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,

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[1]. Cf. Mt 27:3-10.

[2]. Cf. A WEISER, Die Nachwahl des Mattias (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 Mattias*, 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 stilgemäßen Personallegende, 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 I.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):6-9[6] 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:

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[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 (¹⁵1968), 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 Überlieferungsstoff 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. WIATER, 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	Ac 1:15-26
- ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις	- καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις
- Jesus prayed (the whole night)	- The group of believers prayed
- He called followers, chose 12	- Two are presented, one selected
- Called them "apostles"	- Apostle in the place of Judas
- Peter was called first	- 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 SPEECH[16]

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

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 γραφὴν
        ἣν προεῖπεν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον
        διὰ στόματος Δαυὶδ

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

        περὶ Ἰούδα
        τοῦ γενομένου ὁδηγοῦ τοῖς συλλαβοῦσιν Ἰησοῦν,
17   ὅτι κατηριθμημένος ἦν ἐν ἡμῖν
        καὶ ἔλαχεν τὸν κλῆρον τῆς διακονίας ταύτης.
18   οὗτος 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 κατοικοῦσιν Ἰερουσαλήμ,

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[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 Stileigentümlichkeit 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 lukanischen 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 συνελθόντων ἡμῖν 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 ἡμῖν γενέσθαι ἕνα τούτων.

This first Petrine speech[17] 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, ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί (V.16).[18]

    The whole speech forms a cohesive unit[19] 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 Pss[20] and which forms the centre of the speech),

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[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 ἄνδρες Ἰουδαῖοι (Ac 2:14); Peter's third speech with ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλῖται (Ac 3:12); Peter's seventh speech with ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί (Ac 15:7); Paul's first speech with ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλῖται (Ac 13:16); Paul's second speech with ἄνδρες (Ac 14:15); Paul's third speech with ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι (Ac 17:22); Paul's fifth speech with ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί (Ac 22:1); Paul's sixth speech with ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί (Ac 23:1); Stephen's speech with ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί (Ac 7:2); James' speech with ἄνδρες 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 Erzähleinheit" (*Nachwahl des Mattias*, 98).

[20]. So also L. CERFAUX, *Citations*, 48; H. CONZELMANN, *Apg*, 28-29; E. HAENCHEN, *Schriftzitate*, 163; and E. HAENCHEN, *Apg*, 124. They have convincingly argued here that "γραφή ist die einzelne Schriftstelle". The latter also stressed: "die Schrift' = αἱ γραφαί. Die beiden Psalmenverse 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 witness[23] 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 Mattias*, 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 Scripture[28] 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 γραφὴν[29] = The Scripture had to be fulfilled; (b) V.16: ἣν προεῖπεν[30] τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον[31] = 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

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[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: RHPhR 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 Mattias, 102.

[29]. According to R.H. FULLER, "The phrase πληρωθῆναι τὴν γραφήν 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 Pss, see Ac 4:25 (ὁ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου στόματος Δαυὶδ παιδός σου εἰπών + 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 ᾿Ιούδα, V.16) were the fulfillment of some authoritative announcement in the past (a prophecy?). This proof that what 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 ᾿Ιούδα)[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,e 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 περί (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 (ἐκτήσατο χωρίον, V.18)[39] with the money that he got from his

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[33]. P.W. VAN DER HORST mentions the following references: *Hdt* IV 205; *Paus* IX 36,2-3; Luc*Alex* 59; *DioSic* XXXVI 13,2-3 (a priest of Cybele); Plut*VitParSull* 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 Jos*Ap* II 143 (*Hellenistic Parallels, Ac I*, 24).

[34]. Cf. E. BAASLAND, Die περί-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" (*Apg 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 itaeismus here, and that instead of ἐκτήσατο it should read ἐκτίσατο, "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 Ἰερουσαλήμ).[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 Δαυίδ (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 Ἰερουσαλήμ (V.19).[46]

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[40]. Cf. Hom*Il* IV 525-6; Ac*IN*4 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 Mattias*, 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, *Apg I*, 216.218; G. LÜDEMANN, *Christentum*, 38; and A. WEISER, *Nachwahl des Mattias*, 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, *Apg I*, 217.

[45]. E. HAENCHEN chose to translate χωρίον with "kleines Landgut" (*Apg*, 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 parenthetic 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)*

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[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 1*, 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: γέγραπται[57] γὰρ[58] ἐν βίβλῳ[59] 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, Apg I, 216,n.33; and R. PESCH, Apg 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 (Apg 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, Apg I, 214; and A. WEISER, Nachwahl des Mattias, 100; ibid., Apg 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 4:4,7; 11:10; 21:13; Lk 4:8; 7:27; 10:26; 19:46; [Jn 20:31]; 1 Cor 4:6; (b) with γάρ 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 (ὥσπερ); (d) with καθώς 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 γάρ 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 οὐρανούς, λέγει δὲ αὐτός + Ps 109(110):1); Ac 4:25 (ὁ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου στόματος Δαυὶδ παιδός σου εἰπών + 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 τοσοῦτον χρόνον, 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" (Apg 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) Ac 1:20b-c	LXX Ps 68:26	MT Ps 69:26
γενηθήτω	γενηθήτω	תְּהִי־
ἡ ἔπαυλις	ἡ ἔπαυλις	טִירָתָם
αὐτοῦ	αὐτῶν	
ἔρημος	ἠρημωμένη	נְשַׁמָּה
καὶ	καὶ	
	ἐν τοῖς	בְּאָהֳלֵיהֶם
	σκηνώμασιν	
	αὐτῶν	
μὴ ἔστω	μὴ ἔστω	אַל־יְהִי
ὁ κατοικῶν	ὁ κατοικῶν	יֹשֵׁב׃
ἐν αὐτῇ		

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 ἠρημωμένη καί and μὴ ἔστω); 1 change of the pronoun (αὐτῶν is substituted by αὐτοῦ); and 1 change of the participle to an adjective (ἠρημωμένη is substituted by ἔρημος).

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[61]. So also G. SCHNEIDER, *Apg I*, 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 יֹשֵׁב 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 ἔπαυλις 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 meant to replace the former omission (ἐν τοῖς σκηνώμασιν 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 σκηνώμασιν 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 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 chiastic 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]

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64. ἐν αὐτῇ refers here implicitly to ἡ ἔπαυλις, which is paralleled by the synonymn τὸ σκήνωμα (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:

ἠρημωμένη (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 שָׁמֵם (verb) in Ps 69:26 (MT) with a perf/part/pass of the Greek verb ἐρημόω — 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

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[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 Scripture[76] — 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

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

[76]. Note here the interesting construction: τὴν γραφήν...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" (ἄχρι καιροῦ, 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 context[81] 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*

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[80]. So seen also by C. SMITS, *Citaten II*, 200; T. HOLTZ, *Untersuchungen*, 45-46; H. CONZELMANN, *Apg*, 29; E. HAENCHEN, *Apg*, 125-6; J. ROLOFF, *Apg*, 30; G. SCHNEIDER, *Apg I*, 216-217,n.34; and R. PESCH, *Apg 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 ἔπαυλις (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 urchristlicher 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, *Apg*, 28; E. HAENCHEN, *Apg*, 126; and T. HOLTZ, *Untersuchungen*, 44.48.

[83]. With E. HAENCHEN, *Apg*, 126; T. HOLTZ, *Untersuchungen*, 44; A. WEISER, *Apg I*, 65; and R. PESCH, *Apg 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.

proof"⁸⁵ 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 Δαυιδ, 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 Δαυιδ, 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* (δεῖ,⁸⁹ V.21) elected.⁹⁰ In its turn, this second part of the quotation with its following

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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, *Apg 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, *Apg I*, 216,n.32).
⁸⁷. Cf. here the ἀδικίας of Ac 1:18 and the ἀδίκως 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" (*Apg*, 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 (ἕνα 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 συνελθόντων...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 παντὶ 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 (ἀρξάμενος[93] 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' resurrection[95] 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]

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necessity of the number of apostles, referring to 1 Cor 15:5, Mt 19:28 (par. Lk 22:30) (*Apg 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, *Apg*, 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 Apg 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 αὐτόπται. 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 ἤρξατο (*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) itself[98] 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 γὰρ 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	פְּקֻדָּתוֹ
αὐτοῦ	αὐτοῦ	
λαβέτω ἕτερος	λάβοι ἕτερος	יִקַּח אַחֵר:

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[97]. Cf. H.H. WENDT, *Apg*, 73; O. BAUERNFEIND, *Apg*, 27; J. RENIE, L'Election 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, *Apg*, 124; H. CONZELMANN, *Apg*, 28-29; W. DIETRICH, *Petrusbild*, 170-171; G. SCHNEIDER, *Apg 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 Mattias*, 101; idem., *Apg 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 Apg*, 46). Against R. PESCH who has still recently thought this also to be the case (*Apg I*, 89).

[99]. So also T. HOLTZ, *Untersuchungen*, 46; A. WEISER, *Apg I*, 65; and R. PESCH, *Apg I*, 86. Against P.H. MENOUD, *Les additions*, 71-80; E. SCHWEIZER, *Zu Apg*, 46; E. NELLESSEN, *Tradition und Schrift*, 211.217; J. ROLOFF, *Apg*, 30-31; and G. SCHNEIDER, *Apg 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 Mattias-Wahl-Tradition gehört hätte, ist durch nichts erwiesen..". (*Nachwahl des Mattias*, 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 Ac[103] (including the reading of codex D). Although this change in Ac finds support in the majuscle 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

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[102]. R.H. FULLER, however, argues that the use of the word ἐπισκοπήν 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, *Apg*, 29; E. HAENCHEN, *Apg*, 126; T. HOLTZ, *Untersuchungen*, 47; J. ROLOFF, *Apg*, 33; and R. PESCH, *Apg I*, 89. E. HAENCHEN says: "Aus diesem menschlichen Wunsch wird...eine göttliche Anweisung" (*Apg*, 126). So also G. SCHNEIDER, *Apg 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 Gottingensis editum, vol X), Göttingen 1967, 10.

[105]. So also G. SCHNEIDER, *Apg I*, 218,n.52; and R. PESCH, *Apg I*, 89.
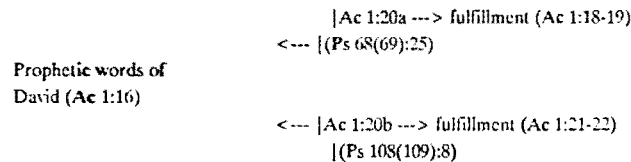
[106]. So thought to be by G.D. KILPATRICK, *Some Quotations*, 87.

[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); *1 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 καί 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]

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                              |Ac 1:20a ---> fulfillment (Ac 1:18-19)
                          <--- |(Ps 68(69):25)

    Prophetic words of
    David (Ac 1:16)

                          <--- |Ac 1:20b ---> fulfillment (Ac 1:21-22)
                              |(Ps 108(109):8)
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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

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[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, *Apg I*, 65.
[112]. These have been pointed out several times above.

the LXX (εἰς τὸ τέλος), which differs from that in the MT (לַמְנַצֵּחַ). The same trend is to be found widely represented in the rest of the Pss[113] and there is no textcritical 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 exeption 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

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[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 textcritical 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; *Apg 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'interpretation de Ps II 7 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 αὗταί εἰσιν τοῦ πλησθῆναι 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 ἐντέταλται 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 Pss[127] (with the LXX heading: εἰς τὸ τέλος) and linked with the Holy Spirit who has foretold these things (ἣν προεῖπεν

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[123]. The verbs are presented here in their imperative form: γενηθήτω 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 γενηθήτωσαν (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 Δαυίδ, V.16). Striking is the implied resemblance with 2 Ki(Sm) 23:1-2, which are "the last words of David" (οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι Δαυίδ 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 γραφὴν, 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 καί. 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]

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[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]

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[131]. Cf. C. SMITS: "De inhoud van het eerste citaat is een gebruiklijke 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.