (V 30) 'Patriarch' genannt" (*Apg I*, 274). B.M. NEWMAN and E.A. NIDA see it as "an honorary title applied to David, the king of Israel" (*Translator's Handbook*, 53).

²³⁵. Cf. 3 Ki(1 Ki) 2:10; JosAm 392-394; 249; JosBJ 1:61. J. ROLOFF says: "Dies läßt nur die Wahl zwischen zwei Möglichkeiten: Entweder hat David unwahr geredet, oder er hat nicht von sich selbst gesprochen!" (*Apg*, 58).

²³⁶ So also M. RESE, *Funktion*, 74.

²³⁷. Cf. A. WEISER: "Der Kerngedanke der Beweisführung ist folgender: David hatte in diesem Psalm vorhergesagt, daß Gott seinen Heiligen nicht der Verwesung preisgeben wird; nun aber ist ja allen das Grab Davids bekannt, und alle wissen, daß er verwest ist; also kann sich die Prophetie nicht auf ihn selbst bezogen haben, sondern sie meint den, der nach der Natanweissagung aus Davids Lenden hervorgehen, die Davidsherrschaft antreten und sie für immer behalten wird" (*Apg I*, 93). So also R.F. O'TOOLE: "Luke interprets Psalm 15 in the light of God's promise to David which he cites in Acts 2:30" (*Davidic Covenant*, 255). The author refers also to O. BETZ, *The Kerygma of Luke*, in: *Interpr* 22 (1968), 139-141; C. BURGER, *Jesus als Davidsson: Eine traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung*, Göttingen 1970, 135,138-139; J. DUPONT, *L'interprétation des Psaumes dans les Actes des Apôtres*, in: *idem*, *Études sur les Actes des Apôtres* (LeDiv 45), Paris 1967, 283-307; *ibid.*, *L'utilisation*, 312-3; D.M. HAY, *Glory at the Right Hand. Psalm 110 in Early Christianity* (SBL MS 18), Nashville 1973, 115; D.L. JONES, *The Title Kyrios in Luke Acts*, in: G.W. MACRAE (ed), *SBL Seminar Papers* 110/2, Missoula 1974, 85-101, here 92-93; B. PAPA, *Atti degli Apostoli*, Bologna 1981, 85-86; M. RESE, *Motiv*, 107-109; G. VOSS, *Durch die Rechte Gottes erhöht, hat er den Geist ausgegossen* (Apg 2:33); *Pfingstgeschehen und Pfingstbotschaft nach Apostelgeschichte Kap.2*, in: *BiKi* 21 (1966), 45-47, here 46; A. WEISER, *Die Pfingstpredigt des Lukas*, *BiLe* 14 (1973), 1-12, here 4; R.F. ZEHLE, *Pentecost Speech*, 27-28.

²³⁸. So also J.W. DOEVE, *Jewish Hermeneutics*, 168-172; H. BRAUN, *Zur Terminologie*, 536; B. REICKE, *Glaube und Leben*, 47; U. WILCKENS, *Missionsreden*, 35; and B.M. NEWMANN and E.A. NIDA, *Translator's Handbook*, 53. For W.C. KAISER, this is a "messianic use" of this Ps (*Promise to David*, 219-229). According to D. JUEL, the "messianic" interpretation of Ps 15(16) "...is probably not a surviving fragment of a primitive argument at all", as B. LINDARS, for example, has thought, "...but the end-product of a complex interpretive process and indicative of an approach to exegesis typical of Luke-Acts and later Christian writings, shared probably by no other NT author" (*Use of Ps 16*, 546).

switch to the person under discussion, Jesus (of Nazareth, V.22),²³⁹ who was made both κύριος and χριστός (V.36).²⁴⁰ But V.25 (Ps 15(16):8) also implies that *God* is always with Jesus -- even on the cross. It is therefore no wonder that the call of Mk 15:34 was omitted by Lk!²⁴¹ The role of God thus remains prominent. Everything that has happened to Jesus, was the result of God's plan and due to his will -- up to the point where God could resurrect Jesus from death and exalt him to his right hand.²⁴²

The content of the previously mentioned V.27 is repeated in V.31.²⁴³ This verse seems to be of prominent importance for Luke when he refers to Christ's resurrection, as it is found again in Paul's first speech, in Ac 13:35. To end his discussion on this matter, Luke refers again to Jesus being resurrected from death by God (V.32), and thus encircles this citation in the form of an *inclusio*, combined with V.24.

It is important to note that if Luke has used a Hebrew text here (or a parallel Aramaic version), it would be impossible for him to link his quotation with Jesus' resurrection and to interpret it in this way. He has used the LXX version, which contained material which could be interpreted in connection with Jesus' resurrection.²⁴⁴ Such possibilities were not to be found in the Hebrew.

The LXX quotation from Ps 15(16):8-11 in Ac 2:25-28, thus substantiates and interprets the remarks which are made in Ac 2:22-24; David formulates the words of the Messiah before the Messiah is even born. The function of this quoted text at this specific place, is to provide Scriptural authority for the events of Jesus' life, his death and resurrection. Proof and interpretation are thus taking place simultaneously, but this is not proof from prophecy, within the scheme of promise and fulfillment. It would be better to talk here of a typological use of Scripture.²⁴⁵

4.3 Possible broader knowledge of Ps 15(16) in the rest of the section (Language, Style and OT-motifs)

The following might be possible pointers to a broader knowledge by Luke of Ps 15(16) and the LXX in general: (a) Στηλογραφία τῷ Δαυίδ: The heading of Ps 15(16). Luke knew that this Ps is ascribed to David; (b) καθότι (Ac 2:24)²⁴⁶; (c) [λύσας] τὰς ᾠδῖνας τοῦ θανάτου (Ac 2:24).

²³⁹ Cf. also M. RESE who has said that "...das Zitat dient als Beweis für V.23f, wahrscheinlich auch für V.22" (*Funktion*, 74).

²⁴⁰ According to L. O'REILLY, "the title *kyrios* carries in itself the nuance of divinity because of its use in the LXX as the name of Yahweh" and it therefore "tends to identify Christ with God" (*Word and Sign*, 98).

²⁴¹ See also E. HAENCHEN, *App*, 144; and M. RESE, *Funktion*, 74.

²⁴² Cf. W. DIETRICH: "Der zweite Teil der Rede (V.22-28) bringt ein Bekenntnis zu Jesus mit der Bestimmung, daß Leben, Tod und Auferstehung Jesu unter dem Willen Gottes standen" (*Petrusbild*, 203).

²⁴³ So also G. LÜDEMANN, *Christentum*, 52.

²⁴⁴ In the same direction: H. CONZELMANN, *App*, 35; and M. RESE, *Motive*, 56. Contrary to the viewpoint of J.W. DOEVE, *Jewish Hermeneutics*, Assen 1954, 168.

²⁴⁵ Cf. M. RESE, *Funktion*, 76; and W. DIETRICH, *Petrusbild*, 203.

²⁴⁶ καθότι is found in the NT only in Lk-Ac: Lk 1:7; 19:9; Ac 2:24,45; 4:35; 17:31. G. SCHNEIDER said about its occurrence here, that it "...zeigt an, daß das Auferstehungsgeschehen der Erwartung des Psalms (V 27) entspricht und ihm gemäß erfolgte" (*App I*, 272).

Regarding the latter, one has to take cognizance here of the problem about the differences between the readings of the LXX and the MT. The problem itself has already been clearly formulated: "*Pains of death* is a phrase which comes from the Greek text of the Old Testament and which literally means 'birth pangs of death'; so the meaning of the phrase is that of 'bringing the pangs to an end' or 'doing away with the pain'. The Hebrew text has 'bonds of death', but Luke quotes the Greek..".²⁴⁷ Several explanations to the problem have, in the past, been suggested:

According to Plümacher, [λύσας] τὰς ὀδύνας τοῦ θανάτου²⁴⁸ is the result of unconscious influence, i.e. via other sources — possibly from the liturgical language in this speech.²⁴⁹

[1] Clarke's explanation, i.e. that we are dealing here with a conflation of both ὀδύνας θανάτου and the reading of Job 39:2 (ἠρίθμησας δὲ μήνας αὐτῶν πλήρεις τοκετοῦ αὐτῶν, ὀδύνας δὲ αὐτῶν ἔλυσας)²⁵⁰ does not fit into the thesis assumed in this study, namely that Luke had at his disposal only the bookrols of the Torah, the Prophets and the Pss. The only comparison that might exist between these two texts, is that this phrase was probably already a fixed expression at his time. Although Wilcox was against this (traditional) solution on the basis of the eschatological context of both Ac and the Qumran passage 1QH 3:28 (which is in fact a quotation of Ps 17(18):5),²⁵¹ Richard has convincingly argued for the contrary.²⁵²

[2] The viewpoint of Boers,²⁵³ following that of Lindars,²⁵⁴ that Ac 2:24 is a comment on Ps 15(16):6, is irrelevant when one deals here with the LXX version. Boers has stated clearly that "this can be recognized only in the Hebrew versions of the Psalms, because it is the same Hebrew word מַלְלָה that was translated in the LXX with ὀδύνας = 'pangs' in Ps 18(17):5a, and with σχοινία = 'ropes, lines' in Ps 16(15):6". Agreeing with Schmitt against this view of Boers, it must be said that "Die Behauptung, daß in V.24 durch die Vorschaltung des Partizips λύσας eine Bezugnahme auf Ps 16,6 erfolgt, läßt sich nicht erweisen. Ps 16,6 kann daher nicht als ein Kommentar bezeichnet werden, der die 'Wehen des Todes' unter ein positives Vorzeichen stellt".²⁵⁵

[3] Another possibility was presented by Haenchen,²⁵⁶ Conzelmann,²⁵⁷ Weiser,²⁵⁸ Schneider,²⁵⁹ and Roloff,²⁶⁰ namely that this might be a wrong translation made by the translators of the LXX in 2 Ki(Sm) 22:6, Ps 17(18):5f and 114(116):3 which read לָלַד "Geburtswehe"(pains of birth), instead

²⁴⁷ So B.M. NEWMAN and E.A. NIDA, *Translator's Handbook*, 49. Note also their remarks in connection with translating these phrases.

²⁴⁸ This exact phrase is also to be found in *PolEp* 1:2.

²⁴⁹ Cf. E. PLÜMACHER, *Lukas*.

²⁵⁰ W.K.L. CLARKE, *Use of the Septuagint*, 97.

²⁵¹ Cf. E. RICHARD, *OT in Acts*, 339.

²⁵² He reckons that the passages of Ps 17(18):5; Job 39:2 and Ps 114(116):3 "...and other texts concerned with the image of a woman giving birth, were commonly employed in the eschatological and apocalyptic literature of the late OT and NT periods" (E. RICHARD, *OT in Acts*, 339).

²⁵³ H.W. BOERS, *Psalms* 16, 108.

²⁵⁴ B. LINDARS, *NT Apologetic*, 39.

²⁵⁵ A. SCHMITT, *Ps 16*, 245.

²⁵⁶ E. HAENCHEN, *App*, 143.

²⁵⁷ H. CONZELMANN, *App*, 35.

²⁵⁸ A. WEISER, *App* I, 92.

²⁵⁹ G. SCHNEIDER, *App* I, 272.

²⁶⁰ J. ROLOFF, *App*, 56.

of קָלַל "Strick",²⁶¹ Bock agrees with the passages, but thought it to be due to word-play on these texts.²⁶²

[4] *Schneider*, however, also asks the rhetorical question about this change: "...oder handelt es sich nicht eher um eine bewußte Änderung zum Abstrakten?"²⁶³ *Schmitt* thought this indeed to be the case.²⁶⁴ This seems to be the most convincing explanation.

5. SECTION III. ACTS 2:29-36

Jesus' exaltation & the quotation from Ps 109(110):1

5.1 Composition of the section

What follows here in this section, is nothing else than an exposition of the preceding information. As with the beginning of the first two sections, also this section begins with Peter addressing the hearers directly (ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί), and thereafter focusing on the role of the words which are to follow (ἐξόν²⁶⁵ εἶπεν μετὰ παρρησίας πρὸς ὑμᾶς). The issue at stake here, is one "about David" (περὶ...Δαβίδ),²⁶⁶ "the patriarch".²⁶⁷ What follows, is Luke's interpretation of the quoted Ps text. The words of the quotation from Ps 15(16):8-11 are explained in terms of the role that David has played. David is used here as a contrasting example with regard to the resurrection of Jesus. The attention of the hearers is drawn to the contrast between the words of David, and what actually happened to him; the appropriateness of these words becomes clear only when they are applied to Jesus. This then indicates that these words which were spoken by David, did not refer to himself, but to this Jesus (τοῦτον τὸν Ἰησοῦν, VV.32,36),²⁶⁸ whom God has made Christ (χριστὸν ἐποίησεν ὁ θεός, V.36), and then specifically to the issue "about the resurrection of Christ" (περὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ):²⁶⁹

(a) David had died (ἐτελεύτησεν), was buried (ἐτάφη), and his grave still stood as a memorial (τὸ μνημα αὐτοῦ ἔστιν ἐν ἡμῖν ἄχρι τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης) (V.29). Christ, however, was resurrected (ἀναστάσεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ), not left behind in *hades* (οὔτε ἐγκατελείφθη εἰς ᾄδην), and his flesh did not see decay²⁷⁰ (οὔτε ἡ

²⁶¹. "Der hebr. Text stellt in den zwei zitierten Fällen die Unterwelt bzw. den Tod als Jäger dar, der mit Fangstricken dem Menschen nachstellt. Die LXX umging durch ihre Version diese bildhafte Konkretisierung" (A. SCHMITT, *Ps 16*, 244-5).

²⁶². D.L. BOCK, *Proclamation*, 171-172.

²⁶³. G. SCHNEIDER, *App I*, 272.

²⁶⁴. "Man kann nämlich häufig in der LXX beobachten, daß anstelle eines Konkretums ein Abstraktum gesetzt wird" (A. SCHMITT, *Ps 16*, 244).

²⁶⁵. ἐξόν = ἐξεστίν (BL-DBR §353,5; E. HAENCHEN, *App*, 145).

²⁶⁶. Cf. to Ac 1:16 where the theme was "about Judas" (περὶ Ἰούδα).

²⁶⁷. R.F. O'TOOLE refers to Ac 7:8-9 and suggests that David was seen as a patriarch on the same level as the twelve patriarchs (*Davidic Covenant*, 252).

²⁶⁸. Note the similarity in structure between V.36 and V.22: τοῦτον τὸν Ἰησοῦν...όν. So also noticed by U. WILCKENS, *Missionsreden*, 36.

²⁶⁹. "David ist doch nicht in den Himmel aufgestiegen; also muß sich dieses Wort auf den Messias beziehen" (A. WEISER, *App I*, 93-4). So also G. SCHNEIDER, *App I*, 276.

²⁷⁰. Or "corruption" (RSV).

σάρξ αὐτοῦ εἶδεν διαφθοράν) (V.31) — referring thus back to the words of Ps 15(16):10 which were quoted in the section above (VV.22-28).

(b) David did not ascend into heaven (οὐ γὰρ Δαυὶδ ἀνέβη εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς) (V.34),²⁷¹ in contrast to Jesus who was resurrected by God (τοῦτου τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀνέστησεν ὁ θεός, V.32), and exalted to the right hand of God himself (τῇ δεξιᾷ οὖν²⁷² τοῦ θεοῦ ὑψώθεις, V.33)²⁷³ — from where he received the τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου ("the promise of the Holy Spirit") from the Father (λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς),²⁷⁴ which he has "poured out" (ἐξέχεεν τοῦτο).²⁷⁵ This idea was probably well known during Luke's time.²⁷⁶ The fact and position of the exalted Christ is substantiated in the words of David himself, referring here to Ps 109(110):1, i.e. that "the Lord has said to his lord" that he must sit at his right hand, until he has surrendered his enemies under his feet.²⁷⁷

David could therefore be typified as "being a prophet"²⁷⁸ (προφήτης οὖν, V.30) who had foreknowledge of these things (καὶ εἰδὼς ὅτι..., V.30),²⁷⁹ and who, foreseeing it (προϊδὼν), speaks in advance of the resurrection of Christ²⁸⁰ (ἐλάλησεν περὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ, V.31).

²⁷¹. Cf. H. CONZELMANN who says that this is "...ein jüdischer Topos...der von den Christen zur Apologetik benützt wird" (*App.* 35). He refers to Rm 10:6f.

²⁷². E. HAENCHEN points out that the transition from the resurrection to the exaltation, is made here "unvermerklich" with this οὖν (*App.* 145).

²⁷³. The term ὑψωθῆναι is only used here with regard to Jesus' ascension (H. BRAUN, *Zur Terminologie*, 533). Note the clear differentiation between Jesus' resurrection, ascension and exaltation.

So also G. SCHNEIDER, *App I*, 275.

²⁷⁴. Compare here Lk 24:49 where Jesus says to his disciples: καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ πατρὸς μου ἐφ' ὑμῶν.

²⁷⁵. There are two clear references in Ac 2:33 to the J1 quotation (Ac 2:17,18): ἐκχέω (pour out) and τοῦ πνεύματος (Spirit). So also R.F. O'TOOLE, *Davidic Covenant*, 256; H.J. CADBURY, *Speeches*, 409; B. LINDARS, *NT Apologetic*, 43-54; G. LOHFINK, *Himmelfahrt Jesu*, 229. A. KERRIGAN has pointed out that "...the action which is predicted of Yahweh in the oracle of *Joel* (ἐκχεῶ in the LXX, *Joel*, III,1a) is predicted here of Jesus (ἐξέχεεν, V.33)" (*Sensus Plenior*, 297). So also U. WILCKENS (*Missionsreden*, 35) and H. CONZELMANN (*App.* 35), who said that the dative should be understood here as locative; as well as H. VAN DE SANDT, *Fate of the Gentiles*, 56. Compare also these instances in Ac with Is 57:16: πνεῦμα γὰρ παρ' ἐμοῦ ἐξελεύσεται...

²⁷⁶. Cf. Rm 1:4 and 1 Tm 3:16. So also E. HAENCHEN, *App.* 146.

²⁷⁷. "In der Schriftauslegung, die Petrus vorträgt, ist der 'Sohn Davids' also als 'Sohn Gottes' und 'Menschensohn' begriffen, dem der Platz auf Gottes Thron...zugedacht ist" (R. PESCH, *App I*, 123). See also A. KERRIGAN: "Peter, quoting Ps CX,1, implies that Christ's exaltation at God's right hand includes the defeat of his enemies (*Act.*, II,33-34), who, as *Act X*,38 indicates, are the Devil and his minions" (*Sensus Plenior*, 308). Compare this with the eschatological (apocalyptic) section in the J1 quotation. However, I do not share KERRIGAN's view that this implies "...the struggle against Satan and his allies in which Jesus was engaged" (308; my emphasis, *GJS*).

²⁷⁸. Compare Lk 20:42; Ac 1:16; 2:30; 4:25. Cf. also Barn 12:10 where Ps 109(110) is also quoted: οὗτος προφητεύει Δαυεὶδ. According to J.A. FITZMYER, the "identification of David as a prophet naturally continues later in the Christian tradition and becomes a standard epithet, being inspired no doubt, in part at least, by Acts 2:30. It is not unknown in later Jewish tradition as well" (David, "Being therefore a Prophet..." (Acts 2:30), in: *CBQ* 34 (1972), 352-359, here 333).

²⁷⁹. E. HAENCHEN said: "dem Propheten gibt Gott den Blick in die Zukunft" (*App.* 145).

²⁸⁰. According to Luke, David could only have known that the "one of his descendants which will sit upon his throne", is the Messiah (the Christ, in Greek). The reference is therefore to "the resurrection of the Christ" (V.31) and not to that of Jesus, which could not have been known by David. (Compare this with God who has resurrected Jesus in V.32).

It is important that it is still God who remains the Subject of all that is happening: It is *God* who has promised ("had sworn with an oath", ὅτι ὄρκω ἔμοσεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεός)²⁸¹ that one of David's descendants would sit upon his throne (V.30), it is *God* who has resurrected Jesus (τοῦτον τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀνέστησεν ὁ θεός, V.32), it is at *God's* right hand that Jesus sits, and from "the Father" (παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς) that he has received the "promise of the Spirit — it is therefore *God* who has made Jesus both κύριος and χριστός (V.36).²⁸² The message is thus clear: God has done all these things with Jesus and made him, this Jesus whom they have crucified (τοῦτον τὸν Ἰησοῦν ὃν ὑμεῖς ἐσταυρώσατε, V.36),²⁸³ a ruler (κύριος) and a saviour (χριστός).²⁸⁴ And this must be noted well by the whole of Israel (ἀσφαλῶς οὖν γινωσκέτω πᾶς οἶκος Ἰσραὴλ,²⁸⁵ V.36).

The message itself is thus also divine, and could have been known only through God who has revealed it himself. The promise of the Holy Spirit (τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου)²⁸⁶ was now received by the exalted Jesus at the right hand of God, transferred from the Father himself.

5.2 The quotation from Ps 109(110):1 (Ac 2:34-35)

Just as the reference to Jesus' resurrection from death has triggered Luke to quote from the Pss, so also here, the reference to Jesus' exaltation leads him to quote again from the Pss (109:1).²⁸⁷

Ps 109(110) is probably the text most used in early Christianity in connection with Jesus' exaltation²⁸⁸ — though other texts were also used.²⁸⁹ It is no wonder that this quotation is found so often in the NT literature.²⁹⁰ Of all the quotations

²⁸¹ Cf. also M. RESE, *Motive*, 107-108; and R.F. O'TOOLE, *Davidic Covenant*, 249.

²⁸² Cf. C.A.J. PILLAI: "From the beginning, in the apostolic experience, witness and composition, there is a clear interpretation of the meaning of the resurrection event as a living mystery. The core of this mystery is that God has intervened decisively in history to raise up Jesus of Nazareth as Christ and Lord" (The Two Aspects of the Resurrection, in: E.A. LIVINGSTONE (ed), *Studia Evangelica* VI (TU 112), Berlin 1973, 417-428, here 424).

²⁸³ About the relation here between V.36b and V.23, cf. to U. WILCKENS: "...die Formulierung des Satzes (erweckt), besonders durch seine Einleitung, den Eindruck, daß die Aussage zugleich als theologische Zusammenfassung der ganzen Predigt gemeint ist, welches Verständnis sich auch durch den ausdrücklichen Rückbezug in 2.36b auf 2.23 nahelegt" (*Missionstreden*, 36). This applies then not only to Jesus' exaltation only, but to the whole of the preceding Jesus-kerygma.

²⁸⁴ Of interest here is the suggestion of O. GLOMBITZA that the first "Credo-Formel" ('Ἰησοῦς χριστός κύριος) could be found here in the exact reversed order! "Offenbar sollte V.36 als Höhepunkt und Ziel der Ausführungen angesehen werden" (*Schluß der Petrusrede*, 116).

²⁸⁵ According to E. HAENCHEN, οἶκος Ἰσραὴλ is a "LXX-Wendung" (*App*, 146).

²⁸⁶ An epexegetical genitive, with the meaning: "das im Geist bestehende Verheißungsgut" (G. SCHNEIDER, *App I*, 275.n.113).

²⁸⁷ Some believe that Ps 68:19 lies behind this quotation. (Cf. for example, B. LINDARS, *NT Apologetic*, 43-44; J. DUPONT, Ascension du Christ et don de l'Esprit d'après Actes 2.33, in: B. LINDARS & S.S. SMALLEY (eds), *Christ and Spirit in the New Testament*, 219-228, Cambridge 1973). D.L. BOCK has argued convincingly against their textual reconstruction (*Proclamation*, 181-183).

²⁸⁸ J. ROLOFF talks about "den klassischen Schriftbeweis für die Erhöhung Jesu" (*App*, 59).

²⁸⁹ So P.G.R. DE VILLIERS, *Jesus nassen opstanding en wederkoms*, D.Th.-Thesis, Stellenbosch 1976, 141; and A. WEISER, *App I*, 94.

²⁹⁰ Compare Mt 22:44; Mk 12:36; Lk 20:42-43; Ac 2:34-35; 1 Cor 15:25; Heb 1:13. Cf. also the context of Mt 26:64; Mk 14:62; 16:19; Lk 22:69; Ac 5:31; 7:55,56; Rm 8:34; Eph 1:20; Col 3:1; Heb 1:3; 8:1; 10:12; 12:2; 1 Pt 3:22. It was on the basis of this quotation that Jesus was crucified. He was seen as a blasphemer when he claimed for himself the place of judge at the right hand of God. Interesting is also

and references used in the NT, this one from Ps 109(110) is then one of those used most frequently.²⁹¹

5.2.1 Other occurrences

This Ps was already used by Jesus himself in a combined quotation in Mk 14:62²⁹² (Ps 109(110):1 and Dn 7:13), with its parallels in Lk 22:69 and Mt 26:64.

Apart from its occurrence in Lk 20:42-43 and here in Ac 2:34-35, this explicit quotation is also to be found in Mt 22:44; Mc 12:36; 1 Cor 15:25²⁹³ and Heb 1:13 (in addition to numerous other references to it in the rest of the NT). In all places where it is explicitly quoted, it agrees with the LXX, except that some read ὑποπόδιον, and others who read ὑποκάτω. The ὑποπόδιον-reading of the LXX is to be found in Lk 2:43,²⁹⁴ as well as in Ac 2:35 and in Heb 1:13.

Mk 12:36²⁹⁵ and Mt 22:44²⁹⁶ follow the ὑποκάτω-reading. But the connection between Mt-Mc + Ps 8:7 on the one hand, and 1 Cor 15:25, Eph 1:20-22, Heb 1:13/2:8 + Ps 8:7 on the other hand, should also be noted clearly.²⁹⁷

the linking of this citation with Ps 8:7 in 1 Cor 15:25, Eph 1:20-22 and in Heb 1:13: 2:6.

²⁹¹ So also P.G.R. DE VILLIERS, *Jesus*, 141; D.-A. KOCH, *Schrift als Zeuge*, 19; M. HENGEL, *Ps 110 und die Erhöhung des Auferstandenen zur Rechten Gottes*, in: C. BREYTENBACH & H. PAULSEN (hrsg), *Anfänge der Christologie. Festschrift für Ferdinand Hahn zum 65. Geburtstag*, Göttingen 1991, 43-73, here 43.

²⁹² P.G.R. DE VILLIERS has indicated that Mk 14:62 is a prophecy of Jesus during his trial, in which Jesus connects the Son of Man title and the Kurios title, knowing its messianic meaning from apocalypticism (Dn 7:13f) (166). The most important aspect of this expression in Mk 14:62 is that it indicates explicitly how Jesus used Ps 109(110) in order to describe his future glorification by God after his earthly life. It is thus understandable why this Ps (and especially the sessio motif), occupies such an important place in the NT. The apostles have taken over in their kerygma of Jesus, the fulfillment of Ps 109(110), which was previously predicted by Jesus himself (*Jesus*, 168). See also M. HENGEL, *Ps 110*, 59-61.

²⁹³ See D.-A. KOCH, *Schrift als Zeuge*, 19f.244f and M. HENGEL, *Ps 110*, 51f for a discussion on this.

²⁹⁴ Codex D, supported by the majority of old Latin witnesses, reads here ὑποκάτω. Codex D probably changed the reading in Lk to be on a par with those of Mt and Mk. So also T. HOLTZ, *Untersuchungen*, 51. Although this quotation in Lk is not part of his SLk, he has probably changed it here due to his knowledge of the LXX, or a tradition which was nearer to the LXX (Compare also G.J. STEYN, *LXX-invloed*, 124).

²⁹⁵ The ὑποκάτω reading is supported by B D W 28 sy^s co, and against it the ὑποπόδιον reading is supported by X A L Θ Ψ 092 b ¹13 M lat sy^p.h. T. HOLTZ considers K. STENDAHL's suggestion (*The School of St. Matthew and Its Use of the Old Testament*, Philadelphia 1968, 78), i.e. that the ὑποκάτω may have found its way via Ps 8:7 in Mt and Mk, to be a possible solution to this problem (*Untersuchungen*, 51). So also D.M. HAY, *Glorify*, 35; and D.-A. KOCH. The latter has argued: "Von Mk 12,36 an ist zwar eine Beeinflussung von Ψ 109,1 durch Ψ 8,7 festzustellen (ὑποκάτω anstelle von ὑποπόδιον; ebenso Mt 22,44), doch wird auch in Ψ 109,1 an keiner Stelle bloßes ὑπό verwendet" (*Schrift als Zeuge*, 140).

²⁹⁶ The ὑποκάτω reading is here supported by X B D L Z Γ Θ ¹³ 892 al it sa ho. Against this, the ὑποπόδιον reading is supported by W 0138.0161 ¹ M lat mae.

²⁹⁷ D.-A. KOCH says: "Zwar wird besonders für Ψ 8,7 (und zwar in Verbindung mit Ψ 109,1) häufig eine bereits traditionelle christologische Interpretation angenommen, für die neben 1 Kor 15,25.27 auf Eph 1,20.22 und Hebr 1,13; 2,6-8 verwiesen wird" (*Schrift als Zeuge*, 244). See also C. BREYTENBACH, *Grundzüge markinischer Gottessohn-Christologie*, in: C. BREYTENBACH & H. PAULSEN (hrsg), *Anfänge der Christologie*, Göttingen 1991, 169-184, here 181-182.

Interesting is the fact that he quoted it (Ps 109(110):1-3) "within the series of quotations devoted to Christ's career" directly from LXX manuscripts.²⁹⁸ This might be an indication that the early Christians probably knew the quotations, but when they used it in their documents, they quote it directly from their written LXX documents.

5.2.2 *The introductory formula (Ac 2:34)*

The following words serve as an introductory formula: οὐ γὰρ Δαυὶδ ἀνέβη εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, λέγει δὲ αὐτός.²⁹⁹ Attention has already been drawn to the fact that the explanatory γὰρ demonstrates that Luke uses V.34 and its citation from Ps 109(110) to explain Ac 2:33.³⁰⁰

5.2.3 *Determining and explaining the textual differences*

NT (NA26) Ac 2:34-35	NT (NA26) Lk 20:42-43	NT (NA26) Heb 1:13	LXX Ps 109:1
Εἶπεν [ὁ] κύριος τῷ κυρίῳ μου· κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, 35 ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου.	εἶπεν κύριος τῷ κυρίῳ μου· κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, 43 ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου.	κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου.	Εἶπεν ὁ κύριος τῷ κυρίῳ μου· κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου.
NT (NA26) Mk 12:36	NT (NA26) Mt 22:44	MT Ps 110:1	
εἶπεν κύριος τῷ κυρίῳ μου· κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν σου.	εἶπεν κύριος τῷ κυρίῳ μου· κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν σου.	הַיְהוָה לְאָדֹנָי יָשֵׁב לְיְמֵי יְהוָה עַד-אֲשֶׁר- אָקִים הַיְהוָה לְכִנְיֹתָי	

²⁹⁸ O. SKARSAUNE, *Proof from Prophecy. A Study in Justin Martyr's Proof-Text Tradition: Text-Type, Provenance, Theological Profile* (NTS 56), Leiden 1987, 425.

²⁹⁹ Cf Jewish topos of not climbing down, also found in Rm 10:6.

³⁰⁰ See R.F. O'TOOLE, *Davidic Covenant*, 256; and also G. SCHNEIDER, *Apq I*, 275,n.117.

(a) *Textual differences between the MT and LXX*

Although there are no major differences between the readings of the LXX and the MT,³⁰¹ it should be noted that the LXX version was in Luke's mind. Without it, the difference between κύριος (Yahweh) and κύριος μου (Christ) in the interpretation of the quotation would not have been possible.³⁰²

(b) *Textual differences between Ac and the LXX*

There are no additions, omissions, substitutions or transpositions in Ac in comparison with the LXX. One minor instance of uncertainty in determining the Ac reading is however to be found in the question about the inclusion or exclusion of the article ὁ before κύριος in Ac 2:34.³⁰³ Lk-Ac follows the reading of the LXX which reads ὑποπόδιον³⁰⁴ instead of ὑποκάτω.

5.2.4 Method of quotation

This quoted text is used as substantiation for the ascension of Christ, which was long ago already foreseen by David.³⁰⁵ The quotation was probably already well known during Luke's time in combination with Jesus' ascension. The chances may therefore be good that Luke might have got this quotation from the tradition. The ὑποπόδιον-reading confirmed that the same texttradition was used in both Lk and Heb. This is in agreement with earlier observations that Luke followed a texttradition which was the closest to that as found in the Alexandrian type.³⁰⁶

³⁰¹ M. HENGEL has recently pointed out that "Die LXX bringt eine wörtliche Übersetzung des hebräischen Textes" (*Ps 110*, 44). D.M. HAY (*Glorie*, 35), and M. RESE (*Funktion*, 59-61), have indicated that there might be two minor divergences from the LXX: (a) εἶπεν κύριος (supported only by R) against εἶπεν ὁ κύριος. According to T. HOLTZ, the occurrence of the article is, in the majority of manuscripts, a secondary influence from the circulating LXX text, not known to the totality of NT literature at this specific point (*Untersuchungen*, 53). The issue of articles is, however, extremely complicated, and articles were used inconsequentially. According to K. ALAND (in personal discussion, Münster, Aug 1991), it would be almost impossible to determine if that article is really authentic at a specific instance or not. The second (b): while all the quotations of Ps 110:1b agree with the LXX in reading ἐκ δεξιῶν, "a large proportion of the allusions to it have constructions with δεξιῶν" (D.M. HAY, *Glorie*, 35). These divergences are, nonetheless, not directly relevant for our purposes here.

³⁰² So also H. CONZELMANN, *App*, 35-36; and G. SCHNEIDER, *App 1*, 276.

³⁰³ The article is omitted by X^a B^a D NA25, and included by P⁷⁴ X^c A B² C E Ψ M NA26. In the LXX manuscripts it is only omitted by the main witness "R" of the formerly so-called "Western text". According to T. HOLTZ this omission could be due to the influence of the NT text, and if so, it is possible that we are dealing here with the authoritative reading. "In jedem Falle aber dürfte die Annahme wohl begründet sein, daß im 1./2. Jahrhundert ein Text der LXX existiert hat, der das ὁ nicht kannte" (*Untersuchungen*, 52-53). According to C. BREYTENBACH, on the parallel passage in Mk, B and D ("die besseren Zeugen") have κύριος without the article, which might be a pointer to the literal translation of "Yahweh" which occurs without an article in the Hebrew (*Grundzüge*, 181).

³⁰⁴ Cf. also the other places in the LXX where ὑποπόδιον is to be found: Ps 98:5, Is 66:1 and La 2:1 — all of which are translations of the Hebrew דָּרָגָה, as is the case here in Ps 109(110):1.

³⁰⁵ According to E. HAENCHEN, this quotation proofed *indirectly* the expression "exalted to the right hand of God" (*App*, 146).

³⁰⁶ Cf. Ch 1, as well as 5.2.1 of this study.

It should also be noted that if Luke did get this quotation from the tradition, he knew it to be a "Ps of David". This is clear from his argumentation that *David* had not ascended into heaven, but that *he* said (οὐ γὰρ Δαυὶδ ἀνέβη εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, λέγει δὲ αὐτός, V.34). The other alternative may be that Luke knew this from the broader context from which the quoted text is drawn.

It is clear that this quoted text (Ps 109(110):1) should be taken together with the previous one from Ps 15(16):8-11. Both of them confirm that the words which were "prophesied" by David, were fulfilled in what had happened to Jesus after his death, i.e. his resurrection and exaltation. The κύριος-motif plays an important role in combining these quoted texts.

5.2.5 Interpretation of the quoted text by Luke³⁰⁷

There seems to be sufficient evidence that Luke is arguing here from the Davidic promise (2 Ki(Sm) 7:12-16).³⁰⁸ Alternatively, some scholars suggest, however, that Ac 2:33 should be understood in the light of Ps 67(68):19a.³⁰⁹ According to this latter viewpoint, Jesus is understood here as "the new Moses". Just as Moses received the Law, so Jesus ascended to his Father to receive the Spirit, which he now gives to this group as a "new Law".³¹⁰ This is, however, doubtful and "...even an allusion of the Psalm is in doubt".³¹¹ A better choice seems to be Ps 88(89). It explicitly reports God's covenant with David, fits best the context of the second Petrine speech as a whole, and is employed elsewhere in Lk-Ac.³¹² The resurrection

³⁰⁷. C. SMITS has already drawn attention to the exegetes' recognition of the difficulties of "Peter's interpretation" of this quotation in the past. But this has led them also to apply "... alle spitsvondige distincties over de zin van de heilige Schrift op dit geval..." (*Citaten II*, 182).

³⁰⁸. G. SCHNEIDER (*App I*, 274); and R.F. O'TOOLE (*Davidic Covenant*, 245-258) have convincingly argued in this direction.

³⁰⁹. Cf. for example: H.J. CADBURY, *Speeches*, 408-9; J. DUPONT, *L'interprétation*, 368-9; *ibid.*, *Ascension*, 222-228, here 226-227; *idem.*, *La Nouvelle Pentecôte* (Ac 2,1-11), in: *Nouvelles études sur les Actes des Apôtres* (LeDiv 118), Paris 1984, 139f; W.L. KNOX, *The Acts of the Apostles*, Cambridge 1948, 84-86; G. KRETSCHMAR, *Himmelfahrt und Pfingsten*, *ZKG* 66 (1954-55), 209-253; B. LINDARS, *NT-Apologetic*, 43-44,50-59,73,253,284; O. BETZ, *Kerygma*, 144; L. O'REILLY, *Word and Sign*, 26. The latter not only cites specifically the Targum's rendering of Ps 67(68):19, but even talks about a "...growing consensus" in recent years that Ac 2:33 should be explained as alluding to Ps 67(68):19! [Including references from R.F. O'TOOLE, *Davidic Covenant*, 247; and L. O'REILLY, *Word and Sign*, 26].

³¹⁰. For a more extensive summary of this viewpoint (especially as represented in B. LINDARS, *NT Apologetic*, 43-44), see D.L. BOCK, *Proclamation*, 181-183. See also L. O'REILLY, *Word and Sign*, 26-27. According to the latter: "The Jewish feast of Pentecost was understood, at least in some circles in N.T. times, as commemorating the giving of the Law at Sinai. This understanding of the feast is the background to the Christian Pentecost and it suggests that the latter is to be interpreted as the outpouring of the Spirit and the word of God. The community of the early chapters of Ac resembles in many respects the eschatological assembly of Israel at Sinai of the Jewish expectation. This new people is constituted by the outpouring of the Spirit which creates out of the assembled disciples a community of prophets. The source of the Spirit is Jesus, the new Moses of the last times" (*Word and Sign*, 27-28).

³¹¹. So with D.L. BOCK, *Proclamation*, 183. The value of the argument is to be found in its possible links with Eph 4:8, rather than with Ac 2:33.

³¹². So R.F. O'TOOLE (*Davidic Covenant*, 249). Compare the following references (verses in brackets refer to Ps 88(89)): Lk 1:50 (V.2); 1:51 (V.11); 2:26 (V.49); 21:25 (V.10); Ac 2:30 (V.4); Ac 13:22 (V.21).

of Jesus was then probably seen as the realization of the Davidic promise.³¹³ David is thus, for Luke, the primary recipient of God's promise.³¹⁴

With regard to the content of the quoted text itself, three motifs stand out here: Jesus at the right hand of God, the submission of the enemy, and the κύριος title. (a) The motif of Jesus in the honoured position at God's right hand, was already implicitly mentioned in the previous quoted text (Ps 15(16):8) at Ac 2:25,³¹⁵ and again in V.33, before being substantiated by the next quoted text itself (VV.34-35). This image is the dominant theme which stands out when Ps 109(110) is quoted.³¹⁶ The other two also receive some emphasis, but never function independently.³¹⁷

(b) The motif of the submission of the enemy should be seen in combination with the fact that God made Jesus χριστός (V.36). He was given the status of a conqueror and a saviour by God. It was promised, at the beginning of Luke's first work, to Mary that Jesus will get the "throne of David", that he will be "great" and will be called "the son of the Most High" (Lk 1:32: οὗτος ἔσται μέγας καὶ υἱὸς ὑψίστου κληθήσεται καὶ δώσει αὐτῷ κύριος ὁ θεὸς τὸν θρόνον Δαυὶδ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ). Jesus reigns now, seated directly next to God himself, over all that exists, including all his enemies. They are (literally in the world concept of the first century) *under* his feet. The same motif can also be found later in Ac (10:38).

(c) The section ends on a climactic note with the reference to Jesus being made κύριος (V.36),³¹⁸ thus picking up again the motif of the κύριος title which has threaded its way through the second Petrine speech. In VV.20,21,25 and V.34 (2x) references to κύριος are to be found, and all of them are part of the quoted texts! The J1 quotation ends with the "great and manifest day of the κύριος" (V.20), adding that "whoever calls on the name of the κύριος will be saved" (V.21).³¹⁹ The first Ps quotation in this speech (Ps 15(16)), indicates that "the κύριος is seen always before him, for he is at his right hand" (V.25), thus pointing out that he (αὐτόν, V.25), Jesus

³¹³. So R.F. O'TOOLE: "The amount of space that Luke dedicates to this Davidic promise leaves no doubt that he views it as the promise which best accounts for the central Christian belief, Jesus' resurrection" (*Davidic Covenant*, 253-254).

³¹⁴. So R.F. O'TOOLE, *Davidic Covenant*, 257.

³¹⁵. Although D. JUEL (*Use of Ps 76*, 546) is of the opinion that there might be a possibility that Luke introduced Ps 109(110) here specifically on the basis of the last line of Ps 15(16) ("in thy presence there is fulness of joy, in thy right hand are pleasures for evermore"), one could ask why it should have been the last line, when the quoted section itself provides sufficient evidence for a possible link? Compare the ἐκ δεξιῶν μου in V.25 (Ps 15(16):8) and V.34 (Ps 109(110):1).

³¹⁶. According to R.F. O'TOOLE, "exalted" should be interpreted in terms of David (Ps 88), and, consequently, Luke continues his image of the king sitting on the Davidic throne. Luke's use of 'at the right hand (τῆ δεξιᾷ)' confirms this interpretation..." "The throne image continues, and δεξιᾷ should be understood as locative" (not instrumental) (*Davidic Covenant*, 256). So also G. SCHNEIDER, *Agg I*, 275-276.

³¹⁷. So P.G.R. DE VILLIERS, *Jesus*, 142.

³¹⁸. Cf. Ac 7:35. See also W. DIETRICH: "Die wesentliche sachlichen Punkte der Petrusrede — der christologische Aspekt, die theologische Seite und der Bezug auf die jüdische Volk — werden im Schlussvers (36) zusammengefaßt" (*Petrusbild*, 209).

³¹⁹. Cf. also A. KERRIGAN who says about the connection between Ac 2:21 (J1 2:32(3:5)) and Ac 2:36, that "...the Lord whose name must be invoked is none other than Jesus of Nazareth" (*Scensus Plenior*, 296-297).

of Nazareth (Ἰησοῦν τὸν Ναζωραίου, V.22), was resurrected by God (ὁ ὁ θεός ἀνέστησεν, V.24),³²⁰ because it was impossible for death to hold him (οὐκ ἦν δυνατὸν κρατεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, V.24),³²¹ in contrast with David who has died (V.29). This is the first explicit link between Jesus of Nazareth and the κύριος of Luke's quoted text. The second Ps quotation in this speech (Ps 109(110)), indicates that "the κύριος" (God) "has said to his" (David's) "κύριος" (now identified with Jesus),³²² "to sit at his" (God's) "right hand" (V.34). This can only be understood after the δεξιῶν of the first Ps quotation is picked up (V.25), and read with the δεξιῶν in Luke's commentary on this quotation (V.33), that it was again God who had also exalted (θεοῦ ὑψωθείς, V.33) this Jesus whom he had resurrected (τοῦτου τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀνέστησεν ὁ θεός, V.33). The final result is now made explicitly clear by Luke, indicating that Ἰησοῦν τὸν Ναζωραίου (V.22), was made κύριος by God himself (ἐποίησεν ὁ θεός, V.36).³²³ The Jewish Scriptures, in their Greek form, are thus used here to help in the identification and substantiation of Jesus of Nazareth as the κύριος (Lord) and the χριστός (Messiah).³²⁴ In this then, the LXX has played a major role, as κύριος was not only the translation for "master", but of the tetragram itself, the very holy and respectful name of Yahweh, which was even protected by one of the ten commandments. This is the name that the LXX translates as κύριος, making it easy, when Luke proclaims that God has made Jesus κύριος, to identify both Yahweh and Jesus of Nazareth with this same name.³²⁵ The implication is that, in sharing the name, Jesus shares also the divinity of Yahweh.³²⁶

The messianic interpretation of the Ps 109(110) seems to be controversial, as the rabbinic literature of the NT era explains it in a *non messianic* manner.³²⁷ On the other hand, the contemporaries of Jesus were probably aware of the messianic

³²⁰ L. O'REILLY says: "If the risen Jesus is identified with the *kyrios* of Joel 3,5 it indicates that in him this prophecy finds its perfect fulfillment" (*Word and Sign*, 98).

³²¹ Cf. W. DIETRICH: "Der Schluß des zweiten Teils mit seinem Psalmzitat (V.24-28) leitet zu einem speziellen Problem über, das im dritten Abschnitt (V.29-35) zur zentralen Frage wird. Es geht um das Schicksal Jesu nach seinem Tode" (*Petrusbild*, 206).

³²² Cf. D. JUEL: "The speech demonstrates that there is more than one *kyrios*. Jesus is shown to be the second *kyrios*, referred to in Ps 110:1" (*Use of Ps 16*, 544). According to E. HAENCHEN, this could only refer to the "Messiah" (*App*, 146).

³²³ So also J.J. KILGALLEN: "Verse 36, then, is only the logical conclusion to the argument begun in verse 22" (*Pentecost Speech*, 651).

³²⁴ So also J.J. KILGALLEN, *Unity of Pentecost Speech*, 652.

³²⁵ According to L. O'REILLY, "The essential point about the name of Yahweh or of any other name for that matter was that it was understood as somehow representing the person. It contained the essential secret of a person's identity and therefore one knew the person only when one knew his name. The name of Yahweh was a special case however because it was the means by which Israel was able to make contact with its transcendent and invisible God" (94). "In the context of Acts the function of the name of Yahweh fulfilled by Jesus as Lord is especially that of eschatological saviour (2,21-36)" (*Word and Sign*, 98).

³²⁶ L. O'REILLY is therefore right in saying that, "This identification of Jesus with the name of Yahweh may have played an important role in the expression of the faith of the early Christians in Jesus' divinity" (*Word and Sign*, 98). So also A.M. BESNARD, *Le Mystère du Nom. Quiconque invoquera le nom du Seigneur sera sauvé. Joel 3,5* (LeDiv 35), Paris 1962, 154.

³²⁷ Cf. O. LINTON, "The Trial of Jesus and the Interpretation of Ps CX", in: *NTS* 7 (1961), 258-262, here 260; and P.G.R. DE VILLIERS, *Jesus*, 146,147.

meaning of the Ps.³²⁸ as might be detected in the discussion between Jesus and his opponents about the son of David.³²⁹ Ps 109(110) was interpreted messianically for the first time during the time of Rabbi Chamah ben Chaninah (ca. 260 AD) and Rabbi El'azar (270 AD).³³⁰ According to STR-BILL, however, Rabbi Ismael (ca. 100-135 AD) — a serious opponent of the Christians and a contemporary of the gospel writers — was responsible for the earliest datable non messianic interpretation (by applying it to Abraham). What is indisputable is that here in Ac the Ps is indeed interpreted in a messianic manner.³³¹

The LXX reading makes it clear that both the speaker (ὁ κύριος) and the addressee (τῷ κυρίῳ) are indicated by exactly the same title (name): κύριος.³³² God remains the Subject by giving the most honourable position in the universe to Christ. The latter could therefore also be called with the very same name as God himself. All this points to the "subordination of Christ" (V.33).³³³

To summarize: Luke uses the second Petrine speech to remind the people that they know about the "wonders and signs which God has done in their midst through Jesus of Nazareth" (V.22). Evidence from the Scriptures (VV.25-28, 34-35) is now used to explain to them that the resurrection and exaltation of the Christ was already foretold by "the patriarch" (V.29) David himself — who was a prophet (V.30), knowing God's oath (V.30), and foreseeing the resurrection of the Christ (V.31), and his ascension (V.34). The Scriptures testify thus to God's "definite plan and foreknowledge" (τῇ ὀρισμένη βουλή καὶ προγνώσει τοῦ θεοῦ, V.23), when David is quoted (VV.25,34) with regard to Jesus' resurrection (VV.25-28) and his exaltation (VV.34-35). In addition to the evidence of the Scriptures and the "prophecy" of David, Peter and the rest are first hand eyewitnesses of Jesus' resurrection (V.32).³³⁴

³²⁸ Cf. STR-BILL, *Kommentar IV J*, 452.

³²⁹ P.G.R. DE VILLIERS, *Jesus*, 146-7.

³³⁰ *Ibid.*, 147-8.

³³¹ So also D.L. TIEDE: "...the citations from Psalm 16 (vs. 25-28) and Psalm 110 (vs. 34-35) are adduced to substantiate the messianic and christological claims made on behalf of the crucified Jesus as resurrected and exalted Christ and Lord" (*Acts* 2, 64); and O. GLOMBITZA: "Alle diese Zitate sind messianisch ausgelegt worden, um im Schriftbeweis verwendet werden zu können" (*Schluss der Petrusrede*, 118). If it is accepted that the "OT" is interpreted messianically at this point, then it follows that: "Petrus legte das AT dahin aus, daß er auf den Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Κύριος als den σωτήρ hinwies, der von τῆς γενεᾶς τῆς σκολιᾶς errettet, von dem Geschlecht, das gegen Gottes Handeln Jesum kreuzigte" (118). He (Luke) interpreted the Scriptures then christological to the Christ congregation, with his contemporaries (118). F.F. BRUCE makes it clear that Jesus did not use this language of himself, but that Paul (Rm 1:3) and the apostles used it of him (The Davidic Messiah in Luke-Acts, in: G.A. TUTTLE (ed), *Biblical and Near Eastern Studies. Essays in Honor of William Sanford LaSor*, Grand Rapids 1978, 7-17, here 7). Luke is probably emphasizing some words from an early Christian confession (8,11). Compare Luke's nativity narrative with those of Mk and Mt (*Davidic Messiah*, 7-9).

³³² So also G. SCHNEIDER: "Die Argumentation ist nur aufgrund des LXX-Textes möglich." "Nur die LXX 'ermöglicht die Unterscheidung von κύριος = Gott und κύριος = Christus" (*Apg J*, 276).

³³³ Cf. also H. CONZELMANN, *Apg*, 35. He refers to Ac 5:31. Also G. SCHNEIDER on the basis of ὑψωθείς and τῇ δεξιᾷ τοῦ θεοῦ (*Apg I*, 275).

³³⁴ Cf. W. DIETRICH: "Die Begrenzung der Zeugenschaft auf den nachösterlichen Christus wird im Blick auf 5,30-32 deutlicher: das Zeugnis der Apostel beschränkt sich darum auf das εἶπεω Ἰησοῦν und auf das ὑψοῦν τῇ δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ (=θεοῦ), weil die Umkehr der Juden an die Auferstehung Jesu gebunden ist" (*Petrusbild*, 208).

5.3 Possible broader LXX knowledge in the rest of the section (Language, Style and OT-motifs)

ὅτι ὄρκω ὤμοσεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς ἐκ καρποῦ τῆς ὀσφύος αὐτοῦ καθίσει ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ (Ac 2:30): This might be a brief reflection of the saying by Nathan in 2 Ki(Sm) 7:12-13. God's promise to David is also to be found in Is 55:3 and Ps 131(132):11:³³⁵ ὤμοσεν κύριος τῷ Δαυὶδ ἀλήθειαν καὶ οὐ μὴ ἀθετήσῃ αὐτήν· Ἐκ καρποῦ τῆς κοιλίας σου θήσομαι ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον σου. See also Ps 88(89):4.

6. SECTION IV: ACTS 2:37-41

Reaction of the hearers & appeal to conversion and baptism by way of reference to JI 2:32 (LXX)

6.1 Composition of the section

The hearers have listened and have taken notice of these words (ἀκούσαντες³³⁶ δὲ κατενύγησαν τὴν καρδίαν, V.37).³³⁷ These hearers are part of the audience who was addressed as those who have crucified Jesus (VV.23,36).³³⁸ They want to know what to do now (τί τε πρὸς τὸν Πέτρον καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀποστόλους· τί ποιήσωμεν, ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί·, V.37). Two things are stated:³³⁹ (a) *repentance* (μετανοήσατε.³⁴⁰ V.38) and (b) *baptism* (βαπτισθήτω, V.38)³⁴¹ in the name of

³³⁵ Also H. CONZELMANN, *App.* 35.

³³⁶ Compare also V.22: ἀκούσατε τοὺς λόγους τούτους. This appeal to listen in V.22 is followed in V.37 by the reaction of those who have indeed listened to these words. L. O'REILLY has already drawn attention to "...the word as call in Acts" and "...its similarity to the prophetic word in the Old Testament". The admonition to hear is a constant feature of the prophetic writings... (*Word and Sign*, 108. See also 109-110).

³³⁷ V.37 probably only serves a compositional purpose in the speech. Cf. also M. DIBELIUS, *Formgeschichte*, 15; E. HAENCHEN, *App.* 146; U. WILCKENS, *Missionsreden*, 37.

³³⁸ Cf. also U. WILCKENS, *Missionsreden*, 37.

³³⁹ The appeal to hear could also be included, V.22 (cf. L. O'REILLY, *Word and Sign*, 107). O. GLOMBITZA recognizes the role of καὶ here which divides the contents into three parts, indicating a sequential (though not rigid) order (*Schluss der Petrusrede*, 117). See also A. KERRIGAN: "...the reception of the Spirit follows baptism. The story of Cornelius, however, shows that baptism can follow the reception of the Spirit and that the gift of the Spirit in no way dispenses with the necessity of receiving baptism (*Act*, X,44ff)" (*Sensus Plenior*, 305).

³⁴⁰ This verb is to be found frequently in the Lukan writings and "the Scriptures" (OT), especially in the preaching of the prophets. "The LXX rarely employs the verb *Metanoō* in the prophets where *epistrephomai* normally translates the Hebrew *šūb*." According to O'REILLY then, the biblical background shows that the cry "repent" means not simply a call to change one's mind (as a literal translation of the Greek might suggest), to feel sorrow, or even to repent of a particular action "...it implies a complete change in one's life, a radical reorientation of one's whole existence" (*Word and Sign*, 111). Just as the prophets, the Baptist, and Jesus himself, so Peter too continues within this tradition of repentance. For him, it is the rejection of Judaism and acceptance of Christianity.

³⁴¹ Compare this phrase in Ac 2:38 with Lk 3:3 which states with regard to the ministry of John the Baptist: κηρύσσω βαπτισμα μετανοίας εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν. Cf. also Lk 24:47 and Ac 5:31. Compare all this, however, with C.D. OSBURN, *The Third Person Imperative in Acts 2:38*, in: *RQ* 26 (1983), 81-84. According to OSBURN, referring to the work of J. GLAZE (*The Septuagintal Use of the Third Person Imperative*, unpublished MA thesis, Harding Graduate School of Religion 1979), "...the third person singular imperative does function idiomatically in concert with a second person plural imperative so as to allow the speaker addressing a group to address members of that group individually" (C.D. OSBURN, *Third person Imperative*, 83). In addition to several examples from the

Jesus Christ³⁴² (ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ).³⁴³ The result of this is that they will receive "the gift of the Holy Spirit" (καὶ λήψετε τὴν δωρεάν³⁴⁴ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, V.38).³⁴⁵ This "gift" is "the promise" (ἡ ἐπαγγελία, V.39)³⁴⁶ — according to the γάρ ἐστιν (V.39) — and is meant for the Jews, or "Israelites"³⁴⁷ (ὕμιν, V.39), their children (καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις ὑμῶν, V.39), and all those who are far (πᾶσιν τοῖς εἰς μακρὰν, V.39); i.e. all those who the Lord their God will call to him.

Hereafter the appeal³⁴⁸ to conversion follows again: σῴθητε...(V.40). Those who have accepted Peter's word (i.e. the appeal made by the apostle), are then baptised (ἐβαπτίσθησαν, V.41). This correlates with Peter's answer to the question of his hearers in V.38, that they must repent and be baptised.³⁴⁹

6.2 Reference to Jl 2:32(3:5)³⁵⁰

In Ac 2:21, the long quotation ends with Jl 2:32(3:5). The remaining section of Jl 2:32(3:5) is not quoted in Ac 2:21, but is now referred to here in Ac 2:39. The result of Peter's speech as a whole, is then that the promise quoted in Ac 2:21, and appealed to again in Ac 2:39, begins to be fulfilled. It was stated in the quoted text from Jl that in the last days (ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις, V.17), those who will call on the name of the κύριος will be saved (ὅς ἂν ἐπικαλέσῃται τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου σωθήσεται, V.21). Peter tells them now that what God has promised is for them,

LXX, there is also evidence in apocryphal literature and the Apostolic Fathers. Therefore, "In accord with customary idiomatic usage, the function of the third person imperative βαπτισθήτω in Acts 2:38 is to underscore emphatically in distributive fashion the necessity of each one of the hearers participating in baptism as part of conversion" (84). So also W. DIETRICH, according to whom the first two parts of the sentence should be taken together because of their imperative character (*Petrushild*, 213).

³⁴² According to E. HAENCHEN, Luke is using the valid practice for baptism in his congregation: The name "Jesus Christ" was spoken over the person who was being baptized. "Damit tritt der Getaufte unter die Macht Jesu, mit der Folge, dass ihm seine Sünden vergeben werden und der 'den hl. Geist empfängt'" (*App.*, 147).

³⁴³ Codex D includes here κύριος. This makes only explicit what is already implicit. So also D. JUEL, *Use of Ps 16*, 545.

³⁴⁴ Cf. Ac 8:20; 10:45; and 11:17.

³⁴⁵ Cf. W. DIETRICH: "Die erste Vershälfte umschreibt mit ihren beiden Aufforderungen die Bedingung für den Empfang des heiligen Geistes. Der zweite Versteil enthält dementsprechend eine Zusage, die insofern eine Besonderheit zeigt, als Petrus den Geistempfang unter den Aspekt der δωρεά stellt" (*Petrushild*, 214). Cf. also H. CONZELMANN (*Mitte der Zeit*, 215) and G. LÜDEMANN (*Christentum*, 52), the latter who points out that "Die Antwort des Petrus enthält die luk. Sicht darüber, wie man Christ wird, nämlich durch Buße, Taufe zur Vergebung der Sünden und Verleihung des Heiligen Geistes".

³⁴⁶ Cf. Lk 24:49 and Ac 1:4.

³⁴⁷ Cf. V.14b (ἄνδρες Ἰουδαῖοι) and V.22 (ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλίται).

³⁴⁸ L. O'REILLY talks about the word which is used here in the sense of "a challenge" or "an invitation" (*Word and Sign*, 107), while A. KERRIGAN talks about "a special divine call..." (*Sensus Plenior*, 310); and O. GLÖMBITZ about a "Bußvermahnung" (*Schluß der Petrusrede*, 116).

³⁴⁹ Cf. U. WILCKENS: "Nachdem der kerygmatische Teil der Predigt sachlich die *Schuld* der Angeredeten erwiesen hat, folgt nun als Schlußteil der Ruf zu Umkehr, Vergebung der Sünden und Heilsempfang; und erst in diesem Heilsruf findet die Predigt ihr eigentliches Ziel im Zusammenhang der geschilderten Situation" (*Missionsreden*, 37).

³⁵⁰ See H. VAN DE SANDT for the "intertextual relations" between Ac 2:39b and Is 57:19 (*Fate of the Gentiles*, 70-71).

their children, and all those who are far off (ἡ ἐπαγγελία καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις ὑμῶν καὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς εἰς μακράν, V.39) — those who will be called by the κύριος their God (ὅσους ἂν προσκαλέσεται κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, V.39). Note the similarities between the J1 quotation (VV.17-18,21) and VV. 38-41: (a) οἱ υἱοὶ ὑμῶν...αἱ θυγατέρες ὑμῶν...οἱ νεανίσκοι ὑμῶν...οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ὑμῶν (V.17) —> ὑμῖν γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ ἐπαγγελία...τοῖς τέκνοις ὑμῶν...κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν (V.39); (b) τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου (V.21) —> ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (V.38);³⁵¹ (c) σωθήσεται (V.21) —> εἰς ἄφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν (V.38),³⁵² σώθητε (V.40);³⁵³ (d) ὅς ἂν ἐπικαλέσεται...κυρίου (V.21) —> ὅσους ἂν προσκαλέσεται κύριος (V.39);³⁵⁴ (e) ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις (V.18) —> ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ (V.41).

7. THE ROLE OF THE LXX IN THE COMPOSITION OF THE SPEECH

The three quoted texts in the second Petrine speech were probably taken from the LXX. Although the last phrase in the J1-quotation and the third quoted text were already known by Luke's time, the only way in which the long quoted section from J1 2(3) and that of Ps 15(16) could be sufficiently explained, is to accept that Luke made use of the scrolls of the 12P and the Pss.

The *Stichwort*, or keyword, which plays a prominent role here in combining the three quoted texts, is "κύριος", one of the prominent names which are given to Jesus of Nazareth, who was made (confirmed to be) κύριος by God himself (V.36). Therefore, all those who call on the name of the κύριος will be saved (J1-quotation). He is that κύριος who is seated at the right hand of God — an indication that death does not have any hold on him. He was resurrected and exalted (Ps 15(16) and Ps 109(110)), and it is from that exalted position where he receives the promise of the Spirit from the Father, which he "pours out". This is Luke's explanation for what happened at Pentecost day.

These passages are thus used in order to prove that they could only apply to Jesus of Nazareth, as "the prophet" David himself died and was buried. The Scriptures are therefore authoritative witnesses in Luke's proving of his argument.

8. A SUMMARY OF THE MESSAGE OF THE SECOND PETRINE SPEECH

It is the beginning of "the last days". The prophet Joel has already prophesied that (a) "from the spirit of God" would be poured out on "all flesh" and (b) that they would prophesy. Also (c) "signs and wonders" would be given, and (d) all those who

³⁵¹. Note the fundamental assumption underlying the thought that the name of the κύριος in J1 2:32(3:5), is indeed the Name of Jesus Christ (V.38)!

³⁵². Remember that it is only God who could forgive sins! Calling on the name of the κύριος in J1, means calling Yahweh to save them. The use of the same quoted text in the appeal to the listeners to be baptized in the name of Jesus (which will lead to the forgiveness of sins) indicates that the name of Jesus has been elevated to the same level as the name of Yahweh.

³⁵³. So also G. LÜDEMANN: "Der Schlußbappell V.40b...knüpft mit *sothete* an das letzte Wort des Joelzitates (*sothesetai*) an (V.21)" (*Christentum*, 53).

³⁵⁴. According to H. VAN DE SANDT, "Luke alters ὅς...προσκέκληται (Joel 3,5d) in the restrictive ὅδους ἂν προσκαλέσεται: not all Gentiles are called" (*Fate of the Gentiles*, 73).

would call on the name of the κύριος would be saved. These things would happen before the great and glorious day of the κύριος.

Jesus was made known by God by way of the "signs and wonders" which he had done in their midst. God had, however, already decided to hand this Jesus over to the lawless people, who had then crucified him. But God thereafter had resurrected him from death and saved his body from decay — as foretold in the words of David, that he saw the Lord at his right hand and that the pious one of the Lord would not see decay. David could not have referred to himself, because he had died, was buried and his memorial stood as proof of this. Being therefore a prophet, David knew that God would put one of his descendants on his throne. It is thus Jesus who sits at God's right hand. It is from this place that he receives the (power of the) Spirit from the Father, which he pours out. This is the event which the listeners have just experienced; what they have seen and heard. Thus: God has made this Jesus, whom they had crucified, both Ruler and Saviour.

They must now be converted and baptised in order to receive this gift of the Spirit,³⁵⁵ which is the gospel, and which is meant for the Jews, their children and all those who are far off; i.e. all those whom God would call to him.

³⁵⁵ Cf. W. DIETRICH who refers to Ac 8:19-20; 10:45 and 11:16-17 with regard to the combination of πνεῦμα ἁγίου and βαπτεία. According to him, this particular combination has been overlooked by previous scholars; he finds it significant that each of these three references is found at the stations for the exposition of Christianity — and found nowhere else! (*Petrusbild*, 214-216). See also D.L. TIEDE: "Thus the gift of repentance (cf. Acts 5:31; 11:18) and the baptism which is effective for the forgiveness of sins are offered in the name or by the agency of the exalted Jesus and received by the power of the Spirit which has been bestowed. This is the crucial significance of the gift of the Holy Spirit" (*Acts* 2, 65).

CHAPTER 5

PETER'S THIRD SPEECH (Acts 3:11-26)

1. THE BROADER CONTEXT AND BACKGROUND

This speech, in its present form, is also accepted as both the compilatory and the creative work of Luke himself.¹ The history of the study of this speech has caused scholarship to describe it as "an exegetical battleground, especially with respect to questions of Lucan christology² and eschatology."³ Scholarship is also divided on the issue of whether the quotation in Ac 3:22-23 is to be traced back to LXX witnesses, or to a non LXX background.⁴

The broader context of the speech, is indeed the motivation for the speech itself: Peter and John's healing of the lame man at the gate of the temple⁵ (Ac 3:1-10),⁶ a healing which shows similarities with a similar healing narrative in Ac 14:8-10!⁷ In the excitement following the healing, a crowd gathers, and Peter takes the opportunity to address the people, explaining why this healing miracle has taken place. The speech itself is much more a report on what has happened with Jesus, than it is a sermon of Peter.⁸

¹. See for example, J. DUPONT, Les discours de Pierre dans les Actes et le chapitre XXIV de l'évangile de Luc, in: F. NEIRYNCK (ed), *L'évangile de Luc. Problèmes littéraires et théologiques. Mémoires Lucien Cerfaux* (ETHL 32), Gembloux 1973, 329-372; D. HAMM, Acts 3:12-26: Peter's Speech and the Healing of the Man born lame, in: *PersRelStud* 11 (1984), 199-217, here 201; G. LÜDEMANN, *Christentum*, 59; A. WEISER, *ApG I*, 113; and (somewhat reserved) G. SCHNEIDER, *ApG I*, 315.

². The debate concentrates especially on the issue if there is a pre-Lukan text, containing early christology, which is to be found behind this speech.

³. Cf. for instance, the interpretation of O. BAUERNFEIND, *ApG*, 68-69. Also D. HAMM, *Peter's speech*, 199. He refers especially to the works of J.A.T. ROBINSON, The Most Primitive Christology of All?, in: *JBL* 79 (1960), 20-31; G. LOHFINK, Christologie und Geschichtsbild in *ApG* 3,19-21, in: *BZ* 13 (1969), 223-241; and W. KURZ, Acts 3:19-26 as a Test of the Role of Eschatology in Lukan Christology (SBLSP 11), Missoula 1977, 309-323.

⁴. So, for instance, J. DE WAARD, The Quotation from Deuteronomy in Acts 3,22.23 and the Palestinian Text: Additional Arguments. *Bib* 52, 537-540, here 540.

⁵. Cf. STR-BILL, *Kommentar II*, 625 for the topography.

⁶. So also A. WEISER, *ApG I*, 112; and U. WILCKENS, *Missionsreden*, 37. According to D. HAMM, a fact which most commentators overlooked, is that "Peter's address is not simply occasioned by the healing. Rather, the speech interprets the healing story," and that "event and speech illuminate one another" (*Peter's Speech*, 199.205).

⁷. Cf. C. TALBERT, *Literary Patterns, Theological Themes and the Genre of Luke-Acts* (SBLMS 20), Missoula 1974, here 23-35; and D. HAMM, *Peter's Speech*, 204.

⁸. So also U. WILCKENS, *Missionsreden*, 50. He said: "...man könnte sie von ihrem Hauptteil her am zutreffendsten als 'historia Jesu' kennzeichnen."

There are also definite links between this third Petrine speech and other speeches in Ac.⁹ One of these is the speech of Stephen in Ac 7. Some of the similarities between these two include the explicit reference to the covenantal God of Israel, "the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob" (Ac 3:13, 7:32), the quoted phrases of Dt 18:15,18-19 in Ac 3:22-23 which is to be found again in a brief explicit quotation in Ac 7:37, δίκαιος used as a messianic title in Ac 3:14 and 7:52, and the only two uses of προκαταγγέλλειν¹⁰ in the NT, to be found in Ac 3:18 and 7:52.¹¹

2. OVERVIEW OF THE TEXT OF THE SPEECH (Ac 3:11-26)

Although this whole speech forms a cohesive unit, it may be divided here, for working purposes, into two sections. These are divided on the basis of V.17 with its strong temporal break of καὶ νῦν on the one hand, and the second explicit mention of the addressees in the speech (ἀδελφοί), on the other hand. The first section stretches thus from VV.12-16 and presents an explanation for the healing miracle, while the second section stretches from VV.17-26, and deals with the fulfillment of Scripture and the appeal to repent.

- 11 Κρατούντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸν Πέτρον καὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην
συνέδραμεν πᾶς ὁ λαὸς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ στοᾷ τῇ
καλουμένῃ Σολομῶντος ἔκθαμβοι.
12 ἰδῶν δὲ ὁ Πέτρος ἀπεκρίνατο πρὸς τὸν λαόν·

Section I: Explanation of the healing rooted in Jesus' name (3:12-16)

- ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλίται,
τὶ θαυμάζετε ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἢ ἡμῖν τὶ ἀτενίζετε ὡς ἰδίᾳ δυνάμει
ἢ εὐσεβείᾳ πεποηκόσω τοῦ περιπατεῖν αὐτόν;
13 ὁ θεὸς Ἀβραάμ καὶ ὁ θεὸς Ἰσαὰκ καὶ ὁ θεὸς Ἰακώβ,
ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, ἐδόξασεν τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν
ὃν ἡμεῖς μὲν παρεδώκατε καὶ ἠρνήσασθε κατὰ πρόσωπον Πιλάτου,
κρίνατος ἐκείνου ἀπολύειν·
14 ἡμεῖς δὲ τὸν ἅγιον καὶ δίκαιον ἠρνήσασθε
καὶ ἠτήσασθε ἄνδρα φονέα χαρισθῆναι ὑμῖν,
15 τὸν δὲ ἀρχηγὸν τῆς ζωῆς ἀπεκτείνωτε
ὃν ὁ θεὸς ἠγειρεν ἐκ νεκρῶν,
οὐ ἡμεῖς μάρτυρές ἐσμεν.
16 καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ πίστει τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ

⁹ W.H. MARTY, for instance, finds also parallels with the second Petrine speech (Ac 2:14-41) (The New Moses, Th.D. Diss, Dallas Theological Seminary 1984, 182).

¹⁰ L. O'REILLY, following R.F. O'TOOLE (*Some Observations*, 88) and BARBI (*Cristo celeste*, 156-159), points out that the verb καταγγέλλειν "is a post-resurrection word in the Lucan vocabulary and indicates that the days which are announced refer to the time of the church" (*Word and Sign*, 117).

¹¹ So C.H.H. SCOBIE, *Source Material*, 418, who follows J. SCHNIEWIND, s.v. ἀγγελία, in: *TDNT I*, 73.

τούτου ὃν θεωρεῖτε καὶ οἴδατε, ἐστερέωσεν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ,
καὶ ἡ πίστις ἡ δι' αὐτοῦ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ τὴν ὀλοκληρίαν ταύτην
ἀπέναντι πάντων ὑμῶν.

Section II: The fulfillment of Scripture and the appeal to repent
(3:17-26)

- 17 Καὶ νῦν, ἀδελφοί οἶδα ὅτι κατὰ ἄγνοιαν ἐπράξατε
ὡσπερ καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες ὑμῶν·
- 18 ὁ δὲ θεός, ὃ προκατήγγελεν διὰ στόματος πάντων τῶν προφητῶν
παθεῖν τὸν χριστὸν αὐτοῦ, ἐπλήρωσεν οὕτως.
- 19 μετανοήσατε οὖν καὶ ἐπιστρέψατε εἰς τὸ ἐξαλειφθῆναι ὑμῶν
τὰς ἁμαρτίας,
- 20 ὅπως ἂν ἔλθωσιν καιροὶ ἀναψύξεως ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ κυρίου
καὶ ἀποστείλῃ τὸν προκεχειρισμένον ὑμῖν χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν,
21 ὃν δεῖ οὐρανὸν μὲνδέξασθαι ἄχρι χρόνων ἀποκαταστάσεως πάντων
ὧν ἐλάλησεν ὁ θεὸς διὰ στόματος τῶν ἁγίων ἀπ' αἰῶνος αὐτοῦ προφητῶν.
- 22 Μωϋσῆς μὲν εἶπεν ὅτι
προφήτην ὑμῶν ἀναστήσει κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὑμῶν
ὡς ἐμέ· αὐτοῦ ἀκούσεσθε κατὰ πάντα ὅσα ἂν λαλήσῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς.
- 23 ἔσται δὲ πᾶσα ψυχὴ ἥτις ἐὰν μὴ ἀκούσῃ τοῦ προφήτου ἐκείνου
ἐξολεθρευθήσεται ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ.
- 24 καὶ πάντες δὲ οἱ προφῆται ἀπὸ Σαμουὴλ
καὶ τῶν καθεξῆς ὅσοι ἐλάλησαν
καὶ κατήγγελαν τὰς ἡμέρας ταύτας.
- 25 ὑμεῖς ἔστε οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ τῆς διαθήκης ἧς διέθετο ὁ θεός
πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ὑμῶν λέγων πρὸς Ἀβραάμ·
καὶ ἐν τῷ σπέρματί σου [ἐν]ευλογηθήσονται
πᾶσαι αἱ πατριαὶ τῆς γῆς.
- 26 ὑμῖν πρῶτον ἀναστήσας ὁ θεὸς τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτὸν
εὐλογοῦντα ὑμᾶς ἐν τῷ ἀπιστρέφειν ἕκαστον ἀπὸ τῶν πονηριῶν ὑμῶν.

The speech could be divided into two sections: (a) vv.12-16 which deals with the past events by giving an explanation of the preceding miracle, which is rooted in Jesus' name; and (b) vv.17-26 which flows from the first section, and deals with the appeal to repent.¹²

3. SECTION I. ACTS 3:12-16

Explanation of the healing rooted in Jesus' name

In contrast with the structural markers which introduce the first two speeches of Peter (Ac 1:15, 2:14), the gesture of the speaker is not explicitly stated here. This is replaced here with Peter who *saw* the crowd at the portico: ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Πέτρος (Ac 3:12). The verb of saying which follows the introduction in the previous two speeches, introducing the direct speech, (εἶπεν, Ac 1:15; ἀπεφθέγγετο, Ac 2:14), is

¹² So also W.H. MARTY, *New Moses*, 183; and (more qualified) G. SCHNEIDER, *Appl*, 313.

replaced with a related verb: ἀπεκρίνατο¹³ (Ac 3:12). The element of the naming of his hearers remains, however, the same: ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλίται (Ac 3:12). And although the speech seems to be directed to Israel, in reality it addresses the Christian congregation.¹⁴ In Ac 1:15 the group addressed by Peter consisted of those who devoted themselves to prayer after the ascension of Jesus, the group of "one hundred and twenty" early Christian believers, addressed by Peter as ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί. In Ac 2:14 it was those living in the province of Judea and in the city of Jerusalem, non-Christians representing several nationalities,¹⁵ addressed there by Peter as ἄνδρες Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες Ἱερουσαλὴμ (V.14), ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλίται (V.22), and ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί (V.29). Here in Ac 3:12 those addressed belong to the same regional group as those in Ac 2.

In Peter's second speech the audience was there as a result of the miracle which had happened to the group "who were all together in one place" (Ac 2:1), and the reason for Peter's speech was their wrong perception of what was happening, that they thought them to be drunk (VV.13-14). Again, in this third speech of Peter, the audience gathers as a result of a miracle, performed by (through) Peter and John after they have received power in Ac 2. And again, the speech which then follows is intended to explain why this had happened,¹⁶ an explanation which seems to have been necessary, as the people "wonder at this" and "stare at them as though they have done this by their own power or piety" (Ac 3:12).

The starting point for the whole argument in substantiation of the miracle is the confessional formula that it is the "God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, the God of their forefathers" (V.13),¹⁷ who has glorified his servant Jesus (ἐδόξασεν τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν, V.13).¹⁸ The argument starts thus with the exalted position of

¹³. According to E. PLÜMACHER, ἀποκρίνεσθαι is in the LXX often to be found at the beginning of direct speech. He refers to Gn 23:4; 1 Ki 1:15; 9:12; 2 Ki 4:9; Am 7:14; 2Mac 7:8 (*Lukas*, 43).

¹⁴. So G. LOHFINK, *Himmelfahrt Jesu*, 225.

¹⁵. Cf. G. DELLING on Ac 10:37-39: "...diejenige Rede der Acta, die auf das Wirken Jesu am eingehendsten Bezug nimmt, ist an Heiden gerichtet, wenn auch — wenigstens teilweise — an solche, die mit dem Judentum in Verbindung stehen" (*Jesusgeschichte*, here 374).

¹⁶. Cf. also C.K. BARRETT who argues along the same lines (Faith and Eschatology in Acts 3, in: E. GRÄSSER & O. MERK (hrsg), *Glaube und Eschatologie. Festschrift für Werner Georg Kümmel zum 80. Geburtstag*, Tübingen 1985, 1-17, here 2). Also G. LÜDEMANN, *Christentum*, 57. H. CONZELMANN says that Luke uses again the "Technik des Mißverständnisses" (*App*, 39); and G. SCHNEIDER, *App I*, 317.

¹⁷. Compare also Ex 3:6,15-16; 4Mac 7:19; 16:25; Lk 20:37; Ac 7:32; Mt 22:32; Mk 12:26 and Heb 11:16 on this well known and often used formula. The occurrence here is not an explicit quotation in the strict sense of the word, as it is not clearly introduced by an introductory formula. According to H. CONZELMANN, its function is to "hält die Kontinuität der Kirche mit Israel fest" (*App*, 39).

¹⁸. Cf. L. CERFAUX, (La Première communauté chrétienne à Jérusalem, in: *EThL* 16 (1939), 20); M. RESE, (*Motive*, 112); H. CONZELMANN, *App*, 39; E. PLÜMACHER (*Lukas*, 43); K. KLIESCH (*Heilsgeschichtliche Credo*, 128-129); E. HAENCHEN, *App*, 165; B.M. NEWMAN & E.A. NIDA, *Translator's Handbook*, 77; A. WEISER, *App I*, 116; W.H. MARTY, *New Moses*, 184; G. SCHNEIDER, *App I*, 317; D. HAMM, (*Peter's Speech*, 201); and D.E. JOHNSON, Jesus Against the Idols: The Use of Isaianic Servant Songs in the Missiology of Acts, in: *WTJ* 52 (1990), 343-353, here 344. They have pointed out that the phrase, ἐδόξασεν τὸν παῖδα, is probably an allusion to Is 52(53):13. This is confirmed by (a) the combination of παῖς with δοξάζειν, (b) the fact that the verb is only here in the whole of Lk-Ac understood in terms of "glorified," and that (c) the two words used for the exaltation of the Messiah in the beginning of Ac (δοξάζω, Ac 3:13 and ὑψόω, Ac 2:33 and 5:31), are juxtaposed in the LXX of Is 52:13. This motif is also to be found in Lk 24:26 where the suffering of Christ and his entrance into "glory" (δόξα) were linked — an idea probably taken over from the LXX (M. RESE, *Motive*, 112). In Ac 3:13 a variation of the same idea is then to be found (K. KLIESCH,

the glorified Christ at the right hand of his Father. It is God who is the Subject of the preceding healing,¹⁹ and that in its turn is a sign of God's glorification of Jesus.

Then follows a summary of the humiliation and exaltation of Jesus. The audience is first of all accused of the murder on Jesus (VV.13-15).²⁰ They delivered him up (ὄν ὑμεῖς μὲν παρεδώκατε) and denied him in the presence of Pilate when he had decided to release Jesus (καὶ ἠρνήσασθε²¹ κατὰ πρόσωπον Πιλάτου, κρίναντος ἐκείνου ἀπολύειν).²² They even chose a murderer to be set free in Jesus' place (ἤτήσασθε ἄνδρα θυνέα χαρισθῆναι ὑμῖν). Secondly, it is then made clear that this was denial, not of an ordinary person, but of the holy²³ and righteous One (ὑμεῖς δὲ τὸν ἅγιον²⁴ καὶ δίκαιον²⁵ ἠρνήσασθε), the killing of the one who is the beginning, the source of life (τὸν δὲ ἀρχηγὸν²⁶ τῆς ζωῆς ἀπεκτείνατε). There is a connection between this title of Jesus and the healing of the lame man. The message is clear: Jesus brings life.²⁷ The contrast between Jesus as τὸν ἀρχηγὸν τῆς ζωῆς (V.15) and Barabbas as ἄνδρα θυνέα (V.14) should be noted here.²⁸ However, God himself has raised him (Jesus) from the dead (ὁ θεὸς ἠγειρεν ἐκ νεκρῶν, V.15) and the speakers here are witnesses to that (οὗ ἡμεῖς μάρτυρες ἐσμεν).²⁹ It is thus

Heilsgeschichtliche Credo, 129).

¹⁹ So also D. HAMM, *Peter's speech*, 202.

²⁰ It refers back to Lk 23:16-25. Compare also Ac 2:23,36; 4:10,27; 5:30; 7:52; 10:39 and 13:27. Ac 3:13-15 is the kerygmatic section of this Petrine speech (F. HAHN, *Das Problem alter christologischer Überlieferungen in der Apostelgeschichte unter besonderer Berücksichtigung von Act 3,19-21*, in: J. KREMER (ed), *Lex Actes*, 129-154, here 135). F.J. MATERA describes it as "a dramatic contrast formula" (*Responsibility*, 80), and A. WEISER as "einer drastisch formulierten Aussagenkette" (*App I*, 116).

²¹ Cf. Lk 12:9 where Jesus has said: "but he who denies (ἀρνησάμενός) me before men will be denied (ἐπισηθήσεται) before the angels of God." (So also noted by G. SCHNEIDER, *App I*, 319. Compare this with Lk 9:26 where πασχύνουμαι is used).

²² Cf. Lk 23:13-25. J.R. WILCH said: "Die jüdischen Beteiligten handelten gegen den Knecht Gottes, während der römischer Richter ihn freigeben wollte" (*Jüdische Schuld*, 240).

²³ See Is 49:7 where the Servant of Yahweh is told that Yahweh is faithful, "the Holy One of Israel" (ἔστιν ὁ ἅγιος Ἰσραήλ). With Is 49:6 being quoted in Ac 13:47, and indications there that he knew the broader context well, one might assume that he was aware of this phrase too. If so, consciously or unconsciously, Yahweh as the "holy One" might have been reinterpreted here in terms of Jesus, as the "holy One," where the LXX has probably helped to build the hermeneutical bridge via its translation of "Yahweh" with "Kurios," which on its turn, was interpreted to designate Jesus.

²⁴ Cf. also Ac 4:27,30; Mk 1:24; Lk 4:34; Jn 6:69.

²⁵ Cf. Ac 7:52; 22:14. Compare it with Judas' τῆς ὀδίκιας (1:18). E. HAENCHEN draws attention also to the Ethiopian Enoch 38:2; 53:6 and 47:1,4 where the messiah is called the "righteous" (*App*, 166,n.2). W.H. MARTY finds here a probable influence from Is 52(53):11 (*New Moses*, 186).

²⁶ Cf. Ac 5:31; 26:23; Heb 2:10; 12:2. See also A. WEISER for a summary of different interpretations of this (*App I*, 114). He concludes: "Es kann sich dabei handeln um die Erwartung 'eines königlichen Messias in der davidischen Thronfolge, eines prophetenähnlichen Gottesknechtes, des endzeitlichen 'Menschensohnes' und eines 'Propheten wie Mose'."

²⁷ So also noted by E. HAENCHEN, *App*, 166; and D. HAMM, *Peter's speech*, 203. The latter draws attention to Ac 2:28 where Ps 15(16) was quoted, and where it was said that "Thou hast made known to me the ways of life".

²⁸ So also W.H. MARTY, *New Moses*, 185.

²⁹ Cf. also Ac 1:22; 2:32; 4:33; 10:41 and 13:31 on the apostles being witnesses of Jesus' resurrection. D. HAMM adds Lk 24:48; Ac 1:8; 2:23-24; 4:10 and 5:30, referring to J. DUPONT (*Les discours*, 141-2) who noted that the union of the themes of resurrection and witness is a Lucan preoccupation (*Peter's speech*, 203). U. WILCKENS has already pointed out that this instance in the third Petrine speech (Ac 3:15) is only a brief reference to the resurrection of Jesus, in comparison with Ac 2 where this motif was much more prominent (*Missionsreden*, 61).

through the name of Jesus (τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ), by way of faith in his name (καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ πίστει τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ), that this lame man whom they see and know, was made strong (τοῦτον ὄν θεωρεῖτε καὶ οἴδατε, ἐστερέωσεν).³⁰ Note the pleonastic character of this verse. It emphasizes primarily the perspective of the *divine side* of the healing: it was in "the name" of Jesus (two times). Also the *human side* is not denied: it was the result of "faith"³¹ in that name (two times).³² There is an ambiguity here. This faith could be either that of the lame man³³ (see 3:6) or that of the apostles.³⁴ But even this faith itself was received *through him* (δι' αὐτοῦ, V.16), i.e. through Jesus!³⁵ Due to the faith in that name then, this man has been "given this perfect health in the presence of all" (ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ τὴν ὀλοκληρίαν³⁶ ταύτην ἀπέναντι πάντων ὑμῶν, V.16). As the apostles were witnesses of the life, and especially the resurrection of Christ, so these people here are witnesses to the miraculous nature of Christ's existence, *via* the ministry of the apostles. This is referred to several times, both implicitly and explicitly: V.9 (εἶδεν πᾶς ὁ λαός), V.10 (ἐπεγίνωσκον), V.11 (συνέδραμεν πᾶς ὁ λαός... ἔκθαμβοι), V.12 (τὶ θαυμάζετε... τὶ ἀτενίζετε).

The fact that the lame man could be healed (raised up), is an indication of Christ who was raised up.³⁷ There is thus a parallel between the healing of the lame man and the resurrection of Christ.³⁸ Outstanding, however, is still the fact that it is "in the Name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth," that Peter and John healed the lame man

³⁰ Cf. Ac 3:6!

³¹ See C.K. BARRETT on "faith" in Ac 3:16 (*Faith and Eschatology*, 1-17). He highlights this issue in V.16 as one of "two notoriously difficult passages in the chapter" (3).

³² So rightly labelled then by H. CONZELMANN as "zwei parallelen Sätzen" (*App*, 39). This is in line with the proposal of LACHMANN, BLASS and B.M. METZGER (*Textual Commentary*, 313) to place a colon after ἐστερέωσεν and omit the comma after τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ.

³³ So taken by H. CONZELMANN, *App*, 40; F.F. BRUCE, *Acts*, 82; R. PESCH, *App I*, 154 (who refers to Lk 5:20; 8:48; 17:19; 18:42; Ac 14:9);

³⁴ So also B.M. NEWMAN & E.A. NIDA, *Translator's Handbook*, 79.

³⁵ So also R. PESCH, *App I*, 154; and the translations of the OAB, NAB, RSV. Others translated differently: NEB ("by awakening faith"); TEV ("faith in Jesus"); KJV ("the faith which is by him"); GNB ("Der Name Jesus hat in ihm Glauben geweckt"). G. SCHNEIDER says: "Der Vers betont die Funktion der πίστις und des ὀνομα Jesu bei der Krankenheilung" (*App I*, 320).

³⁶ D. HAMM found an allusion to Is 1:6 in this word, and has drawn attention also to other elements common to the passages of Is 1 (LXX) and Ac 3: (a) the seed of Abraham (Ac 3:25; Is 1:9); (b) that God will turn each from their nonπιαί (Ac 3:26; Is 1:16); (c) a call to conversion with a threat of punishment (Ac 3:23; Is 1:20,24-5,28-30); and (d) a promise of blessing (Ac 3:20,25-6; Is 1:19,26). It seems then for HAMM that behind this healing lies a reference to the motif of the restoration of Israel (*Peter's Speech*, 206). The search for parallels or sources lying behind the text is probably pushed too far in this interpretation. Supporting evidence for this theory of Is 1 underlying Ac 3, can only be found in this single word, which is insufficient. This does not exclude, however, some general idea about the restoration of Israel which might have played a role here — the same idea which may have underlain the first Petrine speech, where the place of the 12th apostle had to be filled (so rightly, *Peter's Speech*, 211).

³⁷ The comparison between the two "raisings" was noticed by D. HAMM who has said: "...the point is that this raising up (the healing) is a sign of the other raising up (the resurrection)." This is confirmed by the use of the identical word in both V.7 and V.15: ἤγειρεν (*Peter's speech*, 203).

³⁸ So also D. HAMM, *Peter's Speech*, 204.

(Ac 3:6).³⁹ The motif of "the name of the κύριος" is thus continued from the second Petrine speech, where it was said that all those who call on "the name of the κύριος" will be saved (Ac 2:21), and that the hearers should be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ (Ac 2:38).⁴⁰ This is taken up again in this speech; the hearers are told that it is through faith in the name of Jesus that this has happened (Ac 3:16). The consequences of this healing and preaching in "the name" of Jesus would follow afterwards, when Peter and John are arrested, and continue to testify about this "name", especially in Ac 4:10,12.

4. SECTION II. ACTS 3:17-26

The fulfillment of Scripture and the appeal to repent

4.1 The composition of the section

According to V.17, it is implied that Peter could not understand their rejection of Jesus before, but can do so now. The irony is, that he himself denied Jesus!⁴¹ But he has, since then, gained insight and understanding which he did not have before. This is made clear by the combination of the καὶ νῦν⁴² with οἶδα. The only possible source of this insight is the power which he has received at Pentecost, and with this power of the Spirit of God he is able to see in perspective what has happened. They have acted in ignorance, as did their leaders (ὅτι κατὰ ἄγνοιαν ἐπράξατε ὡσπερ καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες⁴³ ὑμῶν).⁴⁴

It is important to make it clear to this audience that Christ was not incapable of defending himself when suffering at the hands of humans, but (note the δε at the beginning of V.18) that he suffered willingly, and in obedience to his Father,

³⁹. So also U. WILCKENS, *Missionsreden*, 60. C. SMITS points to the fact that as miracles were performed in Egypt in the name of Yahweh (Ps 105(106):8), so also are miracles now performed in the name of Jesus (*Citaten II*, 185). W.H. MARTY underlines that "the Name" was a pious Jewish surrogate for God and connoted his divine presence and power" (*New Moses*, 186). So also R. LONGENECKER, *Acts* (ExpB Com), Grand Rapids 1981, 299,n.16.

⁴⁰. On the "name" of Jesus, see also Lk 1:31; 2:21; 9:48,49; 10:17; 13:35; 19:38; 21:8,12,17; 24:47(!); Ac 4:7,10,12,17,18,30; 5:28,40,41; 8:12,16; 9:14,15,16,21,27,28; 10:43,48; 15:14,26; 16:18; 19:5,13,17; 21:13; 22:16; 26:9.

⁴¹. Cf. Lk 22:31-34,54-62. So also D. HAMM, *Peter's Speech*, 207: "...the reader knows from the first volume that the one saying these things is himself a reformed denier".

⁴². E. PLÜMACHER has pointed out that καὶ νῦν is a "äußerst häufige Interjektion" in the LXX before questions, imperatives and expressions as here in Ac 3:17. He refers to Tob 6:13; 1Mac 4:10; Jdih 11:23; 1Esr 8:79, etc. (*Lukas*, 43).

⁴³. "The leaders are the chief priests and scribes who took the leading part in accusing Jesus before Pilate" (B.M. NEWMAN & E.A. NIDA, *Translator's Handbook*, 181).

⁴⁴. Cf. Lk 23:34 where some manuscripts included the sentence where Jesus said God should forgive those who have crucified him, "for they know not what they do." P.W. VAN DER HORST has pointed out that this understanding of ignorance as the source of sin, was an idea current in Greek literature. He refers to EurHip 1334f; XenCyr 3.1.38; Epict 1.26.6; PlutDe sera numinis vindicta 6,551E; Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus grammaticos* 1.267; Dio Chrysostomus 6.46; Aelian, *Varia historia* 2.39; Ps-Apulcius, *Asclepius* 22 (Hellenistic Parallels to Acts (Chapters 3 and 4), in: *JSNT* 35 (1989), 37-46, here 40-41).

because "what God foretold⁴⁵ long ago⁴⁶ by the mouth of all the prophets,⁴⁷ he thus fulfilled"⁴⁸ (ὁ δὲ θεός, ἃ προκατήγγειλεν διὰ στόματος⁴⁹ πάντων τῶν προφητῶν ... ἐπλήρωσεν⁵⁰ οὕτως, V.18): that is, that his Christ should suffer (παθεῖν τὸν χριστὸν αὐτοῦ, V.18).⁵¹ God thus remains the Subject here. He is not a mere bystander who observes what happens; rather, what happens was known and predicted by him long before. He is actively involved in history, i.e. salvation history.⁵²

Now that the audience has heard that the person whom they have rejected and denied was "the holy and just One," "the source of life" itself, there remains nothing left than to repent. This is part of God's divine plan which Jesus himself revealed before his ascension, as stated in Lk 24:47: "...that repentance and forgiveness of sins should be preached in his name to all nations." In fact, this is the only remaining part of that revealed plan which was not yet fulfilled!⁵³ The appeal for their repentance is made in V.19 (μετανοήσατε οὖν καὶ ἐπιστρέψατε),⁵⁴ and the consequences thereof spelled out clearly: (a) that their sins may be blotted out (εἰς τὸ ἐξαλειφθῆναι⁵⁵ ὑμῶν τὰς ἀμαρτίας), (b) that times of refreshing may come from the presence of the κύριος, and (c) that he (God) may send Christ⁵⁶ Jesus appointed for them⁵⁷ (VV.19-20). Scholarship is divided on the issue of whether there is some traditional material behind VV.19-21.⁵⁸ The "times of refreshing" (καιροὶ

⁴⁵. Cf. also Ac 2:23 where the same idea is found. It is stated there that this Jesus was "delivered up according to the definite plan and foreknowledge of God", but that he was crucified and killed at the hands of lawless men. God however, has raised him up.

⁴⁶. Cf. Ac 7:52.

⁴⁷. Compare also Ac 2:16: διὰ τοῦ προφήτου Ἰωηλ.

⁴⁸. E. HAENCHEN says: "Die christliche Gemeinde sah die Propheten als eine große Einheit an, die nach Gottes Willen das 'Leiden des Messias' vorhersagte" (*App*, 167).

⁴⁹. This is another typical LXX phrase, according to E. HAENCHEN, *App*, 167,n.4; and E. PLÜMACHER, referring to 3 Ki 17:1; 2 Kr 35:22; 36:21,22; etc. (*Lukas*, 43).

⁵⁰. Cf. Ac 1:16.

⁵¹. Cf. Lk 24:26 (ἔδει παθεῖν τὸν χριστόν); 24:46 (παθεῖν τὸν χριστόν); 9:22 (δεῖ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου πολλὰ παθεῖν); Ac 17:2 (ὅτι τὸν χριστόν ἔδει παθεῖν); 26:23 (εἰ παθητός ὁ χριστός).

⁵². Cf. also G. SCHNEIDER, *App I*, 323.

⁵³. So also L. O'REILLY, *Word and Sign*, 118.

⁵⁴. This appeal to repentance immediately calls to mind that made in Ac 2:38 in Peter's second speech. According to W.H. MARTY, when both terms occur together, "μετανοέω focuses on the negative aspect of turning away from sin, and ἐπιστρέφω the positive direction of turning to God and a new way of life" (*New Moses*, 188).

⁵⁵. For other instances of the metaphorical use of ἐξαλείφω in Hellenistic literature, see P.W. VAN DER HORST, *Hellenistic Parallels*, Ac 3 & 4, 41; and for its specifically LXX connection, cf. to E. PLÜMACHER, *Lukas*, 43. C. SMITS refers specifically to Is 42:23 (*Citaten II*, 185).

⁵⁶. "Christ" should probably be taken here not as part of the proper name "Jesus Christ", but rather in the sense of "messiah", i.e. as a title. So also B.M. NEWMAN & E.A. NIDA, *Translator's Handbook*, 84.

⁵⁷. Cf. J.A.T. ROBINSON who saw in this the background of some traditional material (*Earliest Christology*, 177-189). G. LÜDEMANN reckons that these verses "...sind darin einzigartig, daß sie die Umkehr Israels als vorbedingung für das Eintreffen des eschatologischen Heils ansehen" (*Christentum*, 59). W.H. MARTY points out that, on the basis of texts such as Zch 12:10-13 and Hs 14:1-8, "repentance for forgiveness of sins was a mandatory prerequisite for the establishment of the messianic age" (*New Moses*, 188).

⁵⁸. According to K. KLIESCH, VV.19-21 points to material from the tradition, and is probably an original independent Elijah tradition, which was christologically interpreted by Luke (*Heilsgeschichtliche Credo*, 129). Also O. BAUERNEFEIND, (*App*, 65-69); *idem.*, Tradition und Komposition in dem Apokatastasispruch Apostelgeschichte 3,20f, in: O. BETZ, M. HENGEL & P. SCHMIDT (hrsg)

ἀναψύξω, V.20) is a phrase that is unclear and has become a *crux interpretum* in the scholarly debate. It has been suggested that it may have come from the apocalyptic tradition,⁵⁹ or from an interpretation of Is 32:15 (LXX) which is extant in the LXX version of Symmachus.⁶⁰ Within this context (Ac 3:20), it seems to indicate the interim period between Jesus' ascension and his second coming.⁶¹ It refers probably to that period as an opportunity for salvation.⁶² V.21 is an elaboration and explanation of (c) above, substantiated by the role of μὲν here at the beginning of this verse. It is stated that this Jesus must remain in heaven (ὄν δεῖ οὐρανὸν μὲν δέξασθαι)⁶³ until (ἄχρι) the time (has passed) for establishing all

Abraham unser Vater, Festschrift für O. Michel, Leiden 1963, 13-23; and U. WILCKENS (*Missionsreden*, 153-156) has supported an underlying Elijah tradition which was interpreted by the early church in terms of Jesus. And although others, such as F. HAHN, *Christologische Hoheitstitel*, 184-6, have rejected a purely Jewish origin for VV.19-21, they have nonetheless taken VV.20f as a sentence expressing the early church's ancient christology which was formulated with the help of the Jewish ascension schema. G. LOHFINK admits that VV.19-21 is probably the reworking of a pre-Lukan ascension tradition. "Denn hinter der Aussage ὄν δεῖ οὐρανὸν μὲν δέξασθαι steht klar die Vorstellung der Apokalypitik, daß bestimmte Personen von Gott in den Himmel entrückt und dort für die Endzeit aufbewahrt werden können" (*Himmelfahrt Jesu*, 224). However, he makes it clear that these verses originated from the hand of Luke himself (225). Others who prefer to see the redactional hand of Luke himself behind VV.19-21, include E. HAENCHEN (*Apg*, 209-11); G. LOHFINK (*Christologie und Geschichtsbild in Apg 3,19-21*, in: *BZ* 13 (1969), 223-241); H. CONZELMANN (*Apg*, 34f). The problem is very complex, and clearcut distinctions difficult to make, as argued later by F. HAHN, *Das Problem*, 129-154.

⁵⁹ So, for example, G. LOHFINK, *Christologie*, 223-241; and *idem.*, *Himmelfahrt Jesu*, 224. He says in the latter: "Lukas hat allerdings gerade in 3,19-21 verstärkt Wendungen und Vorstellungen der Apokalypitik eingebaut, um eine Rede an Juden über die Eschata *sachgemäß* formulieren zu können" (225). D. HAMM, in his comments on LOHFINK, says: "If such material as this provides the background, Luke would appear to be using a term from Jewish apocalyptic referring to messianic 'interim time' and applying the phrase to the 'salvation time' already come with Jesus" (*Peter's Speech*, 208). Also W.H. MARTY finds the origin of this phrase in "messianic Judaism" (*New Moses*, 182). Cf. rabbi Jacob (ca. 170) in *Aboth* 4:17: "eine Stunde der Erquickung...in der zukünftigen Welt ist besser als das ganze Leben in dieser Welt" (STR-BILL, *Kommentar II*, 626).

⁶⁰ So C. SMITS, *Citaten II*, 185. He refers also to the recension of Aquila on Is 28:12 and 34:15. Cf. also D. HAMM (*Peter's Speech*, 208), who refers to W.L. LANE, *Times of refreshment: A Study in Eschatological Periodization in Judaism and Christianity*, PhD.Diss., Harvard Divinity School 1962.

⁶¹ D. HAMM stresses the eschatological thrust of this idea, and sees, especially in VV.19-26, "...an invitation to conversion that places such a conversion of the Israelites within the eschatological unfolding of the plan of God" (*Peter's Speech*, 207). A second coming is thus surely part of Luke's end-time picture (211). Cf. also Lk 21:27; Ac 1:11; and 2:20. Interesting here is the viewpoint of J.A.T. ROBINSON (*The most primitive Christology of all?*) and F. HAHN (*Christologische Hoheitstitel*): "...daß Jesus von Gott erst bei der Parusie zum Messias eingesetzt wird, daß also das Ostergeschehen zunächst als reine *Entrückung*, hingegen noch nicht als *Erhöhung* konzipiert war" (G. LOHFINK, *Himmelfahrt Jesu*, 225).

⁶² So also H.N. RIDDERBOS, *Speeches*, 14; and D. HAMM, *Peter's Speech*, 208. The latter states: "...the coming of times of refreshment is not a reference to the parousia hastened by conversion, but rather a way of describing the effects of conversion in apocalyptic language." H. CONZELMANN says that the καιροὶ ἀναψύξω are not "Atempausen in der eschatologischen Drangsal" (cf. O. BAUERNFEIND, *Apg*, 68-69) "sondern die endgültige Heilszeit" (*Apg*, 40).

⁶³ Cf. P.W. VAN DER HORST for parallels in Hellenistic literature on the same idea (*Hellenistic Parallels, Ac 3 & 4*, 41).

(χρόνων ἀποκαταστάσεως⁶⁴ πάντων) that God has spoken (ᾧν ἐλάλησεν ὁ θεός) by the mouth of his holy prophets (διὰ στόματος τῶν ἁγίων...αὐτοῦ προφητῶν) from old (ἀπ' αἰῶνος).⁶⁵ The richness of this verse in terms of Luke's understanding of Scripture, can hardly be overstated.⁶⁶ The point of departure for all that happens, is to be found in the fulfillment of the Scriptures (here the "mouth of God's prophets"). Because these are the words of *God*, they will come true. God is the Initiator and the Subject. These words are eternal in their function, and not simply limited to the time in which they are spoken. The prophets were used as authoritative media by whom God has spoken his words. Those words pointed to Jesus of Nazareth as the Christ. In this instance, it is understood from the Scriptures that the Christ had to suffer (Jesus himself told his disciples this after his resurrection according to Lk 24:46), and that he also had to (δεῖ) stay in heaven until (ἄχρι) all which was foretold, has been established. The two moments in time which has come to the fore in the quoted text from J1 in Ac 2, are to be found again here. Jesus is exalted to heaven, where, for the present, he remains. These are the refreshing times, during which all that God has spoken through the prophets will come to pass. But a time will come when Jesus will come again, sent by God himself,⁶⁷ a moment which is currently hindered due to their conversion.⁶⁸

With another μεν, VV.22-23 recall the direct words of Moses (God's words)⁶⁹ which talk about a prophet who will be "raised up by their God for them" (ὑμῖν ἀναστήσει κύριος ὁ θεός ὑμῶν). There seems to be a chiasmic structure in VV.22-23, placing the statement about the prophet's words in the centre.⁷⁰ The phrase, "raised up by God", could be understood in three ways: (a) It refers to the first

64. According to C. SMITS, this word has a clear messianic-eschatological intension in prophetic texts such as Hos 11:11; Jer 15:19; Ez 16:53, as well as Ps 15:5. In Mal 3:23 and Am 5:15, however, it points to an inward change (*Citation II*, 185). D. HAMM adds Jer 16:15; 23:8; 24:6; 27:19; Ez 17:23; Is 49:6b (cf. Ac 13:47); Is 61:1-2 & 58:6 (cf. Lk 4:18), Am 9:11-12 (cf. Ac 15:16) while saying that "Such texts as these seem to indicate the kind of restoration of all meant by the ἀποκαταστάσεως πάντων of Acts 3:21 — the end-time restoration of the people to their Lord and their land" (*Peter's Speech*, 210). J.W. DOEVE has argued for the viewpoint that the restoration is on a par with the refreshing, and that the pericope itself presents an explanation of the quoted text of Dt 18:15 (Apokatastasis in Act 3:21, een voorbereiding, in: *VoxTh* 18 (1947-48), 165f). It should be noted, however, that it was expected that the Messiah would restore 6 things, according to GnR 12 (STR-BILL, *Kommentar II*, 626).

65. G. LOHFINK said: "Ihn mußte freilich der Himmel aufnehmen bis zu der von Gott gesetzten Zeit der Wiederherstellung. Das heißt, die Parusie liegt nicht in naher Zukunft, sondern sie erfolgt dann, wenn Gott es will. Nicht nur Tod und Auferstehung Jesu, sondern auch sein Verweilen im Himmel bis zur Parusie stehen unter dem δεῖ des göttlichen Willens" (*Himmelfahrt Jesu*, 225). E. HAENCHEN, *App*, 168; G. SCHNEIDER, *App I*, 324; and A. WEISER, *App I*, 115, have drawn attention to Lk 1:70 which agrees almost verbally with this phrase.

66. Cf. also G. LÜDEMANN: "Zwar war das Leiden des Christus schriftgemäß, doch gilt das ebenfalls für die Predigt zwischen Auferstehung und Parusie (Lk 24,44-47) und für die Parusie selbst (= die Zeiten der *apokatastasis*) (V.21) (*Christentum*, 57-58).

67. H.N. RIDDERBOS, referring to V.24, points to this issue when saying that "...there is still a distance between the beginning and the end of 'these days' of the fulfillment" and that "the ascension of Christ signifies a new interim period" (*Speches*, 14).

68. This moment is an eschatological one, based on the "restoration". "Die χρόνοι ἀποκαταστάσεως πάντων wirken sich auf die Gläubigen als καιροὶ ἀναψύξεως aus" (E. HAENCHEN, *App*, 168).

69. So also H. RINGGREN, *Luke's Use*, 233.

70. So L. O'REILLY, *Word and Sign*, 108. In fact, for O'REILLY the whole of Ac 3:19-26 is structured in a chiasmic manner. See his exposition on pp.112-114.

coming of the Messiah, being Jesus of Nazareth,⁷¹ in his "vocation as prophet" or (b) it refers to the resurrection and exaltation of Christ,⁷² or (c) it refers to both.⁷³ It was not only Moses, but also all the prophets, "from Samuel and those who came afterwards," who have proclaimed these days (V.24).

Peter goes on to tell the audience that they are the descendants of those prophets (their "sons") and of the covenant which was given by God to their forefathers. The hearers are reminded of this in V.25 when God's promise to Abraham is recalled, namely that all the families of the earth shall be blessed in his posterity.

It is clear that the audience here seems to consist of Jews. The references to Moses and the other prophets, Abraham as their forefather, and especially the implied covenantal promises, could only be understood against the background of Jewish history. V.26 thus states that the "raised"⁷⁴ Christ was first sent to them, in order to bless them and to turn them from their wickedness.

Note also the links between V.26 and the foregoing: ἀναστήσας (V.26) and ἀναστήσει (V.22); παῖδα (VV.13,26);⁷⁵ ἀποστείλει (V.20) and ἀπέστειλεν (V.26).

4.2 The phrases from *Dt 18:15-20* and *Lv 23:29* (Ac 3:22-23)

The unit in Ac 3:22-23 can be understood in three different ways: (a) It was either meant to be an *explicit quotation*;⁷⁶ or (b) meant to be only *explicit references*;⁷⁷

⁷¹. So seen by C. SMITS, *Citaten*, 188; E. HAENCHEN, *App*, 168; A. LOISY, *Les Actes*, 237; F.F. BRUCE, *Acts*, 86-87; H. CONZELMANN, *App*, 41; J.A.T. ROBINSON, *Primitive Christology*, 177-189.

⁷². So, for example, L. O'REILLY: "The prophet...whom God 'will raise up' is in fact his servant...Jesus whom he raised from the dead, thus glorifying him" (*Word and Sign*, 113. See also 117-119). Cf. also the *Bible de Jérusalem* (referred to by J. DUPONT, *Études*, 55); J. DUPONT, *Les discours*, 353; W.S. KURZ, *Acts* 3, 311-312. L. O'REILLY reported that the latter "...points to the fact that the position of the verb *anistēmi* at the end of the speech tells against a reference to the earthly ministry of Jesus because the other missionary speeches always begin with the earthly ministry" (*Word and Sign*, 117).

⁷³. So D. HAMM, *Peter's Speech*, 213-214.

⁷⁴. Seen to be (a) the *resurrected* Christ by G. SCHNEIDER, *App I*, 330; or (b) to refer to the earthly mission of Jesus, as in V.22, by E. HAENCHEN, *App*, 169; and B.M. NEWMAN & E.A. NIDA, *Translator's Handbook*, 88. But (c) according to W.H. MARTY, both the resurrection and raising as God's servant and prophet might be implied here (*New Moses*, 194).

⁷⁵. W.H. MARTY suggests that "Peter identifies Jesus as God's Servant both in the beginning and end of his sermon" (*New Moses*, 183). παῖς occurs only 4 times in Ac, all in Ac 3-4: 3:13,26; 4:27,30. Cf. also C.K. BARRETT, *Faith and Eschatology*, 3; and D.E. JOHNSON, *Isaianic Servant Songs*, 344. According to D. HAMM, "παῖς is sometimes used in the LXX to denote the prophet as servant". He refers to Jos 14:7: Μωϋσῆς ὁ παῖς τοῦ θεοῦ (*Peter's Speech*, 214-215). G. LÜDEMANN reckons that this phrase does not come from Luke's hand: "...da so nicht die breite Streuung von *pais* *itheou* im frühchristlichen Schrifttum bis zur Mitte des zweiten Jhs erklärt werden kann" (*Christentum*, 59).

⁷⁶. Supported by the introductory formula, as well as ὡς ἐμέ — in the first person. Taken as explicit quotation, for example, by E. HAENCHEN, *Schrifttate*, 163; C. SMITS, *Citaten II*, 186; M. RESE, *Motive*, 66-71; E. PLÜMACHER, *Lukas*, 44; G.D. KILPATRICK, *Some Quotations*, 86; E. RICHARD, *OT in Acts*, 336; A. WEISER, *App I*, 119; D.L. BOCK, *Proclamation*, 191-4; C.K. BARRETT, *Luke/Acts*, 238.

⁷⁷. Supported by the ὅτι in the introductory formula (which *might* introduce indirect speech here), as well as the adaptation of the 2nd person plural pronoun (four times) in Ac 3:22, which are on a par with the rest of the context of the speech. Also T. HOLTZ, *Untersuchungen*, 71; and G. SCHNEIDER, *App I*, 316, who calls them "Anspielungen auf die Schrift".

created by the author by his skillful combination of several different passages, and explicitly and consciously linked with those reading(s) of the OT texts themselves;⁷⁸ or (c) some free quotation from memory.⁷⁹ The second possibility seems to be the best choice, and Ac 3:22-23 could be treated as a paraphrase of Dt 18:15-20/21 which was summarized by the author by way of a complex combination of phrases (from the referred passages) in an order that suited his purpose within the context of his time.⁸⁰ Nevertheless, Ac 3:22-23 is introduced by a single introductory formula, and the unit in Ac 3:22-23 is the combination of several conflated or combined phrases, mainly from two different text units, traditionally accepted to be Dt 18:15-20 and Lv 23:29.⁸¹

4.2.1 Other occurrences of these texts

Although this text was used very seldom in other Jewish literature,⁸² Dt 18:18-19 is to be found in 4QTest 5-8⁸³ and 1QS 9:11.⁸⁴ The readings of 4QTest 5-8 and that of the MT are identical, with the exception of וירכר for the ורכר of the MT.⁸⁵

There might, however, also be an implied knowledge of Dt 18:15 to be detected in Mk 9:4,7 (par: Mt 17:5; Lk 9:35), Lk 7:39; 24:25; Jn 1:21 and 5:46. These NT occurrences are, however, not clear explicit quotations at all and none of these proves any clear intention to quote explicitly from the Scriptures. It is also interesting that Philo refers to the prophecy in Dt 18:15, but there is no indication that this is a reference to an eschatological prophet.⁸⁶

⁷⁸ So also C. SMITS: "De combinatie is buitengewoon deskundig tot stand gebracht. Wat in de gegeven omstandigheden niet paste, is met een andere passende tekst aangevuld" (*Citaten II*, 187). In the same direction also E. RICHARD: "He modifies considerably the LXX text (Deut 18:15-22 and adds Lev 23:29) to formulate his own 'OT quotation'" (*OT in Acts*, 336); and G.D. KILPATRICK: "In principle he could have put the two passages together and made the various changes from the LXX himself" (*Some Quotations*, 86).

⁷⁹ So categorized by W.K.L. CLARKE under his heading: "Free Versions of the LXX. in Acts" (*Use of the Septuagint*, 88-89). Almost in the same direction, cf. B.M. NEWMAN & E.A. NIDA: "a free rendering" (*Translator's Handbook*, 85).

⁸⁰ J. ROLOFF also thinks in this direction: "Die Wiedergabe des Wortes fußt auf dem LXX-Text, ist jedoch in ihrer Wortfolge so frei, daß man von einem Zitat im eigentlichen Sinne nicht mehr sprechen kann" (*App*, 77). So does L. O'REILLY (*Word and Sign*, 115) refers for instance also to C.M. MARTINI, L'esclusione dalla comunità del popolo di Dio e il nuovo Israele secondo Atti 3,23, in: *idem., La parola di Dio alle origini della Chiesa*, Rome 1980, 246.

⁸¹ So, for example, F.J. FOAKES JACKSON & K. LAKE, *Beginnings IV*, 38; J. DE WAARD, *A Comparative Study of the Old Testament in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the New Testament* (Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 4), Leiden 1966, 22-23; H. CONZELMANN, *App*, 41; F.F. BRUCE, *Acts*, 86-7; E. PLÜMACHER, *Lukas*, 44; B.M. METZGER, *Textual Commentary*, 315; B.M. NEWMAN & E.A. NIDA, *Translator's Handbook*, 85; G. SCHNEIDER, *App I*, 328; R. PESCH, *App I*, 150.157; C.K. BARRETT, *Luke/Acts*, 238.

⁸² So STR-BILL, *Kommentar II*, 626; and C. SMITS, *Citaten II*, 186. Exceptions are SDt 18:15 §175-6(107^b) and P^csiq 112^a.

⁸³ See J. DE WAARD on this in: *Comparative Study*, 21-24; and *idem., Quotation from Deuteronomy*, 537-540. Cf. also the remarks of D.-A. KOCH on 4QTest (*Schrift als Zeuge*, 252).

⁸⁴ Cf. H. BRAUN, *Qumran und das Neue Testament, Vol. II*, Tübingen 1966, 311-312. J. DE WAARD refers also to Codex Neofiti I (*Comparative Study*, 22). Against C. SMITS, who says it is not to be found in Judaistic literature (*Citaten II*, 186).

⁸⁵ Cf. J. DE WAARD, *Comparative Study*, 22.

⁸⁶ Cf. D.M. HAY, *Moses*, 241, n.3.

Lukan knowledge and usage of these texts seems nonetheless to be prominent. The resemblances between Lk 24:25-27 and Ac 3:18,21-24 are striking. Even more interesting is the fact that Dt 18:15,18 is to be found once more in Ac, in a shorter quotation in Ac 7:37.⁸⁷ No other references to Lv 23:29 are to be found.

To assume that these phrases (in Ac 3:22-23) were to be found already combined before Luke's time,⁸⁸ remains problematic, questionable and unprovable.⁸⁹

4.2.2 *The introductory formula (Ac 3:22a)*

The same trend is to be found here, as was the case in Ac 1:20, where a single introductory formula introduces an explicit quotation consisting of two separate quoted texts. In Ac 1:20 the two texts are kept clearly separate, although combined with a καί. Here, however, the two different quoted texts seem to be integrated very closely with each other, thereby forming a conflated quotation.⁹⁰ It would thus be a better *modus operandi* to discuss both quoted texts together here, instead of separating them. The introductory formula: Μωϋσῆς μὲν εἶπεν ὅτι, suggests that the conflated quotation may have been intended as an explicit citation. It clearly indicates the section from the Scriptures from which the author is "quoting" — as was the case in the other two Petrine speeches. In the first Petrine speech the quoted texts were taken from "the book of the Pss" (Ac 1:20). In the second Petrine speech from "the prophet JI" (Ac 2:16) and "David," (Ac 2:25,34). To these, the Torah ("Moses," Ac 3:22) is now added here in the third Petrine speech.

⁸⁷. See the hypothesis of C.H.H. SCOBIE on Luke's probable use of an early Christian tract for Ac 3:12-26 and Ac 7:2-53 (*Source Material*, 399-421).

⁸⁸. A pre-Lukan combination is presumed (a) on the basis of the existence of "testimonies" by: J.R. HARRIS (*Testimonies II*, 70); K. LAKE and H.J. CADBURY (*Beginnings IV*, 22); L. CERFAUX (*Le première*, 210); C. SMITS (*Citaten II*, 187); C.H. DODD, *Scriptures*, 53f; T. HOLTZ (*Untersuchungen*, 72-73,97-98); and J. ROLOFF (*Apg*, 78); (b) on the basis of a relationship with 4QTst, by J. DE WAARD (*Comparative Study*, 21-24); and (c) a "Jewish-Christian source grounded in the MT, not the LXX text," by D.L. BOCK (*Proclamation*, 192,357).

⁸⁹. So also G.D. KILPATRICK (*Some Quotations*, 86). In the same direction: E. RICHARD (*OT in Acts*, 336).

⁹⁰. So also W.K.L. CLARKE, *Use of the Septuagint*, 94; E. HAENCHEN, *Schriftzitate*, 163; C. SMITS, *Citaten II*, 186; M. RESE, *Motive*, 66; G.D. KILPATRICK, *Some Quotations*, 86; G.L. ARCHER and G. CHIRICHIGNO, *Quotations*, 33; D.L. BOCK, *Proclamation*, 192; and C.K. BARRETT, *Luke/Acts*, 238. E. HAENCHEN labelled it as "Zwei 'Mischzitate'" (*Schriftzitate*, 165), while D. KILPATRICK talks of it as a "composite quotation," consisting of "schoes or pieces from passages in Deuteronomy and Leviticus" (*Some Quotations*, 86).

4.2.3 *Determining and explaining the textual differences*

NT (NA26)	LXX	LXX	MT	MT
Ae 3:22-3	Dt 18:15-16,19	Lv 23:29	Dt 18:15-16,19	Lv 23:29
προφήτην	προφήτην ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν σου ὡς ἐμέ		נְבִיא מִבְּרָדְבָר אֶלְהֵיכֶם כְּמִנִּי	
ὕμῶν ἀναστήσει	ἀναστήσει σοι κύριος ὁ θεός σου,		יְקִים יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם וְיָשִׁיב	
κύριος ὁ θεός ὑμῶν ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὑμῶν ὡς ἐμέ· αὐτοῦ ἀκούσεσθε κατὰ πάντα ὅσα	αὐτοῦ ἀκούσεσθε 16 κατὰ πάντα ὅσα ... 19 ...ὁς ἂν μὴ ἀκούσῃ τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ ὅσα ἂν λαλήσῃ		וְשָׁמַעְתֶּם בְּכָל דְּבָרֵי יְהוָה לְאֶשְׁרֵי אֱלֹהֵיכֶם וְנִכְבַּר שֵׁם יְהוָה בְּכָל יְמֵיכֶם	
ἂν λαλήσῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς.	ἂν λαλήσῃ ὁ προφήτης			כִּי יְשָׁמַע לְאֶשְׁרֵי יְהוָה וְיִשְׁמַע יְהוָה
23 ἔσται δὲ πᾶσα ψυχὴ ἥτις		29 πᾶσα ψυχὴ ἥτις μὴ ταπει- νωθῆσεται ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ,		וְכָל נַפְשׁוֹת אֲדָמָה שֶׁלֹּא תִּשְׁתַּבַּח בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא
ἐὰν μὴ ἀκούσῃ τοῦ προφήτου ἐκείνου ἐξ ὀλεθρευ- θῆσεται ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ.		ἐξ ὀλεθρευ- θῆσεται ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτῆς.		

(a) *Textual differences: Ac 3:22 and Dt 18:15-16,19 (LXX)*⁹¹

There are 5 major changes to be found between the readings of Ac 3:22 and Dt 18:15-16,19: (1) A transposition in the NT of the LXX phrase, ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν...ὡς ἐμέ; (2) pronoun changes of the three singulars (σοι, σου, σου) in the LXX text, by way of three plurals in the NT text (ὑμῖν, ὑμῶν, ὑμῶν); (3) the changed pronoun in Ac (ὑμῖν) is moved before the verb, while it follows after the verb in Dt 18:15; and (4) the addition of the words, πρὸς ὑμᾶς, in the NT. (5) The remaining reading of the text of the LXX in Dt 18:16-19 is omitted.

a.1 *Transposition: ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν (ὑμῶν) ὡς ἐμέ*

This phrase is to be found transposed from its position in the LXX reading (at the beginning of the sentence, before the verb), to another position (at the end of the sentence, after the verb), in the NT reading. Exactly the same situation is to be found again in Ac 7:37 where Dt 18:15 is quoted again. There is no reason to doubt the reading of the NT text in either instance; there are no other NT textual witnesses to support another reading.

The situation among the LXX textual witnesses is interesting. The transposition as it is to be found in Ac, is supported by no major LXX witness, but finds support, however, in the quotations of several Church Fathers⁹² — which clearly points to the fact that at a later stage in history the Church Fathers have adapted the NT reading.

According to the known textual witnesses then, no evidence can be found that this transposition was already at hand in Luke's *Textvorlage*, and the transposition may therefore cautiously be ascribed to the hand of Luke himself. The word order as found in Dt 18:18 might have influenced him on this point:⁹³ προφήτην ἀναστήσω αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτῶν ὡς περ σέ,... However, the consistency in word order with regard to the transposition in both instances (Ac 3:22 and Ac 7:37), raises the unanswered question of whether Luke would have used an older *Textvorlage* of the LXX, lost today, which had this specific word order.⁹⁴

⁹¹. The textual differences between the MT and LXX could be followed in W.H. MARTY, *New Moses*, 195-197.

⁹². The change is supported by Chr *passim*; Cyr II 596, III 33, VIII 1316, IX 888, X 980; Epiph II 136; Eus VI 17; Isid 797; Nil 137; Or III 285; Procop 1844; Tht II 545, IV 1393; Titus 1225.

⁹³. With E. RICHARD, *OT in Acts*, 336. He draws attention to the stylistic parallel with Ac 3:21: object, verb, subject + propositional phrase. (He prefers, however, another *Textvorlage* as a better choice for explaining the occurrences of the 2nd person plural forms here. This cannot be accepted, as ὡς ἐμέ (1st person) contradicts this theory).

⁹⁴. Also L. O'REILLY (*Word and Sign*, 116) refers to C.M. MARTINI who has already considered this possibility, but after scanning through all the existing evidence of the textual witnesses of the LXX, including the Samaritan Pentateuch, the Targum Onkelos, and 4Q 175, he had to admit that none of these differs substantially from the MT or confirms a different version. He concluded then that "The changes of which we shall speak seem, therefore, to be due entirely to the pen of Luke" (*L'esclusione*, 246-247). Contrary to this, J. DE WAARD has stated explicitly that Ac 3:22 "is probably a rendering of Dt 18,15, but not according to the MT or the LXX" (*Comparative Study*, 23), and has argued that there is a textual interrelationship between Ac 3:22-23 and a text of the type of 4Q 175. He refers also to the evidence of the Palestinian Targum tradition (especially Targum Pseudo-Jonathan and codex Neofiti 1) in comparison with Targum Onkelos (*Quotation from Deuteronomy*, 538-9).

This transposition is probably better explained in terms of the function of this stylistic change within the context, and that is that "prophet" is placed here in an emphatic position.

a.2 Pronoun changes and a.3 the transposition of ὑμῶν

Three times in the first sentence of the quoted text, the second person singular pronoun of the LXX reading (σου-σοι-σου) is substituted by the second person plural pronoun in Ac 3:22 (ὑμῶν-ὑμῶν-ὑμῶν). The same changes occur again in Ac 7:37 (except that the second of these three instances is omitted). *The first* of these is not only substituted in the NT, but also transposed from its original position in the LXX. This is the dative plural ὑμῶν, which appears before the verb as the second quoted word in Ac 3:22. It is a substitution of the dative singular σοι, which appears after the verb as the ninth word in the sentence of Dt 18:15 (LXX). No existing NT textual witness proposes any another reading, and the reading of the NT text can thus be accepted without any doubt at this specific point. Similarly, the NT change receives no support from any major LXX witness. There is, however, as noted above, the later adaptation of the NT text reading by the Church Fathers.⁹⁵ The dative plural form (3rd person) is to be found in Dt 18:18 (προφήτην ἀναστήσω αὐτοῖς) and might have influenced this change between Dt 18:15 and Ac 3:22. The change plays an important role in the broader context.⁹⁶ In the *second instance*, the LXX genitive singular σου (in the phrase, κύριος ὁ θεός σου, Dt 18:15), is substituted in Ac 3:22 in the same phrase by the genitive plural ὑμῶν. The NT change is again supported by some minor LXX witnesses of a late date,⁹⁷ which probably adapted to the reading of the NT. Also in the *third instance*, the other LXX genitive singular σου (in the phrase ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν σου ὡς ἐμέ, Dt 18:15), is substituted in the same phrase in the NT also by the genitive plural ὑμῶν. Exactly the same situation appears here, as was the case with the above mentioned changes, in relation to the LXX witnesses which support the changed reading of the NT.⁹⁸ The genitive plural form (3rd person) is again to be found in Dt 18:18 (ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτῶν ὡς περ σέ...), which might have influenced the change between Dt 18:15 and Ac 3:22.

Despite the scarcity of LXX textual support for the changed NT readings, there are scholars who don't want to exclude the possibility that these changes were already to be found in the exact reading of Luke's *Textvorlage*.⁹⁹ This cannot be accepted, and

⁹⁵ Cf. Or VI 622.

⁹⁶ Cf. M. RESE: "...das Zitat trifft die angeredeten Israeliten in dieser Form sehr viel unmittelbarer. Es liegt nahe, den Grund für diese Änderung in dem Bestreben zu finden, das Zitat an die Situation der Rede anzupassen" (*Motive*, 67). L. O'REILLY has quite rightly pointed out that this transposed pronoun is now standing in an emphatic position (*Word and Sign*, 115).

⁹⁷ Supported by 121 68^a 407; Eus VI 96,100; Or VI 622; Arm^{ap} = Tar^P.

⁹⁸ Supported by Eus VI 100; Or VI 622 = Tar^P.

⁹⁹ Cf. here E. RICHARD, (*Acts 6:1-8:4: The Author's Method of Composition* (SBLDS 41), Missoula 1978, 109-110). So also in his article: "...it is more likely that the author employed a text which read the plural" (*OT in Acts*, 336).

the changes are easily explained within the context of this speech itself. It must be noted that Peter's hearers are addressed in the second person plural. He talks with the people (πρὸς τὸν λαόν, Ac 3:12), whom he addresses as "Israelite brothers" (ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλίται, V.12), and refers to them several times in his speech with the second person plural pronoun: ὑμεῖς μὲν (V.13), ὑμεῖς δέ (V.14), ὑμῖν (V.14), πάντων ὑμῶν (V.16), ὑμῶν (V.17), ὑμῶν (V.19), ὑμῖν (V.20), ὑμῖν (V.22), ὑμῶν (V.22), ὑμῶν (V.22), πρὸς ὑμᾶς (V.22), ὑμεῖς ἐστέ (V.25), ὑμῶν (V.25), ὑμῖν πρῶτον (V.26), ὑμᾶς (V.26), ὑμῶν (V.26). Seen from this contextual viewpoint, the three changes in V.22-23 are compatible with the hearers, or subjects, who are addressed.¹⁰⁰ The transposition of the first (ὑμῖν) in V.22 to its emphatic position, is understandable in the light of the same emphatic trend in V.25 and V.26.

a.4 Addition: πρὸς ὑμᾶς

There is no reason to doubt the reading of the NT at this point, as none of the NT textual witnesses omits these words. Likewise, they are not included by any of the LXX witnesses. Thus, their occurrence in Ac must be attributed to the work of the NT author. The author may have included the words between the quoted phrases from Dt and Lv, with the same purpose as mentioned above, i.e. to be consistent with the addressing nature of the speech, and to emphasize this point by way of the three changes to the second person plural pronoun (V.22), as well as to include the pronoun here again.¹⁰¹

a.5 Omission of Dt 18:16-19

The quoted text from Dt 18:15-20 breaks off at the beginning of Dt 18:16 and picks up again at the end of Dt 18:19 with a brief phraseological reference. The Dt content of this omitted section does not fit the new context of this speech in Ac at all, and its exclusion thus makes sense here.

(b) Textual differences: Ac 3:23 and Dt 18:19(LXX)

It is generally accepted by scholars that V.23 is based on Lv 23:29 (LXX), with phrases taken also from Dt 18:16,19 (LXX). This seems acceptable on the basis of the syntactical similarities between these phrases. Only three major changes appear in the remaining comparative material with Dt 18:19: (1) The words ἔσται δέ seems to be added in Ac 3:23;¹⁰² (2) the ὁ προφήτης of Dt 18:19 may have been substituted by τοῦ προφήτου ἐκείνου in Ac 3:23 and transposed from its original position in the sentence; and (3) the ἄν μὴ ἀκούσῃ of the LXX reading is transposed in Ac (reading ἐὰν...).

¹⁰⁰. So also C.M. MARTINI, *L'esclusione*, 246-8; L. O'REILLY, *Word and Sign*, 115; D.L. BOCK, *Proclamation*, 191.

¹⁰¹. So also M. RESE, *Motive*, 67.

¹⁰². This is not indicated in the print of NA26.

b.1 Addition: ἔσται δέ

No textual support for the omission of these words is found among the NT witnesses, nor do the LXX witnesses support their inclusion. The NT reading can thus be accepted as it is, and the addition be ascribed to Luke. Interesting here is the similarity between this ἔσται with that which was found in the J1-quotation (Ac 2:17,21).¹⁰³ Although the possibility of influence from Ac 2 (J1-quotation) cannot be excluded at all here, it must be noted that ἔσται is used frequently in the LXX — especially in Dt, where it is combined with the curses linked with disobedience to the laws!¹⁰⁴ Some broader knowledge of Dt (and/or the Torah) could have played a role here.

b.2 Substitution and transposition: τοῦ προφήτου ἐκείνου

Without the alternative reading in Dt 18:19, supported by some LXX witnesses, the phrase, ὁ προφήτης ἐκεῖνος, is to be found both in Dt 18:20 and 18:22. This might have found its way (in the genitive) into Ac 3:23 during Luke's compilation and paraphrasing of Dt 18:15-20/22.¹⁰⁵ Interesting is also the similarity between 4QTest (11Q17) and the LXX reading of ὁ προφήτης (ἐκεῖνος).¹⁰⁶

b.3 Transposition: ἂν /ἐὰν μὴ ἀκούσῃ

There is no textual support from any LXX witness for this transposition as it occurs in Ac. The transposition should be seen as part of the author's process to compile a single quotation from the quoted phrases.

(c) Textual differences: Ac 3:23 and Lv 23:29(LXX)

The phrases πᾶσα ψυχὴ ἴτις...ἐξολεθρευθήσεται ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ in Ac 3:23 resemble Lv 23:29,¹⁰⁷ while μὴ ταπεινωθήσεται ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ and the final word, αὐτῆς, were excluded from Lv 23:29 during the quoting process. There is no support from any LXX witness in favour of these changes. They can therefore also be relatively safely be ascribed to Luke's hand as being part of his process of compiling one combined quotation.

One thing, however, still remains in question: How does Lv 23:29 fit into this context? What is its relation with Dt 18:15-20 and how did Luke (or his tradition) come to it?

¹⁰³ Cf. also M.RESE, *Motive*, 67.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Dt 28:15,23,26,29,31,44,46,63,66,68; 30:1 (cf. here the context of ch 30!); 31:17,21,26; 32:20.

¹⁰⁵ Contrary to D.L. BOCK, *Proclamation*, 192.

¹⁰⁶ Also J. DE WAARD, who said that this is "...an obvious evidence of the 'Septuagintal tendency' of the text tradition used by the compiler of 4Q" (*Comparative Study*, 23).

¹⁰⁷ Cf. also W.H. MARTY who suggests that this possibility offers the best explanation for all the variations in the texts (*New Moses*, 197). J.A. WAARD, *Comparative Study*, 23; and R. LONGENECKER, *Acts*, 299-300, n.22-23, hold another viewpoint, namely that Luke replaces the ἐκ δίκησιν of Dt 18:19 (LXX) with ἐξολεθρευθήσεται.

The syntactical similarities between Ac 3:23 and Lv 23:29 should not be pushed too far,¹⁰⁸ in the effort to accommodate (create?) the possible contextual connections.¹⁰⁹ A few things must be considered here: (a) the context of the words in Lv 23:29 has *no* relationship with either Dt 18:15-20 or with Ac 3;¹¹⁰ (b) the formula itself seems to be typical of the literature which deals with the obedience of God's law, and the disobedience of the laws seems to be closely linked with this curse — which is found extensively in "the OT"; (c) Luke himself may have compiled the curse here, within the framework of the nature of this law-material, which seems always to be combined with the curse. He would have done this with the help of his knowledge of the well known terminology used in the Torah, as well as with the help of the rest of the context of Dt 18(:19).

4.2.4 Method of quotation

This third Petrine speech contains several explicit references to the history contained in the Scriptures (ὁ θεὸς Ἀβραάμ καὶ ὁ θεὸς Ἰσαὰκ καὶ ὁ θεὸς Ἰακώβ, ὁ θεὸς πατέρων ἡμῶν, V.13; ἃ προκατήγγειλεν...ἐπλήρωσεν, V.18; διὰ στόματος πάντων τῶν προφητῶν, V.18; ἐλάλησεν ὁ θεὸς διὰ στόματος τῶν ἁγίων ἀπ' αἰῶνος αὐτοῦ προφητῶν, V.21; Μωϋσῆς μὲν εἶπεν, V.22; πάντες δὲ οἱ προφηταὶ ἀπὸ Σαμουὴλ καὶ τῶν καθεξῆς ὅσοι ἐλάλησαν καὶ κατήγγειλαν..., V.24; οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ διαθήκης, V.25; τοὺς πατέρας ὑμῶν, V.25; πρὸς Ἀβραάμ, V.25), as well as explicitly quoted texts. Prophetic texts on the suffering of the Christ are not explicitly mentioned, but suggested.¹¹¹ The primary text which Luke had in mind here, seems then to be that of Dt 18:15,18-19, although it is supplemented with a moral code similar to the one to be found in Lv 23:29.¹¹² The first part of the quotation is almost verbatim, the only changes being in the word order, while the second part seems to be a conflation of the rest of Dt 18:19-20/22 and a curse such as the one in Lv 23:29.¹¹³ Although this phraseological quoted text from Dt 18 is not quoted verbatim in its entirety, it is clearly apparent that it is based on the LXX.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁸ Cf. also J. DE WAARD who argued in the same direction (*Comparative Study*, 23-24).

¹⁰⁹ Cf. here, for example, the discussion by D.L. BOCK, *Proclamation*, 192-3.

¹¹⁰ Also C.M. MARTINI has recently debated this issue and denied that Ac 3:23 is a quotation from Lv 23:29 as such. According to him, the central phrase in V.23 probably comes from Dt 18:19, but the phrases at the beginning and the end of Ac 3:23, although found in Lv 23:29, are in fact stereotyped expressions frequently found elsewhere in the OT (*L'esclusione*, 249-251, as referred to by L. O'REILLY, *Word and Sign*, 115).

¹¹¹ Cf. C. SMITS who pointed to implicit reference to Is 52:13 and 53:11 (*Citaten II*, 184).

¹¹² Cf. E. HAENCHEN, *Schriftzitate*, 163; C. SMITS, *Citaten II*, 186-7; and G.D. KILPATRICK, *Some Quotations*, 86.

¹¹³ According to E. RICHARD, Luke "...modifies considerably the LXX text...to formulate his own 'OT quotation' (*OT in Acts*, 336). Cf. also T. HOLTZ, *Untersuchungen*, 71-81; M. RESE, *Motive*, 66-77; E. KRÄNKEL, *Jesus, der Knecht Gottes. Die heilsgeschichtliche Stellung Jesu in den Reden der Apostelgeschichte* (BU 8), Regensburg 1972, 198-202; K. KLIESCH, *Heilsgeschichtliche Credo*, 129; and W.H. MARTY, *New Moses*, 197.

¹¹⁴ So also G.D. KILPATRICK, *Some Quotations*, 86; G. SCHNEIDER, *App I*, 328; D. HAMM, *Peter's Speech*, 213; and H. RINGGREN, *Luke's Use*, 233. Contrary to C.H. DODD, *Scriptures*, 53; C. SMITS, *Citaten II*, 187; J. DE WAARD, *Comparative Study*, 23; and T. HOLTZ, *Untersuchungen*, 71-81 (later followed by G. SCHNEIDER, *App I*, 316), who believes that it came from a collection of testimonies. KILPATRICK's criticism of HOLTZ will suffice: "With this conclusion we may sympathize, but I cannot follow his argument in this instance. He does not seem to have demonstrated an intervening stage between the LXX and the evangelist. In principle he could have put the two

The quoted phrases were carefully selected from its original context and those in the quoted section which did not fit the new context, were omitted on contextual grounds. Stylistic changes were also made, such as the personal pronouns which were changed to fit the audience to whom this "quotation" was directed, and the transposition which placed "prophet" at the beginning, and thus in an emphatic position. The curse at the end of the compiled quotation, was probably the author's own creative construction, based on his knowledge of such curses within the wider context of the book (Dt) or part (Torah) from which he is quoting.

It is interesting that roughly the same pattern which was deployed in the first and second Petrine speeches,¹¹⁵ is also to be found here. In this instance there are (a) four themes which are touched upon (VV.12;13-18;19-20;21); (b) next, the first part of the quotation is presented as a fulfilled promise made to Moses (V.22a); (c) the last two parts of the quotation — containing the as yet unfulfilled aspects of the promise — follows, and has the nature of an appeal to the listeners (VV.22b-23); (d) the last of the four themes under (a), i.e. the argument about God's promises, is again picked up (VV.24-25a); (e) another unfulfilled quotation is presented, recalling the promise made to Abraham (V.25b); and (f) the speech is concluded with a summary of the message (V.26).

Looking especially at V.23, the possibility was mentioned that there is an apparent similarity between the way in which Luke uses Scripture here, and the *pesher* method of exegesis¹¹⁶ as found in rabbinic Judaism. One should be cautious, however, not to make connections between the exegetical methods used by rabbinic Judaism and those of the NT writers, Luke in particular. The explicit use of well known indicators (*termini technici*) for those methods are lacking to a large extent in Lk-Ac.¹¹⁷

4.2.5 Interpretation of the quotation by Luke

Ac 3:21 refers to the words of God, spoken in the distant past, through his prophets. The quoted phrases from Dt 18 are now presented as an example of such a promise of the times of restoration, as implied in the previous verses.¹¹⁸ This brings to mind Luke's presentation of Jesus' own interpretation of the Scriptures before his ascension. The first occasion is to be found in Jesus' debate with the Sadducees in connection with the resurrection of the dead (Lk 20:27-40). Jesus indicated there that *even Moses* showed that the dead will be resurrected, and referred to the passage of the bush where Moses calls the Lord the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, thereby interpreting it that they are still living, and that he is therefore the God of the living (Lk 20:37-38). The interesting point here is that this confessional

passages together and made the various changes from the LXX himself" (*Some Quotations*, 86).

¹¹⁵ Compare Ch 4, 3.2.4 "Method of quotation".

¹¹⁶ Cf. D. HAMM who says categorically that V.23 "...is a broad statement of the *pesher* hermeneutic Luke is using — the principle that all of Scripture points to these current events" (*Peter's Speech*, 213).

¹¹⁷ See for instance also D.-A. KOCH's remarks in his study on Paul, that the introductory formulae lack these indicators (*Schrift als Zeuge*, 227-230).

¹¹⁸ Cf. also D. HAMM who argues along similar lines (*Peter's Speech*, 212).

formula is interpreted by Luke in terms of the resurrection! The second occasion is after Jesus' own resurrection, before his ascension. On two different occasions In Lk 24 Jesus refers to the Scriptures, applying them to his own life. First to those on their way to Emmaus: "And beginning *with Moses and all the Prophets*, he interpreted to them in all the Scriptures the things concerning himself" (Lk 24:27). But also to the disciples: "...that everything written about me in *the law of Moses and the Prophets* and the Pss must be fulfilled" (Lk 24:44). The christological application of these phrases here in Ac 3, as well as in Stephen's speech in Ac 7:37, do then indeed fit within Luke's interpretation of Scripture.¹¹⁹ It will be reflected upon again in Ac 28:23.

The links between Ac 3 and 7 are wider than only this one shared quotation. The reference in Ac 3:13 to the covenantal God of Israel, "the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob," is also to be found in a similar form in Ac 7:32.

The Servant-of-Yahweh theme¹²⁰ is linked here with the Prophet-like-Moses theme.¹²¹ The prophet-like-Moses motif plays a prominent role here in the third Petrine speech.¹²² There might have been an expectation among some Jews and Samaritans of an eschatological prophet like Moses or Elijah.¹²³ In fact, IQS 9.11 and 4QTest 5-8 might be indications that this prophecy was already interpreted before the time of the apostles "as pointing to one particular prophet, a second Moses, who would exercise the prophet's full mediatorial function as Moses had done."¹²⁴ That Luke understood Dt 18:18 in a direct messianic sense here, is clear;¹²⁵ Jesus is that *eschatological prophet* to whom Dt 18 refers,¹²⁶ who was "raised up" by God (Ac 3:22).¹²⁷ That prophet would be divine, as God himself is

¹¹⁹ According to C.H.H. SCOBIE, these are the only two passages in early Christian literature (apart from the Pseudo-Clementines) where Dt 18:15,18 is explicitly quoted as a christological text (*Source Material*, 418).

¹²⁰ To be found in the usage of παῖς. Cf. Ac 3:13,26 and the allusion to Is 52(53):13.

¹²¹ So J.A.T. ROBINSON, *Primitive Christology*, 139; F.F. BRUCE, *Davidic Messiah*, 11; and W.H. MARTY, *New Moses*, 198.

¹²² L. O'REILLY has pointed out, based on his analysis of the chiasmic structure of Ac 3:19-26 that the phrase, ὅσα ἂν λαλήσῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς (V.22), is central. He argues that this may have been done consciously by the author, and this in turn would convey something of the importance of the prophets' (God's) words here. His conclusion is that "The word of the prophet-like-Moses is deliberately placed in the central position in the rhetorical structure and that indicates its crucial importance" (*Word and Sign*, 116). D. HAMM says: "...Jesus has been raised not only to reign as Davidic Messiah, but also to continue his mission as anointed Prophet-like-Moses now working through the leaders of 'Israel restored' (the church)" (*Peter's speech*, 200).

¹²³ So D.M. HAY who refers to: 1Mac 4:46; 14:41; IQS 9:11; 4QTest 5, with the clearest evidence to be found "of eschatological expectations of a prophet especially like Moses (whether equated with the Messiah or not) are 4QTest 4-8 and the Samaritan Taheb traditions" (Moses Through New Testament Spectacles, in: *Interpr* 64 (1990), 240-252, here 241). Also F.F. BRUCE, *Acts*, 86, following J. MACDONALD (*The Theology of the Samaritans*, London 1964) and H.-J. SCHOEPS (*Theologie und Geschichte des Judentums*, Tübingen 1949).

¹²⁴ So F.F. BRUCE, *Acts*, 86; and W.H. MARTY, *New Moses*, 191.

¹²⁵ Cf. also C. SMITS, *Citaten II*, 186.

¹²⁶ L. O'REILLY says: "Since, however, the prophecy clearly refers to Jesus, it can only mean that it is Jesus, the Eschatological Prophet, who speaks here and now in the preaching of the apostle" (*Word and Sign*, 119). So also W.H. MARTY, *New Moses*, 198-199.

¹²⁷ Cf. L. O'REILLY, *Word and Sign*, 110. W.H. MARTY highlights three features of the Mosaic Prophet motif: (a) a messiah-prophet, (b) an eschatological prophet, and (c) a resurrected prophet (*New Moses*, 198-201).

divine. Jesus could therefore be described as the "holy and just One," attributes of God himself.¹²⁸

Although the word *τύπος* is not used explicitly, the hermeneutical link is clearly that of typology.¹²⁹ The words of Moses are used to indicate that, as God raised up Moses, so also will God raise up a *prophet* like Moses.

It is interesting that although this quoted section is not part of "the Prophets" as such, Luke uses it in the same way as the prophetic material. The bridge is already made within the broader context of Dt 18:15-22. Luke finds in those words some kind of foretelling, with Moses¹³⁰ typifying himself as "a prophet" (Ac 3:22). For Luke then, Moses is a prophet, just as Joel, Isaiah and the other prophets were. This is similar to the approach which Luke followed in Peter's first speech, where he quoted from the Pss, but used the quotations as "prophecies" from David. In the second Petrine speech he explicitly calls David "a prophet" (Ac 2:30), and again quotes from the Pss, treating the quoted passages as prophecies.

In the context of Dt 18:15-22, the people are also clearly warned against false prophets. The proof is given in Dt 18:22: If a prophet announced something in the name of the Lord and it did not happen, then it was not the Lord who had spoken to that prophet. The fact that the lame man could have been raised by Peter and John, proved that Christ was raised. Thus the prophecy has come true, and is confirmed as being the words of God himself.

An important question which arises here, is whether this motif of "the Mosaic eschatological prophet" was a pre-Lukan concept which was passed on as early church tradition,¹³¹ or whether it was Luke himself who applied the concept to Jesus.¹³² Although there are many references to Moses to be found in the NT, nowhere else is Jesus explicitly referred to as "the prophet like Moses".¹³³

This speech seems to be important in terms of the development in the theology which was based on concepts from the Scriptures. Although a link is

¹²⁸ C. SMITS refers to Is 6:3 and Dn 9:7, in comparison with Is 53:11 and Jer 23:5 where these attributes of God are seen also as attributes of the Messiah (*Citizen II*, 184-185).

¹²⁹ So also H. CONZELMANN, *Apg*, 41; W.H. MARTY, *New Moses*, 198; D. HAMM, *Peter's Speech*, 215.

¹³⁰ See Dt 10:10 which introduces what follows as the words of Moses. But it is also confirmed by God himself in Dt 18:17-22 with regard to the prophet who will come.

¹³¹ See D.M. HAY, *Moses Through New Testament Spectacles*, *Interpr* 64 (1990), 240-252, here 242, who refers, in turn, to H. CONZELMANN, *The Theology of St Luke*, London 1960, 166-7; and J.A.T. ROBINSON, *Twelve New Testament Studies*, London 1962, 150-151.

¹³² So D.M. HAY, *Moses*, 242. Cf. also D.P. MOESSNER, *Lord of the Banquet: The Literary and Theological Significance of the Lukan Travel Narrative*, Minneapolis 1989, 56-70, 259-284; and P.F. FEILER, *Jesus the Prophet: The Lukan Portrayal of Jesus as the Prophet like Moses*, PhD.Diss., Princeton Theological Seminary 1986.

¹³³ So also D.M. HAY, *Moses*, 242-3. Although W.A. MEEKS has referred to passages such as Jn 4:19-29; 6:14-15 and 7:25-52, containing allusions to the idea of "a prophet like Moses," the line of thought in those passages is simply that of "Jesus as Prophet". There are no explicit indications that it is Moses in particular who is being referred to in those passages (*The Prophet-King: Moses Traditions and the Johannine Christology*, Leiden 1967, 319). See also the remarks of D.M. HAY, *Moses*, 243-244 on this, and W.H. MARTY, who stated that Ac "contains the most explicit references to Christ as the second Moses in the New Testament" (*New Moses*, 181).

established between the messianic time and the time of the parousia, it is clear that not all that the prophets had foretold, had happened yet.¹³⁴

4.3 The quoted text from *Gn 22:18/26:4* (*Ac 3:25*)

Scholars differ in their identification of the quotation in *Ac 3:25*. Some relate it to *Gn 12:3* (28:14), while others trace it back to *Gn 22:18* (26:4). Similarities between the latter and the quoted text in *Ac 3:25* seem to be greater than in the former case.¹³⁵

4.3.1 *Pre-Lukan NT usage of the quotation*

This text was already quoted before Luke's time in Paul's letter to the Galatians (*ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν σοὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, Gl 3:8*)¹³⁶ with its relation to 3:16 (*καὶ τῷ σπέρματί σου*).¹³⁷ It seems then to be known by the early Christians within the context of God's promise to Abraham. That Luke has taken this from *Gl* seems unprovable. The fact that it is quoted here in *Ac 3* by the mouth of Peter, and in *Gl 3* by Paul, is but one piece of evidence against a Lukan adoption of the *Gl*-text. What seems clear is that this promise of God was well known to the early Christians, and it could have been quoted and/or referred to on several occasions; differences in wording are thus to be expected.

4.3.2 *The introductory formula (Ac 3:25)*

The introductory formula flows out of the statement that the audience "are the children of the prophets and of the covenant which God has made with their fathers, by saying to Abraham" (*λέγων πρὸς Ἀβραάμ*). The quotation which follows hereafter is then intended to be the wording of that age old promise of the covenantal God to Abraham.

¹³⁴ Cf. C. SMITS, *Citaten II*, 187.

¹³⁵ The latter is also preferred by NA26; and, with qualifications, by E. HAENCHEN, *Schriftzitate*, 165; H. CONZELMANN, *ApG*, 41; B.M. NEWMAN & E.A. NIDA, *Translator's Handbook*, 87; M. RESE, *Motive*, 73; G. LÜDEMANN, *Christentum*, 58; G. SCHNEIDER, *ApG I*, 329,n.126; D.L. BOCK, *Proclamation*, 195; and C.K. BARRETT, *Luke/Acts*, 238.

¹³⁶ So also K. KLIESCH, *Credo*, 130; and D.-A. KOCH, *Schrift als Zeuge*, 162f.

¹³⁷ Cf. D.-A. KOCH's comments (*Schrift als Zeuge*, 222) on J. JEREMIAS' identification of the exegetical rules of Hillel in the letters of Paul (Paulus als Hillelit, in: E.E. ELLIS & M. WILCOX (eds), *Neotestamentica et Semitica. Studies in Honour of Matthew Black*, Edinburgh 1969, 88-94). In this instance JEREMIAS identifies the 6th rule of Hillel in *Gl 3:16*: "Pls verwende hier *Gen 22,18*, nachdem er in *Gal 3,8* die ähnliche Stelle *Gen 12,3* zitiert hat. Doch setzt Pls in *Gal 3,16*... τῷ Ἀβραάμ (bzw. σοὶ) καὶ(!) τῷ σπέρματί σου als Zitatwortlaut voraus, also nicht die Segensankündigung von *Gen 22,18* (bzw. 26,4), die tatsächlich mit *Gen 12,3* verwandt ist, sondern die Landverheißung von *Gen 13,15* (πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν...σοὶ δώσω αὐτήν καὶ τῷ σπέρματί σου) bzw. 17,8 oder 24,7 (D.-A. KOCH, *Schrift als Zeuge*, 222). See also G. LÜDEMANN: "Folgende Erklärungen dieses Befundes sind denkbar: 1. Paulus und Lukas gehen unabhängig voneinander auf eine Tradition zurück; 2. Lukas benutzt eine Tradition des Paulinischen Missionsbereiches, die auf *Gal 3,16* zurückgeht" (*Christentum*, 60).

4.3.3 *Determining and explaining the textual differences*

Ac 3:25	Gn 22:18	Gn 26:4	Gn 22:18	Gn 26:4
καὶ	καὶ	καὶ		
	ἐνευλογη-	ἐνευλογη-		
	θήσονται	θήσονται		
ἐν τῷ	ἐν τῷ	ἐν τῷ	נהנהנה	נהנהנה
σπέρματί	σπέρματί	σπέρματί		
σου	σου	σου		
ἐνευλογη-			נהנהנה	נהנהנה
θήσονται				
πᾶσαι αἱ	πάντα τὰ	πάντα τὰ		
πατριαὶ	ἔθνη	ἔθνη	נהנהנה	:נהנהנה
τῆς γῆς	τῆς γῆς	τῆς γῆς		

(a) *Textual differences: Ac 3:25 and Gn 22:18 / 26:4*

There are two major changes between the text of Ac and that of the LXX to be found: 1 transposition (ἐνευλογηθήσονται is moved after ἐν τῷ σπέρματί σου in Ac 3:25),¹³⁸ and 1 substitution (πάντα τὰ ἔθνη becomes πᾶσαι αἱ πατριαὶ in Ac 3:25).

a.1 *Transposition: ἐνευλογηθήσονται*

None of the existing NT textual witnesses supports the order as found in the reading of the LXX, which is reflexive. They do, however, differ on alternatives with regard to the word ἐνευλογηθήσονται.¹³⁹ There is also no support from the LXX textual witnesses in favour of the Ac-reading, which is passivistic. This makes it possible that the existing changes in Ac are due to the hand of the author or the specific tradition (of which there exists no written proof today) from which the author has taken this quotation.

The function, or result, of the transposition is that the phrase, ἐν τῷ σπέρματί σου, is emphasized within its new context.¹⁴⁰ Bearing in mind the context of this verse in which the audience are told that they are "the sons" (οἱ υἱοὶ) of the prophets and the covenant, and that it was made to their "fathers" (τοὺς πατέρας ὑμῶν), the transpositional change to emphasize ἐν τῷ σπέρματί σου, makes good sense. This audience consists of the descendants (the "seed") of Abraham to whom the promise was made. That ancient promise is thus going to be fulfilled in them.

¹³⁸ D.L. BOCK calls this an "inversion" (*Proclamation*, 175).

¹³⁹ Alternatives are the following: (a) A* B Ψ 323.945 pc = εὐλογηθήσεται; (b) C = ἐνευλογηθήσεται; (c) P⁷⁴ N A^c D E 0165 M = ἐνευλογηθήσονται. Note that codex D also agrees with this reading.

¹⁴⁰ So also D.L. BOCK, *Proclamation*, 195.

a.2 Substitution:

πάντα τὰ ἔθνη (LXX) —> πᾶσαι αἱ πατριάι (Ac)

There is no evidence of any NT textual witness supporting the reading as found in the LXX, and also no LXX textual support for the reading in Ac. So this alternative reading too might thus be ascribed to the hand of the author and/or his tradition (of which no written evidence exists).

Some have suggested the influence of Ps 21:18,¹⁴¹ Ps 21(22):28¹⁴² or an independent non-LXX tradition behind this change.¹⁴³ If it is accepted that this speech was addressed to *Jews*, and that τὰ ἔθνη means the *Gentiles* in Ac, the change makes sense.¹⁴⁴

4.3.4 Method of quotation

Although some scholars have taken Gn 12:3 as *locus* for the phrase πᾶσαι αἱ πατριάι τῆς γῆς in the quotation,¹⁴⁵ this is doubtful.¹⁴⁶ Gn 12:3 is however, also to be found again in the identical wording (LXX and MT) repeated in Gn 28:14.¹⁴⁷ It is not clear if this quotation was taken from the LXX or from the Hebrew.¹⁴⁸ The verb ἐνευλογεῖν points to the first (LXX),¹⁴⁹ but the word order points to the latter (MT).

This might be a so-called "free quotation",¹⁵⁰ i.e. meant to be an explicit quotation with an introductory formula,¹⁵¹ but probably not copied from a written

¹⁴¹ Cf. E. HAENCHEN, *Schriftzitate*, 165.

¹⁴² So M. RESE, *Motive*, 73; and H. CONZELMANN, *App.*, 41.

¹⁴³ So D.L. BOCK, *Proclamation*, 196,358-359.

¹⁴⁴ So seen by G. LÜDEMANN: "Der Ausdruck *patriai* schließt dagegen die Juden mit ein. Ihnen gilt ja, wie *proton* 3,26 zeigt, in besonderer Weise der Segen. Lukas hat damit das Zitat dem Kontext der Petruspredigt an Juden angepaßt" (*Christentum*, 58). See also M. RESE, *Motive*, 73.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. for instance E. HAENCHEN, *Schriftzitate*, 165; E. KRÄNKEL, *Knecht Gottes*, 201; E. PLÜMACHER, *Lukas*, 44; and H. RINGGREN, *Luke's Use*, 233. In the words of K. KLIESCH, if Gn 12:3 is taken as the basis here, "...dann wurde aus christologischen Motiven heraus ἐν τῷ σπέρματι σου aus Gn 22,18 (26,4) für ἐν σοι betont an den Anfang gestellt und φυλαί durch πατριάι ausgewechselt" (*Credo*, 130).

¹⁴⁶ So convincingly argued by M. RESE, *Motive*, 71-73; and K. KLIESCH, *Heilsgeschichtliche Credo*, 130. The latter says: "Denkt man jedoch an Gen 22,18 als Grundlage, so wäre ἐν τῷ σπέρματι σου einfach betont vorangestellt und τὰ ἔθνη durch πατριάι ersetzt, um die Juden in die Verheißung einbeziehen zu können" (*Credo*, 130). See also D. HAMM, *Peter's Speech*, 213.

¹⁴⁷ So also D.-A. KOCH: "Nur hier ist die Verheißung als direkte Rede gestaltet, jedoch ist jeweils vom Segen für πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαί τῆς γῆς die Rede. In den sekundären Aufnahmen dieser Verheißung in 18,18; 22,18 und 26,4 heißt es zwar jeweils πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τῆς γῆς, doch fehlt die direkte Anrede (18,18: ἐν αὐτῷ) bzw. ist die Segensankündigung mit der Nachkommenschaft Abrahams verbunden (22,18 und 26,4: ἐν τῷ σπέρματι σου). Die LXX entspricht damit jeweils wörtlich dem MT (*Schrift als Zeuge*, 162,n.7).

¹⁴⁸ So also B.M. NEWMAN & E.A. NIDA, *Translator's Handbook*, 87. Contrary to G. LÜDEMANN, *Christentum*, 60, who thinks that it is "an der LXX orientiert".

¹⁴⁹ So also H. RINGGREN, *Luke's Use*, 233.

¹⁵⁰ So indexed by W.K.L. CLARKE, *Use of the Septuagint*, 88,90. E. HAENCHEN labelled it a "Mischzitat" (*Schriftzitate*, 165).

¹⁵¹ C.K. BARRETT says that the verse is "virtually a quotation, and the introductory words,...are virtually a citation formula" (*Luke/Acts*, 238).

Texvorlage, but rather from memory and/or oral tradition.¹⁵² Or it was meant to be a conflated quotation, combining Gn 22:18 and 26:4, as was done in Ac 3:23 with Dt 18:19 and Lv 23:29.¹⁵³

Compare the interesting notion in Lk 20:37-38 where Luke deals with the resurrection as attested by Moses, plus the quotation "the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob". This is linked in Lk 20:41f with the sonship of David. A similar pattern is to be found here.

4.3.5 Interpretation of the quotation by Luke

The application of the quotation is made at the end of the speech. It clearly fits in with God's salvation history which featured prominently in the rest of the speech. With the audience being clearly reminded that they are the descendants of those fathers to whom God's promises were made, and that these promises are fulfilled in their (the listeners') generation, this quotation is used to appeal to their conscience that Christ was sent to them in order to bless them, and to turn them from their wickedness.

It has been proposed that ἐνευλογηθήσονται should be understood as reflexive and not as passive.¹⁵⁴ Also the πρῶτον in V.26 clearly suggests that the circle is wider than the Jews alone.¹⁵⁵ However, Luke probably consciously changed the ἔθνη to πατριά. This was probably done either to include the Jews¹⁵⁶ (to whom this speech seems explicitly to be addressed), or because Luke could not refer explicitly to the Gentiles, as did Gn 22:18, without a clear reference to the gentile mission, which at this stage in the story still lies in the future.¹⁵⁷ Luke interprets the promise to Abraham in Gn 22:18 as being fulfilled through this opportunity for conversion of the hearers of Peter's message.¹⁵⁸

The final question to be answered, is then if the quotations in this speech is to be understood as "christological",¹⁵⁹ as "eschatological",¹⁶⁰ or both? This quotation

¹⁵² See also C. SMITS, *Citaten II*, 187, who thinks along the same lines.

¹⁵³ So also W.H. MARTY, *New Moses*, 197.

¹⁵⁴ So E. HAENCHEN, *Schriftzitate*, 166: "Ihrem eigentlichen Sinn nach wollten die alttestamentlichen Stellen sagen: Die Heiden werden in Abrahams Nachkommen die höchste Möglichkeit des Gesegnets erblicken und darum sich segnen mit dem Wunsch: Möchtest du so gesegnet sein wie Abraham!"

¹⁵⁵ So also E. HAENCHEN, *Schriftzitate*, 166.

¹⁵⁶ So, for example, N. DAHL (The Story of Abraham in Luke-Acts, in: L.E. KECK and J.L. MARTYN (eds), *Studies in Luke-Acts*, Nashville 1966, 139-158); and D. HAMM (*Peter's Speech*, 214). For C. SMITS this implies Jews as well as Gentiles. He considers the possibility that Ps 21:28 could have played a role here (*Citaten II*, 187). However, as with Gn 12:3, there is no evidence that Ps 21:28 has had any influence here.

¹⁵⁷ So E. HAENCHEN, *Schriftzitate*, 166.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. also D. HAMM, for the same line of thinking: "...the fulfillment of that Abrahamic covenant is given final explicitness — it is interpreted as the conversion now offered to all, first to those of Israel who show themselves to be the authentic people of God by accepting the Messiah, then those Gentiles who allow themselves to be included in the end-time restoration of Israel by embracing its Christ" (*Peter's Speech*, 214).

¹⁵⁹ So D.L. BOCK, *Proclamation*, 197; Cf. also C.H.H. SCOBIE, *Source Material*, 418. M. RESE links only the last quotation to the christology (*Motive*, 75).

¹⁶⁰ So convincingly argued by C.K. BARRETT, *Faith and Eschatology*, 4. Also along similar lines on the combined quotation in Ac 3:22-23, M RESE, *Motive*, 71.

from Gn 22:18 points to the present and future. It is not only used to state that this generation will be blessed, but, within the context of the preceding quoted texts, demands the acceptance of Jesus as that fulfillment of God's promises. That is the prerequisite for this blessing. This is confirmed by especially V.23. The emphasis is thus rather on the eschatological dimension,¹⁶¹ than on the christology. This in turn, is confirmed by the implied promise of Jesus' second coming in V.21. They are thus living currently in the "moment of the refreshing times" until all which was promised has been fulfilled, and then they will experience the moment in time when Jesus will come again.

5. SUMMARY

5.1 The first Petrine speech quotes from the scroll of the Pss, the second from that of the 12P and the Pss, and now this third one from the remaining part of Scripture, the Torah.

5.2 The authoritative nature of these Scriptures stands out, "being the Word of God spoken by his Spirit through the prophets".

5.3 The promises made to David, Joel, Moses and Abraham are recalled in these three Petrine speeches. The mediatory role of prophets plays an important part here.

5.4 The fulfillment of God's words spoken by these prophets and Scriptures, cannot be prevented. It *has* to happen, whether it be the betrayal of Jesus by Judas, his rejection by the Israelites (Jerusalemites) and their leaders, or the suffering of Christ and his resurrection.

5.5 Very few of the changes between the readings of these quotations in Ac and the existing textual witnesses of the LXX are attributable to another *Textvorlage*. Most of the changes are stylistic changes to adapt the quoted text to its new context. The majority of these changes are theologically motivated from the hermeneutical framework of the author.

5.6 Certain elements of the *Jesus-kerygma* are found repeated in all three Petrine speeches: the rejection of Jesus (Ac 1:16; 2:36; 3:13-14); his suffering (Ac 1:22; 2:23; 3:13-15) and resurrection (Ac 1:22; 2:24,31,32; 3:15). Some elements are only to be found in the first two speeches, e.g. Jesus as κύριος (Ac 1:21; 2:36); while others are only found in the last two of these three Petrine speeches (so-called missionary speeches).

5.7 The disciples as *witnesses* of Jesus' life and resurrection are to be found in all three speeches (Ac 1:21-22; 2:32; 3:15).

¹⁶¹Cf. G. LÜDEMANN on V.20: "Resultat der Umkehr ist Vollendung in der Parusie Jesu" (*Christentum*, 58). Also D.L. BOCK: "The peculiarities of this speech centre on their Pentateuchal emphasis and the explicit emphasis on Jesus' return, elements which reflect a strongly Jewish context and an eschatological emphasis that is found in the earliest writings of Paul as well as the Gospel's apocalyptic discourses" (*Proclamation*, 197).

CHAPTER 6

PAUL'S FIRST SPEECH (Acts 13:16-41/48)

1. THE BROADER CONTEXT AND BACKGROUND

The extensive scrutiny and discussion to which the second Petrine speech (Ac 2:14-41) has been subjected has been noted in Ch 4; it has been viewed from many different perspectives, and with different purposes in mind. The same close attention has been applied to this first Pauline speech (Ac 13:16-41),¹ and the trilogy of quotations (VV.33-35) in particular, has exercised the imagination of scholars!

Like the Petrine speeches, this speech is today, fairly generally accepted as the creative and compilatory work of Luke himself.² This current stage has not, however, been reached without questions being asked about whether the speech as a whole, or parts of it which were taken from tradition, were formed by Luke.³ Attention has already been drawn to the similarities between Ac 2:14-41 and 13:16-41. When the focus falls specifically on the explicit quotations in these two speeches, it is interesting to notice that (a) Ps 15(16):10 is found here again, as well as (b) a quotation from the *duodecim prophetae*. The fact that both speeches quote from both the collections of the 12P and of the Pss, is also noteworthy.

Ac 13:14 states explicitly that this speech was delivered by Paul in the Jewish synagogue⁴ in Antioch, in the province of Pisidia. This occurred on the sabbath, after the readings from the Law and the Prophets had taken place (13:15).⁵ Paul is seen here as a rhetor, but in contrast to the Jewish tradition of sitting in the

¹. Compare, for instance, the works of E. LÖVESTAM (1961), M.F.-J. BUSS (1980) and B.J. KOET (1989).

². So also A. WEISER (*Apg II*, 328-329) who has argued convincingly in this direction, and C. BREYTENBACH, *Mit Paulus und Barnabas in Galatien. Studien zu Apostelgeschichte 13f.; 16, 16, 18, 23 und Gal 1, 2 und 3, 1*, (yet unpublished) 1993/4, 27. On the basis of Ac 13:15f which forms the scenic narrative frame of the speech, and Ac 13:42f which describes the reaction to the speech, BREYTENBACH says that "Diese beiden Textteile können kaum unabhängig von der Rede existiert haben. Daher wird man annehmen müssen, daß zumindest Apg 13, 14c-42 in dieser Form von Lukas komponiert wurde" (*Paulus und Barnabas*, 27).

³. Cf. U. WILCKENS, *Missionsreden*, 55; and W.H. BATES, *Note*, 8.

⁴. According to A. WEISER, this is Paul's only speech addressed to Jews (*Apg II*, 323).

⁵. Compare J.W. DOEVE, *Jewish Hermeneutics*; J.W. BOWKER, *Speeches*, 96-111; D. GOLDSMITH, *Peshar*, 321-324; E.E. ELLIS, *Midraschartige Züge*, 94-104; M. DUMAIS, *Le langage de l'évangélisation. L'annonce missionnaire en milieu juif (Actes 13, 16-41)*, Tournai/Montréal 1976; and D.L. BOCK, *Proclamation*, 241. The above scholars work from the basis of the quotations, and compare the form of the speech to be on a par with that of a Jewish synagogue homily, especially a Proemium homily based on peshar-midrash. They use 4QFlor 1, 1-16 as a comparative example. The reading from the Torah (*Seder*) would have come then from Dt 4:25-46 and the reading from the Prophets (*Haphtarah*) from 2 Ki(Sm) 7:6-16 (so A. WEISER, *Apg II*, 323).

synagogue,⁶ he stood up and began his speech like the Greek orators did.⁷

2. OVERVIEW OF THE TEXT OF THE SPEECH⁸

16 ἀναστὰς δὲ Παῦλος καὶ κατασεΐσας τῇ χειρὶ εἶπεν·

Section I: Summary of the salvation history of the clected Israel and emphasis on God's promise to them (13:16-25)

* Ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλῖται καὶ οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν, ἀκούσατε.

- 17 ὁ θεὸς τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου Ἰσραὴλ ἐξελέξατο τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν,
καὶ τὸν λαὸν ὕψωσεν ἐν τῇ παροικίᾳ ἐν γῇ Αἰγύπτου,
καὶ μετὰ βραχίονος ὑψηλοῦ ἐξήγαγεν αὐτοὺς ἐξ αὐτῆς,
18 καὶ ὡς τεσσαρεκονταετῆ χρόνου ἐτροποφόρησεν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ,
19 καὶ καθελῶν ἔθνη ἐπὶ τὰ ἐν γῇ Χανάν κατακληρονόμησεν τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν
20 ὡς ἔτεσιν τετρακοσίοις καὶ πεντήκοντα
καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἔδωκεν κριτὰς ἕως Σαμουὴλ (τοῦ) προφήτου.
21 κάκειθεν ἠτήσαντο βασιλέα, καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς τὸν Σαοὺλ υἱὸν
Κίς, ἄνδρα ἐκ φυλῆς Βενιαμὴν, ἔτη τεσσαεράκοντα.
22 καὶ μεταστῆσας αὐτὸν ἠγειρεν τὸν Δαυὶδ αὐτοῖς εἰς βασιλέα,
ὃς καὶ εἶπεν μαρτυρήσας,
Εὗρον Δαυὶδ τὸν τοῦ Ἰεσσαὶ, ἄνδρα κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν μου,
ὃς ποιήσει πάντα τὰ θελημάτά μου.
23 τούτου ὁ θεὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ σπέρματος κατ' ἐπαγγελίαν ἤγαγεν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ
σωτῆρα Ἰησοῦν,
24 προκηρύξαντος Ἰωάννου πρὸ προσώπου τῆς εἰσόδου αὐτοῦ
βάπτισμα μετανοίας παντὶ τῷ λαῷ Ἰσραὴλ.
25 ὡς δὲ ἐπλήρου Ἰωάννης τὸν δρόμον, ἔλεγεν·
Τί ἐμὲ ὑπονοεῖτε εἶναι: οὐκ εἰμὶ ἐγώ· ἀλλ' ἰδοὺ ἔρχεται μετ'
ἐμὲ οὗ οὐκ εἰμὶ ἄξιος τὸ ὑπόδημα τῶν ποδῶν λῦσαι.

Section II: Interpretation of the life of Jesus until his resurrection
(Jesus-kerygma), i.e. the message of salvation (ὁ λόγος τῆς σωτηρίας) (13:26-31)

- 26 * Ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί,
υἱοὶ γένους Ἀβραάμ καὶ οἱ ἐν ὑμῖν φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν,

⁶. See also Lk 4:20. Cf. H. CONZELMANN, *Apog.*, 83; and B.M. NEWMANN & E.A. NIDA, *Translator's Handbook*, 252.

⁷. With regard to κατασεΐσας τῇ χειρὶ, cf. also Ac 12:17; 19:33 and 21:40; Polybius I 78,3; *JosAnt* IV 323; VIII 275 (G. SCHNEIDER, *Apog. II*, 131). Also H. CONZELMANN who refers to Philo Spec Leg II 62 (*Apog.*, 83). With regard to "standing", cf. also Ac 1:15; 2:14; 5:34; 15:7; 17:22; 21:40.

⁸See J.J. KILGALLEN for an overview of different alternative divisions of this speech (Acts 13,38-39: Culmination of Paul's Speech in Pisidia, in: *Bib* 69 (1988), 480-506, here 485-486).

- ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος τῆς σωτηρίας ταύτης ἐξαπεστάλη.
- 27 οἱ γὰρ κατοικοῦντες ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες αὐτῶν
τούτου ἀγνοήσαυτες καὶ τὰς φωνὰς τῶν προφητῶν τὰς κατὰ πᾶν σάββατον
ἀναγινωσκόμενας κρίναντες ἐπλήρωσαν,
- 28 καὶ μηδεμίαν αἰτίαν θανάτου εὑρόντες
ἠτήσαντο Πιλάτου ἀναβεθῆναι αὐτόν·
- 29 ὡς δὲ ἐτέλεσαν πάντα τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένα,
καθελόντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου ἔθηκαν εἰς μνημεῖον.
- 30 ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἤγειρεν αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν·
- 31 ὃς ὥφθη ἐπὶ ἡμέρας πλείους τοῖς συναναβῶσιν αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας
εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ, οἵτινες (ὡς) εἰσιν μάρτυρες αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν λαόν.

**Section III: Contents of the message (gospel) and three quoted texts
(13:32-37)**

- 32 καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑμᾶς εὐαγγελιζόμεθα τὴν πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ἐπαγγελίαν
γενομένην,
- 33 ὅτι ταύτην ὁ θεὸς ἐκπεπλήρωκεν τοῖς τέκνοις [αὐτῶν] ἡμῖν
ἀναστήσας Ἰησοῦν,
ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ ψαλμῷ γέγραπται τῷ δευτέρῳ,
Υἱός μου εἶ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε.
- 34 ὅτι δὲ ἀνέστησεν αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν μηκέτι μέλλοντα ὑποστρέφειν εἰς
διαφθοράν, οὕτως εἶρηκεν ὅτι
Δώσω ὑμῖν τὰ ὅσια Δαυὶδ τὰ πιστά.
- 35 διότι καὶ ἐν ἑτέρῳ λέγει
Οὐ δώσεις τὸν ὄσιόν σου ἰδεῖν διαφθοράν.
- 36 Δαυὶδ μὲν γὰρ ἰδίᾳ γενεᾷ ὑπηρετήσας τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ βουλῇ ἐκοιμήθη
καὶ προσετέθη πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶδεν διαφθοράν,
- 37 ὃν δὲ ὁ θεὸς ἤγειρεν, οὐκ εἶδεν διαφθοράν.

**Section IV: Interpretation of the contents of the message and admonition
(13:38-41)**

- 38 γνωστὸν οὖν ἔστω ὑμῖν, ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί,
ὅτι διὰ τούτου ὑμῖν ἄφεσις ἁμαρτιῶν καταγγέλλεται,
{καὶ} ἀπὸ πάντων ὧν οὐκ ἠδυνήθητε ἐν νόμῳ Μωϋσέως δικαιοθῆναι,
- 39 ἐν τούτῳ πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων δικαιούται.
- 40 βλέπετε οὖν μὴ ἐπέλθῃ τὸ εἰρημένον ἐν τοῖς προφήταις·
- 41 ἴδετε, οἱ καταφρονηταί, καὶ θαυμάσατε καὶ ἀφανίσθητε,
ὅτι ἔργον ἐργάζομαι ἐγὼ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ὑμῶν,
ἔργον ὃ οὐ μὴ πιστεύσητε ἐὰν τις ἐκδιηγῆται ὑμῖν.

Section V: Reaction of the hearers (13:42-45)

- 42 Ἐξιόντων δὲ αὐτῶν παρεκάλουν εἰς τὸ μεταξὺ σάββατον

- λαληθῆναι αὐτοῖς τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα.
- 43 λυθείσης δὲ τῆς συναγωγῆς ἠκολούθησαν πολλοὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων
καὶ τῶν σεβομένων προσκλύτων τῷ Παύλῳ καὶ τῷ Βαρναβᾷ,
οἵτινες προσλαλοῦντες αὐτοῖς ἔπειθον αὐτοὺς προσμένειν
τῇ χάριτι τοῦ θεοῦ.
- 44 Τῷ δὲ ἐρχομένῳ σαββάτῳ σχεδὸν πᾶσα ἡ πόλις συνήχθη
ἀκοῦσαι τὸν λόγον τοῦ κυρίου.
- 45 ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τοὺς ὄχλους ἐπλήσθησαν ζήλου
καὶ ἀντέλεγον τοῖς ὑπὸ Παύλου λαλουμένοις βλασφημοῦντες.

**Section VI: The message is not only for the Jews, but also for the
"gentiles" (non-Jews).(13:46-48)**

- 46 παρησιασάμενοί τε ὁ Παῦλος καὶ ὁ Βαρναβᾶς εἶπαν·
- Ἵμῖν ἦν ἀναγκαῖον πρῶτον λαληθῆναι τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ·
ἐπειδὴ ἀπωθεῖσθε αὐτὸν καὶ οὐκ ἀξίους κρίνετε ἑαυτοὺς
τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς, ἰδοὺ στρεφόμεθα εἰς τὰ ἔθνη.
- 47 οὕτως γὰρ ἐντέταλται ἡμῖν ὁ κύριος·
Τέθεικά σε εἰς φῶς ἐθνῶν τοῦ εἶναί
σε εἰς σωτηρίαν ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς.
- 48 Ἀκούοντα δὲ τὰ ἔθνη ἔχαIRON καὶ ἐδόξαζON τὸν λόγον τοῦ κυρίου,
καὶ ἐπίστευσαν ὅσοι ἦσαν τεταγμένοι εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον·

2.1 Division of the speech

The main speech, or first part of the speech, stretches between VV.16-41. The reaction of the hearers (VV.42-45) divide this first speech with the second part, a follow-up speech, which stretches between VV.46-48.

This speech consists of all the constitutive elements that are to be found in the missionary speeches to the Jews:⁹ *Section I: Ac 13:16-25*: Summary of the salvation history of Israel and emphasis on God's promise to them; *Section II: Ac 13:26-31*: Interpretation on the life of Jesus until his resurrection, i.e. the message of salvation; *Section III: Ac 13:32-37*: Contents of the message (gospel) and three quoted texts; *Section IV: Ac 13:38-41*: Interpretation of the contents of the message and admonition; *Section V: Ac 13:42-45*: Reaction of the hearers; *Section VI: Ac 13:46-48*: The message is not only for the Jews, but also for the "Gentiles" (non-Jews).

⁹ These speeches are Ac 2:38-40; 3:19 and 3:26. U. WILCKENS, *Missionsreden*, 54; G. SCHNEIDER, *Apq II*, 129, and A. WEISER, *Apq II*, 322-323, also divide the speech roughly within the same structure. The debate on the structure can also be followed in G. SCHNEIDER, *Apq II*, 129-130; U. WILCKENS, *Missionsreden*, 54; R.P. GORDON, Targumic Parallels to Acts XIII 18 and Didache XIV 3, in: *NT 16* (1974), 285-289; and O.H. STECK, *Israel und das gewaltsame Geschick der Propheten* (WMANT 23), Neukirchen 1967, 263-289.

With regard to the form, or structure, of the speech itself,¹⁰ during the last decade some scholars have indicated that this speech (and other early Christian "sermons") show remarkable resemblances with the form of (*hellenistic-*) *Jewish sermons*.¹¹ Although this may be a possibility, the problems remain that there is insufficient comparative material available to prove this hypothesis.¹² Others, on the other hand, have found it to be nearer to that of *Graeco-Roman speeches*.¹³ According to the latter, Ac 13:16b could be regarded as the *exordium*, VV.17-26 could be seen as the *narratio*, VV.27-37 as the proposition (*propositio*), the proof (*probatio*),¹⁴ and VV.38-41 as the *epilogue*.

3. SECTION I: ACTS 13:16-25

Summary of the salvation history of Israel and emphasis on God's promise to them.

This Pauline speech starts with the same structural elements as did the Petrine speeches: (a) *The gesture of the speaker*: "Paul stood up and motioned with his hand" (ἀναστὰς δὲ Παῦλος καὶ κατασεύσας τῇ χειρὶ... = V.16);¹⁵ (b) *A verb of saying introducing the direct speech*: "he said" (εἶπεν, V.16); (c) *Naming of the hearers at the beginning of the speech*: "Brothers Israelites and Godfearers" (ἀδελφοὶ Ἰσραηλίται¹⁶ καὶ οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν¹⁷... = V.16).

In addition, the explicit appeal to the hearers to "listen" follows the naming of the hearers: ἀκούσατε (V.16).¹⁸ This probably resembles the element of the *Schöma* in the synagogue service.¹⁹ Compare Dt 6:4: "Ἀκουε Ἰσραηλ... However, here in

¹⁰ For a more comprehensive discussion on this, cf. M.F.-J. BUSS (*Missionspredigt*, 19-31; and A. WEISER, *Apg II*, 322-324).

¹¹ Cf. for instance, D.L. BOCK, *Proclamation*, 241-242; L. WILLS, The Form of the Sermon in Hellenistic Judaism and Early Christianity, in: *HTHR* 77 (1984), 277-299.

¹² So argued also by M.F.-J. BUSS (*Missionspredigt*, 23), and A. WEISER (*Apg II*, 324): "Aber der Hypothese, daß das formale Gerüst ganz einer Proömien-Homilie entspreche, stehen doch die Schwierigkeiten entgegen, daß die genauen Formen und Gesetzmäßigkeiten jüdischer Synagogenpredigten aus so früher Zeit nicht genügend bekannt sind..., daß die Form des Christuskerygmas nicht dem vorausgesetzten Schema entspricht und daß der Schlußteil mit der Paränese bereits im V 38 beginnt."

¹³ C.C. BLACK II, The Rhetorical Form of the Hellenistic Jewish and Early Christian Sermon: A Response to Lawrence Wills, in: *HTHR* 81 (1988), 1-18.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 8-10. Ac 13:17-25 probably shows several of the characteristics of a *narratio* as recommended by Quintilian, while Ac 13:27-37 resembles all four types of "certainties" (*a priori*) which were conceptualized by Quintilian.

¹⁵ Compare also Ac 1:15; 2:14; 12:17; 15:7; 17:22; 21:40; 26:1. This was not Jewish custom, as rabbis have sat in the synagogue.

¹⁶ Cf. also Ac 2:22 and 3:12.

¹⁷ See also V.26. Cf. STR-BILL, *Kommentar II*, 715-723 for an extensive discussion on this phrase. It refers to a "Proselytenklasse." The old Synagogue has had two categories of proselytes: complete and half proselytes. According to B.M. NEWMAN & E.A. NIDA, "They may have been either full converts to Judaism or Gentiles who sympathized with the Jewish faith and desired to worship the God of the Jews" (*Translator's Handbook*, 253).

¹⁸ Compare also Ac 2:22; 7:2; 15:13; 22:1.

¹⁹ Cf. the Mishnah (ca. 200 AD) Megilla IV:3-6 which indicated that the synagogue service consisted of 5 elements: Sche'mah (confession), Tefila (prayer), Torah (law), Ha-Nabim (prophets) and Targum (explanation).

Ac 13:15, this element follows *after* the reading of the Law and the Prophets, and not before it, as in the order described in the Mishnah.

V.17 starts with God as the Subject, the God of this people of Israel (ὁ θεὸς τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου Ἰσραήλ).²⁰ It resembles the beginning of Peter's third speech, also starts with God as the Subject, the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (Ac 3:13). The covenantal God is thus at stake here. The motif of the election of their forefathers (probably the patriarchs) is then introduced, with Paul including himself within the circle of his hearers by using a first person plural pronoun (ἐξελέξατο τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν, V.17). This election motif introduces a summary of the salvation history of Israel which involves God as its Subject:²¹ VV.17b-23. Its peak or climax is to be found in V.23 with the coming of the Saviour Jesus, as was promised by God. The function of the material in VV.17b-23 is thus probably to lead, in a salvation-historical manner, to the Jesus-kerygma.²²

VV.17b-23 provides a brief summary to help the listeners recall God's activity in their history,²³ from the Exodus to the rise of David.²⁴ The following eight elements in God's salvation history with his elected people are described: (a) the prospering of his people during their stay in Egypt (καὶ τὸν λαὸν ὑψώσεν²⁵ ἐν τῇ παροικίᾳ ἐν γῆ Αἰγύπτου, V.17b); (b) their exodus out of that country, being led out with his mighty power²⁶ (καὶ μετὰ βραχίονος ὑψηλοῦ ἐξήγαγεν αὐτοὺς ἐξ αὐτῆς, V.17c); (c) his endurance of their conduct for about forty years in the desert (καὶ ὡς τεσσαρακονταετῆ χρόνον ἐτροφοφόρησεν²⁷ αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, V.18); (d) his overthrowing of seven nations in Canaan and his gift of their land to his people as their inheritance,²⁸ a process taking about 450 years (καὶ καθελῶν ἔθνη ἑπτὰ ἐν γῆ Χανάαν κατεκληρονόμησεν τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν ὡς ἔτεσιν τετρακοσίοις καὶ πεντήκοντα, VV.19-20a); (e) God then gave them judges²⁹ until the time of Samuel "the prophet" (καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἔδωκεν κριτὰς ἕως Σαμουὴλ [τοῦ]

²⁰ The expression ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραήλ is to be found frequently in the LXX. Cf. G. SCHNEIDER, *Apq II*, 131, n.36.

²¹ Cf. also G. SCHNEIDER, *Apq II*, 131.

²² So U. WILCKENS, *Missionsreden*, 51-52.

²³ Behind this "heilsgeschichtlich-summarischen Durchblick durch die Geschichte Israels," lies "eine uralte israelitisch-jüdische Tradition" according to U. WILCKENS, *Missionsreden*, 50, and A. WEISER, *Apq II*, 325, but — as the latter points out — there are elements which point to this version as the composition of the author of Ac! So also F.F. BRUCE, following G.E. WRIGHT (*God Who Acts*, London 1952, 70-81), reckons that it "summarizes the Old Testament *kerygma*, Israel's salvation-history as it was recited in the national worship" (*Davidic Messiah*, 11).

²⁴ So also F.F. BRUCE, *Davidic Messiah*, 11.

²⁵ C. SMITS saw a parallel with the selection and exaltation of Israel, and Is 1:2 where the same word is used, although in a different context (*Citaten II*, 193). So also H. CONZELMANN, *Apq*, 83.

²⁶ Cf. to Dt 4:34; 5:15; 9:26,29; Ex 6:1,6; and 12:42. See also C.A.J. PILLAI, who calls it a "simple major citation" of Dt 5:15 (*Early Missionary Preaching*, 40).

²⁷ According to C. SMITS it is only Dt 1:31 which knows the word ἐτροφοφόρησεν (*Citaten II*, 194). See also NA26; B.M. NEWMAN & E.A. NIDA, *Translator's Handbook*, 253; and C.A.J. PILLAI, *Early Missionary Preaching*, 40, the latter who indexed this whole phrase as a "simple major citation".

²⁸ Cf. Dt 7:1. See also NA26 and C.A.J. PILLAI, *Early Missionary Preaching*, 40.

²⁹ According to C.A.J. PILLAI, this phrase is a "minor citation" of Jdg 2:16 (*Early Missionary Preaching*, 40). C. SMITS has pointed to 1 Ki(Sm) 8:5 and 10:21-24: "De figuur van David is enigszins op de voorgrond geschoven door expliciete citaten, maar het gebeurt wederom alleen om een overgang te maken naar de persoon van Jesus" (C. SMITS, *Citaten II*, 194).

προφήτου, V.20b); (f) the people then asked for a king³⁰ and God gave them Saul, the son of Kish, of the tribe of Benjamin, who ruled fourty years (κακειθεν ητήσαυτο βασιλέα, και ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς τὸν Σαοὺλ υἱὸν Κίς, ἀνδρα ἐκ φυλῆς Βενιαμείν, ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα, V.21); (g) after removing Saul, he made David their king (καὶ μεταστήσας αὐτὸν ἤγειρεν τὸν Δαυὶδ αὐτοῖς εἰς βασιλέα ᾧ, V.22a);³¹ (h) this was the man from whose descendants God brought to Israel the saviour Jesus — as he has promised (τούτου ὁ θεὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ σπέρματος κατ' ἐπαγγελίαν ἤγαγεν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ σωτῆρα³² Ἰησοῦν, V.23).³³

All these phrases are combined with a καί, with the exception of the latter. It is interesting that a direct leap is made from David (the climax of the "OT *kerigma*") to Jesus (the climax of the "NT *kerigma*"),³⁴ probably to point out some typological meaning in the context of the traditional proof from Scripture.³⁵ Also important is the fact that God remains the Subject throughout their history. When looking back into their history, it is clear that this God has never let them down and has fulfilled all his promises.

The reference in V.22b was probably meant as an explicit quotation.³⁶ Not only is it introduced by an introductory formula (καὶ εἶπεν μαρτυρήσας), but also the words directly following are in the first person singular, so as to be understood as God's direct speech: Εὗρον Δαυὶδ τὸν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ἀνδρα κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν μου, ὃς ποιήσει πάντα τὰ θελήματά μου. The quotation itself is, however, not drawn from a single quoted text. It consists of a conflation of Scriptural textual phrases,³⁷ mainly from Ps 88:21(89:20),³⁸ 1 Ki(Sm) 13:14 and Is 44:28.³⁹

³⁰. Although C.A.J. PILLAI calls this a "minor citation" of 1 Ki(Sm) 8:5, it refers simply to the history as contained in 1 Ki(Sm) 8:5 and 10:24 (*Early Missionary Preaching*, 40).

³¹. For the history behind VV.21-22a, see 1 Ki(Sm) 8:50; 10:21-24; 16:13.

³². Cf. Lk 2:11 and Ac 5:31.

³³. G. SCHNEIDER, *Apg II*, 133, and A. WEISER find in V.23 a reference to the Davidic promise of 2 Ki(Sm) 7:12-14 (*Apg II*, 325).

³⁴. So also A. WEISER, *Apg II*, 325. The comparison of the two terms, OT and NT *kerigma*, is used by F.F. BRUCE, *Davidic Messiah*, 12-13.

³⁵. See also U. WILCKENS, *Missionsreden*, 50,n.3.

³⁶. So C. SMITS, who calls this a "gekombineerde citaat" (*Citaten II*, 194). Also E. HAENCHEN, *Schriftzitate*, 166; E. RICHARD, *OT in Acts*, 331 (especially 331-332); C.A.J. PILLAI, *Early Missionary Preaching*, 41; F.F. BRUCE, Paul's Use of the Old Testament in Acts, in: G.F. HAWTHORNE & O. BETZ (eds), *Tradition and Interpretation in the New Testament. Essays in Honor of E. Earle Ellis for his 60th birthday*, Tübingen 1987, 71-79, here 71-72.

³⁷. So also E. HAENCHEN, *Apg*, 331; H. CONZELMANN, *Apg*, 83; E. PLÜMACHER, *Lukas*, 45; B.M. NEWMAN & E.A. NIDA, *Translator's Handbook*, 256; G. SCHNEIDER, *Apg II*, 133,n.56; F.F. BRUCE, *Paul's Use*, 72; D.L. BOCK, *Proclamation*, 242-243; and C.A.J. PILLAI who calls it a "composite citation...introduced by a formula of quotation, but combining texts from different books" (*Early Missionary Preaching*, 41). Some consider this to be probably the result of a "testimony book", cf. for instance, H. CONZELMANN, *Apg*, 83; (somewhat reserved) G. SCHNEIDER, *Apg II*, 133; and E. PLÜMACHER, *Lukas*, 45.

³⁸. Cf. here to D.A. HAGNER for a comparison between Ac 13:22 and Clement of Rome on the use of this text (*The Use of the Old and New Testaments in Clement of Rome* (S.NT 34), Leiden 1973, 259-261). HAGNER admits that the similarities between the two might "...indicate that the source of the citation in Acts is to be found in a collection of Davidic or Messianic passages." This remains a possibility, but the simpler conclusion of dependence upon Acts is to be preferred in the present instance" (260-261). Differently, G. SCHNEIDER: "Trotzdem ist 1 Clem hier kaum von der Apg abhängig (*Apg II*, 133,n.56). So also D.L. BOCK, *Proclamation*, 243.

³⁹. F.F. BRUCE points to the fact that the phrase, "who will do all my will", is found as a paraphrase of "after his own heart" in the Targum Jonathan. On the basis of the literal rendering and the paraphrase

IV.24-25 deals with the motif of the preparatory work of John the Baptist before the coming of Jesus. He preached repentance and baptism to all the people of Israel. He himself revealed his true identity: he is not ("the one"), and he is not worthy to untie the sandals of that one (Jesus) who is coming after him (John).⁴⁰

4. SECTION II: ACTS 13:26-31

Interpretation of the life of Jesus until his resurrection (Jesus-kerygma), i.e. the message of salvation (ὁ λόγος τῆς σωτηρίας)

The second major section of this speech starts again with the typical ἄνδρες (ἀδελφοί), V.26a, calling the hearers sons of the generation of Abraham (υἱοὶ γένους Ἀβραάμ). The addition of the phrase "God-fearers" (καὶ οἱ ἐν ὑμῖν φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν) implies a wider audience than just Jews, and suggests that this is a "mixed audience".⁴¹ It is to them that this word of salvation is sent (ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος τῆς σωτηρίας ταύτης ἐξαπεστάλη,⁴² V.26b).⁴³

After mentioning David (V.22), a change is made directly to Jesus, i.e. to the Jesus-kerygma. He is the Saviour (V.23).⁴⁴ The life of this Jesus until his resurrection is now briefly summarized in IV.27-31. The following seven elements are focused on: (a) the people of Jerusalem and their rulers did not recognise Jesus (οἱ γὰρ κατοικοῦντες ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες αὐτῶν τοῦτον ἀγνοήσαντες, V.27a);⁴⁵ (b) but by condemning him they fulfilled the words of the prophets that are read every sabbath (καὶ τὰς φωνὰς τῶν προφητῶν τὰς κατὰ πᾶν σάββατον ἀναγινωσκομένας κρίναντες ἐπλήρωσαν, V.27b);⁴⁶ (c) though they found no proper grounds for a death sentence, they asked Pilate to have him executed (καὶ μηδεμίαν αἰτίαν θανάτου εὑρόντες ἤτήσαντο Πιλάτον ἀναφρεθῆναι αὐτόν, V.28); (d) when they had carried out all that was written about him, they took him down from the tree and laid him in a tomb⁴⁷ (ὡς δὲ ἐτέλεσαν πάντα τὰ

being found together there, he thinks that they were probably joined "in the testimony tradition used by the Lukan Paul and by Clement of Rome (1 Clm 18:1)" (*Paul's Use*, 72). Evidence for such a "testimony tradition" is, however, too vague.

⁴⁰ U. WILCKENS has pointed out that John has here the function of a prophet (*Missionsreden*, 51). So also G. SCHNEIDER, *App II*, 134.

⁴¹ See V.16. Cf. also F.J. MATERA, *Responsibility*, 85; and in the same direction A. WEISER, *App II*, 333.

⁴² Cf. A. WEISER, who shows that this *passivum divinum* points to the fact that this mission is meant to be initiated by God (*App II*, 333).

⁴³ Cf. Ps 107(106):20. C.A.J. PILLAI calls this a "minor citation" (*Early Missionary Preaching*, 40).

⁴⁴ The promise is to be found in Is 11:1, although the terminology is to be found in 2 Ki(Sm) 7:13 (C. SMITS, *Citaten II*, 194).

⁴⁵ See F.J. MATERA, *Responsibility*, 77-93. Responsibility for the death of Jesus is placed on the shoulders of the Jerusalemites (Ac 2:23,36; 3:13-14) and their leaders (Ac 4:10-11; 5:3) (*Responsibility*, 85).

⁴⁶ They read thus these Scriptures, but do not understand them. Cf. also Ac 8, as well as Ac 28 with its combination of βραβεία τοῦ θεοῦ.

⁴⁷ Cf. to F.J. MATERA who draws attention to this "new element, seemingly in tension with the Lukan passion account". In Lk 23:50-53 it is Joseph of Arimathea who undertook the burial of Jesus. Here in Ac 13:29, it seems to be the Jerusalemites and their leaders (*Responsibility*, 86). According to B.M. NEWMAN & E.A. NIDA, however, a distinction should be made between the first "they" (being the Jewish people and their Jewish leaders) and the second "they" (being Joseph and Nicodemus specifically) (*Translator's Handbook*, 260).

περὶ αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένα,⁴⁸ καθελόντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου⁴⁹ ἔθηκαν εἰς μνημεῖον, V.29); (e) but God raised him from the dead (ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἤγειρεν αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν, V.30); (f) for many days he was seen by those who had travelled with him from Galilee to Jerusalem⁵⁰ (ὅς ᾤφθη ἐπὶ ἡμέρας πλείους τοῖς συναναβᾶσιν αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ, V.31a); (g) they are now his witnesses to their people (οἵτινες [νῦν] εἰσὶν μάρτυρες⁵¹ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν λαόν.V.31b).⁵² The call for repentance is omitted here, as the Jerusalemites and their leaders were responsible for the death of Jesus, and not the diaspora Jews and the God-fearers of Antioch in Pisidia.⁵³ The elements described in numbers a-d have as subjects the Jews of Jerusalem and their leaders. The resemblances between these elements of the Jesus-kerygma and those in the third Petrine speech (Ac 3:13-18) are striking:⁵⁴ the guilt of the Jews, and their ignorance of who Jesus was (Ac 3:13,17 and 13:27); the guiltlessness of Jesus (Ac 3:14 and 13:28); that these things happened in order that the Scriptures might be fulfilled (Ac 3:18 and 13:27b); the resurrection of Christ by God (Ac 3:15b and 13:30); the apostles' witness to this resurrection (Ac 3:15c and 13:31).

5. SECTION III: ACTS 13:32-37

Contents of the message (gospel) and three quoted texts

5.1 Composition of the section

The section of the speech which consists of VV.32-37 forms such a cohesive unit that it would be almost impossible to discuss each of the three quoted texts in it completely separately.⁵⁵ Luke's interpretation of each quoted text flows over into the others. One cannot be understood without the other being directly linked with it. This trilogy of quoted texts forms part of the same argument and reflects a striking interwovenness.

Luke's intention here, is to summarize the message, the "good news" (gospel). This is presented through the mouths of Paul and Barnabas to those Jews and God-fearers in the synagogue at Antioch in Pisidia: καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑμᾶς εὐαγγελιζόμεθα, V.32a. The content of the message itself is threefold: (a) God has fulfilled, to those of the present generation, the promise he made to their fathers, to them their children (τὴν πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ἐπαγγελίαν γενομένην, ὅτι ταύτην ὁ θεὸς

⁴⁸. Here, thus *Scriptural* witness.

⁴⁹. Cf. also Ac 5:30 (10:39). This might be an allusion to Dt 21:22-23. See M. WILCOX, "Upon the Tree" — Deut. 21:22-23 in the New Testament, in: *JBL* 96 (1977), 85-99.

⁵⁰. The Lukan Paul had not himself seen this resurrected Jesus. Cf. also G. SCHNEIDER, *App II*, 136.

⁵¹. Here, thus *oral* witness.

⁵². U. WILCKENS has pointed out that also now is nothing else preached than the fulfillment of the scriptural promises which were given to their fathers (*Missionsreden*, 53).

⁵³. So also F.J. MATERA, *Responsibility*, 86; A. WEISER, *App II*, 333-334.

⁵⁴. Cf. also U. WILCKENS, *Missionsreden*, 51; and W.H. BATES, *Note*, 9-10. The latter found the similarities between Ac 3 and 13 to be even broader.

⁵⁵. Cf. W.K.L. CLARKE who talks about "a remarkable combination...(which) make a composite quotation" (*Use of the Septuagint*, 94).

ἐκπεπλήρωκεν τοῖς τέκνοις [αὐτῶν] ἡμῖν, VV.32b-33a); God has done this by (b) raising Jesus (ἀναστήσας⁵⁶ Ἰησοῦν, V.33b), substantiated with a quotation from Ps 2:7: υἱός μου εἶ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε, V.33c); and (c) Jesus, being raised from death, would therefore never decay (ὅτι δὲ ἀνέστησεν αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν μηκέτι μέλλοντα ὑποστρέφειν εἰς διαφθοράν, V.34), substantiated with quotations from Is 55:3 (δώσω ὑμῖν τὰ ὄσια Δαυὶδ τὰ πιστά, V.34) and Ps 15(16):10 (οὐ δώσεις τὸν ὄσων σου ἰδεῖν διαφθοράν, V.35).⁵⁷ Basically the very same thing is said in both of the last two quotations. The one from Is 55:3 only in a positive statement, and the other from Ps 15(16):10 in a negative statement.

The people are thus first informed of Jesus' raising as referred to in the second Ps (ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ ψαλμῷ γέγραπται τῷ δευτέρῳ, V.33), that he (Jesus) is God's son and God has given him life. The fact of Jesus' raising is repeated again after the quotation, referring now explicitly to his resurrection as a fact which has taken place: God has resurrected Jesus from death and he would thus never decay. Having established this, Luke can now come back to the first part of the argument, or the first element of the apostles' message: that God has thus indeed fulfilled his promises, as was foretold in Is 55:3 (οὕτως εἶρηκεν ὅτι, V.34), that the blessings promised to David⁵⁸ would be bestowed, and, elsewhere (διότι καὶ ἐν ἑτέρῳ λέγει, V.35), that he would never decay. Attention is then given to this aspect by way of the third quoted text, from Ps 15(16):10. It is at this point that Luke explicitly states that these words could not have referred to David himself⁵⁹ (V.36), but are to be understood in terms of Jesus (V.37). For when David had served God's purpose in his own generation, he fell asleep, was buried with his fathers,⁶⁰ and his body decayed (Δαυὶδ μὲν γὰρ ἰδίᾳ γενεᾷ ὑπηρετήσας τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ βουλῇ ἐκομήθη καὶ προσετέθη πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶδεν διαφθοράν, V.36).

⁵⁶. Compare Ac 3:22-23 where this *crux interpretum* was encountered. Cf. to M. RESE, *Motive*, 82-86 and D.L. BOCK, *Proclamation*, 244-245 for a summary of the debate and the arguments *pro* and *contra*.

⁵⁷. Similarly also E. HAENCHEN: "Lukas trägt also hier 3 Gedanken vor: 1. Jesus ist auferstanden; 2. damit ist die Verheißung an die Väter erfüllt; 3. das verkünden wir" (*Apg*, 353).

⁵⁸. G. SCHNEIDER points to the fact that (τὰ ὄσια was seen by Plato (*Politicus* 301d), Xenophon (*Hell* IV 1,33) and others as the "göttlichen Verfügungen im Gegensatz zu den δίκαια, den menschlichen Satzungen". He says also that it could mean here "die dem David (oder durch David) gegebenen göttlichen Verheißungen bzw. verheißenen Heilsgaben." Cf. also Wisd 6:10 and Jos (*Ant* VIII, 115) (*Apg II*, 137).

⁵⁹. Because the Psalmist (David) is speaking here in the first person (cf. also G. SCHNEIDER, *Apg II*, 138). See also the discussion on Ps 15(16):8-11 in the second speech of Peter, especially under 4.2.5 (Section IV).

⁶⁰. Cf. 3 Ki(1Ki) 2:10, also labelled a "minor citation" by C.A.J. PILLAI, *Early Missionary Preaching*,

5.2 The three quoted texts: (Ac 13:33-35)
Ps 2:7 - Is 55:3 - Ps 15(16):10

5.2.1 *God has fulfilled his promise: The raising of Jesus and the quoted text from Ps 2:7 in Ac 13:34*

(a) *Pre-Lukan occurrences of the quotation*

Within the context of later Judaism, Ps 2 was probably already connected with the "messiah," especially with regard to the occurrence of משיח in Ps 2:2.⁶¹ In 4QFlor, for example, is to be found a quotation from Ps 2:1, where it is linked to 2 Ki(Sm) 7:10b-14.⁶² Ps 2:7, in turn, was already linked with 2 Ki(Sm) 7:12-16 in PsSol 17:23-24.⁶³

Although not quoting from the same verse, it is also interesting to note that Ps 2:1-2 is quoted in Ac 4:25-26.

Here in Ac 13:33 is found a quotation which identically resembles a part of Ps 2:7.⁶⁴ The same quotation is found again in both Heb 1:5 and 5:5,⁶⁵ where, in each case, the quotation serves to strengthen the idea of the exaltation of Jesus, and is therefore linked with the christology.⁶⁶ In Heb 5:5 this quotation from Ps 2:7 is followed directly by another Ps quotation, from Ps 109(110):4. It became clear from these occurrences that both Ps 2(7) and Ps 109(110) were already linked with the christology, and then especially with Jesus' exaltation.

(b) *The introductory formula (Ac 13:33)*

The introductory formula is formed by the words: ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ ψαλμῷ γέγραπται τῷ δευτέρῳ.⁶⁷ Although there are a lot of textcritical alternatives to be found in this unit, none of them seems convincing enough to alter the reconstructed text of NA26.

Very interesting then is the explicit reference that the quotation which is to follow, comes from *the second Ps*.⁶⁸ One has to weigh a few probabilities here:⁶⁹ Was it (a) either "more likely that Luke was acquainted with the tradition that

⁶¹. So according to D.L. BOCK, who points out that Ps 2 is used "messianically" in 4QFlor (*Proclamation*, 246).

⁶². See the work of D. GOLDSMITH in this regard (*Peshar*, 321-324). Also D.L. BOCK, *Proclamation*, 246.

⁶³. So pointed out by E. SCHWEIZER, *Davidic 'Son of God'*, 190.

⁶⁴. VV. 1-2 of the same Ps was already quoted in Ac 4:25-26.

⁶⁵. T. HOLTZ mentions only Heb 1:5 (*Untersuchungen*, 56).

⁶⁶. "In der Hebr 1,5 und 5,5 vorliegenden alten Tradition wird Ps 2,7 eindeutig auf die himmlische Inthronisation Christi in der Erhöhung bezogen. Damit soll gesagt werden: Durch die Erhöhung hat Gott Jesus zu seinem Sohn gemacht (vgl. Röm 1,4; Kol 1,18; Offb 1,5)" (J. ROLOFF, *Apq*, 207). See also E. LÖVESTAMM, *Son and Saviour*, 13-14.

⁶⁷. Cf. C.K. BARRETT: "Not only a book but a division of the book is given" (*Luke/Acts*, 239).

⁶⁸. This reading is supported by P⁷⁴ N A B C Ψ 33.81.945.1739 *al*. Codex D reads here οὕτως γὰρ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ ψαλμῷ γέγραπται — as it is indeed to be found in the MT. This exact pinpointing of the precise place from which the quotation came, is an individual case and unique in the whole NT (so also M. RESE, *Motive*, 81; J. ROLOFF, *Apq*, 206).

⁶⁹. So proposed by B.M. METZGER, *Textual Commentary*, 412-414.

counted the first two Pss as one,⁷⁰ and later editors or transcribers altered his πρώτῳ to δευτέρῳ to conform what became the usual enumeration", or (b) "was πρώτῳ substituted by someone who was acquainted with the rabbinical practice of combining them"? Another possibility to reckon with is whether (c) the reading of P⁴⁵ (τοις ψαλμοις) is "to be preferred, not only because it is the oldest, but for transcriptional reasons as well"? In favour of the last is the fact that "the variety of positions at which the numeral (whether πρώτῳ or δευτέρῳ) is introduced makes both numerals suspect".⁷¹ One of the consequences of choosing the last alternative, is that one would then have to be cautious of using this introductory formula as part of the evidence that Luke might have had a broader knowledge of Ps 2.⁷²

(c) *Determining and explaining the textual differences*

NT (NA26) Ac 13:33	NT (NA26) Heb 1:5	NT (NA26) Heb 5:5	LXX Ps 2:7	MT Ps 2:7
υἱός μου	υἱός μου	υἱός μου	υἱός μου	יְהוָה
εἶ σύ,	εἶ σύ,	εἶ σύ,	εἶ σύ,	יְהוָה
ἐγώ	ἐγώ	ἐγώ	ἐγώ	יְהוָה
σήμερον	σήμερον	σήμερον	σήμερον	דו יְהוָה
γεγέννηκά	γεγέννηκά	γεγέννηκά	γεγέννηκά	:יְהוָה יְהוָה
σε.	σε.	σε.	σε.	

The Greek translation of the LXX is a complete, identical and true translation of the Hebrew,⁷³ and the quotation in Ac 13 (as well as in Heb 1 and 5) agrees exactly with the text of the LXX.⁷⁴ In codex D, the quotation is extended to the next verse (V.8) of Ps 2. Also this addition agrees with the LXX version.⁷⁵

(d) *Method of quotation*

After presenting a summary of the salvation history of Israel, the place of Jesus within this history is explained. It is made clear that he was the fulfillment of God's

⁷⁰ See also STR-BILL, indicating that also the Talmud has often taken the first and second Pss to be one (*Kommentar II*, 725).

⁷¹ Cf. also G.D. KILPATRICK in connection with Tertullian (*Adv.Marc* IV.xxii.8) who quoted Ps 2:7 as "the first Ps" (Acts xiii.33 and Tertullian, *Adv.Marc*. IV.xxii.8, in: *JThS* 11 (1960), 53).

⁷² So done, for instance, by W.J.C. WEREN: "This introductory formula shows that Luke not has v.7b in mind but also that the verse quoted functions as a *pars pro toto*" (Psalm 2 in Luke-Acts: an Intertextual Study, in: S. DRAISMA (ed), *Intertextuality in Biblical Writings. Essays in honour of Bas van Iersel*, Kampen 1989, 189-203, here 198).

⁷³ So also D.L. BOCK: "This agreement extends even down to the word order of the text" (*Proclamation*, 245-246).

⁷⁴ W.K.L CLARKE (*Use of the Septuagint*, 85.87); M. RESE (*Motive*, 81); H. RINGGREN (*Luke's Use*, 234) and D.L. BOCK (*Proclamation*, 245), among others, agree that Ps 2:7 is quoted here according to the LXX.

⁷⁵ Cf. C. SMITS, *Citaten II*, 195: "De aanvulling voegt geen nieuwe gedachte aan de vorige toe. Zij doet alleen sterker het universalisme van het heil uitkomen." Also W.J.C. WEREN, *Psalms* 2, 198.

promise which was made to their forefathers. The Davidic promise plays a prominent role here. The summary account of the salvation history of Israel breaks off at this point, and the connection with Jesus is made immediately thereafter (VV.22-23). The quotation of Ps 2:7 is then probably also to be understood within this context. Both the motif of the "raising" of David and Jesus, as well as that of the "promise" made to David (fulfilled in their raising/coming of Christ), serve the purpose of strengthening the links between what happened with David and Jesus. This technique of quoting within the context of the speech compares with that established in Peter's first speech.

(e) *Interpretation of the quotation by Luke*

Luke himself used this quotation to support his statement "that God has fulfilled this" (ὅτι ταύτην ὁ θεὸς ἐκπεπλήρωκεν)⁷⁶ "to us, to their children" (τοῖς τέκνοις [αὐτῶν] ἡμῶν)⁷⁷ "by raising Jesus" (ἀναστήσας Ἰησοῦν).⁷⁸ It was no problem to quote from the Pss in this manner, because the Pss have functioned also as prophecy.⁷⁹ The quotation itself is encircled by the whole issue of Jesus' resurrection. It was stated in V.30 that God has raised Jesus from the dead. Then, just after the quotation, Luke again repeats it: ὅτι δὲ ἀνέστησεν αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν (V.34). The motif of Jesus' resurrection thus forms an *inclusio* here. But that does not necessarily mean that this quotation refers here to the resurrection and/or exaltation process!⁸⁰ Scholarship seems to be deeply divided on this issue, and the following major viewpoints are represented with regard to the interpretation of this quotation: The first two viewpoints are concerned with the issue if the quotation should (a) refer to God's presentation of Jesus to humankind, i.e. *Jesus' appearance*, human birth and ministry, or (b) if it is to be linked with *Jesus' resurrection*. The debate has developed on the basis of the double meaning of ἀνιστάται in Ac 13:33 — which could mean either "to appear" ("auftreten lassen"), as it is used in Ac

⁷⁶ ἐκπεπλήρω is a *hapax legomenon*.

⁷⁷ The ἡμῶν of this phrase, of which the reading is supported by only a few witnesses (C³ E MT sy), has triggered some debate in the past. It was read during the time of E. HAENCHEN (*App*, 353) as ἡμῶν in some printed NT text editions, based on the overwhelming support of textual witnesses (P⁷⁴ NA B C^{*} D (ψ pc) lat) — on which HAENCHEN's response was that it is an "uralter Fehler". Although some have adopted the ἡμῶν-reading (cf. G.D. KILPATRICK, *Eclectic Study*, 74), the majority of textcritics have concluded that "there is a serious degree of doubt regarding the original reading of the text at this point" (B.M. NEWMAN & E.A. NIDA, *Translator's Handbook*, 261). After F.J.A. HORT (Notes on Select Readings, in: B.F. WESTCOTT & F.J.A. HORT, *The New Testament in the Original Greek, Vol II: Introduction and Appendix*, Cambridge/London 1896, 95) has made this choice in favour of ἡμῶν, it became the popular mode to see it in this way by which it became possible to explain all the variants (J.H. ROPES, *Detached Note*, 124; E. HAENCHEN, *App* (1968), 353; M. RESE, *Motive*, 82; B.M. METZGER, *Textual Commentary*, 411).

⁷⁸ Having chosen the resurrection alternative, W.J.C. WEREN reckoned that the three quotations in Ac 13:33-35 "...are used to emphasise that God's promise to send Israel a saviour from the descendants of David is fulfilled in the resurrection of Jesus" (*Psalms 2*, 198).

⁷⁹ So G. SCHNEIDER who refers here to Ac 1:16, 2:25 and 4:25 (*App II*, 137).

⁸⁰ Against E. SCHWEIZER who used the theme of Jesus death in this section as substantiation for his argument that also this quotation deals with Jesus' resurrection (The Concept of the Davidic 'Son of God' in Acts and Its Old Testament Background, in: L.E. KECK & J.L. MARTYN (eds), *Studies in Luke-Acts; Festschrift for Paul Schubert*, Nashville 1968, 186-193, here 186).

3:22,26 and 7:37 in the sense of the first appearance of a prophet⁸¹, or it could mean "to be resurrected" ("auferwecken").⁸² The saying could thus refer to either the physical birth of Jesus in the meaning of the first instance, or to his new life which has started with his resurrection when the second alternative is chosen, an event which has taken place on easter day. Within this second alternative, some go to great lengths to link the quotation with the resurrection by means of birth imagery, where Jesus is seen "to be 'begotten' at the resurrection".⁸³ This viewpoint was recently rejected on the basis that such imagery does not exist in the NT.⁸⁴ The arguments of both alternatives were already extensively discussed in detail several times in the past.⁸⁵

Members of a third viewpoint agree that this quotation in Ac 13:33 refers to Jesus' *exaltation*, but differ about whether it refers exclusively to the exaltation, or whether it can be linked also with the resurrection.⁸⁶ Most of them saw it in terms of a finer distinction which was implemented here by Luke, which is an important new point within his tradition: He saw the resurrection and the exaltation as two different events which followed one after the other.⁸⁷ After the distinction is made, emphasis is then laid on Jesus' exaltation. When bearing in mind that the letter to the Heb probably predates Ac, it is a relatively safe assumption that Luke was familiar with the tradition⁸⁸ linking the quotation with Jesus' exaltation. It is clear from the way in which Heb 1:5 and 5:5 interpret this quotation, that the exalted status of the Son at the right hand of the Father is a God given honour. Ps 2:7 is thus used within the context of Jesus' exaltation. Being involved in the christology himself, and in discussing Jesus' resurrection, he also included the known quotations that were already previously linked with the exalted Christ, i.e. Ps 2:7⁸⁹ here in Ac

⁸¹ So, for example, supported by M. RESE, *Motive*, 86. Cf. also F.F. BRUCE: "...not, probably, to his being raised from the dead but to his being raised up as Israel's deliverer (just as, earlier in the address, God is said to have 'raised up David to be their king'" (*Davidic Messiah*, 12). Cf. also *idem.*, *Paul's Use*, 72. Although E. SCHWEIZER did not support this option, he said that this would indeed be the sense of the same Greek word in the OT prophecy of 2 Ki(Sm) 7:12. He also refers to PsSol 17:21 and Sir 47:12 (*Davidic 'Son of God'*, 186).

⁸² So seen by the second corrector of codex A and some Bible translations (e.g. NAB). Also followed by J. WEISS, *Das Urchristentum*, Göttingen 1914, 25; J. GEWISS, *Urapostolische Heilsvkündigung*, 30, n.73; L. CERFAUX, *Citations*, 44; E. HAENCHEN, *App*, 353; J. DUPONT, *Filius meus*, 530; E. LÖVESTAMM, *Son and Saviour*, 10; H. CONZELMANN, *App*, 85; D. GOLDSMITH, *Pesher*, 322; E. SCHWEIZER, *Davidic 'Son of God'*, 186; B.M. NEWMAN & E.A. NIDA, *Translator's Handbook*, 262; W.J.C. WEREN, *Psalms* 2, 198; and U. WILCKENS, the latter who has pointed out that the proof from Scripture is attached here to the resurrection-kerygma, which is introduced by a repetition of the salvation historical motif (*Missionsreden*, 51). Also G. SCHNEIDER thought that it is to be understood as "auferwecken", and substantiates it that "das auf die Auferweckung Jesu bezogene transitive αὐτοῦ τεύχει bezeugt im NT nur die App: 2,24.32; 13,33.34; 17,31" (*App II*, 137). Also the TEV and NEB.

⁸³ So E. LÖVESTAMM, *Son and Saviour*, 20. For an evaluation of the arguments of E. LÖVESTAMM, see D.L. BOCK, *Proclamation*, 246-248.

⁸⁴ So D.L. BOCK (*Proclamation*, 248).

⁸⁵ See J. DUPONT, *L'interpretation*, 528-535; E. LÖVESTAMM, *Son and Saviour*, 8-11; M. RESE, *Motive*, 83-86; E. SCHWEIZER, *Davidic 'Son of God'*, 186-193.

⁸⁶ See for instance D.L. BOCK, *Proclamation*, 246.

⁸⁷ So also J. ROLOFF, *App*, 207.

⁸⁸ Reference to this Ps could therefore be due to the tradition (so also G. SCHNEIDER, *App II*, 137).

⁸⁹ According to A. WEISER, "Ps 2,7 ist bereits vorpaulinisch (Röm 1,3f.) herangezogen worden, um die in der Auferweckung geschehene Einsetzung des Davidsohnes Jesus in seine göttliche Sohnschaft auszudrücken" (*App II*, 327). Also in the same direction: H.J. HOLTZMANN, *Die Apostelgeschichte (HCNT 1/2)*, Tübingen/Leipzig³ 1901, 90; A. LOISY, *Les Actes*, 533f; O. BAUERNFEIND, *App*, 176;

13:33 and Ps 109(110):1 in Ac 2:34-35.⁹⁰ The quotation probably belongs then to some of the oldest "Schriftbeweisen der Urgemeinde"⁹¹ and was often used in early Christianity with reference to the exaltation of Christ. This christological use of Ps 2:7 could even be so old, that it might have been used in pre-Pauline times.⁹²

When looking once again at this quotation within its context, the connection between VV.22-23 and VV.32-33 seems to be important, something which was sometimes overlooked by scholars.⁹³ V.22 states that God has "raised up" David as the king of Israel (ἤγειρεν τὸν Δαυὶδ); V.23 goes on to say that it is "of this man's posterity that God has brought to Israel a Saviour, Jesus, as he promised" (κατ' ἐπαγγελίαν). God promised David that a messiah would come; for Luke, the coming of Jesus is the fulfillment of that Davidic promise. But there is another aspect from the Davidic tradition which is standing out prominently at the beginning of Luke's gospel, i.e. the angel's (*God's messenger's*) promise which was made to Mary during the announcement that she will become pregnant with Jesus: "...and the Lord God will give to him the throne of his father David" (καὶ δώσει αὐτῷ κύριος ὁ θεὸς τὸν θρόνον Δαυὶδ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, Lk 1:32). That promise was referred to again in Ac 2:30, "that he will sit on the throne of David" (καθίσει ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ). The same motif is also retrospectively mentioned here in Ac 13:22-23, and again referred to in VV.32-33: the good news is that what God promised to their fathers (τὴν πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ἐπαγγελίαν), is fulfilled for these people in the raising of Jesus (ἀναστήσας Ἰησοῦν).⁹⁴ The intention is probably, that he is now sitting on that promised throne! The connection between VV.22-23 and VV.32-33 is established on the one hand by linking the explicit reference to *David* (V.22) with the quotation from the *Pss* (V.33), already accepted by Luke as the work of David,⁹⁵ and on the other hand by taking two motifs from the Davidic tradition and applying them to Jesus: the "raising" (ἤγειρεν, V.22; ἀναστήσας, V.33) and the "promise" (ἐπαγγελίαν, V.23; ἐπαγγελίαν, V.32). By using this first quotation (Ps 2:7) in the trilogy of quotations, Luke probably intended to refer to the fact of Jesus' exaltation. The final piece of evidence which substantiates this interpretation, is the content of

and E. HAENCHEN, *App.*, 353.

⁹⁰ Cf. also E. LÖVESTAMM on this (*Son and Saviour*, 36. According to J. ROLOFF, Ps 2 was (after Ps 109(110)) the most quoted OT text in connection with the christology (*App.*, 206).

⁹¹ Cf. T. HOLTZ, *Untersuchungen*, 56.

⁹² According to A. WEISER, "...um die in der Auferweckung geschehene Einsetzung des Davidsohnes Jesus in seine göttliche Sohnschaft auszudrücken" (*App II*, 327). He refers to Rm 1:3f at this point. So also E. SCHWEIZER, *Davidic 'Son of God'*, 186-187.

⁹³ Some, however, have noticed this. Cf. C. SMITS who said: "Door de voorafgaande vermelding van de belofte aan de vaderen (13.23,32) moet hier naar onze mening wel sprake zijn van de verschijning van de Zoon van God in de tijd" (*Citaten II*, 195). Also D.L. BOCK: "Ps. 2.7 is used as part of the chain of texts to point to the fulfillment of the Davidic promise in Jesus (vv. 22-23) as that fulfillment is demonstrated through his resurrection. Ps. 2.7 serves to designate Jesus as God's son. The decisive demonstration of his sonship is revealed in the fact that he is raised from the dead incorruptible" (*Proclamation*, 248,253).

⁹⁴ C. SMITS has already pointed to the fact that the terms ἐγείρω and ἀνιστάμαι are used interchangeably in biblical literature for the appearance of kings and prophets (*Citaten II*, 195). So also F.F. BRUCE, *Paul's Use*, 79.n.6.

⁹⁵ With regard to Ps 2 being the work of David, see Ac 4:25-26.

the quotation itself: ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε — God has "begotten" Jesus! This quotation contains thus the *contents* of the promise made to David, as a third motif from the Davidic tradition. The implied knowledge of 2 Ki(Sm) 7:12-16 cannot be denied here.⁹⁶ The "promise" of V.32f refers probably to 2 Ki(Sm) 7. Ac 13:33 could then be based on 2 Ki(Sm) 7:12 (LXX) and the quotation from Ps 2:7 seen as a fulfillment of 2 Ki(Sm) 7:14. The prophecy which Nathan gives to David there, is that his "seed" shall be "raised up", he shall be God's "son", and his "throne", "house", and "kingdom" shall last "in all eternity".⁹⁷ Except for the same verb being used for "raising", all these elements of the Davidic promise were probably at the background of Luke's mind. Without really wanting to distinguish the coming, resurrection and exaltation of Jesus here as separate events, he probably understood them inclusively and all being part of one process. The importance of the "eternal throne" which was promised by God himself to David, is to be seen in Palestinian Judaism with references such as 1Mac 2:57, and in Hellenistic Judaism with references such as Sir 47:11.⁹⁸ It should be noted that there were two main streams of interpretation of the Davidic prophecies: the one emphasized "a Messianic figure, God's Son of Davidic descent, who rules over Israel in the latter days", and the other has emphasized "the divine sonship of the eschatological Israel and leads to the apocalyptic or Qumranian passages of the NT".⁹⁹ The interpretation of Ps 2 here in Ac 13 takes place within the framework of the former stream.¹⁰⁰

It is also interesting to note the similarity of the first part of the quotation from Ps 2:7 with the words spoken by the voice from heaven at Jesus' baptism: "You are my beloved son" (Mk 1:11; Lk 3:22; Mt 3:17)¹⁰¹ as well as at the transfiguration of Jesus: "This is my Son, my beloved" (Lk 9:35; Jn 12:28-30).¹⁰²

With the first quotation referring to the resurrected Jesus being raised (exalted) as God's Son¹⁰³ at his right hand, the following two quotations will focus exclusively on the fact of his resurrection¹⁰⁴ within this whole process of exaltation.

⁹⁶ See also Heb 1:5 where the quotation from Ps 2:7 is followed immediately by a quotation from 2 Ki(Sm) 7:14. So also D.L. BOCK, *Proclamation*, 375,n.109. Compare also D. GOLDSMITH: "There seems to be sufficient connection between the ideas and wording of 11 Sam 7:11-16 and Acts 13 to suggest the possibility of an early Christian *pesher* tradition related to the Nathan oracle" (*Pesher*, 322).

⁹⁷ So effectively pointed out by E. SCHWEIZER, who has indicated that the key words of this prophecy "...turn up time and again whenever the Son of David is expected". Compare especially for this his table (*Davidic 'Son of God'*, 187-188).

⁹⁸ So E. SCHWEIZER, *Davidic 'Son of God'*, 190.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 191.

¹⁰⁰ On the Davidic sonship of Jesus, cf. Lk 1:27 (Joseph belongs to the "house of David"); 1:32 (Jesus will inherit the "throne of David"); 2:4 (they went to Bethlehem, the "city of David"); 3:23,31 (the genealogy of Jesus... "the son of David"); 18:38 (the blind man at Jericho knew him as "Jesus, son of David"); 20:41 (Jesus himself poses the problem of the Messiah (Christ) who will be the "son of David", using Ps 109(110):1 as quotation); Ac 2:30 (the issue of the promise made to David that he will sit on the throne of God and the link with Ps 109(110):1 is taken up again). See also Rm 1:3 ("concerning his Son, who was descended from David according to the flesh").

¹⁰¹ So also B.M. NEWMAN & E.A. NIDA, *Translator's Handbook*, 262. F.F. BRUCE suggests that the wording of Ps 2:7 "...may well have been the precise wording of the heavenly voice" and points to the fact that it is so read in the so-called "Western text" (*Davidic Messiah*, 12).

¹⁰² Cf. also E. LÖVESTAMM, *Son and Saviour*, 26,n.7.

¹⁰³ So also the conclusion of D. GOLDSMITH: "The recent major treatments of Ps 2:7 in Acts 13:33 agree that the reference is to the elevation to sonship of the resurrected Jesus" (*Pesher*, 322).

¹⁰⁴ So also F.F. BRUCE, *Paul's Use*, 72.

*(f) Possible broader knowledge of Ps 2 (LXX) in the rest of the section
(Language, Style and OT-motifs)*

That Luke had some broader knowledge of Ps 2 in mind when quoting V.7 here, seems to be accepted by some scholars.¹⁰⁵ The question must be asked, however: if Luke adopted the Ps 2:7 quotation (which seems likely, bearing in mind the occurrences in Heb 1:5 and 5:5), were the interpretative links applying the quotation to Jesus of Nazareth already present in the tradition? But that Ps 2 has played a significant role for Luke's evidence in his argumentation in Ac, is clear from the fact that it is also used in Ac 4.

Other possible indications of Luke's knowledge of Ps 2:7 can be found in Lk 3:22; Ac 11:15; 17:18 and 19:19.

5.2.2 God has resurrected Jesus from death and the quoted text from Is 55:3 (LXX) in Ac 13:34

Although the next two quotations are extremely closely linked with each other, scholars found it difficult in determining the role of Is 55:3 in this speech.¹⁰⁶

(a) Pre-Lukan occurrences of the quotation

This quotation seems to be familiar in early Judaism as becomes clear from the evidence found in the scrolls from the Judean desert (Qumran). It occurs in 1QS 4:22; 5:5f; 1QSB 1:2f and 2:25.

Although this quotation is not found as an explicit citation anywhere else in the NT, there may be an implied reference to Is 55:3 in Heb 13:20 — but then only with regard to those words which are omitted here in Ac 13:34! Its occurrence here in Ac 13:34 is thus the only place where it is to be found in the NT. The question arises then, that if this was part of a so-called "testimony book",¹⁰⁷ would one not expect to find other references to it in the NT writings? Especially bearing in mind the close relationship between this quotation and that from Ps 15(16):10 which follows hereafter in Ac 13.

On the basis of a lack of evidence proving the existence of the trilogy of quotations as found here in Ac 13, it should be presumed that the selection and adaptation of this quoted text is the creative work of Luke himself.

(b) The introductory formula (Ac 13:34)

Scholars seem to have accepted without question that V.34b is an explicit citation. This assumption needs to be re-examined. If an explicit citation is typified as a conscious quotation that is always clearly introduced by an introductory formula, then it is doubtful that V.34b qualifies as an explicit quotation. In contrast to the

¹⁰⁵ Cf. M.F.-J. BUSS, *Missionspredigt*, 98; and W.J.C. WEREN, *Psalms* 2, 198.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. for instance D. GOLDSMITH, *Pesher*, 323.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. for example, F.F. BRUCE, *Davidic Messiah*, 11-13.

ὡς...γέγραπται of the previous quotation, which clearly indicates that the words which follow should be read as direct speech, V.34b is prefaced by an ὅτι-construction. On the surface, this is a possible indication that the phrase *should* be read as indirect speech, though this is not necessarily the case. It seems important, then, to try to determine whether this is an explicit quotation, introduced by an introductory formula, or whether it should be seen simply as a reference to the OT.

There is one important indicator here that could throw some light on this question. The words which follow directly after this second ὅτι are presented in the first person, and not in the third.¹⁰⁸ The words directly after ὅτι were thus meant by the writer to be seen as a direct quotation¹⁰⁹ — with δώσω included as part of it!¹¹⁰ When δώσω is taken as part of the quotation it also links better with the next quotation.¹¹¹ Seen from this perspective, the words οὕτως εἶρηκεν ὅτι thus function here as introductory formula.¹¹²

(c) *Determining and explaining the textual differences*

NT (NA26)	LXX	MT
Ac 13:34	Is 55:3	Is 55:3
οὕτως εἶρηκεν	καὶ	וַיְהַרְוֶהָ
ὅτι δώσω	διαθήσομαι	
ὑμῶν	ὑμῶν	לְכֶם
	διαθήκη	כְּרִית
	αἰώνιον,	עוֹלָם
τὰ ὅσια Δαυιδ	τὰ ὅσια Δαυιδ	נְנִי כְּסֵי
τὰ πιστά.	τὰ πιστά.	:סֵפֶר־הַבְּרִית

¹⁰⁸. This is due to δώσω (= fut/ind/act/1st pers/sing) which would otherwise have been δώσει (= fut/ind/act/3rd pers/sing).

¹⁰⁹. ὅτι then must be interpreted here as a *hoti recitativum*. "Ὅτι is usually followed not only by the indicative instead of the optative (a tendency also in classical), but also by an exact representation of direct discourse, so that ὅτι serves here the function of our quotation marks" (BL-DBR § 470, 246). Compare also Mk 7:6; 11:17; Lk 2:23; 4:4,[10]; [Jn 8:17]; Rm 3:10; 4:17; 8:36; 1 Cor 14:21; Gl 3:10 and 1 Pt 1:16 where the same tendency is to be found.

¹¹⁰. In the printed edition of NA26 this can cause some confusion, because only the words that correlate directly with the reading from the known LXX texts are printed in *cursive*. Discussions on this quotation often also omit δώσω as part of the contents of the quotation itself (cf. for example C. SMITS, *Citaten II*, 195-6; B.M. NEWMAN & E.A. NIDA, *Translator's Handbook*, 263; G. SCHNEIDER, *Apq II*, 137). The printing format of the Greek UBS (third) edition, is more clear on this. Δώσω is printed with a capital and starting on a new line, as is the case with other quotations.

¹¹¹. The combination δώσω...τὰ ὅσια (V.34) would then be found again in the δώσεις τὸν ὄσιόν of the next quotation (V.35). This is in agreement with E. HAENCHEN, following CERFAUX, by saying that for "διαθήσομαι διαθήκην αἰώνιον tritt unter dem Einfluß des folgenden Zitats...δώσω ein" (*Schnftzitate*, 163). So also H. CONZELMANN, *Apq*, 85.

¹¹². See also C.K. BARRETT: "It is integrated into the argument with οὕτως εἶρηκεν (the subject must be God) ὅτι..." (*Luke/Acts*, 239).

Textual differences between MT and LXX

The only major difference between the readings here is that the ἴδιον of the MT was translated with ὅσα by the translators of the LXX¹¹³ (and so adopted here in Ac). It was thus changed to the plural.¹¹⁴ The fact that the LXX translated ἴδιον with ὅσα in Is 55:3, with the same Hebrew letters as to be found in 2 Ki(Sm) 7:15, might point to an earlier linkage between Ps 2 and Is 55. Did Luke know of this?

Textual differences between LXX and Ac

There are two major differences to be found here in Ac 13:34: (i) the addition of δῶσω, and (ii) the omission of διαθήσομαι...διαθήκην αἰώνιον.

(i) Addition: δῶσω

None of the NT witnesses offers any textual evidence to cast doubt on the occurrence here of δῶσω. On the other hand, the LXX witnesses show no evidence of the word being included at some stage in the LXX textual history. This evidence make it clear that the addition of δῶσω in V.34 should probably be ascribed to the hand of Luke himself. There seems to be an intended connection implied between the δῶσω...τὰ ὅσα of this quotation in V.34 (Is 55:3) and the δῶσεις τὸν ὄσιον of the next quotation in V.35 (Ps 15(16):10).

This addition might be an implicit replacement for the phrase διαθήσομαι...διαθήκην αἰώνιον which is omitted later on in the quotation.

(ii) Omission: διαθήσομαι...διαθήκην αἰώνιον

Both the textual witnesses of the NT and the LXX readings agree that the readings, as reconstructed in the modern editions, are beyond question. There is thus no doubt, on the one hand, that these words are part of the reading in Is 55:3,¹¹⁵ and on the other hand, that they are not part of the reading of Ac 13:34.

By omitting this phrase here in Ac, a different emphasis is given to the quotation. The explicit reference to the eternal covenant is left out. The focus which was on the covenant tradition itself, shifts to the promise made to David, with emphasis on the person David, and therefore the David tradition itself. The *promise* which was made to David, and which was fulfilled in Jesus, replaces thus the idea of the *covenant* which God has entered into with Israel. This change of focus has already taken place implicitly with the reference to the fulfillment of God's promise

¹¹³ H. RINGGREN says that this translation makes it "easy to carry the argumentation by means of word play (V 35)" (*Luke's Use*, 234).

¹¹⁴ So also D.L. BOCK: "Thus τὰ ὅσα Δαυὶδ is deliberately plural and includes two key elements. They are (1) the provision for an everlasting rule [specifically, in resurrection of the Davidic son] and (2) the opportunity of deliverance through the Davidic son [specifically, in justification and forgiveness of sin]" (*Proclamation*, 254). Interesting here is that it has exactly the same Hebrew letters as τὰ ὅσα in 2 Ki(Sm) 7:15, as pointed out by E. SCHWEIZER, *Davidic 'Son of God'*, 192,n.10.

¹¹⁵ Only the minuscule 88 (10th cent AD) disagrees with the LXX textual witness tradition (cf. J. ZIESLER, *Isaiah* (Vol XIV), Göttingen 1967, 327).

(V.32-33). The concept of the διαθήκην αἰώνιον (Is 55:3) is therefore probably implicitly replaced by the concept of the ἐπαγγελίαν...ἐκπεπλήρωκεν (V.32-33), and the concept of διαθήσεται (Is 55:3) with the addition of δώσω at the beginning of the quotation (V.34).

(d) *Method of quotation*

On the surface it seems that the sense of Luke's line of argumentation would have lost nothing if he had gone directly from Ps 2:7 at διαφθοράν at the end of V.34a, to the beginning of V.35 (i.e. omitting V.34b). The quotation from Is 55:3 (with its introductory formula) contributes to the argument by providing authoritative Scriptural evidence¹¹⁶ of the promise to David that the resurrection from death would take place and that he would not "see decay". It may have been used here in order to make it clear that Ps 15(16):10 could not, at this point, have been referring to David.¹¹⁷ For some scholars, this is evidence of a pre-Lukan link between Ps 15(16):10 and Is 55:3.¹¹⁸

Did Luke himself insert Is 55:3 at this point,¹¹⁹ or did he derive it (in combination with either, or both, of the quotations¹²⁰ from the pre-Lukan tradition? There has been speculation in the past that the trilogy of quotations may be due to

¹¹⁶ Cf. B.M. NEWMAN & E.A. NIDA: "As a testimony to the reality of the resurrection, an appeal is made not only to the authority of the eyewitnesses but also to the testimony of Scripture" (*Translator's Handbook*, 262). Also A. WEISER: "In der Auferweckung Jesu zu unvergänglichem Leben und ewiger Herrschaft hat sich die göttliche Zusage verwirklicht, und zwar so, daß sie nun den Zuhörern und Paulus selbst (VV 33.34) als Heil zugute kommt" (*Apq II*, 335).

¹¹⁷ So G. SCHNEIDER: "Das den Gedankenfortschritt von V 34a zu V 35 unterbrechende Jesaja-Zitat hat offensichtlich die Funktion, zu zeigen, daß Ps 15,10 LXX sich nicht auf David selbst beziehen kann, sondern sich an einer späteren Generation — nämlich in Jesus — erfüllen sollte" (*Apq II*, 137). Also H. RINGGREN: "Since David has died and been buried (V 36, an allusion to 1 Kgs 2:10), this promise must refer to someone else, namely Jesus Christ" (*Luke's Use*, 234).

¹¹⁸ So J.W. DOEVE (*Jewish Hymnologies*, 168-176), followed by B.F.M. VAN IERSEL (*'Der Sohn' in den synoptischen Jesusworten*, Leiden 1964, 78-83), J.W. BOWKER (*Speeches*, 101-104), T. HOLTZ (*Untersuchungen*, 140-145), U. WILCKENS (*Missionsreden*, 232), and B.M. NEWMAN & E.A. NIDA (*Translator's Handbook*, 263). Cf. also A. WEISER: "...denn die erst von Lukas geschaffene Überleitung V 34a zielt ganz auf die Unverweslichkeitsaussage von Ps 16 hin, so daß *jetzt* Jes 55,3 retardierend dazwischen steht. Hätte erstmals Lukas beide Zitate oder auch nur eines von beiden selbstständig aus der LXX herangezogen, dann wäre die vorliegende Textanordnung befremdlich. Als vorluk messianologische Katene ist sie zusammen mit Ps 2,7 jedoch gut denkbar" (*Apq II*, 327). See also G. SCHNEIDER, *Apq II*, 138, for a summary of this hypothesis.

¹¹⁹ In the same direction, M.F.-J. BUSS, who thought Ps 15(16):10 to be an insertion and Is 55:3 a reworking (*Missionspredigt*, 108).

¹²⁰ Cf. T. HOLTZ (*Untersuchungen*, 140-145); U. WILCKENS (*Missionsreden*, 232); and A. WEISER (*Apq II*, 327). The latter said: "Der in den VV 33b-37 mit Hilfe von drei Zitaten dargebotene Beweis, daß sich in Jesu Auferweckung die atl. Verheißungen und Heilshoffnungen erfüllt haben, wird nicht erstmalig von Lukas zusammengestellt worden sein." F.F. BRUCE, among others, accepts the existence of a group of *testimonia*, to which he attributes these quotations (*Davidic Messiah*, 11-13). So also L. CERFAUX (48), who believed that Is 55:3 and Ps 15(16):10 were already combined in a "testimony book" before Luke's time, as R. HARRIS formerly proposed. E. HAENCHEN too, did not deny this (*Schriftzitate*, 163-164). However, the existence of such a "testimony book" could not yet sufficiently be proved. So also G. SCHNEIDER: "Dennoch ist...nicht bewiesen, daß eine Katene oder (vor-lukanische) Testimonien-Sammlung zugrunde liegt. Die Anfügung von Jes 55,3 und Ps 15,10 LXX an das traditionelle Testimonium Ps 2,7 könnte auch von Lukas stammen" (*Apq II*, 138).

some kind of "testimony",¹²¹ but the difficulty of substantiating this has been clearly pointed out.¹²²

There might be some similarity here with one of the rules of Hillel, i.e. the principle of "equal category".¹²³

(e) *Interpretation of the quotation by Luke*

Taken at face value, Luke's purpose in using the quotation seems vague.¹²⁴ However, its function and contribution within its new context in Ac is to be seen in relation with Ps 15(16):10.¹²⁵ With the conscious connection of δώσω...τὰ ὄσια¹²⁶ (Is 55:3) and δώσεως τὸν ὄσιον (Ps 15(16):10),¹²⁷ there can be no doubt that Luke intended to parallelize the two quotations and to use the one as a substantiation of the other.¹²⁸

Emphasis is laid on the promises made to David which will be given by God. The link with David was already established in V.22 where it was said that God raised David as their king, and testified that he was a man after God's heart who will do all his will. Then in V.23 it was said that it was of his posterity that God brought to Israel the Saviour, Jesus, as he has promised. In V.32 the promises to the forefathers were taken up again and linked with the first Ps-quotation, associated with David. The issue of the promises made to David, are once again repeated in V.34 by quoting now Is 55:3. The emphasis on the David-tradition is complemented by the omission of διαθήσομαι...διαθήκην αἰώνιον, which helps to move the focus to the promises made to David, rather than to the "eternal covenant". The fulfillment of that promise made to David, is then interpreted by Luke to have happened with

¹²¹ So for instance, R. HARRIS, who thought it came from an existing collection of texts, concentrating on the promises to David (*Testimonies*). Also G. LÜDEMANN thinks in this direction with regard to the last two in this trilogy (*Christentum*, 164). More recently, for instance, B.M. NEWMAN & E.A. NIDA, *Translator's Handbook*, 263.

¹²² See C. SMITS, *Citaten II*, 196. He thought that Ps 88(89):48f could also be responsible for this connection. Although no direct word similarities are to be found, the contents are similar. He said: "Ofschoon in de griekse tekst de door Paulus aangehaalde woorden niet gevonden worden, staan daar dezelfde gedachten uitgedrukt en zijn ze verbonden met ideeën over het ziele van het bederf."

¹²³ So F.F. BRUCE: "In the Hebrew text *hasid* ('holy one') in Ps 16:10 is cognate with *hasde* ('covenant mercies') in Is 55:3; in the Septuagint the same adjective *hosios* is used in both places (in the masculine singular in the former and in the neuter plural in the latter)." "If Jesus, the son of David, was the 'holy one' of God who was saved from undergoing corruption, his resurrection was the means by which God kept his undertaking to fulfill for his people the covenant mercies promised to David and his dynasty" (*Davidic Messiah*, 12).

¹²⁴ So C. SMITS who reckons that "De woorden van Isaias zijn op zich genomen niet erg duidelijk" (*Citaten II*, 195). Also G. LÜDEMANN says that this quotation is so "...fragmentarisch, daß es unverständlich ist" (*Christentum*, 164). See also D. GOLDSMITH, *Pesher*, 323. H. CONZELMANN suggests that Is 55:3 "ist so fragmentarisch angeführt, daß das Zitat für sich unverständlich bleibt" (*Apg*, 85). Is this vagueness perhaps the result of working with Ac 13:33-35 as being part of poem homily, testimony or early Christian catena?

¹²⁵ So also E. LÖVESTAMM, *Son and Saviour*, 49-84.

¹²⁶ See D.L. BOCK for the possibilities of what τὰ ὄσια might refer to (*Proclamation*, 252-253).

¹²⁷ D. GOLDSMITH has seen a connection between the two only in terms of the ὄσια (*Pesher*, 323).

¹²⁸ D. GOLDSMITH points out that this dependence upon each other is taken by some as Ps 15(16):10 being dependent upon Is 55:3, while others consider Is 55:3 to be dependent upon Ps 15(16):10 (*Pesher*, 323).

the events which had taken place around Jesus, especially with regard to his bodily resurrection.¹²⁹

5.2.3 Jesus' body would never decay and the quotation from Ps 15(16):10 in Ac 13:35

(a) Other NT occurrences of the quotation

The lengthy quotation of Ps 15(16):8-11 in Ac 2:25-28 was discussed in Ch 4 of this study. At this point it is sufficient simply to refer to its use in the second Petrine speech, and to note that the quotation is found nowhere else in the NT than in the second speech of Peter, and in this first Pauline speech.

(b) The introductory formula (Ac 13:35)

The words, διότι καὶ ἐν ἑτέρῳ λέγει, form the introductory formula to this quotation.¹³⁰ It includes Ps 15(16):10 here, "as another decisive element in the chain"¹³¹ of quoted texts.

(c) Determining and explaining the textual differences

NT (NA26)	LXX	MT
Ac 13:35	Ps 15:10	Ps 16:10
οὐ δώσεις τὸν ἴσιόν σου ἰδεῖν διαφθοράν.	οὐδὲ δώσεις τὸν ἴσιόν σου ἰδεῖν διαφθοράν.	אֵל לֹא יִרְאֶה תְּהוֹלָל

Textual differences between Ac and LXX

Except for the stylistic difference between οὐδὲ (Ps 15(16):10) and οὐ in Ac 13:35, there are no differences to be found between the two versions. NT textual witnesses support the reading as it stands in Ac 13, without any indication of possible changes or alternative readings in the textual tradition. The NT reading, as it stands, is thus beyond dispute.

The same applies to the LXX. There is no existing textual evidence that the οὐδὲ reading should be in doubt; it can be accepted as it is.

It is also interesting to note the difference between the quotation here in Ac 13:35 (which reads οὐ), and the longer version in Ac 2:27 (which reads οὐδὲ). The latter agrees identically with the LXX reading, and makes grammatical sense, as it

¹²⁹ D. GOLDSMITH, however, finds here not a proof for the resurrection, but for Jesus being the Christ (*Pesher*, 323).

¹³⁰ Cf. C.K. BARRETT who has said: "With ἐτέρῳ we must presumably supply ψαλμῶ; the subject of λέγει is probably God, though comparison with Chap.2 suggests David" (*Luke/Acts*, 239).

¹³¹ So D.L. BOCK, *Proclamation*, 255.

stands in a kind of "neither...nor" construction, expressed by way of the οὐκ...οὐδέ relation in V.27.¹³² The former, however, has been taken out of its original syntactical context. In the new context the use of οὐδέ would be confusing, as it indicates the contrary of a parallel argument of which the first half is not to be found in the new context. All this makes it clear that Luke's knowledge of the context from which it is taken allows him to make also stylistic changes¹³³ in the adaptation of his quotations to their new context.

(d) *Method of quotation*

With the words of this quoted text still fresh in the minds of his reader(s), Luke does not need to quote extensively again from this Ps. Only the relevant phrase for his argumentation is quoted here. But it is done as a *pars pro toto*, and the immediate context of the Ps is also implied, not only from its OT context, but here especially from its context in the second Petrine speech, which includes Luke's interpretation of it at that point.

The importance of this Ps (and then especially this specific verse) for Luke's interpretation of the Jesus-kerygma in terms of the resurrection,¹³⁴ is clear, and is emphasized by the fact that it is placed in the mouths of both Peter (Ac 2) and Paul (Ac 13).

That the trilogy of quotations was taken from a so-called testimony book, is doubtful. Three things are pointing against it: (a) Both Is 55:3 and Ps 15(16):10 are only to be found by Luke and nowhere else in the NT corpus, (b) the combination of all three is only to be found once, and that is here in Ac 13, and (c) the similarities and strong connection between Is 55:3 and Ps 15(16):10 should then also be reflected somewhere else, which is not the case.

Luke has rather found Ps 2:7 from the tradition, and has probably added the other two himself. The first deals then with the exalted Son (at the right hand of his Father), while the other two deal with his resurrection from death. These three are now used as textual "witnesses" to the fact that God has fulfilled his promises to David, with 2 Ki(Sm) 7:11-16 probably used as the *locus classicus*. It makes more sense to understand the combination of these three quotations not only as a compilatory act of Luke himself,¹³⁵ but also as an important piece of evidence about Luke's interpretation of Scripture. Ps 2:7 is quoted as the first piece of evidence, taken from the tradition, to interpret the υἱός as the exalted Jesus of Nazareth. Is 55:3 and Ps 15(16):10 are quoted as the second and third pieces of evidence, which

¹³² Cf. also the following in Lk-Ac: Lk 6:43; 8:17; 11:33; 12:24,27,33; 16:31; 17:20-21; 18:4,13; 20:36; Ac 4:12; 7:5; 8:21; 9:9; 16:21; 17:24-25; 24:13; 24:18.

¹³³ D.L. BOCK also takes it as a stylistic variation here in Ac 13:35, "since the text is no longer set with its parallel partner of Ps 16.10a" (*Proclamation*, 255).

¹³⁴ According to A. WEISER, Luke, under the influence of hellenistic anthropology, has understood the resurrection of Jesus as the "Wiedervereinigung der Seele mit dem der Verwesung nicht verfallenen Fleisch Jesu" (*App II*, 336).

¹³⁵ With D. GOLDSMITH: "...not a random selection, but one carefully conceived on linguistic and theological grounds to show the Jews how God fulfilled his promise to David in II Sam 7 — namely, by raising Jesus from the dead" (*Pesher*, 324).

were added by Luke himself, to interpret the resurrection of Jesus from death. The Davidic tradition plays then a prominent role by linking all three quotations to one single unit in Paul's (Luke's) argument.

(e) *Interpretation of the quotation by Luke*

If ἐτέρω in the introductory formula is understood here to mean "another Ps", then it implies that the previous Ps was understood in terms of Davidic authorship.¹³⁶ The speaker has changed between the two quotations. In both the one from Ps 2:7 and that from Is 55:3, it was taken to be God. But with the introductory formula of this quotation from Ps 15(16):10 the speaker is interpreted as to be David. His name was thus picked up from within the last quotation. Also immediately after quoting from Ps 15(16), the quotation is explained in terms of what has happened with David.

The prominence of διαφθοράν¹³⁷ in VV.34-36 must be noticed. The word itself is found in the NT only in Ac (six times). It was used two times in the second speech of Peter,¹³⁸ and appears here four times in this first speech of Paul. One of these four usages is again part of the same quotation (V.35), while the two occurrences directly following (VV.36-37) are also to be linked directly with the interpretation of the quotation. The other occurrence in the preceding V.34¹³⁹ also connects to this quotation, although indirectly. Its importance, as stressed through this quotation, is probably to be found in its message that Jesus was given victory over death by God (VV.32,34) and that he would never decay (V.34).¹⁴⁰ The idea of incorruptibility is thus the point, or function, of this quoted text.¹⁴¹

In combination with the immediate preceding quotation from Is 55:3, these two texts are interpreted by Luke "...in the sense that Jesus' resurrection fulfills the promises made to David and guarantees the perpetuity of his throne."¹⁴² The context of Ac 2:25-32, where Ps 15(16):8-11 was quoted and interpreted already before by Luke in Peter's second speech, should not be forgotten here. The connection with Jesus' resurrection was very carefully pointed out there by Luke. It

¹³⁶ So taken by the RSV, for instance.

¹³⁷ Categorized in the semantic dictionary of J.P. LOUW & E.A. NIDA under the domain of "Physiological Processes and States" (248), and under the subdomain: "Rot, Decay" (277). It is described as "to rot or decay, in reference to organic matter" (*Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament Based on Semantic Domains, Vol 1: Introduction and Domains*, New York 1988).

¹³⁸ It is found in both instances in Peter's speech as part of the quotation from Ps 15(16):10.

¹³⁹ μὴκέτι μέλλοντα ὑποστρέφω εἰς διαφθοράν...

¹⁴⁰ E. FREISTEDT has found a possible connection here with the Jewish conception that the decay of the corpse begins after the third day. Jesus would then be resurrected just before this could begin (E. FREISTEDT, *Altchristliche Totengedächtnistage und ihre Beziehung zum Jenseitsglauben und Totenkultus der Antike*, 1928, 63). A. WEISER said: "Jesus gilt als der durch seine Auferweckung zum Sohne Gottes Gezeugte, in die messianische Würde des Sohnes Gottes Eingesetzt. Daß diese durch die Auferweckung bewirkte Seinsweise derart ist, daß sie nicht mehr der Verwesung und Vergänglichkeit unterworfen, sondern nach hellenistischem Verständnis unvergänglich und deshalb im Unterschied zu allem 'Gewordenen' göttlich ist (Schmitt: Ps 16, S.240f.), wird durch die Zitation von Ps 16,10 LXX begründet" (*Apk II*, 335).

¹⁴¹ D.L. BOCK, *Proclamation*, 255.

¹⁴² Cf. F.F. BRUCE, *Paul's Use*, 72.

was seen as a prophecy from David, which could not have applied to himself, but which has referred to Jesus.¹⁴³ The resurrection of Jesus to which it refers, was the result of God's action. This interpretation is also applied here (Ac 13:36-37).

6. SECTION IV: ACTS 13:38-41

Interpretation of the content of the message and admonition. The quoted text from Hab 1:5.

One of the shared features between the second Petrine speech (Ac 2:14-41) and the first Pauline speech (Ac 13:16-41), is the fact that both of them present an explicit quotation from the *duodecim prophetae*.

6.1 Composition of the section¹⁴⁴

The parenthetic ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί in V.38 indicates the beginning of the next subsection.¹⁴⁵ An appeal is made here on the revelatory character of the message for the hearers (γνωστὸν οὖν ἔστω ὑμῖν).¹⁴⁶ Three grammatical aspects contribute to the seriousness of the appeal: (a) the emphatic position of this phrase in the sentence, (b) the use of οὖν,¹⁴⁷ and (c) the imperative form, ἔστω.

The rest of VV.38-39 makes it clear that the message which Paul and Barnabas are proclaiming (καταγγέλλεται) is that their sins are forgiven (ὑμῖν ἄφεσις ἁμαρτιῶν). This happens through Jesus as the agent, with the expression "through this" (διὰ τούτου) properly referring back to the discussion of his death and resurrection in the preceding verses. The sins which are taken away are those from which the law of Moses could not justify them ([καὶ] ὅτι πάντων ὧν οὐκ ἠδυνήθητε ἐν νόμῳ Μωυσέως δικαιοθῆναι). In addition to the identification of Jesus as the agent through whom this freedom is achieved, an additional qualification is added at the end of the sentence (V.39): everyone that believes in this, is justified (ἐν τούτῳ πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων δικαιοῦται).¹⁴⁸ This makes the appeal of the preachers' message

¹⁴³. Cf. also D. GOLDSMITH, who says that this quotation "...is used merely to prove that, since David did see corruption, the verse now applies to Jesus" (*Pesher*, 324).

¹⁴⁴. Compare here also the division of this speech by G. SCHNEIDER, *Apg II*, 129, and A. WEISER, *Apg II*, 322-323.

¹⁴⁵. See also V.16 (ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλίται) and V.26 (ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί) for the role of ἄνδρες as a structural marker in this speech. So also G. LÜDEMANN, *Christentum*, 160.

¹⁴⁶. See also Ac 2:14 (τούτο ὑμῖν γνωστὸν ἔστω); 4:10 (γνωστὸν ἔστω πᾶσι ὑμῖν); 28:28 (γνωστὸν οὖν ἔστω ὑμῖν) — all of them in speeches.

¹⁴⁷. Cf. BL-DBR § 451: "After parenthetical remarks οὖν indicates a return to the main theme (resumptive)."

¹⁴⁸. Cf. G. SCHNEIDER: "Freilich ist hier von μετάνοια keine Rede, sondern es wird (paulinisch!) von der Rechtfertigung des Glaubenden gesprochen" (*Apg II*, 139). Interesting is, however, that the verb δικαιοῶ is only to be found in Ac, here in this verse (*hapax legomenon*). W.H. BATES argued that V.39 "...hardly constitute a complete or exact summary of the doctrine of justification by faith. The writer would seem to be of the opinion that the law of Moses will justify you from some things but not from all. Where the Mosaic law falls short belief in Jesus takes over and will see you through. This is not Paul's own view of things." "It simply appears as a characteristic Pauline afterthought, appended to a characteristic Acts' kerygma" (*Note*, 10).

much more concrete, and places the possibility of achieving this new freedom in their own hands — they just have to believe this!

The appeal, which began in V.38, is now strengthened by the addition of a warning. Note the similarities between the beginning of the first sentence in this section (V.38) and the second sentence (V.40): (a) the emphatic position of the phrase (βλέπετε οὖν μὴ ἐπέλθῃ) in the sentence, (b) the use of οὖν, and (c) the imperative form, βλέπετε. The warning itself refers to the saying in the prophets (τὸ εἰρημένον ἐν τοῖς προφήταις, V.40), which in its turn forms the introductory formula for the quoted text from Hab 1:5.

6.2 The quoted text from *Hab 1:5* in *Ac 13:41*¹⁴⁹

6.2.1 Other occurrences of the quotation

No evidence is found of other places in the NT where this text is quoted. It seems as if this quotation appears here for the first time in the NT literature. Although there exists today no textual evidence that this passage was quoted before in Jewish literature, its interpretation in the Hab Commentary (1QpHab 2:1), which was found among the Dead Sea scrolls, is noteworthy. Within its original context, Hab refers to the Chaldaean invasion of Judah. This is reinterpreted by the author of 1QpHab to the Roman occupation of 63 BC.¹⁵⁰

In the Pauline literature, Hab 2:4b was used in *Gl 3:11* and *Rm 1:17*. Although it is also Paul who is at word here in *Ac 13*, the Lukan Paul uses Hab 1:5. The contexts are different and their purposes too. The only similarity is the fact that both quote from Hab.

6.2.2 The introductory formula (*Ac 13:40*)

The introductory formula is here formed by the words: βλέπετε οὖν μὴ¹⁵¹ ἐπέλθῃ τὸ εἰρημένον ἐν τοῖς προφήταις.¹⁵² The τὸ εἰρημένον is also found as part of the introductory formula of the quotation from the prophets in *Ac 2:16*.¹⁵³ Although reference is made here to the "prophets" (plural), the quoted text itself is taken only from one prophet (Hab). The plural form probably refers here to the collection of the 12P.

¹⁴⁹. The quotation is from Hab 1:5 and not 2:5 as mentioned by C.K. BARRETT, *Luke/Acts*, 239. D.L. BOCK does not include this quotation in his discussion on Luke's OT christology (*Proclamation*). He emphasizes only those citations which refer to the christology. In W.K.L CLARKE's classification, this quotation forms part of those quotations which are "Free Versions of the LXX. in Acts" (*Use of the Septuagint*, 88).

¹⁵⁰. Cf. F.F. BRUCE, *Paul's Use*, 73.

¹⁵¹. G. SCHNEIDER (*Apg II*, 141) draws attention to the fact that the introductory reminder βλέπετε (οὖν) with the following μὴ also stands in the same connection in *Mt 24:4/Mk 13:5/Lk 21:8*; *1 Cor 8:9*; *Gl 5:15*; *Col 2:8*; *Heb 3:12*; *12:25*. Cf. also to *Lk 8:18* and *Eph 5:15* (βλέπετε οὖν).

¹⁵². So also, among others, C.A.J. PILLAI, *Early Missionary Preaching*, 40; and C.K. BARRETT, *Luke/Acts*, 239.

¹⁵³. The semantic weight of this τὸ εἰρημένον was already clearly formulated by G. SCHNEIDER: "τὸ εἰρημένον ist wie *Lk 2,24* (ἐν τῷ νόμῳ) und *Röm 4,18* (absolut) das 'Schriftwort'" (*Apg II*, 141).

6.2.3 Determining and explaining the textual differences

There are almost no textcritical difficulties in determining the NT text. The only changes to be found here are clearly due to the influence of codex D.

In this case we are fortunate also to have comparative Greek texts from Qumran: 8HēvXIIgr and the Commentary on Hab (1QpHab).

NT (NA26) Ac 13:41	LXX Hab 1:5	CODEX W Hab 1:5
Ἴδετε, οἱ καταφρονηταί, καὶ θαυμάσατε καὶ ἀφανίσθητε, ὅτι ἔργον ἐργάζομαι ἐγὼ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ὑμῶν, ἔργον ὃ οὐ μὴ πιστεύσητε ἐάν τις ἐκδιηγῆται ὑμῖν.	Ἴδετε, οἱ καταφρονηταί, καὶ ἐπιβλέψατε καὶ θαυμάσατε θαυμάσια καὶ ἀφανίσθητε, διότι ἔργον ἐγὼ ἐργάζομαι ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ὑμῶν, ὃ οὐ μὴ πιστεύσητε ἐάν τις ἐκδιηγῆται.	Ἴδ[ε]τε, οἱ καταφρονηταί, καὶ ἐπιβλέψατε [καὶ] θαυμάσατε θαυμάσια καὶ ἀφανίσθητε, [διότι ἔργ]ον ἐγὼ ἐργάζ[ομαι ἐ]ν τα[ῖς ἡ]μέρα[ις]ὑμῶν, ὃ οὐ] μὴ πι[στεύσητε] ἐάν τις ἐκδι[ηγῆ]ται
8HēvXIIgr Hab 1:5	MT Hab 1:5	1QpHab Hab 2:1
----- (καὶ -----, καὶ ----- θαυμ]άσατε ὅτι ἔργον ----- ἐν ταῖς ἡμέρ]αις ὑμῶν. οὐ [μὴ πιστεύσητε ὅτι ἐκδιηγ]ηθῆ	כַּאֲרֹ 5 כְּגוֹיִם (הַכִּיטוּר (הַתְּמַהוּר תְּמַהוּר כִּי-פַעַל פַּעַל כִּימִיָּכֶם לֹא תִאֶמְרוּ כִּי יִשְׁקַר :	כַּאֲרֹ 5 כְּגוֹיִם (הַכִּיטוּר (הַתְּמַהוּר תְּמַהוּר כִּי-פַעַל פַּעַל כִּימִיָּכֶם לֹא תִאֶמְרוּ כִּי יִשְׁקַר :

The midrash-pesher of Hab (1QpHab 2,1-10)

2 "The prophetic meaning of the passage concerns those who were traitors along with the Man of / Lies, for

3 they [did] not [believe the words of] the Teacher of
Right (which came) from the mouth of / God. It also
concerns those who were trait[ors to the] New
4 [Covenant], f[or] they were not / faithful to the
covenant of God, [but profaned] His [h]oly na[me]. /
5 And thus the prophetic meaning of the passage
6 [concerns] also [the trai]tors of the last / days
They are vio[lat]ors of the coven[ant] who will not
7 believe / when they hear all that is com[ing upon]
8 the last generation from the mouth of / the priest
in [whose heart] God has put [understandi]ng to give
9 the prophetic meaning of all / the words of His
servants the prophets, [through] whom God foretold /
10 all that is coming upon His people and [His]
c[ongregation].¹⁵⁴

(a) *Textual differences between MT and LXX (and their relation with Ac)*

[1] The דַּיְגָּוִי ("behold the Gentiles/nations!" or "gloat over the discomfiture of the nations!") of the MT, was probably read by the translator of the LXX as דַּיְגָּוִי (translated by $\text{o\u00ed katapron\u00e9tai}$, "You treacherous ones!"), and so followed by the reading of the NT.¹⁵⁵ It is very interesting that this דַּיְגָּוִי -reading was found in 1QpHab.¹⁵⁶

[2] The $\text{kai \u03b5\u03c0\u03b9\u03b2\u03bb\u03b5\u03c6\u03b1\u03c4\u03b5}$ of the LXX is not to be found in the readings of the MT or 1QpHab. It is also left out by the NT text. At this point Ac and MT are thus nearer to each other than to the LXX.¹⁵⁷

When taking into account these changes, the text of Ac seems to be closer to the reading of 1QpHab than to that found in the versions of the MT and LXX.

(b) *Textual differences: Ac 13:41 and Hab 1:5 (LXX)*

¹⁵⁴. Translated by W.H. BROWNLEE, *The Midrash Peshet of Habakkuk* (SBLMS 24), Missoula 1979, 53.

¹⁵⁵. Cf. also T. HOLTZ, *Untersuchungen*, 19. G.L. ARCHER & G. CHIRICHIGNO, say "the vocative דַּיְגָּוִי would harmonize much better with the context than דַּיְגָּוִי does; it is therefore quite possible that this was the reading in the Hebrew *Vortage* of the LXX. $\text{καταφρον\u03b7\u03c3\u03b9\u03c3}$ is 'despiser; an imposter who acts cleverly and treacherously'. It is used in Zph 3:5 to mean 'perfidy', and its verb, $\text{καταφρον\u03b5\u03c9}$ = 'act treacherously' (דַּיְגָּוִי) in Pr 13:16; Hs 6:7; Hab 1:13. Therefore we must consider the distinct possibility that דַּיְגָּוִי or דַּיְגָּוִי is indeed the original reading. It is more likely that the MT scribe would have inadvertently omitted ו than that the scribe of the LXX *Vortage* accidentally inserted a ו . (It is therefore best to amend MT to דַּיְגָּוִי)" (*Quotations*, 159).

¹⁵⁶. We can accept that this is the correct reading in 1QpHab on the grounds that (a) "the textual variant $\text{b\u00f4g\u00e9d\u00e2m}$ ('traitors') for M.T. bag-g\u00f4yim ('among [or, upon] the nations') is implied both by the constant reference to 'traitors' in the commentary" and (b) "by the absence to any reference to the 'nations'" (W.H. BROWNLEE, *Midrash-Peshet*, 54). There are however, some who still prefer the reading of the MT here, e.g. M. BURROWS, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, Grand Rapids 1955, 265.

¹⁵⁷. Of the LXX manuscripts, only 763 omits these words, probably under the influence of the NT text.

The quotation agrees broadly with the reading of our known LXX readings. There are, however, some noteworthy differences to be found.¹⁵⁸ In a comparison between Ac and the LXX witnesses, the following 6 changes to the reading of Ac were identified: Two additions, ἔργον and ὑμῖν; two omissions, the phrase καὶ ἐπιβλέψατε and θαυμάσια; one substitution where διότι (LXX) has become ὅτι (Ac); one transposition where ἐγὼ ἐργάζομαι (LXX) has been changed to ἐργάζομαι ἐγώ.

b.1 Additions

[1] ἔργον¹⁵⁹

It is clear that there is no intertextual evidence that this addition might be due to some source text of Lk (at least those known and available today).¹⁶⁰ There is no single witness in the LXX tradition which supports the inclusion of this word here.¹⁶¹ It can therefore relatively safely be assumed that Luke has consciously added this himself¹⁶² on stylistic grounds for the sake of clarity.¹⁶³ An antecedent is here picked up for the ὅ that was implied by the previous ἔργον ἐργάζομαι.¹⁶⁴

[2] ὑμῖν

There is no NT textual support for the omission of this word.¹⁶⁵ Among the witnesses of the LXX are some that include this word in their readings.¹⁶⁶ It is difficult to decide if this word was part of Luke's *Vorlage* or not. It makes also sense

¹⁵⁸ Contrary to C. SMITS (*Citaten II*, 196) who typified these as "enige onbelangrijke afwijkingen" (some unimportant differences), and STR-BILL who unqualifiedly said "Die angezogene Prophetenstelle Hab 1,5 ist nach den LXX zitiert" (*Kommentar II*, 726).

¹⁵⁹ E. HAENCHEN's remarks (*Schriftzitate*, 161) — i.e. that the addition of ἔργον here is in keeping the general trend in codex B to give frequent repetitions — are not valid at this point because this addition also appears frequently in other manuscripts. The word is included by the following NT textual witnesses: P⁷⁴ X A B C Ψ 33.36.81.453.945.1175.1739 *al* vg, and excluded by D E M *gig* p. According to B.M. METZGER this ἔργον was probably omitted by codex D *et al* "...either because it was felt to be redundant, or in order to assimilate the text to the Septuagint text of Hab 1.5" (*Textual Commentary*, 416). Cf. also T. HOLTZ, *Untersuchungen*, 19.

¹⁶⁰ Cf. J. ZIEGLER, *Duodecim Prophetae*, 261.

¹⁶¹ So also T. HOLTZ, *Untersuchungen*, 19.

¹⁶² G. SCHNEIDER explains this "unerwartete ἔργον" as follows: "das Gott den Verächtern der Botschaft ankündigen läßt, ist nach lukanischem Verständnis 'die Annahme der Heiden unter Verwerfung der Juden'" (*Apg II*, 141). He also reckons that this meaning, as well as its "Einführungswendung", leads to the conclusion "daß dieses Zitat zu den selbständigen Zitaten zu rechnen ist, die Lukas entweder selbst der LXX entnommen hat oder deren Text er doch im wesentlichen selbständig nach seiner LXX bietet, auch wenn sie in irgendeiner Form mit der Tradition des christlichen Schriftbeweises vorgegeben sein sollten" (quoting T. HOLTZ, *Untersuchungen*, 21).

¹⁶³ Cf. also H. RINGGREN, *Luke's Use*, 234.

¹⁶⁴ So also G.L. ARCHER & G. CHIRICHIGNO, *Quotations*, 159.

¹⁶⁵ According to W.K.L. CLARKE its inclusion is due to "recensional" grounds, i.e. that "the quotations in Acts show the usual New Testament tendency in that they follow the A text of the LXX, as against the B" (*Use of the Septuagint*, 95).

¹⁶⁶ Its inclusion is supported by N^{ca} A(106,26)-49(613)-198-407 36-62-LII(46,86,711). T. HOLTZ said: "d.h. in der großen Mehrheit der A-Gruppe, in der L-Gruppe und bei einigen Vertretern der C-Gruppe" (*Untersuchungen*, 20). See also the table in App. A.

in terms of the hearers in this speech. See also V.38 (two times). He reinterprets and contextualizes it.¹⁶⁷

b.2 Omissions

[1] καὶ ἐπιβλέψατε

There is no evidence of any NT textual witnesses which support the inclusion of these words. In leaving out this phrase, the Ac-reading stands nearer to the MT which also omits it, than to the LXX.¹⁶⁸ The omission is thus either the result of another *Textvorlage* which might have been nearer to the MT text, or it was simply omitted by Luke himself, due to stylistic reasons, namely, that it seems to be superfluous after ἴδετε.¹⁶⁹

[2] θαυμάσια

This omission is not supported by a single textual witness among those of the LXX.¹⁷⁰ Its inclusion in the text of Ac is also not supported by any single witnesses in the textual history of Ac. It can, therefore, relatively safely be assumed that this omission is due to the hand of Luke himself.

b.3 Substitution: διότι (LXX) ---> ὅτι (Ac)

The διότι of the LXX is substituted by ὅτι in the NT text. There is no clear textcritical support among the textual witnesses, either the LXX in favour of this NT reading, or of the NT in favour of the LXX reading.¹⁷¹ What should be noted, however, is that it is also to be found in S^hevXlIgr and codex N!¹⁷² It might thus be due to another *Textvorlage*,¹⁷³ or simply due to the personal stylistic preference of the final author.

b.4 Transposition:

ἐγὼ ἐργάζομαι (LXX) ---> ἐργάζομαι ἐγώ (Ac)

Not a single LXX textual witness supports this change of the reconstructed NT (NA26) text.¹⁷⁴ It can therefore relatively safely be presumed that this change was

¹⁶⁷ Cf. to the pronoun change in Ac 3:22.

¹⁶⁸ So also T. HOLTZ, *Untersuchungen*, 20; and G.L. ARCHER & G. CHIRICHIGNO, *Quotations*, 159. The only textcritical witness of the LXX which supports this omission, is the minuscule 763 (11th century AD). This was probably done by the influence of the NT text. Refer also to the table in App. A.

¹⁶⁹ So also H. RINGGREN, *Luke's Use*, 234.

¹⁷⁰ So also T. HOLTZ, *Untersuchungen*, 20. See the table in App. A.

¹⁷¹ See the table in App. A.

¹⁷² This seems to be a typical characteristic of codex N, according to J. ZIEGLER, *Duodecim Prophetarum*, 35.

¹⁷³ So preferred by T. HOLTZ: "Vielmehr wird in der LXX des Lukas nur ὅτι gestanden haben. Zwar hat sich davon an dieser Stelle keine Spur in der Überlieferung erhalten." He draws attention to the fact that in Hab 1:6 and also in 2:3, codex A reads ὅτι instead of διότι (*Untersuchungen*, 20).

¹⁷⁴ Among the textual witnesses of the NT, the ἐργάζομαι ἐγώ reading is supported by A B D 13.61 k vg sa sy arm, while the reversed order (ἐγὼ ἐργάζομαι), as found in the LXX, is supported by C E I L P al pler cat vg^{dcm} aeth Chr. The first reading might be taken as the original, as it is the most difficult, both grammatically and contextually. Cf. also T. HOLTZ, *Untersuchungen*, 19.

made by the hand of Luke himself, probably as a stylistic improvement.¹⁷⁵ The fact that the ἐγώ, which seems to be superfluous, is still retained, might denote some intention that this is an act of God.¹⁷⁶

6.2.4 Method of quotation

There are no traces of this quotation being used elsewhere in the NT, and Luke has therefore probably found this quotation by himself and not from tradition.¹⁷⁷ He has probably used a *Textvorlage* which differs from that to be found in the reconstructed version of the LXX, if the changes of καὶ ἐπιβλέψατε and ὅτι are taken to be part of that specific *Textvorlage*. But there are also indications that he has made stylistic improvements (the addition of ἔργον, the word order of ἐργάζομαι ἐγώ, and the omission of θαυμάσια) and has interpreted the quotation within its new context (ὕμιν).

The prophetic motif which has played an important role in the usage of Scripture thus far, is to be found here once again. The quoted text from Hab is used as a prophecy from Scripture, being God's Word itself. It cannot be questioned and nothing can change it.

Attention was also drawn to the fact that Peter has quoted from the scroll of the 12P (Ac 2:17-21 = Jl 3:1-5), and so did Paul (and Barnabas) here (Ac 13:41 = Hab 1:5).

The same pattern reveals itself here as has become clear from the first Petrine, first part of the second Petrine and the third Petrine speeches, i.e. that the first section containing a quotation, or combined quoted texts, is presented as being fulfilled. The next section, however, is presented as not yet being fulfilled. All this fits then into God's plan and control of (salvation) history. In this instance (first Pauline speech), the trilogy of quotations, which is to be found in VV.32-37, deals with the theme of the Davidic promises and the exalted Christ. These are fulfilled. The next section (VV.38-41) deals with the theme of the acceptance of this message by the Jews, quoting Hab 1:5 which is not yet fulfilled. If they do not accept this, and if they do not listen, what was prophesied there, *will* happen! The first section deals thus with what God has done, and the second with what these hearers should do. It could structurally be presented as follows:

- (a) Theme: Davidic promises and the exalted Christ (VV.32-37)
- (b) Quoted texts: Ps 2:7; Is 55:3; Ps 15(16):10 (VV.33-35) = Fulfilled
- (c) Theme: Appeal for acceptance of this message (VV.38-41)
- (d) Quoted text: Hab 1:5 (V.41) = Yet unfulfilled

This unfulfilled quotation will find its fulfillment in the verses following thereafter (VV.44-46), when exactly that happens against which they were warned.

¹⁷⁵. Cf. also T. HOLTZ: "Die unmittelbare Folge von ἐργον ἐργάζομαι bringt die etymologische Figur zu besserer Geltung; 'die schöne Anaphora des zweiten ἐργον vor dem Relativsatz' verleiht dem Satz stilistischen Schwung" (*Untersuchungen*, 20).

¹⁷⁶. Cf. also T. HOLTZ. *Untersuchungen*, 20,n.5.

¹⁷⁷. So also T. HOLTZ, *Untersuchungen*, 21. Contrary to C.H. DODD, *Scriptures*, 87f.

6.2.5 Interpretation of the quoted text by Luke

This quotation functions as a warning to the diaspora Jews¹⁷⁸ and the God-fearers of Antioch in Pisidia not to repeat the mistake made by the Jerusalemites and their leaders.¹⁷⁹ VV. 38-39 makes it clear that the forgiveness of sins and justification could not have been achieved by the law of Moses. This can only happen through him (Jesus), and all who believe in him are justified. The quotation is then linked as a threat of what could happen, if they do not listen and do not accept this message. They are addressed by way of the quotation itself as "treacherous ones".

When looking now at the interpretation of 1QpHab, the resemblance in terms of *how* Hab 1:5 is interpreted, is striking. The hearers are seen as "treacherous ones". They are not faithful to the covenant of God and have profaned his holy Name. This has probably happened because they have not fulfilled their part in the contract which was made in God's name (an oath). They did not believe the words of the Teacher, words which were coming from the mouth of God. It was God who helped the priest to understand the prophetic meaning of all the words of the prophets, who are the servants of God.

The following elements in the interpretation are shared in both 1QpHab and Ac 13: (a) the audience is addressed as "treacherous" (V.41), (b) their disbelief to the words which are spoken (V.45-46), (c) these are God's words (V.44,46,48), (d) they have profaned the name of the covenantal God, Jahweh (κύριος in the LXX), and here Jesus' name through which forgiveness of sins and justification takes place (VV.38-39), (e) the fact that Paul and Barnabas were given a understanding by God for the interpretation of the Scriptures, the prophetic meaning, has already become clear.

Although Ac 13:41 cannot be seen as a Christian pesher of Hab 1:5¹⁸⁰ — as its application here in Ac 13:41 differs from that of 1QpHab¹⁸¹ — the resemblance in terms of the manner in which this quotation is interpreted, is striking. Both Qumran and the NT sometimes quote without bearing in mind either the context from which the quotation comes, or the "original text meaning".¹⁸² Within its original context in Hab, this quotation had an eschatological intention, but here it is meant as a warning to immediately accept the forgiveness of sins through Jesus.¹⁸³

¹⁷⁸ A. WEISER points to the fact that the "Ermahnung" of which this quotation consists, is comparable to the "Schema" of the missionary speeches before the Jews (cf. Ac 2:38-40; 3:19f; and 3:26), all of which end with such an "ermahnende Abschluß" (*App II*, 328).

¹⁷⁹ So F.J. MATERA, *Responsibility*, 86.

¹⁸⁰ Contrary to F.F. BRUCE, *Christianity*, 181f.

¹⁸¹ "Das bedeute für 1QpHab: im Blick auf das Geschehen um die Qumrangemeinde; für das Neue Testament: im Blick auf Jesus" (H. BRAUN, *Qumran*, 162).

¹⁸² According to H. BRAUN: "Eine historische Betrachtung des Alten Testaments wird vielmehr festzustellen haben, daß Qumran wie Acta-Verfasser ein alttestamentliches Zitat oft kontextfrei und ohne Rücksicht auf den ursprünglichen Textsinn handhaben." J. DANIELÉLOU reckons that the reason for this manner of context free quotation is to be found in the fact that "...beide Seiten, Qumran wie das Neue Testament, meinten, in der letzten, der Endzeit zu leben, und von ihr rede das Alte Testament und sei daher im Blick auf die Endzeit auszulegen" (H. BRAUN, *Qumran*, 162).

¹⁸³ So U. WILCKENS: "Wenn die angesprochenen jüdischen Predigthörer nicht augenblicklich diese Verkündigung der Sündenvergebung durch Jesus annehmen, so wird eine neue Epoche der Geschichte des Evangeliums und damit zugleich eine neue Epoche innerhalb der ganzen Erwählungsgeschichte eintreten: das Evangelium wird auf die Heiden übergehen" (*Missionsreden*, 52).

There might be some implied conflict present here between the speakers and the hearers on the importance of the law for justification.¹⁸⁴

7. SECTION V: ACTS 13:42-45¹⁸⁵

Reaction of the hearers

The speech which starts at V.16b, ends at V.41. The narrative which follows (VV.42-45) describes the reaction of the hearers at the synagogue. This literary feature of describing their reaction, was also to be found at the end of the Petrine speeches.¹⁸⁶ The second Petrine speech and this first Pauline speech have in common the shared feature of an "interruption" of the whole speech by the hearers' reaction. In both instances the hearers ask for more information, but what, in the first instance, is merely a request for information¹⁸⁷ becomes, in the second, a plea.¹⁸⁸ The authority of the message as God's words,¹⁸⁹ remains official and directly linked to the sabbath and the synagogue. However eager (παρεκάλουν, V.42) the hearers are to know more, they will wait until the next sabbath (μεταξὺ σάββατον, V.42) to do so.

While the above situation seems to be a more general reaction of the people present, the next event is more explicit and describes how "many Jews and devout converts to Judaism followed Paul and Barnabas, and urged them to continue in the grace of God" (ἤκολούθησαν πολλοὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ τῶν σεβομένων προσηλύτων τῷ Παύλῳ καὶ τῷ Βαρναβᾷ...ἔπειθον αὐτοὺς προσμένειν τῇ χάριτι τοῦ θεοῦ, V.43).¹⁹⁰

The narrative continues in V.44 immediately with the setting of the context on the next sabbath, when "almost the whole city gathered together to hear the word of the Lord"¹⁹¹ (σχεδὸν πᾶσα ἡ πόλις συνήχθη ἀκούσαι τὸν λόγον τοῦ κυρίου). Apart from the importance of the message, being "the word of the Lord", and the Jews and Jewish proselytes involved here, the quantity of people who are affected is also striking. V.42 speaks of "they" (αὐτῶν), V.43 speaks of "many" (πολλοὶ¹⁹²), and in V.44 the number has grown to include "almost the whole city" (σχεδὸν πᾶσα ἡ πόλις). For the reader of Ac this should come as no surprise; Ac 13:2 has already

¹⁸⁴ Cf. B.J. KOET, *Paul and Barnabas*, 117.

¹⁸⁵ Cf. also B.J. KOET, Paul and Barnabas in Pisidian Antioch: A Disagreement over the Interpretation of the Scriptures (Acts 13.42-52), in: *idem.*, *Five Studies on Interpretation of Scripture in Luke-Acts* (SNTA 14), Leuven 1989, 97-118.

¹⁸⁶ Cf. Ac 1:23-26; 2:37,41-42; and 4:1-4.

¹⁸⁷ Ac 2:37 = τί ποιήσωμεν, ἄδρες ἀδελφοί;

¹⁸⁸ Ac 13:42 = ...παρεκάλουν εἰς τὸ μεταξὺ σάββατον λαλήθῃναι αὐτοῖς τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα.

¹⁸⁹ Compare: τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα, V.42; τῇ χάριτι τοῦ θεοῦ, V.43; and τὸν λόγον τοῦ κυρίου, V.44. G. SCHNEIDER refers to Ac 5:20; 10:44; 11:14, and says that λαλέω τὰ ῥήματα relate to the proclamation of the Christian message (*App II*, 141).

¹⁹⁰ For the debate on "God-fearers" and "proselytes", see H. SOLIN, Juden und Syrer im westlichen Teil der römischen Welt, in: *ANRW II*, 29.2, Berlin/New York 1983, 587-789, 1222-1249, here 618-621; A.T. KRAABEL, The Disappearance of the "God-Fearers", in: *Numen* 28 (1981), 113-126; M. WILCOX, The "God-Fearers" in Acts — A Reconsideration, in: *JSNT* 13 (1981), 102-122; T.M. FINN, The God-fearers Reconsidered, in: *CBQ* 47 (1985), 75-84; G. LÜDEMANN, *Christentum*, 161-162.

¹⁹¹ So wrongly translated as "the word of God" by the RSV.

¹⁹² Cf. also Ac 4:4; 6:7; 8:7-8; 9:42; 10:27; 11:21; 14:1; 16:35; 17:4,12; 18:8,10; 19:18; 28:23.

shown the Holy Spirit directing Paul and Barnabas to be set apart for the work to which he calls them. The climax in the number of people who received this message, forms a contrast with the reaction of "the Jews": "they were filled with jealousy¹⁹³ and contradicted what was spoken by Paul, and reviled him" (ιδόντες δέ οι Ἰουδαῖοι τοὺς ὄχλους ἐπλήσθησαν ζήλου καὶ ἀντέλεγον τοῖς ὑπὸ Παύλου λαλουμένοις βλασφημοῦντες,¹⁹⁴ V.45).¹⁹⁵

8. SECTION VI: ACTS 13:46-48

The message is not only for Jews but also for the Gentiles (non-Jews).

The quoted text from Is 49:6.

8.1 Composition of the section

The delivering of God's message, "God's word", resulted in a clear division among the hearers, with the Jews being the antagonists and the Gentiles the protagonists. After the reaction of their hearers (VV.42-45), and without hiding their rejection of this attitude among the Jews, Paul and Barnabas spoke out boldly (παρρησιασάμενοι τε ὁ Παῦλος καὶ ὁ Βαρναβᾶς εἶπαν, V.46). The εἶπαν introduces the last section of their speech. Again, the divine necessity of events is pointed out, by telling the Jews that "it was necessary that the word of God should be spoken first to them" (ὑμῖν ἦν ἀναγκαῖον πρῶτον λαληθῆναι τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ, V.46). However, they have thrust it from them, thereby judging themselves unworthy of eternal life (ἐπειδὴ ἀπωθεῖσθε αὐτὸν καὶ οὐκ ἀξιους κρίνετε ἑαυτοὺς τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς, V.46).¹⁹⁶ The rhetorically attention marker, ἰδοῦ, signals that the preachers are turning now to the Gentiles (ἰδοῦ στρεφόμεθα εἰς τὰ ἔθνη, V.46). Substantiation for this is found in Scripture, interpreted as a command of the κύριος himself to the bearers of his message, by quoting Is 49:6.¹⁹⁷ This substantiation (οὕτως γὰρ ἐντέταλται ἡμῖν ὁ κύριος, V.47) then forms the introductory formula for the quotation which, in its turn, simultaneously ends their speech on a climactic note.

The joyful reaction of the Gentiles, and their reaction of glorification towards the word of the κύριος, is an indication of the impact of that message, driven by the

¹⁹³. According to B.J. KOET, the "Jews are not jealous but their attitude shows a certain zealotry and especially a zeal against Paul's interpretation of the *Torah*, as presented in 13:38-41" (*Paul and Barnabas*, 105).

¹⁹⁴. βλασφημέω points to the "cursing" of Paul by these Jews. So also G. SCHNEIDER, *Apk II*, 145. He draws attention also to Lk 22:65; 23:39; Ac 18:6 and 26:11.

¹⁹⁵. B.J. KOET reckons that "Considering their use elsewhere and the content of the preceding speech it is clear that ἀντιλέγω and βλασφημέω in Acts 13,45 are used to depict a discussion about the interpretation of the Scriptures." This is in line with his contribution to VV.42-52 which he understands as being "a disagreement over the interpretation of the Scriptures" (*Paul and Barnabas*, 101.97).

¹⁹⁶. Compare also Lk 20:35: "...those who are accounted worthy to attain to that age and to the resurrection from the dead..." (οἱ δὲ καταζωθέντες τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐκείνου τυχεῖν καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τῆς ἐκ νεκρῶν).

¹⁹⁷. So also B.J. KOET: "Paul and Barnabas react to the ζήλος of the Jews on the basis of a scriptural argument." He sees this then as a confirmation "that the attitude of the Jews in 13,45 is 'zeal for an interpretation of Scripture'" (*Paul and Barnabas*, 105).

Spirit himself: ἀκούοντα δὲ τὰ ἔθνη ἔχαιρον καὶ ἐδόξαζον τὸν λόγον τοῦ κυρίου, V.48. Note the change here from τὸν λόγον τοῦ κυρίου (V.44) to τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ (V.46b), to κύριος (V.47) and τὸν λόγον τοῦ κυρίου (V.48).¹⁹⁸ The meaning in V.44 is dubious. It could mean either "the word about *Jesus*", or "the word of *God*" — which is anyway understood here as being the message of salvation which has become a reality in Jesus of Nazareth.¹⁹⁹ V.46 would then confirm the latter alternative. Also V.47 and V.48 probably refer to Jesus.

Still within the context of the divine plan (predestination?), it is now stated that "as many as were ordained to eternal life believed" (καὶ ἐπίστευσαν ὅσοι ἦσαν τεταγμένοι εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον, V.48).

8.2 The quoted text from *Is 49:6* in *Ac 13:47*

This is clearly an explicit quotation from the LXX.²⁰⁰ The change in person as indicated by ἡμῖν (V.47a) against σε (V.47b,c), as well as the break between κύριος and τέθεικά, clearly substantiate this.

8.2.1 Other NT occurrences of the quoted text

Although not explicitly quoted, there are some clear references to this same phrase of *Is 49:6* earlier in Luke's writings: *Lk 2:32*²⁰¹ and *Ac 1:8*.²⁰² Simeon refers to the infant Jesus in the temple as the salvation of his people, and a light to the nations (*Lk 2:32*). A further messianic interpretation of *Is 49:6* occurs in *Enoch 48:4*, which speaks of the expected messiah, who will be the light of the nations. In *Ac 13:47* Luke transfers this motif from Jesus to his messengers. See also *Rv 7:4* for an implicit reference to this quotation.

8.2.2 The introductory formula (*Ac 13:47*)

The introductory formula is formed by the words: οὕτως γὰρ ἐντέταλται ἡμῖν ὁ κύριος.²⁰³ Interesting is the strong expression ἐντέταλται²⁰⁴ ὁ κύριος. It is presented here as a direct command²⁰⁵ of the κύριος (Jesus),²⁰⁶ to his

¹⁹⁸ But take note also of the differences among the textual witnesses with regard to the reading in V.48: B D E 049.323.453 *pc sa*^{ms} *bo* support the reading τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ.

¹⁹⁹ Along similar lines, cf. G. SCHNEIDER who says that the λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ is the Christian message (*Apg II*, 145, n.19).

²⁰⁰ With T. HOLTZ, *Untersuchungen*, 32; M. RESE, *Funktion*, 76; and E. RICHARD who reckoned that "...there is ample, important textual support for the text form of Acts 13:47". Contrary to M. WILCOX who thought that the LXX form of this quotation "is very uncertain" (*OT in Acts*, 339).

²⁰¹ *Lk 2:32* = φῶς εἰς ἀποκάλυψιν ἐθνῶν.

²⁰² *Ac 1:8* = ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς.

²⁰³ So also C.K. BARRETT, *Luke/Acts*, 240.

²⁰⁴ See also *Lk 4:10* and *Ac 1:2*.

²⁰⁵ Cf. also C.K. BARRETT, *Luke/Acts*, 240.

²⁰⁶ So also interpreted by H. CONZELMANN, *Apg*, 86; and M. RESE, *Funktion*, 78. The latter draws attention to an observation already made by H.J. CADBURY, that κύριος is often used in a double sense in *Ac*, but when it refers to Jesus it is (apart from a few explainable exceptions) preceded by the article (The Titles of Jesus in Acts, in: *The Beginnings of Christianity I, Vol.5*, London 1933, 354-375.360).

messengers,²⁰⁷ (Paul and Barnabas).

8.2.3 Determining and explaining the textual differences

NA26 does not indicate here that the Chester Beatty Papyrus II²⁰⁸ omits the second σε at this point.²⁰⁹

NT(NA26) Ac 13:47	LXX Is 49:6	MT Is 49:6	p45 Ac 13:47
Τέθεικά σε εἰς φῶς ἔθνῶν τοῦ εἶναι σε εἰς σωτηρίαν ἕως ἑσχάτου τῆς γῆς.	ἰδοὺ τέθεικά σε εἰς φῶς ἔθνῶν τοῦ εἶναι σε εἰς σωτηρίαν ἕως ἑσχάτου τῆς γῆς.	בְּנִסְתִּיק לְאִר גִּוּרִים לְהִי יְשַׁעְי עַד-קֶצֶה :פְּרָקִים	τέθεικά σε εἰς[ς.....] εἶναι εἰς σωτηρίαν ἕως ἑσχάτου τῆς γῆς.

(a) Textual differences between MT and LXX (and their relation with Ac)

The LXX has only one major addition²¹⁰ to the text against that represented in the MT, i.e. the attention marker ἰδοῦ. This addition in the LXX text is also absent in the reading of Ac²¹¹ (if it is not accepted that the quotation was simply meant to begin with τέθεικα), so that the readings as represented in the MT and the NT correspond exactly at this point.²¹²

²⁰⁷ J. ROLOFF supposes that this application to the κύριος and his messengers, against the context of the quotation in Is 49, "...ist schwerlich Werk des Lukas; es ist anzunehmen, daß Jes 49,6 zusammen mit anderen deuterojesajanischen Texten schon sehr früh zur Begründung der Heidenmission gedient hat" (*App.*, 209).

²⁰⁸ Probably to be dated in the first half of the 3rd cent. AD (F.G. KENYON, *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri. Descriptions and Texts of Twelve Manuscripts on Papyrus of the Greek Bible. Fasciculus II: The Gospels and Acts*, London 1933, X).

²⁰⁹ This does not, however, convince one to change the reading, as this is the only witness who reads this against the combination of the great majuscles. Cf. also F.G. KENYON, *Chester Beatty*, 46.

²¹⁰ The possible addition of εἰς διαθήκην γένους in Is 49:6 in the LXX (supported by N O^a-Q^m B L^a-86^c-233 C 198 239^a 403^a 449^a 538 544 Co Syl Eus.dem.et ecl. Th. Tyc. Hi.: ex 42:6 — which reads then: τέθεικά σε εἰς διαθήκην γένους εἰς φῶς ἔθνῶν), might also be due to the influence of Is 42:6 (καὶ ἔδωκά σε εἰς διαθήκην γένους, εἰς φῶς ἔθνῶν) where emphasis is laid on διαθήκη in the same context of φῶς ἔθνῶν.

²¹¹ Its inclusion in codex D is to be ascribed to the "stylistic improvements" of the Bezan scribe, according to E. HAENCHEN, *App.*, 50-54; and E. RICHARD, *OT in Acts*, 340. The latter, following J.H. ROPES (*Detached Note*, 128), agrees that "the 'Western' text altered the form by adding ἰδοῦ (LXX; not Hebrew), by improving the barbarous εἰς φῶς ἔθνῶν to τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, and by giving φῶς a more prominent position" (*OT in Acts*, 340).

²¹² Against T. HOLTZ, *Untersuchungen*, 32; H. CONZELMANN, *App.*, 86; G. SCHNEIDER, *App II*, 145; G.L. ARCHER & G. CHIRICHIGNO, *Quotations*, 117; A. WEISER, *App II*, 338. With E. HAENCHEN, *Schriftzitate*, 160; *idem.*, *App.*, 356.

(b) *Textual differences: Ac 13:47 and Is 49:6 (LXX)*

As indicated in the paragraph above, Ac and the MT are probably nearer to each other on the basis that both of them represent the same shorter reading (not having ἰδοῦ), against that to be found in the LXX.

b.1 Omission: ἰδοῦ

There are two possible explanations for the lack of ἰδοῦ in Ac 13:47. It could be that Luke was using here a *Vorlage* of the LXX which lacked this ἰδοῦ, and was therefore closer to the reading of the MT. On the other hand, assuming that ἰδοῦ was part of his source text, Luke may have omitted the word himself (probably on stylistic grounds) by simply beginning his quotation at this specific point!

Assuming that it was part of Luke's source text, it is possible that he quoted ἰδοῦ *indirectly* by introducing it into the sentence preceding the introductory formula to the quotation:²¹³ ἰδοῦ στρεφόμεθα εἰς τὰ ἔθνη, V.46. On the other hand, the word is very common, both in Lk-Ac,²¹⁴ and in hellenistic Greek generally;²¹⁵ its use here may simply be due to the writer's own stylistic preference, unrelated to its presence in the LXX reading. Thus, though the omission may have been a conscious one on Luke's part, it may equally have been due to the reading of this source text; the agreement of the MT reading at this point tends to support the latter conclusion.²¹⁶

8.2.4 Method of quotation

On the basis that this quotation is to be found nowhere else in the NT explicitly quoted, it may be assumed that it found its way into Ac through the hand of Luke himself. He probably used a *Textvorlage* which resembles that of our reconstructed LXX.

The authority and normativity of Scripture for Luke becomes vividly clear from the way in which this quotation is used. It asserts the divine will of the κύριος and is used as a direct command to Paul and Barnabas. This is similar to the usage of Ps 108(109):8 in the first Petrine speech (Ac 1:20d-21).

²¹³ So G. SCHNEIDER (*Apg II*, 146): "Apg 13,47 läßt das einleitende ἰδοῦ der Stelle weg (bzw. zieht es vor: V 46)." Also M.F.-J. BUSS indicates that the choice of words in the ἰδοῦ-sentence was probably influenced by Is 49:6 (LXX). "So könnte auch erklärt werden, warum Lukas bei dem anschließenden Zitat das einleitende ἰδοῦ nicht mitübernommen hat" (*Missionspredigt*, 137).

²¹⁴ Out of the 200 occurrences in the NT, it appears 80 times in Lk-Ac!

²¹⁵ Compare for example its occurrences in the rest of the NT and in the LXX.

²¹⁶ E. HAENCHEN, said: "Wie man sich aber auch entscheidet, deutlich ist, daß der lukanische Text nicht unmittelbar aus der LXX gewonnen ist, es sei denn, man setzt eine außerordentlich freie Behandlung durch Lukas voraus" (*Schriftzitate*, 160). It is, however, very difficult to take sides here against either the LXX or the MT because of a lack of any further evidence (no other differences in the quotation as it appears in Ac 13:47).

8.2.5 Interpretation of the quoted text by Luke

This quotation is used here by Luke (a) as a direct command of the κύριος to Paul and Barnabas, and (b) in order to support their argument that they have to go to the Gentiles with the gospel.²¹⁷ They will be a light to the nations by bringing the message of salvation. The function of this quotation here is thus to make it clear: this has to happen, they have to turn now from the Jews to the Gentiles with the message of salvation. Scripture has foretold it;²¹⁸ even better: the κύριος, Jesus, has commanded it! In Lk 2:32 Simeon interprets this text from the Jewish Scriptures in terms of Jesus.²¹⁹ The same phrase is now interpreted in terms of Paul and Barnabas.²²⁰ There may be some distinction here between the "word of God" which was preached to the hearers in Antioch, and this "commandment of the κύριος". The latter probably refers to Jesus, implying that it was *Jesus*²²¹ who commanded them to turn to the Gentiles; this is supported by Lk 2:32 where Jesus himself is described as an instrument of revelation to the Gentiles. Remember that God himself has exalted Jesus and made him κύριος (Ac 2:36). His ascension took place "after he had given *commandment* (ἐντεταλόμενος) through the Holy Spirit to the apostles whom he had chosen" (Ac 1:2).

The context of the second servant song, Is 49:1-6, deals with a mission beyond the restoration of Israel. The preceding context from which the quotation in Ac 13:47 was taken, makes this clear:²²² "And now the Lord says, who formed me from the womb to be his servant, to bring Jacob back to him, and that Israel might be gathered to him, for I am honoured in the eyes of the Lord, and my God has become my strength — he says: 'It is too light a thing that you should be my servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob and to restore the preserved of Israel; I will give you as a light to the nations, that my salvation may reach to the end of the earth'" (Is 49:5-6). As was the case with the other quotations from the prophetic literature which have been discussed so far, so this quotation also comes from a section which

²¹⁷ So also C.K. BARRETT, *Luke/Acts*, 240: "The quotation from Is 49:6 justifies the turn to the Gentiles." See also U. WILCKENS, *Missionsreden*, 71; and M. RESE, *Funktion*, 78. D.E. JOHNSON points out that they "...appeal to a biblical warrant for turning to the Gentile world when Israelites are unresponsive" (*Isaianic Servant Songs*, 345). It could not be agreed with H. RINGGREN that Paul is speaking here to Gentiles — in order to explain the exclusion of the phrase, εἰς διαθήκην γένους (*Luke's Use*, 235). The audience consisted of Jews and God-fearers in the synagogue at Antioch in Pisidia (Ac 13:16,42-46). But it is the Gentiles who accepted the message of salvation with joy (V.48), in contrast with the Jews.

²¹⁸ U. WILCKENS, *Missionsreden*, 71.

²¹⁹ So also H. CONZELMANN, *App*, 86; M. RESE, *Funktion*, 78; and G. SCHNEIDER, *App II*, 145-146, n.25.

²²⁰ Cf. also F.F. BRUCE, *Paul's Use*, 73. D.E. JOHNSON, following J. DUPONT, finds in Ac 13:47 "...an extension of Jesus' ministry and a preview of the scene with which Luke will close his two-volume account of the spread of the word of salvation" (*Isaianic Servant Songs*, 345). Also M. RESE, *Funktion*, 78.

²²¹ So also M. RESE, *Funktion*, 77-78; and B.M. NEWMAN & E.A. NIDA, *Translator's Handbook*, 269. Contrary to B.J. KOET who argues that the term κύριος here refers to God (*Paul and Barnabas*, 107).

²²² Cf. also B.J. KOET, *Paul and Barnabas*, 108; and D.E. JOHNSON, *Isaianic Servant Songs*, 345-346, who argue in the same direction.

contains direct speech, the direct words of Yahweh.²²³ Within the original Hebrew context this was interpreted in terms of "the collective Israel"²²⁴ (an interpretation reinforced by the LXX); the servant-motif was subsequently re-interpreted by Luke in terms of Jesus, the servant of God (Lk 2:32); Ac 1:2 expands this interpretation in terms of Jesus' command to his apostles, who are now his servants.²²⁵ Thus, in the context of Ac 13, the κύριος of Is 49 has become Jesus, the κύριος who commands his apostles, Paul and Barnabas.

This audience and the Jews of Jerusalem share the same moment of decision in salvation history, centering on the acknowledgement of Jesus, and with it that of the divine goal of salvation history,²²⁶ as foretold by the prophets in the whole of Scripture.²²⁷ The quotation from Is 49:6 functions thus as "...the deciding factor in the transition from the proclamation to the Jews to that to the Gentiles".²²⁸

9. SOME CONCLUSIONS ON THE USE OF THE EXPLICIT QUOTATIONS IN THE FIRST PAULINE SPEECH

9.1 Ps 2 was very well known during Luke's time. Also Luke makes use of it in order to designate the resurrected Jesus as the exalted Son of God. In line with Heb, Luke uses it christologically, especially in terms of Jesus' exaltation.

9.2 The Davidic motif plays an important role and combines all three quoted texts. The focus is on the promises which were made to David and which are fulfilled: Jesus was resurrected and exalted; he sits on the "Davidic throne" at the right hand of the Father.

9.3 Luke's creative compilatory hand could be seen at its best in his reconstructed parallel reading of Is 55:3 and Ps 15(16):10. The bodily resurrection of Jesus, as well as the immortality and incorruptibility of his body, is herewith substantiated, and that, in turn, is proof of God's fulfillment of his promises made to David.

9.4 The two Ps-quotations (Ps 2:7 and 15(16):10) are used as promises or "prophecies" which are fulfilled. The three prophet-quotations (Is 55:3, Hab 1:5 and Is 49:6) are also used as prophecies. On this, the occasion of Paul's first speech, the first is regarded as having already been fulfilled; the second is yet to be fulfilled. By the time the third prophecy is used, on the following sabbath, the second prophecy has reached fulfillment. At this point the third prophecy becomes relevant, and is next in line to be fulfilled. Probably only the first three of these five are to be

²²³ Compare Ac 2:17-21 (*Jl 3:1-5(2:28-32)*); 13:34 (*Is 55:3*); and 13:41 (*Hab 1:5*).

²²⁴ Cf. B.J. KOET, *Paul and Barnabas*, 109-110.

²²⁵ So also H. CONZELMANN, *ApG*, 86; and M. RESE: "Kein Leser der ApG wäre auf den Gedanken gekommen, jemand anders als Jesus hätte Paulus und Barnabas zur Mission beauftragt" (*Funktion*, 77). Along similar lines, also B.J. KOET, *Paul and Barnabas*, 112-114. But he includes the other Jews too, and concluded that the issue concerning this is "a false dilemma" (114). Compare B.J. KOET for an overview of other proposed alternatives to whom this *oe* in the quotation might refer to (111-112). None of these, however, is convincing.

²²⁶ Cf. B.J. KOET: "The problem for these Jews is whether and how the Gentiles are allowed to take note of the Word of God and thus hear of their salvation" (*Paul and Barnabas*, 110).

²²⁷ U. WILCKENS, *Missionsreden*, 53.

²²⁸ Cf. B.J. KOET, *Paul and Barnabas*, 107. Also M. RESE, *Funktion*, 77.

understood in a (christological) messianic-eschatological manner. The remaining two have different functions.

9.5 While the first three quotations were used in an informative manner, the next quoted text (Hab 1:5) is used in a normative way. It is God's word, nothing can alter, change or question it. With the information concerning Christ, the hearers have to make a decision, which, if negative, will result in the fulfillment of this quoted text and its consequences.

9.6 The last quotation confirms what God has planned: salvation to all. With the Jews rejecting it, the quotation is used as a clear demand to Paul and Barnabas to turn to the Gentiles with this message of salvation. Also this quoted text is thus used in a normative manner.

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.¹

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.²

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 Ἀτενίσσας δὲ ὁ Παῦλος τῷ συνέδριῳ εἶπεν·

¹. The other being Ac 28:16-28.

². 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" (*Apog II*, 616-617).

ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί,
ἐγὼ πάση συνειδήσει ἀγαθῆ 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 κεκοιναμένε·
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*:³ "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"

³. "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.30,⁴ 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),⁵ 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.⁶ 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.⁷ This does not reflect a Jewish way of addressing people.⁸ Typical Lukan style is used to describe the temporal element in Paul's life before God, a life which he lived "in all good conscience⁹ up to this day" (ἐγὼ πάση συνειδήσει ἀγαθῇ πεπολίτευμαι τῷ θεῷ ἄχρι¹⁰ ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας,¹¹ 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.¹²

⁴ 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).

⁵ See Ac 21:33.

⁶ So also in the same direction, A. WEISER, *Apg II*, 614.

⁷ 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.

⁸ Cf. STR-BILL, *Kommentar II*, 765.

⁹ 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).

¹⁰ 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.

¹¹ 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.

¹² 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 point¹³ by the high priest Ananias¹⁴ 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).¹⁵ 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).¹⁶ 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),¹⁷ which is the only other place in the NT where the verb κοιιάω is to be found.¹⁸ There is a striking resemblance here to a motif from Ez 13:10-15,¹⁹ the context of which is a warning against false prophets. However, the LXX uses the verb ἀλείφω at this point, and not κοιιάω.²⁰ 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),²¹ 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).²² The reference might be to Lv 19:15: "You shall do no injustice in judgment".²³ It was the custom that defendants should be given a fair

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

¹⁴ 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.

¹⁵ 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).

¹⁶ 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).

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

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

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

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

²¹ The phrase καὶ κοιιάσεις αὐτοὺς κοιιά is repeated again in V.4.

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

²³ So also E. HAENCHEN, *App*, 566.

trail, and be presumed innocent until proved guilty.²⁴ 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).²⁵ 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.²⁶ 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).²⁷

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;²⁸ 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

²⁴ Cf. also F.F. BRUCE, *Acts*, 425.

²⁵ 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.).

²⁶ 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.

²⁷ G. SCHNEIDER draws attention also to Is 8:21 (LXX) (*ApG II*, 332,n.32).

²⁸ 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.²⁹

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.³⁰ The ὅτι here simply serves the purpose of a double point.³¹

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	אֱלֹהִים לֹא יִקְלֹל
ἄρχοντα τοῦ λαοῦ	ἄρχοντος τοῦ λαοῦ	רֹאשׁ הַעַמִּי
σου οὐκ ἔρεῖς κακῶς.	σου οὐ κακῶς ἔρεῖς.	לֹא תָרִיב

(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) אֱלֹהִים which reads θεοὺς in the LXX;³² (b) the Hebrew singular, רֹאשׁ ("ruler") which has become a plural in the LXX translation: ἄρχοντος ("rulers");³³ (c) the preposition תְּ which is left untranslated in the LXX; and (d) the תָּרִיב ("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.

²⁹ 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).

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

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

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

³³ According to J.W. WEVERS, the LXX "Exod understood אֱלֹהִים as plural in intent and for consistency's sake took רֹאשׁ 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)*³⁴

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.³⁵

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*,³⁶ 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 1s was used first,³⁷ and thereafter material from the Torah.³⁸

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

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

³⁶. 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).

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

³⁸. 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,³⁹ 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.⁴⁰

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.⁴¹ 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.⁴² Luke probably intended to suggest that Paul was uttering a *prophecy*,⁴³ 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.⁴⁴ 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

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

⁴⁰ 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).

⁴¹ 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.

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

⁴³ 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.

⁴⁴ 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.⁴⁵ He is an innocent person, unjustly accused, tried, and judged.⁴⁶

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 ὁδὲλεφτοι clearly indicates this.⁴⁷

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,⁴⁸ and that he is on trial with respect to the hope and resurrection of the dead (V.6).⁴⁹ 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.⁵⁰

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!

⁴⁵ So also A. WEISER, *Apg II*, 615.

⁴⁶ 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).

⁴⁷ Contrary to the division of G. SCHNEIDER, *Apg II*, 329.

⁴⁸ Cf. also Ac 26:5 and Philp 3:5.

⁴⁹ 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).

⁵⁰ So G. SCHNEIDER, *Apg II*, 330.

6.3 Either a *Textvorlage* 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.¹ 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.² 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",³ or "party of the Nazarenes".⁴

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".⁵ 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).⁶ Another similarity is to be found with the passion of Jesus

¹ So also A. WEISER, *App II*, 679.

² 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).

³ 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).

⁴ 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).

⁵ 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".

⁶ 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.⁷

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,⁸ 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
ἐβούλοντο 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 ἀξιοῦμεν 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

⁷. So also A. WEISER, *Apk II*, 677-678; and G. SCHNEIDER, *Apk 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.

⁸. 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 ἠπίστουσαν·

25α 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 τοῦτον 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,⁹ Paul receives special treatment, probably because he is a Roman civilian;¹⁰ he receives special permission to stay by himself with a single soldier¹¹ 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"

⁹ 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).

¹⁰ Cf. Ac 22:25.

¹¹ 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)¹² when Paul takes the initiative to call together the local Jewish leaders (συγκαλέσασθαι αὐτὸν τοὺς ὄντας τῶν Ἰουδαίων πρῶτους).¹³ 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.¹⁴ 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 fathers¹⁵ (ἐγὼ...οὐδὲν ἐναντίον ποιήσας τῶ λαῷ ἢ τοῖς ἔθεσι τοῖς πατρώοις δεσμιος, V.17).¹⁶ He was nevertheless captured in Jerusalem and delivered "into to the hands of the Romans" (ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων παρεδόθεν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας¹⁷ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, V.17).¹⁸ The Romans then tried him (οὔτινες ἀνακρίναντές με), found him not guilty, and wanted to set him free (ἐβούλουτο ἀπολύσαι),¹⁹ 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.²⁰ 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).²¹ 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.²²

¹². 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.

¹³. 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?

¹⁴. 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.

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

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

¹⁷. 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.

¹⁸. 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.

¹⁹. 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!

²⁰. 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).

²¹. Cf. Ac 25:9-12.

²². 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).²³ This "hope of Israel" is probably the Jewish messianic hope,²⁴ 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).²⁵ Thus, neither officially, nor orally, have they received information about Paul.²⁶ 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)²⁷ to further satisfy their curiosity (V.23). On the appointed day they came to his lodging in great numbers²⁸ (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

²³ In the same direction, also Ac 23:6; 24:15; 26:6.

²⁴ 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.

²⁵ 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).

²⁶ 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.

²⁷ Cf. 2Mac 3:14; 14:21; Tob 6.

²⁸ 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 βασιλείαν²⁹ τοῦ θεοῦ). He does this from within the context of the Mosaic law³⁰ and the Prophets (ἀπό τε τοῦ νόμου Μωυσέως καὶ τῶν προφητῶν), trying to persuade them about Jesus (πείθων τε αὐτοὺς περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ).³¹ "The kingdom of God" and "the things about Jesus" are not closely related,³² but within each other.³³

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 ὑμῖν³⁴ 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].

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

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

³¹ 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.

³² Cf. the argumentation of E. HAENCHEN, *App*, 646.

³³ So G. SCHNEIDER, *App II*, 417.

³⁴ 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)³⁵ in Mt 13:14-15.³⁶ A reduced or summarised version (i.e. a reference or allusion, and not an explicit quotation) occurs also in Mk 4:12,³⁷ Lk 8:10,³⁸ 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 4:18.³⁹ 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,⁴⁰ while that of Jn is closer to the MT.⁴¹

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.⁴² 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.⁴³ This clearly

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

³⁶ 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.

³⁷ 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).

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

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

⁴⁰ 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).

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

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

⁴³ 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

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 εἶδητε⁵⁰ in some textual witnesses, while the ἐπαχύνθη in V.27 has become ἐβαρύνθη⁵¹ in some others. The ἐπιστρέψωω in the last line of the quotation is read as ἐπιστρέψουσω by a few textual witnesses,⁵² and ἰάσσομαι as ἰάσωμαι.⁵³ 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".⁵⁴ 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.⁵⁵

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

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

⁵⁰ Cf. NA26: (ex itac.?) p⁷⁴vid E 104 pc sy^h.

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

⁵² Cf. A E Ψ 048.81 pc vg^{mss}.

⁵³ Cf. E 33.81.2464 pm gig vg.

⁵⁴ 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).

⁵⁵ 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).

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

⁵⁷ It seems as if it was vocalized as a 3rd pers/masc/sing *Hoph'al* (יָדַשְׁוּ) 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.⁵⁸
- (v) The "heart of the people", being the object in the MT, is changed to a subject in the syntax of the LXX translation.⁵⁹
- (vi) In the LXX translation the negative intention of the people is expressed with the μήποτε-conjunction in combination with the aorist.⁶⁰
- (vii) Instead of the futurum in the LXX translation καὶ ἰάσομαι αὐτούς ("and I shall/should heal them"), a better translation for the impersonal וְיִשְׁרָפּוּ ("and to heal/cure") would probably have been: καὶ ἰαθήσεται, ἰαθῆ (passive),⁶¹ or "and be healed".⁶²

(b) *Textual differences between Ac and LXX*

The quotation in Ac 28:26-27 matches almost exactly the LXX version of Is 6:9-10.⁶³ There are only two differences to be found between the reconstructed readings of the LXX and Ac:⁶⁴ (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.⁶⁵ It is interesting that its omission in the other NT parallel, Mt 13:15, also receives adequate textcritical support.⁶⁶ This raises the question of

⁵⁸ 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."

⁵⁹ So B.J. KOET, *Paul in Rome*, 129.

⁶⁰ 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).

⁶¹ 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).

⁶² So B.J. KOET, *Paul in Rome*, 129.

⁶³ 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.

⁶⁴ So also H. RINGGREN, *Luke's Use*, 235.

⁶⁵ It is supported only by minuscule 393 and the Coptic translation.

⁶⁶ It is included, however, by NC 33.892.1241 pc it vg^{mss} sy^{s.c.p.}

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

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,⁶⁸ thereby going against our known readings of the MT and LXX.⁶⁹ 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 4:12,⁷⁰ 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".⁷¹ But this does not prove beyond all doubt that Luke has made use here of "an early Christian 'testimony'".⁷² It is interesting, however, that the version in Ac almost identically resembles that found in Mt, in length,⁷³ form and content, while those in Mk, Jn and Luke's gospel are standing closer to each other.⁷⁴ 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^o 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, *Appg.* 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 (*Appg 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..." (*Appg 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, *Appg.* 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.⁷⁵ 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.⁷⁶

This quotation is therefore used to explain and justify Paul's turning away from the Jews to take the message of salvation⁷⁷ to the Gentiles.⁷⁸ 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.⁷⁹

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

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

⁷⁶ 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).

⁷⁷ 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).

⁷⁸ 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.

⁷⁹ 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.⁸⁰ 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:⁸¹ (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."⁸² The LXX thus opens another direction for the interpretation of this quotation, which is not present in the MT.

⁸⁰ 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).

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

⁸² 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 1:3-6.⁸³ 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;⁸⁴ in Lukan theological terms: God's plan of salvation.⁸⁵ 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.⁸⁶

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.⁸⁷

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

⁸³ 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.

⁸⁴ 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.

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

⁸⁶ So also G. SCHNEIDER, *Apg II*, 417,n.59.

⁸⁷ 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 $\gamma\omicron\pi\eta$ by $\delta\sigma\iota\alpha$ 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; 2:25,¹ 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.² 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

¹ Cf. H. BRAUN, *Qumran I*, 317.

² 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.³ 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:⁴

(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

³. See the tables in App. A.

⁴. 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 J1 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.⁵ 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 J1 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".

⁵ 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 εἶπον 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.⁶ 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

⁶ 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.⁷

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:⁸

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

⁸ 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.

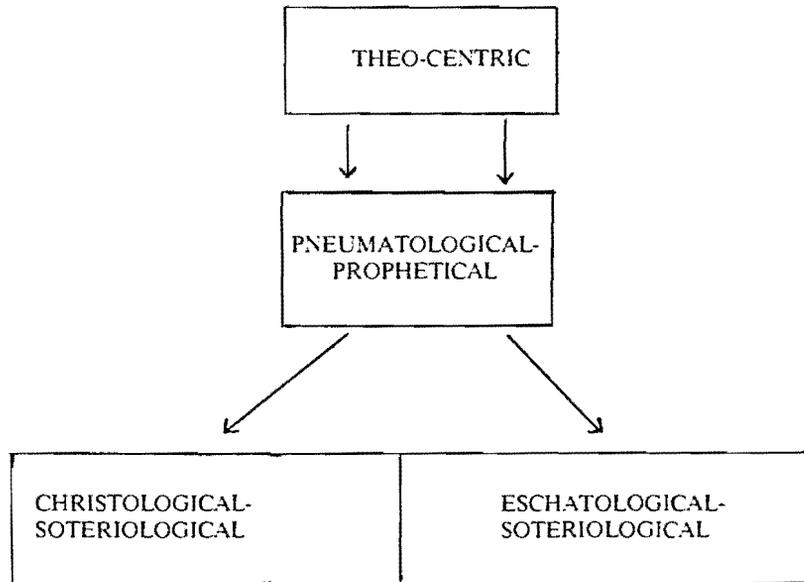
Element (e) reflects quoted texts which are treated *prophetically*. They are used mainly as prophecies which are not yet fulfilled, but which may be on the point of fulfillment; or, the prophecies may be fulfilled, but at the same time still remain open in terms of their consequences or their challenge, 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")⁹*

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.¹⁰ 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)!

⁹ 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).

¹⁰ 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" (εἶδώς, 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,¹¹ 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!¹² *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

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

¹² 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*¹³

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 Ἠσαίου 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

¹³ . 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'",¹⁴ 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*¹⁵

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

¹⁴. 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).

¹⁵. 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".¹⁶ They have received the "promise" of the Holy Spirit.¹⁷ 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.¹⁸

(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.¹⁹

(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 1:5.²⁰ 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,²¹ and (b) oral witnesses, the

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

¹⁷ 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).

¹⁸ 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).

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

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

²¹ 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*)²²

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*,²³

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*,²⁴ 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 δώσετε 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).

²² 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.

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

²⁴ 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*.²⁵ 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 dimension²⁶

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!

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

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

APPENDIX A

TEXTVORLAGE OF THE LXX IN THE ACTA APOSTOLORUM

I. DUODECIM PROPHETAE

The following LXX witnesses support the changed reading of the NT:

JOEL 2:28-32 (Ac 2:17-21)

[11 changes]

LXX (Göt)	NT (NA26)	W B-S-V	ALEXANDR.	LUKIAN	LK	PRE-
μετὰ ταῦτα	ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις	N O	S U P P	O R T		
-----	λέγει ὁ θεός	N O	S U P P	O R T		
ἐνύπνια	ἐνυπνίαις	S ^c -V	A(106,26)- Q(544)-49(764)- 198- 233(710,410)-534			
υἱοὶ- θυγατέρες πρεσβύτεροι νεανίσκοι	υἱοὶ- θυγατέρες νεανίσκοι πρεσβύτεροι	N O	S U P P	O R T		
καὶ ἐπὶ	(καὶ) γε	W ^c S ^c	A(106,26)- Q(544)-49(764)- 198- 233(710,410)-534	L(22,36,48, 51,231,719, 763) LI(62,147) LII(46,86, 711)		
δούλους	(δούλους) μου	B S ^c	A(106,26)- Q(544)-49(764)- 198- 233(710,410)-534	L(22,36,48, 51,231,719, 763) LI(62,147) LII(46,86, 711)		
δούλας	(δούλας) μου	S ^c				
-----	καὶ προφητεῦσαουσιν			36-LII(46,86, 711)-49(613)		
οὐρανῶ	(οὐρανῶ) ἄνω	S ^c		22 ^c -36-LII(46,86, 711)- 49(764,613)-407		
τῆς γῆς	(τῆς γῆς) κάτω	W(407)		22 ^c -36-		

				<i>LII(46,86)^{mg}, 711)-49(764,613)</i>
-----	σημεία	S ^C -V		<i>22^c-36-LII(46,86, 711)-49(764,613)</i>

I. Lk is following the LXX (against the Hebrew):

- (a) ἀπό before τοῦ πνεύματος
- (b) ἡμέραν κυρίου τῆν μεγάλην καὶ ἐπιφάνῃ

II. Lk used another Vorlage as that which we have:

- (a) καὶ γε (= MT = W^{1st} corrector)
 - (b) [μου]??
 - (c) [δωω]...κάτω (= W^{*})
- strong parallelistic tendencies?

HABAKKUK 1:5 (Ac 13:41)

[6 changes]

LXX (Göt)	NT (NA26)	W B-S-V	ALEXANDR.	LUKIAN	LK	PRE-
καὶ ἐπιβλέψατε	-----			763		
θαυμάσια	-----	N O	S U P P	O R T		
ἐγὼ ἐργάζομαι	ἐργάζομαι ἐγώ	N O	S U P P	O R T		
-----	ἔργον	N O	S U P P	O R T		
διότι	ὅτι	N O	S U P P	O R T		
-----	ὕμῶν	S ^{ca}	A(106,26)- 49(613)-198-407	36-62-LII(46,86, 711)		

I. Lk is following the LXX (against the Hebrew):

- (a) οἱ καταφρονεῖται is included (NT and LXX); MT omitted

II. Lk used another textreading than our known LXX

- (a) καὶ ἐπιβλέψατε is omitted (NT = MT); LXX included

AMOS 5:25-27 (Ac 7:42-43)

[6 changes]

LXX (Göt)	NT (NA26)	WB-S-V	ALEXANDR.	LUKIAN	LK	PRE-
τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη	ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα	N O	S U P P	O R T		
-----	ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ		A (other position in sentence)	L(22,36,48, 51,231,719)- Ll(62,147)-613		
τοὺς τύπους αὐτῶν	τοὺς τύπους		A-Q ^{ist}	L(22,48,51, 231,719,763)- Ll(62,147)- Lll(46,86, 711)		
-----	προσκυνεῖν	N O	S U P P	O R T		
ἑαυτοῖς	αὐτοῖς	N O	S U P P	O R T		
Δεμοσκοῦ	Βαβυλώνας		Qmg b 26			

I. Lk is following the LXX (against the Hebrew):

- (a) θυσίας in plural (NT = LXX); MT singular
- (b) τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ Μόλαχ
- (c) καὶ τὸ ἄστρον τοῦ θεοῦ ὕμῶν ῥαίξαι

II. Lk used another reading than our known LXX

- (a) ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ is included (= MT)

AMOS 9:11-12 (Ac 15:16-18)

[11 changes]

LXX (Göt)	NT (NA26)	WB-S-V	ALEXANDR.	LUKIAN	LK	PRE-
ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκεῖνη	μετὰ ταῦτα	N O	S U P P	O R T		
ἀναστήσω	ἀναστρέψω	N O	S U P P	O R T		
τὴν σκηνὴν Δαυὶδ τὴν πεπτωκυῖαν καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσω	καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσω τὴν σκηνὴν Δαυὶδ τὴν πεπτωκυῖαν	N O	S U P P	O R T		
τὰ πεπτωκότα αὐτῆς	-----	N O	S U P P	O R T		

ἀναστήσω καὶ	-----	N O	S U P P	O R T		
-----	καὶ ἀνορθώσω			764		
καθὼς αἱ ἡμέραι	-----	N O	S U P P	O R T		
τοῦ αἰῶνος	-----					
ὅπως	ὅπως ἔσθ		A(106)-	36		
ἐκζητήσωσιν	ἐκζητήσωσιν		49(764,613)			
-----	τὸν κύριον		A(106,26)-			
			49(764)-198-407-			
			456-534			
ὁ ποιῶν	ποιῶν	N O	S U P P	O R T		
-----	γνωστὰ ἀπ'					
	αἰῶνος	N O	S U P P	O R T		

NOTES:

- There are the minimum omissions to be found; much more substitutions, transpositions and additions.
 - Near to the text readings of codex A and the recension of Lukian
 - Looks as if Lk made stylistic changes (hebraic character is changed to better Greek?). Chooses the LXX. When there are thus changes between the LXX and Acts, which are nearer to the MT, the possibilities are great that he has used another Vorlage.
 - All 4 quotations above were taken from contexts where it was presented as the **direct words of the Lord** - and so understood and interpreted by Luke
 - All 4 quotations are presented within Ac as being closely connected with the inspiration of **the Holy Spirit**:
 - (a) Acts 2:14 = Peter and the 11 other under guidance of the Holy Spirit
 - (b) Acts 13:52 = All the believers in Antioch were full of joy and the Holy Spirit
 - (c) Acts 7:10 = Stephen has received his wisdom with which he argumentated from the Holy Spirit
 - (d) Acts 15:8 = God who know their hearts, has proven it by giving the Holy Spirit to the heathens just as he has given the Spirit to them (the apostles)
- This connection with the Spirit seems to be the trend also by the other quotations. Looks as if the mystery of God's message is made known (only) through the (mediating) role of his Spirit. Knowledge about God, is thus only knowledge through his Spirit.

II. ISAIAH

The following LXX witnesses support the changed reading of the NT:

ISAIAH 66:1-2 (Acts 7:49-50)

[4=2 changes]

LXX (Göt)	NT (NA26)		ALEXANDR.	LUKIAN	LK	PRE-
οὕτως λέγει κύριος	-----	S*	88			
-----	λέγει κύριος		26	L(22-48-51-231-763) 239		
ἢ ποῖος τόπος	ἢ τις τόπος		26-86 ^{INT} 534			
πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα ἐποίησεν ἡ χεὶρ μου	οὐχὶ ἡ χεὶρ μου ἐποίησεν ταῦτα πάντα	N O	S U P P	O R T		

ISAIAH 53:7-8 (Acts 8:32-33)

[1 change]

LXX (Göt)	NT (NA26)		ALEXANDR.	LUKIAN	LK	PRE-
ταπεινώσει ἡ κρίσις	ταπεινώσει αὐτοῦ ἡ κρίσις		106	L(22-48-51-231-763)-LII(90-130-311)-LIII(36-93-96) 147-46-86 ^c -233 764 403(613) 407 534		

ISAIAH 55:3 (Acts 13:34)

[1 change]

LXX (Göt)	NT (NA26)		ALEXANDR.	LUKIAN	LK	PRE-
-----	δώσω ἑμῶν	N O	S U P P	O R T		

ISALAH 49:6 (Acts 13:47)

[1 change ?]

LXX (Göt)	NT (NA26)		ALEXANDR.	LUKIAN	LK	PRE-
ἰδοῦ	-----	N O	S U P P	O R T		

ISALAH 6:9-10 (Acts 28:26-27)

[2 changes]

LXX (Göt)	NT (NA26)		ALEXANDR.	LUKIAN	LK	PRE-
πορεύθητι καὶ εἶπεν τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ	πορεύθητι πρὸς τὸν λαὸν τούτου		393 534			
τοῖς ἰσραηλῶσιν	τοῖς ἰσραηλῶσιν		393			
αὐτῶν	-----					

Notes

- (a) The readings of the Is-quotations in Ac do not resemble great differences with the reading of the LXX. This means two things: 1. Luke has not changed his quoted material here very much, and 2. Luke's Vorlage must have been very near to this LXX text.
- (b) About all the Is-quotations seem to have been known already quite well in the tradition, as became clear from their use by the synoptics and Paul.
- (c) The ascending order of the chapters in Ac against the descending order of the chapters in Is. [Was Luke rolling the Isaiah-roll backwards?]
- (d) As is the case with all the other quotations in Ac, also these Is-quotations are narrowly combined with the influence of the Holy Spirit, either explicitly or implicitly.

III. PSALMS

The following LXX witnesses support the changed reading of the NT:

 [1] *PSALM 68(69):26* (Acts 1:20)
[4 changes]

LXX (GötI)	NT (NA26)		ALEXANDR.	LUKIAN	LK	PRE-
(ἢ ἑπαυλις) αὐτῶν	(ἢ ἑπαυλις) αὐτοῦ	N O	S U P P	O R T		
ἡρημαμένη	ἔρημος	N O	S U P P	O R T		
ἐν τοῖς σκηνώμασιν αὐτῶν	----- ----- -----	N O	S U P P	O R T		
-----	ἐν αὐτῇ	N O	S U P P	O R T		

 [2] *PSALM 108(109):8* (Acts 1:20)
[1 change]

LXX (GötI)	NT (NA26)		ALEXANDR.	LUKIAN	LK	PRE-
λάβοι	λαβέτω	R				

 [3] *PSALM 15(16):8-11* (Acts 2:25-28)
[1 change]

LXX (GötI)	NT (NA26)		ALEXANDR.	LUKIAN	LK	PRE-
προωράμην	προοράμην	B, S, U	A (1219,55)	L ^{Pau} Z		

[4] *PSALM 109(110):1* (Acts 2:34)

[1 change ?]

LXX (Göt)	NT (NA26)		ALEXANDR.	LUKIAN	LK	PRE-
εἶπεν ὁ κύριος	εἶπεν [ὁ] κύριος	R				

[5] *PSALM 2:1* (Acts 4:25)

[NO CHANGES]

[6] *PSALM 2:7* (Acts 13:33)

[NO CHANGES]

[7] *PSALM 15(16):10* (Acts 13:35)

[1 change]

LXX (Göt)	NT (NA26)		ALEXANDR.	LUKIAN	LK	PRE-
οὐδὲ (δώσεις)	οὐ δώσεις	Ga (non U'ulq) = M				

According to D-A. KOCH, in connection of the *Psalms by Paul*, the text groups by Rahlfs do not show any specific Pauline profile: "Die wenigen Fälle, in denen die Textüberlieferung innerhalb der von Paulus zitierten Textstellen differiert, sind zumeist stilistischer bzw. grammatischer Natur - oder es handelt sich um reine Sonderlesarten" (*Schrift als Zeuge*, 55). The same trend seems to be the case here by Luke.

APPENDIX B

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