CHAPTER Ⅰ
INTRODUCTION

1. INTRODUCTION

Quotations of the OT in the NT are as old as the history of Christianity itself. They are not particularly different from the proper use of the Bible for the Christian preaching and teaching ministry in the Church today. Studies in this field are thus both important and necessary. Moreover, the significance of this field is further confirmed by observing the frequency of the use of OT quotations by NT writers.[1] Hill (1991:435) calculates that "approximately 32 percent … of the New Testament is composed of Old Testament quotations and allusions" (cf. also Hill 1981:102-104).

Scholars do, of course, differ regarding the number of these quotations. Shires (1974:15) suggests that "there are at least 1,604 N.T. citations of 1,276 different O.T. passages."[2] Sweet (1939:1516) and Kaiser (1985:3) calculate that there are some 300 explicit quotations from the OT in the NT. Nicole (1958:137) classifies the number into 250 explicit quotations and 45 instances depended directly on the OT. If what these scholars say is true, the influence of the OT on the language and contents of the NT must be considerable.

An indication of its importance can also be seen in the fact that this field of NT studies has been the focus of attention of many distinguished scholars. Porter (1997:79) argues that this study is "an active area of contemporary New

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[1] For various opinions, cf. Kaiser (1985:2-3).
[2] He (1974:122) adds that "[t]here are 260 chapters in the whole N.T., and only 12 of these contain no instance of a direct relationship of some form with the O.T."

Testament research." Furthermore, according to Bock (1997:823-824), it is "one of the most debated aspects of NT study outside of the Gospels."

2. THE PROBLEM

In relation to these facts, then, on what issues do NT scholars fail to agree? In the commonplace expression of 'the use of the OT in the NT', what is meant by the 'OT'?[3] Also, which terms are used to describe their various dependencies on the OT by NT authors? For the latter Porter (1997:80) has represented the terms as follows:

> … citation, direct quotation, formal quotation, indirect quotation, allusive quotation, allusion (whether conscious or unconscious), paraphrase, exegesis (such as inner-biblical exegesis), midrash, typology, reminiscence, echo (whether conscious or unconscious), intertextuality, influence (either direct or indirect), and even tradition.

Hays and Green (1995:226-229) categorize the following four forms: direct citation, summaries of OT history and teaching, type-scenes, and allusions or linguistic echoes (or intertextuality). In this author's opinion, Steyn (1995:2-3, 26) succeeded in a competent classification, in which he (1995:26) states:

> one can detect six different categories of influence on the language and style of the author: (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; (d) references, being a single formulation from that tradition and being completely integrated into the

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[3] Smith (1972:3) correctly indicates that "the phrase … is an anachronism."

presentation of the author; (e) allusions; and (f) scriptural terminology, being words, concepts, technical terms, titles, etc. To these may be added a seventh category, namely (g) "motifs"; that is, the imitation of larger structural patterns, tellings and traditions which are based on similar versions in the source texts.[4]

With these comprehensive interests, the aim of this study is to investigate the topic related to the quotations from the OT in Ac 7, more specifically, the Old Testament quotations within the context of Stephen's speech in Acts. Though many scholars have studied the use of the OT in the NT,[5] and in Luke-Acts[6] amongst other NT books,[7] few have investigated the explicit quotations in

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[4] Furthermore, according to him (1995:2), the use of the OT in the NT "was studied mainly on three different levels in the past: (a) the influence on the *language* (grammar, style, etc. = exclusively linguistically orientated); (b) the manifestation of LXX material by way of the *explicit quotations* which were used (their *Textvorlage*, 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)."

[5] For the study on the OT in the NT, cf. Dodd ([1952]1954); Lindars (1961); Braun (1962:16-31); Barrett (1970:377-411); Efird (1972); Way-rider (1973:604-608); Shires (1974); Ellis ([1977]1979:199-219; 1988[a]:653-690; 1988[b]:691-725; 1991); van der Waal (1981); Archer & Chirichigno (1983); Hanson (1983); Kaiser (1985); Goppelt (1982); Longenecker (1987:4-8); Carson & Williamson (1988); Holtz (1991:75-91); Beale (1994); Hays & Green (1995:222-238); Holmgren (1999); Moyise (2000; 2001). The series "The New Testament and the Scriptures of Israel" which has been recently edited by Moyise & Menken (2004; 2005; c. 2007 (forthcoming)), should also be noted.

[6] For the research on the OT in **Luke-Acts**, cf. Schubert (1968[b]); Holtz (1968); Ernst (1972:360-374); Clarke ([1922]1979:66-105); Richard (1980[b]:330-341); Jervell (1983:79-96); Talbert (1984:91-103); Ringgren (1986:227-235); Bock (1987; 1994:612-626); Brodie (1987); Bruce (1987[a]:71-79); Sanders (1987:191-198); Barrett (1988:231-244); Steyn (1990:229-246); Evans & Sanders (1993); Kimball (1994); Strauss (1995); Rusam (2003); Marshall (c. 2006). For Luke's use of Scripture in speeches, cf. Bowker (1967-68:96-111); Steyn (1995).

[7] For the OT in **Mark**, cf. Suhl (1965); Marcus (1992); Watts (1997). For the OT in **Matthew's** Gospel, see Stendahl ([1954]1968); Gundry ([1967]1975); Allison (1993); Knowles (1993); Menken (2004). For **John's** use of OT, cf. Barrett (1947:155-169); Freed (1965); Reim (1974); Hanson (1991); Schuchard (1992); Beutler (1996:147-162); Menken (1996; 2005:155-175); Daly-Denton (2000); Lieu (2000:144-163). For the **Synoptic Gospels**, cf. Swartley (1993). In particular, including Gundry and Marcus mentioned above, Juel (1988) argues that NT writers intentionally reflect on the Christology when they draw on the OT text. On the use of the OT in the **Letters and Revelation** within the NT, confer the following. For the OT in **Pauline letters**, cf. Hays (1989[a]); Stockhausen (1989); Stanley (1992); Keesmaat (1999). For **Hebrews'** use of the OT, cf. Kistemaker (1961); Hughes (1979); Clements (1985:36-45); Loane (1986:255-264); Ellingworth (1993); Leschert (1994); Bateman (1997); Buck (2002). For the use of OT in **1 Peter,**

Acts.[8] One such study is that of Steyn in his book *"Septuagint Quotations in the Context of the Petrine and Pauline Speeches of the Acta Apostolorum"* (1995). The aim of the present study is to continue along those lines and to include Stephen's speech alongside those of Peter and Paul.[9]

Firstly, this study wants to start with the question of the origin of the explicit quotations in Ac 7 and to determine the possible *Textvorlage* of the quotations in this chapter of Acts. Where do the quotations come from - the MT or the LXX, or neither? At the same time, did Luke get the quotations from oral or written traditions? Otherwise, could it be that he got them from his own materials?[10] Secondly, as regards Luke's handling of Scripture: Does Luke follow the texts accurately? If not, what are the changes that Luke makes? How did Luke apply the quotations within the new context (cf. Moyise 1994:133-143)?

Lastly, why does Luke quote and change the passages? What do the quotations from the OT passages imply about Luke's understanding and theology? Hopefully, a cautious investigation of these quotations will yield some answers. This investigation will thus be driven by these three issues: *the origin of the quotations, the author's methodology in using them and the author's reason(s)*

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2 Peter, and Jude, cf. Elliott (1966); Bauckham (1983); Glenny (1987); Michaelis (1988); Schutter (1989); Pearson (2001). For **Revelation**, cf. Ruiz (1989); Moyise (1995); Beale (1999).

[8] Many of the Lukan scholars regard this study from a Christological standpoint, including Bock referred to above (cf. also Jacobs 1967:177-196; Rese [1965]1969; Juel 1988). On the other hand, Evans & Sanders (1993) understand it as promise and fulfilment with Talbert (1984). Even though these attempts are remarkably pioneering and prominent, we should always be reminded of Stanton's words ([1977]1992:68) that "the interpreter must allow his own presuppositions and his own pre-understanding to be modified or even completely reshaped by the text itself" (cf. also Gadamer 1975:465-466).

[9] It is true that my research has been inspired and encouraged by G.J. Steyn who is my "Doktorvater," especially by his doctoral thesis and lectures. Frankly speaking, it may fairly be said that this topic is due to his contribution, specifically because of his intention disclosed in the preface of his published dissertation that he wished to add a further study of the Septuagint quotations in Ac 7 and 15.

[10] It is clear that Luke has used his sources in the course of his writing of Luke-Acts, above all through the witness of the Gospel of Luke itself (Lk 1:1-4). For details, cf. Marshall (1970), especially chapter 2 and 3.

for applying them.

3. METHOD

Given the three issues referred to above, studies of the quotations from the OT in the NT have three main problems, best described as *text-historical, methodological and hermeneutical aspects* (Steyn 1995:31-37).

Firstly, the *text-historical aspect*[11] will be handled with the question of the origin of the explicit quotations in Ac 7 and the possible *Textvorlage* of the quotations in Ac 7. To investigate this aspect, the context of the speech, its structure, and the text itself are examined systematically in conjunction with observing the arguments associated with the analysis of the text.

Then, there is an assessment of the introductory formulae that indicate the explicit citations, which I will mention later. The text is scrutinized thoroughly at a text-historical level, along with comparisons between the MT, LXX, and Lukan versions. Any differences are arranged into classes of disagreements and appraised one case at a time. In this instance textual criticism will be emphasised.

The textual deliberation also observes how and where the OT reading is found elsewhere in the NT. It is here that assessments are given about whether a *Textvorlage* has been used or not. Later, this investigation will judge the methodological and hermeneutical aspects of the quotations drawn from the OT.

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[11] According to Steyn (1995:32-33), the problem is fairly intricate; Firstly, no one can too easily refer to *the* LXX. Moreover, the evangelists of the NT did not have accessible *a* Bible, or *the* Bible, in the sense that we possess it today. Secondly, there are significant differences between *reconstructed* text editions (the LXX and the NT) and the MSS which the evangelists would have had in their hands.

Then, it will deal with the characteristics of the changes that Luke made and the traditions that he used. It will thus be disclosed, if the latter is correct, whether Luke's source of Scripture comes from either early traditions or the LXX. Alternatively we will have to choose whether another *Textvorlage,* which the author had for himself, could have resulted in the changes to the quoted texts, or whether Luke made these changes with his personal linguistic preferences or stylistic and grammatical intentions, bearing the hearers' context in mind.

Throughout this thesis I will use "stylistic" preference in the sense of Luke's own personal style of conveying his message, in his two volumes. At the same time, I will use "grammatical" intentions in the sense of his need to write in intelligible Greek within his context. I also hope to show how linguistic differences should be assigned to "stylistic" or "grammatical" intentions. The criteria used to make these judgements will be derived from many different scholarly views.

However, "stylistic" intentions will be used when the Lukan inclination to use particular and repeated writing styles throughout the speech, as well as the book of Acts, are revealed (e.g. sometimes frequent replacements of a word, transposition for emphasis, unique word order, etc., are used). In addition, I will use "grammatical" intentions when Luke's tendency to adjust to his new context (number, person, mood changes, etc.) is shown.

Secondly, at a *methodological level*, (what is meant here, is actually HOW Luke used his OT. Did he present a long quotation; paraphrase; where does he begin/end; where does he fit the quote/reference into his argument, etc.) it is important to scrutinize the passage in totality, that is, within context. Furthermore, the function of the changes in Acts will be somewhat implied within the context of Stephen's speech, but will become clearer at a

hermeneutical level.

Thirdly, at a *hermeneutical level*, the function of those changes in Luke's writing will be explained within the context of Stephen's speech. Moreover, Luke's intention with reference to this function will be drawn out through the whole book of Acts as well as Ac 7. The examination concludes with an assessment of the hermeneutical and theological point of the quotations and the changes that Luke made. In this thesis I will use the two terms – "hermeneutical" and "theological" – in a similar sense, in order to present Luke's intention by which he made changes in the quoted text, even though the two are different.

I also hope to show how linguistic differences should be assigned to Luke's "hermeneutical" and "theological" intentions. I will use "hermeneutical" and "theological" intentions when Luke's ideological motif is seen by the changes that were probably made by him in the speech. For example, there are the addition of ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ in v. 7, recurring employment of the same quotation in v. 27 and v. 35, substitution of Βαβυλῶνος in v. 43, etc. It should be noted that the original meaning is not considerably altered by these changes.

The author chose this method as he believes it to be one of the best organised and systematically presented approaches to unraveling the use of the OT in the NT developed in the past decades. Discussion is limited to the explicit quotations that are identified with introductory formulae, when the terms of quotation, citation, or even the use of the OT in this research are used. This will delineate the area, as well as the terms of this research.

Given these terms, the following verses in Ac 7 will be under investigaion: vv. 3, 6-7, 27-28, 33-34, 35, 37, 40, 42-43, and 49-50 in Ac 7.

Ac 7	v. 3	Gn	12:1
	vv. 6-7		15:13-14
	vv. 27-28	Ex	2:14
	vv. 33-34		3:5, 7-8, 10
	v. 35		2:14
	v. 37	Dt	18:15
	v. 40	Ex	32:1, 23
	vv. 42-43	Am	5:25-27
	vv. 49-50	Is	66:1-2

4. STRUCTURE

This study comprises seven chapters according to the flow of the narrative, which are designed as follows:

Chapter 1, as *introduction*, explicates and describes the research problem, method, context, and supplies an outline for this study on OT quotations within the context of Stephen's speech in Acts.

Chapter 2 examines the *Abraham Story*, which is the first account with two quotations from Genesis in the speech.

Chapter 3 discusses the *Joseph Story*, which represents God's faithfulness, despite all Joseph's troubles.

Chapter 4 presents the *Moses Story* - the longest section, with the most quotations (six) in the discourse – grouped into the following five subsections: Historical Background and Moses' Infancy; Flight into Midian; God's Calling; God's Sending; Israel's Idolatry and God's Judgement.

Chapter 5, as the last summary of the Israelite history in the speech, describes the *Temple,* along with a quotation from Isaiah.

Chapter 6 concludes the discourse by investigating *Stephen's Indictment*.

Chapter 7 depicts the *synthesis and conclusion* arrived at from this study.

5. CONTEXT AND OUTLINE OF STEPHEN'S SPEECH

5.1 The context of Stephen's speech (Ac 6:1-8:1a)

In order to examine the text (Ac 7:2-53) here, it is necessary to demonstrate briefly the immediate context (Ac 6:1-8:1a).[12] As a result of the murmurings of the Grecians, seven persons, who were chosen by the church under the direction of the apostles, are given the task to oversee the daily ministry to the poor; that none might be neglected, and that the apostles might give their attention to prayer and the ministry of the word of God (6:1-6). So the word of God greatly prevails (6:7). Stephen, full of God's grace and power, refutes those who disputed against him (6:8-10). They in turn bribe false witnesses, who falsely accuse Stephen of blasphemy against the law and the temple before the Sanhedrin (6:11-14). When all in the Sanhedrin see him, his face shines like the face of an angel (6:15).

When Stephen is required to answer before the Sanhedrin (7:1), he indicated how God called Abraham and promised Canaan to him and his seed (7:2-8); how Joseph was sold by his brothers, and how Jacob with his family went down to Egypt (7:9-16); that, as they were oppressed by the Egyptians, Moses was born and brought up by Pharaoh's daughter (7:17-22); that trying to rescue Israel he was rejected and fled to Midian (7:23-29); that at Sinai God called him for his people (7:30-34); that eventually he was sent to be their ruler and deliverer (7:35-37), although they refused to obey him and made an idol, so

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[12] According to van der Watt (2002:10-11), interpreters must consider the preceding and following passages.

God's judgement resulted from the work of their hands (7:38-43); that they had the tabernacle of the Testimony, until Solomon built the house (7:44-47), however, as said by the prophet, the Most High does not live in houses made by men (7:48-50). He fearlessly accuses the nation of imitating the resistance of their fathers who persecuted and killed the prophets, and he charges them with murdering Christ in disobedience of their own law (7:51-53). Being cut to their hearts, they hurry to stone him. While seeing a vision of Christ and calling on him to receive his spirit and pardon his murderers, he dies (7:54-60).

5.2 An outline of Stephen's speech (Ac 7:2-53)

Scholars differ regarding the outline of Stephen's speech.[13] For example,

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[13] Bihler (1963:vii) separates this speech into three parts:
  Ⅰ. Die Geschichte Israels von Abraham bis Moses (2-37)
    A. Die Abrahamsgeschichte (2-8a; 8b=transition)
    B. Die Josephsgeschichte (9-16; 17-19=transition)
    C. Die Mosesgeschichte (20-37)
  Ⅱ. Israel's Abfall: Gotzendienst und Tempelbau (38-50)
    A. Der Gotzendienst (38-43)
    B. Der Bau des Tempels (44-50)
  Ⅲ. Der Schuld Israels (51-53)

Richard (1978:38-140; 1979:257) shows a fourfold division:
  Ⅰ. History of the Patriarchs (2-16)
    A. Story of Abraham (2-8)
    B. Story of Joseph (9-16)
  Ⅱ. History of Moses (17-34)
    A. Hebrews in Egypt (17-19)
    B. Moses prior to the Sinai Event (20-29)
    C. Theophany and Mission (30-34)
  Ⅲ. Thematic Section (35-50)
    A. Moses and the Fathers (35-41)
    B. God and the Fathers (42-50)
  Ⅳ. Invective against Audience (51-53)

Fitzmyer (1998:365) separates this speech into five parts, apart from the introduction and conclusion:
  Introduction (2a)
  Part Ⅰ. Story of Abraham (2b-8a)
  Part Ⅱ. Story of Joseph (8b=transition; 9-16)
  Part Ⅲ. Story of Moses (17-19=transition; 20-38)
  Part Ⅳ. Israel's First Falling Away (39-40=transition; 41-43)

Kilgallen (1976ᵃ:ix-xii) divides the speech into five sections :

　Ⅰ. The Abraham Story (2-7)

　Ⅱ. The Joseph Story (8=transition; 9-16)

　Ⅲ. The Moses Story (17-43)

　Ⅳ. The Temple (44-50)

　Ⅴ. Conclusion (51-53)

Kilgallen's outline is appropriate for the flow of narrative within the speech. However, it is necessary to include v. 8 in Abraham's story, which plays a transitional role between Abraham's story and Joseph's story. The fact that Abraham became the father of Isaac and circumcised him must be seen "against the background of God's promise" to Abraham (Combrink 1979:9; cf. Richard 1978:54-59; 1979:257; Marshall 1980:131; Kistemaker 1990:243-244; Barrett 1994:331). Furthermore, it shows, that v. 8 needs to be incorporated in the Abraham story, through the words ἔδωκεν (in v. 5 and v. 8) and οὕτως (in v. 6 and v. 8), where we see the direct link in the story of Abraham.

Pointing out the speech's rhetorical character, Dupont (1985:167), on the other hand, divides the speech in accordance with the model of a classical defence speech:[14]

　Ⅰ. *exordium*: statement of praise to addresses (2a)

　Ⅱ. *narratio*: statement of facts (2b-34)

　Ⅲ. *argumentatio*: statement of proofs and arguments

Part Ⅴ. Israel's Second Falling Away (44-50)
Conclusion: Stephen's Indictment (51-53)

For various and different ways to outline Stephen's speech, see also Bruce ([1951]1987:137-163), Schneider (1980:446-447), Roloff (1981:118), Krodel (1986:139). Noticeably, Kennedy (1984:121-122) alone incorporates the last section (vv. 54-60) as an integral part of Stephen's speech.

[14] For the outline according to the criteria of ancient rhetoric, cf. Penner (1996:358-366). He delineates as follows: A. *Exordium* (6:8-7:1); B. *Narratio/Partitio* (7:2-8); C. *Probatio* (7:9-53); D. *Peroratio* (7:54-60). Cf. also Seland (1995:233-235); Wolfe (1993:278-280).

(35=transition; 36-50)

IV. *peroratio*: summary conclusion (51-53)

However, Dupont's suggestion here is questionable, in spite of its value, because it does not fit the changes of subject found in Stephen's speech. This study needs to be investigated according to the flow of narrative rather than the principle of rhetoric.

From these four examples (except for Dupont's), one can recognise what the commonly identified aspects of the speech are, namely: the Abraham story (2-8), the Joseph story (9-16), the final indictment against the listeners (51-53). Clearly, most of the discrepancies result from the classification of the part between vv. 17-50. It is not easy to decide where the Moses story ends and the Temple story begins since there is the employment of a Mosaic element (the tabernacle) as a hinge from which the argument of the Temple starts. It is most plausible to obtain an expected split at v. 44 owing to the inner constancy of the section from a literary perspective, as I will mention later (e.g. the continuous use of the rhetorical τοῦτον (x2) in v. 35 and οὗτός [ἐστιν] (x3) in vv. 36-38, and the link of the final οὗτός in v. 38 with ᾧ in v. 39 which leads a piece on the theme of Israel's idolatry and God's judgement in vv. 38-43).

My suggestion for a division of the speech would be the following:

2- 8	The Abraham Story	
9-16	The Joseph Story	
17-43	The Moses Story	
	17-22	Historical Background and Moses' Infancy
	23-29	Flight into Midian
	30-34	God's Calling

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CHAPTER Ⅱ
THE ABRAHAM STORY (Ac 7:2-8)

1. INTRODUCTION

Abraham is portrayed as "the first Jew (i.e. Hebrew, *J-W Kim*), to whom God gave the covenant with the rite of circumcision to mark it" (Watson 1996:42). The commencement of the speech with his story is thus quite appropriate since Stephen's hearers, or his accusers, are the Jews (Ac 6:12-15). Dahl (1976:77) also rightly indicates that "In Stephen's speech the Jewishness of Abraham is not concealed but emphatically pronounced." Calvert-Koyzis (1997:2) agrees with this opinion when he says that "Luke's affinity with Hellenistic Judaism is seen most clearly in Acts 7:2-8" (cf. also Dahl 1966:142). Noticeably, those Abrahamic accounts not seen as necessary to the Stephen discourse are excluded. Elements omitted include: "Abraham in Egypt, Abraham and Lot, the battle with the kings, Hagar and Ishmael, the three men and the destruction of Sodom, and, most remarkable of all, the sacrifice of Isaac" (Dahl 1976:71).

This reveals that Luke's selective summary of Abraham's story is as a result of his theological intention. He concentrates on the following accounts: When Abraham was in Mesopotamia, God called him to leave for the land which God would show him; after a four-hundred-year slavery in Egypt, his descendants will return to the promised land and truly worship God. Appropriately, these accounts go along with Luke's quotations from Genesis. Investigation of the quotations, at length, here serves to understand properly this section as the first part of Stephen's defense.

2. COMPOSITION[15]

This section starts with the charge against Stephen by the high priest,[16] "Are these charges true?" (εἰ ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχει; v. 1b). If this was a formal court case the high priest should not have tried a direct interrogation that requested the accused person to sentence himself.[17] The use of ἔχω with an adverb is commonly repeated in Acts (see 12:15; 15:36; 17:11; 21:13; 24:9, 25). The charges that are brought relate to the Law and the Temple, two of the most highly revered elements of the Jewish faith life.

Before starting his speech, Stephen calls the audience "Brothers and fathers" ("Ανδρες ἀδελφοὶ καὶ πατέρες, v. 2a). The vocative "Ανδρες ἀδελφοι is fairly frequent in Acts (Ac 1:16; 15:7, 13; 22:1; 23:1). In addition, similar beginnings are seen in Acts: ἄνδρες Ἰουδαῖοι (Ac 2:14); ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλῖται (Ac 3:12; 13:16); ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι (Ac 17:22). Other occurences also appear in Ac 1:11; 2:22, 29, 37; 5:35; 7:26; 13:15, 16, 26, 38; 19:35; 21:28; 28:17 and 4 Macc 8:19. According to Fitzmyer (1998:222), "the combination of ἄνδρες with another noun in apposition was a common mode of address in Greek oratory: ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι (Demosthenes, *Olynthiac* 1.1,1.10; Lysias, *Or.* 6:8); ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλῖται (Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews* 3:189)." Here ἀδελφοι also implies that both Stephen (speaker) and Jews (listeners) are the same children of πατρὶ ἡμῶν Ἀβραάμ.

It is noticeable that only here and Ac 22:1 add καὶ πατέρες after "Ανδρες ἀδελφοι.

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[15] The outline of my composition closely follows Combrink's (1979:30-35) excellent structural analysis as a facet of his exegesis of Ac 6:8-8:3, except for a division of section G (Ac 7:35-38). Louw (1973:104) understands the cola as the most important elements in this analysis, "for they, and their clusters, reveal the actual structure" of the whole discourse.

[16] Witherington (1998:264) assumes it may still have been Caiaphas, when Jesus was in court. If Caiaphas was really the high priest, he might be likely to condemn the disciple – Stephen - instead of the teacher – Jesus – and consequently to damage the reputation of the recent Jesus' movement from the religious Jews' viewpoint (Bruce [1951]1987:98, 144).

[17] As for this point, cf. the venerable argument by Abrahams ([1924]1967:132-137).

Paul also speaks to the Jews like this in Ac 22:1. According to Schrenk ([1967]1977:977) "father" is a mark of respect that is employed particularly for the rabbi. It is true to assume that the verbal skill used here is indicative of a person speaking Greek (Haenchen 1971:278). For Kilgallen (1976[a]:122), this opening "fits admirably into the style of Acts."

Next, Stephen attracts their attention by shouting "listen to me!" (ἀκούσατε,[18] v. 2b). Within this episode of Stephen's, it is noteworthy that ἀκούσατε in Ac 7:2 closely matches Ἀκούοντες in Ac 7:54. Then Stephen replies to the high priest's charges. (a) "The God of glory appeared to our father Abraham while he was still in Mesopotamia, before he lived in Haran" (Ὁ θεὸς τῆς δόξης ὤφθη τῷ πατρὶ ἡμῶν Ἀβραὰμ ὄντι ἐν τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ πρὶν ἢ κατοικῆσαι αὐτὸν ἐν Χαρρὰν, v. 2c). (b) "and God said to him, 'Leave your country and your people, and go to the land I will show you'" (<u>καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν</u> ἔξελθε ἐκ τῆς γῆς σου καὶ [ἐκ] τῆς συγγενείας σου, καὶ δεῦρο εἰς τὴν γῆν ἣν ἄν σοι δείξω, v. 3).

This set phrase Ὁ θεὸς τῆς δόξης is found nowhere else in the New Testament. It simulates the same expression 'the God of glory' (ὁ θεὸς τῆς δόξης) in Ps 28:3 (LXX) which translated the Hebrew expression אֵל־הַכָּבוֹד[19] of the MT (Ps 29:3). The original setting of this set phrase is a victory hymn to the Lord whose glorious and holy voice reverberates right through heaven, all of nature, and the temple.

At the beginning of the speech, however, this set phrase conceivably emphasizes the transcendence of the God who does not dwell in a temple built with human hands. Besides indicating God's transcendence, the set phrase Ὁ

[18] The verb ἀκούσατε occurs frequently in Acts, especially in speeches (Ac 2:22; 13:16; 15:13; 22:1).
[19] For a repudiation of the opinion that it is any reference to the Jewish doctrine of the Shekinah, see also Abrahams (1925:11-88).

θεὸς τῆς δόξης functions as a bracket of the whole Stephen narrative with δόξαν θεοῦ in Ac 7:55.

In the Abraham story (vv. 2-8), the divine subject Ὁ θεός is accompanied by nine verbs as follows: ὤφθη (v. 2), εἶπεν, δείξω (v. 3), μετῴκισεν (v. 4), ἔδωκεν, ἐπηγγείλατο (v. 5), ἐλάλησεν (v. 6), κρινῶ (v. 7), ἔδωκεν (v. 8). Enclosed with Ὁ θεὸς τῆς δόξης, πατρὶ ἡμῶν finally aims to place Stephen himself in continuity with earlier devout Jews, for example Abraham, Joseph, Moses, the prophets, and Jesus (see Ac 7:11-12, 15, 38-39, 44-45; contrast 7:51-52).

Μεσοποταμία stands for the fuller Greek expression Συρία Μεσοποταμία which denotes the northern region of Syria situated between the Euphrates and the Orontes Rivers. However, later Hellenistic writers from the fourth century onwards broadened the application of the name to encompass the whole Tigris Euphrates Valley (Bruce [1951]1976:161), possibly pointing to the area in which Ur was located. It would also have been roughly compatible with the territory of the ancient Assyrians and Babylonians, specifically that of the latter's territory, to which Jews had been exiled under Nebuchadnezzar in the sixth century B.C. (Josephus, *Ant* 15:39). [20] The ruins of a Jewish synagogue have been discovered at Dura Europos (Rostovtzeff 1938:100-130).

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[20] Unless otherwise refered to, Whiston's translation (1987) is used for Josephus's works.
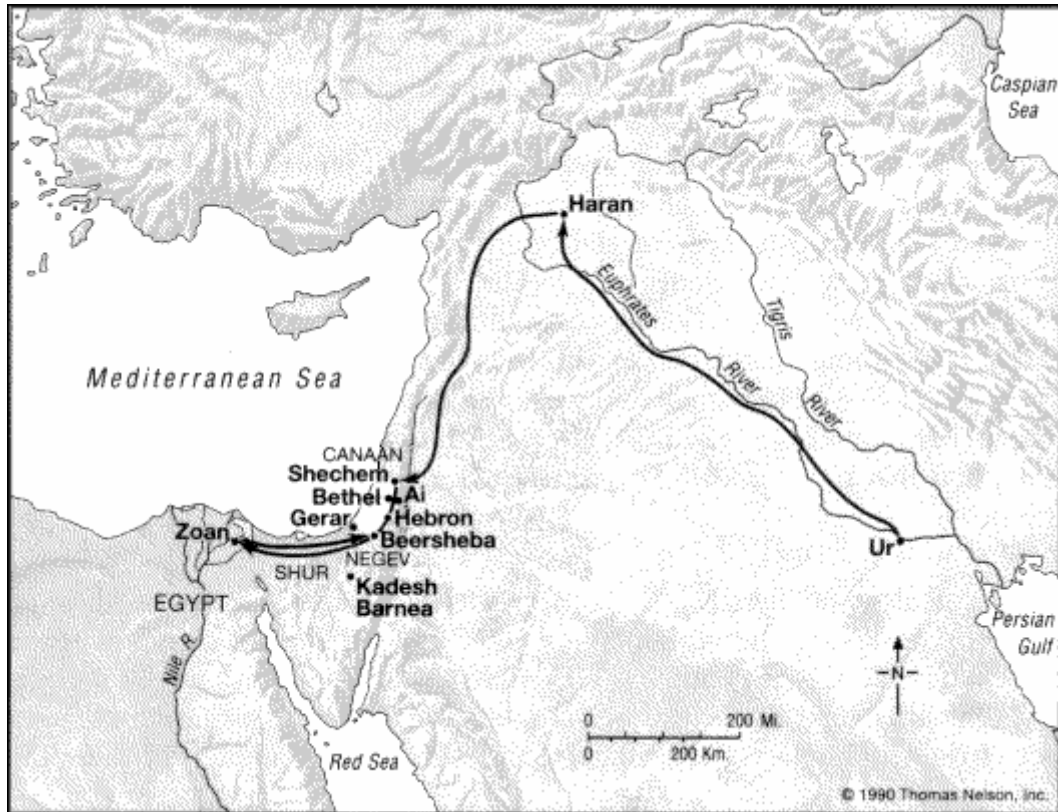
Cf. Thomas Nelson Publishers ([1993]1996: compact-disc)

Χαρράν was situated in the north-west of Mesopotamia, in Amorite country, to the east of Canaan; it was a key trade centre, the 'fertile crescent' routes from Egypt to Persia and from Babylonia to Asia Minor (Fitzmyer 1998:369). According to Gn 11:31 and 12:1, God called Abraham after the move to Haran. But Stephen here affirms that God had called Abraham in Mesopotamia before he stayed in Haran (see also Ac 7:4a; Philo, *Abr* 62;[21] Josephus, *Ant* 1:154; contrast Philo, *MigrAbr* 177). Some scholars consequently assert that God called Abraham twice (Bruce [1951]1987:146; Marshall 1980:135; Kistemaker 1990:240; Witherington 1998:266).

Since, however, it is clear from Gn 15:7 and Neh 9:7 that God called Abraham

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[21] Unless otherwise refered to, Yonge's translation (1993) is employed for Philo's works.

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out of Ur, it can convincingly be taken for granted that a divine call came to him there before he lived in Haran. Kilgallen (1976[a]:42) claims that "[t]heologically, … Stephen chose this tradition (Gn 15:7) rather than that of 11:21-12:5 because he wanted to show his listeners that the call to a new land (to worship God) was at the very root of Abraham's earlier migration."

This problem, however, seems to be solved correctly by examining the Hebrew syntax. Gn 12:1 starts with a *waw* consecutive. From Gn 11:10 there is a long string of *waw* consecutives heading towards the birth of Abraham in v. 26. Gn 11:27 cuts this string with a *waw* disjunctive, resulting from interposition (Watts 1964:24). This indicates the commencement of the episode of Terah and his descendants which carries on until his death in Gn 11:32. In view of the fact that vv. 27-32 form a complete unit, concentrating on Terah, Gn 12:1 must link back to Gn 11:26 and be the coherent continuance of the story being presented there. Furthermore, in Gn 12:1 the phrase "your country, your relatives, and your father's house" is never applicable to Haran. That is because Haran is not Terah's house neither is it Abraham's country or the place in which his relatives live. This phrase thus corresponds only to Ur.[22]

In Gn 12:1 (LXX) the introductory formula is as follows: καὶ εἶπεν κύριος τῷ Αβραμ. In this phrase, εἶπεν is aorist in tense. In Gn 12, when the account continues in v. 4, ἐπορεύθη is aorist as well. The deed depicted by εἶπεν goes before that of ἐπορεύθη in time. In a situation where one aorist goes before another in time, the former is to be considered as a consummative pluperfect (Brooks & Winbery 1979:99). Gn 12:1a was thus rightly translated "And the Lord *had said* to Abraham" in NIV, KJV, DBY. In the end, this shows clearly that the call of Abraham came in Ur, as is mentioned above.

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[22] For the detailed argument, cf. Koivisto (1982:42-69).

(c) "So he left the land of the Chaldeans and settled in Haran" (τότε ἐξελθὼν ἐκ γῆς Χαλδαίων κατῴκησεν ἐν Χαρράν, v. 4a). It is necessary to note that at this point Stephen's speech is continued by the verb ἐξέρχομαι which occurred in the previous verse.

(d) "After the death of his father, God sent him to this land where you are now living" (κἀκεῖθεν μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ μετῴκισεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν γῆν ταύτην εἰς ἣν ὑμεῖς νῦν κατοικεῖτε, v. 4b). The second historical discrepancy appears here concerning Terah's age (cf. Koivisto 1982:70-89). Terah was 70 years old when Abraham was born (Gn 11:26). Then he lived 205 years and died in Haran (Gn 11:32). According to Gn 12:4, Abraham was 75 years old when he set out from Haran. However, in relation to Ac 7:4, Terah would only be 145 when Abraham left Haran.

Some scholars (e.g., Mare 1971:19; Glocy 1910:236) would like to rearrange the sequence of Terah's sons, Abraham, Nahor, and Haran. They suggest that Abraham was Terah's youngest son, born 60 years after Haran, whom they thought to be Terah's eldest son. This answer looks questionable. Terah would have been 130 years old when Abraham was born, but Abraham finds it "incredible that he himself should beget a son at 99" in Gn 17:1, 17 (Alford [1877]1976:69). Others (e.g., Wilcox 1965:28-29; Kahle 1947:143-144; Munck 1967:285; Scobie 1973:391-400) propose that Stephen adhered to a Samaritan tradition. In the Samaritan Pentateuch, Gn 11:32 says that Terah dies not at 205 but at 145 years of age. Philo (*Abr* 78) also offers Terah's lifetime as 145 years. But since no Greek manuscript with this reading exists, this proposition remains only hypothetical (Richard 1977:196-197, 207-208).

Bruce (1987[b]:41) advocates that the intention for the inclusion of this

problematic expression in Ac 7 is a dependence on an aged rabbinic tradition that was produced to release Abraham from the brutal deed of leaving his old father. The rabbinic tradition revealed in Gn R 39:7 is as follows:

> Now what precedes this passage? "And Terah died in Haran [which is followed by] Now the Lord said to Abraham: Get thee." R Issac said: "From the point of view of chronology a period of sixty-five years is still required. But first you may learn that the wicked, even during their lifetime, are called dead. For Abraham was afraid saying, 'Shall I go out and bring dishonour upon the Divine Name,' as people will say, 'he left his father in his old age and departed?' Therefore the Holy One, blessed be He, reassured him: 'I exempt thee from the duty of honouring thy parents, though I exempt no one else from this duty. Moreover, I will record his death before thy departure.' Hence, "And Terah died in Haran" is stated first, and then, "Now the Lord said to Abram, etc."

Lake and Cadbury (1933:70) conclude correctly that Stephen followed the interpretative techniques of his day that had little consideration for accurate calculation (Cf. also Longenecker 1981:340; Philo, *MigrAbr* 176-177; Josephus, *Ant* 1:154).

The word μετοικίζω is appropriate for this context; it means "to lead settlers to another abode" (Liddell et al. [1940]1968:1121). At the end of v. 4, witnesses D E *pc* mae add καὶ οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν (ἡμῶν οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν D).

Stephen's reply is continued: (e) "But God gave him no inheritance here, not even a foot of ground" (καὶ οὐκ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ κληρονομίαν ἐν αὐτῇ οὐδὲ βῆμα ποδὸς, v. 5a). The expression οὐδὲ βῆμα ποδός may be an echo of Dt 2:5 (γὰρ μὴ δῶ ὑμῖν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς αὐτῶν οὐδὲ βῆμα ποδός), which has nothing to do with Abraham. Here

it means that Abraham did not possess any of the promised land, namely all that Abraham possessed was God's promise (Davies 1974:270). It is true that Abraham bought the field and the cave of Machpelah near Mamre in Canaan for a burial site (Gn 23), but Stephen appropriately disregards this; a burial ground is not considered inhabitable land, nor is it seen as a sign of a forthcoming residence.

(f) "But God promised him that he and his descendants after him would possess the land, even though at that time Abraham had no child" (καὶ ἐπηγγείλατο δοῦναι αὐτῷ εἰς κατάσχεσιν αὐτὴν καὶ τῷ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ μετ' αὐτόν, οὐκ ὄντος αὐτῷ τέκνου, v. 5b). The phrase καὶ τῷ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ μετ' αὐτόν might refer to either Gn 17:8 (καὶ δώσω σοι καὶ τῷ σπέρματί σου μετὰ σὲ τὴν γῆν ἣν παροικεῖς πᾶσαν) or Gn 48:4 (καὶ δώσω σοι τὴν γῆν ταύτην καὶ τῷ σπέρματί σου μετὰ σέ), although Steyn (1995:30-31) pointed out only one source (Gn 48:4) of the OT for Ac 7:5, as will be shown below.

According to Steyn (1995:30-31), this phrase is very similar to an accurate OT reading, and is habitually mistaken for an explicit quotation, however, there are other similar cases in Acts.[23] Concerning these cases, Steyn says (1995:30)

> … 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 underlie them.

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[23] For three similar expressions from the Psalms, see Ps 89:21 = Ac 13:22; Ps 146:6 = Ac 4:24; Ps 146:6 (once more) = Ac 14:15, and for six similar expressions from the Torah, see also Gn 48:4 = Ac 7:5; Ex 1:8 = Ac 7:18; Ex 3:6 = Ac 3:13; Ex 3:6, 15 = Ac 7:32; Ex 20:11 = Ac 14:15; Ex 21:4 = Ac 7:27, 35.

This expression of God's promise is also made several times in Gn 12:7; 13:15; 15:18-20; 24:7. In Acts this is the first reference to it (see also Ac 7:17; 13:32; 26:6).

The negation of ὄντος by means of οὐκ more easily than μή results from the impression that is "the proper negative for a statement of a downright fact" (Moulton 1908:232). Within the NT, this fact is used for illustrating the power of Abraham's faith in the promise of God, despite the ostensible hopelessness of its fulfilment (see Rm 4:16-22).

(g) "God spoke to him in this way: 'Your descendants will be strangers in a country not their own, and they will be enslaved and mistreated for four hundred years. But I will punish the nation they serve as slaves,'" (ἐλάλησεν δὲ οὕτως ὁ θεὸς ὅτι ἔσται τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ πάροικον ἐν γῇ ἀλλοτρίᾳ καὶ δουλώσουσιν αὐτὸ καὶ κακώσουσιν ἔτη τετρακόσια καὶ τὸ ἔθνος ᾧ ἐὰν δουλεύσουσιν κρινῶ ἐγώ, vv. 6-7a). Another problem on number arises here as compared with the chronological report in Gl 3:17. There the period between the promise to Abraham and the conferment of the Law is 430 years, which surely depends on Ex 12:40.

Some scholars (Haenchen 1971:279; Marshall 1980:136; Kistemaker 1990:242) solve this difficulty by arguing Stephen's indifference to accurate numbers, mentioning the round number in Gn 15:13. On the other hand, within the text of Ex 12:40, the reading of the MT shows 430 years as Israel's sojourn 'in Egypt', but the reading of the LXX describes this sojourn as being both 'in the land of Egypt and in the land of Canaan'. Also, the later rabbinic tradition suggests that the interval of 430 years expanded from Isaac's birth to the day of the exodus (Strack & Billerbeck 1961:668-671).

(h) "God said, 'and afterward they will come out of that country and worship me in this place'" (ὁ θεὸς εἶπεν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξελεύσονται καὶ λατρεύσουσίν μοι ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ, v. 7b). (i) "Then he gave Abraham the covenant of circumcision" (καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ διαθήκην περιτομῆς, v. 8a). The reference to circumcision in Stephen's speech appears only once. Circumcision was to be the sign of the covenant between Abraham and God (Gn 17:9-14; see also Joseph, *Ant* 1:192; Jub 15:28;[24] contrast BibAnt 15:25-34; Philo, *Abr* 111-166). The covenant assured God's promise that God would be the God of Abraham and his offspring, while, on the human's side, obedience to the ritual of circumcision was the sign of promise to God. Consequently, the mentioning of circumcision becomes a model of the submission of the forefathers of Israel (see also v. 51).

(j) "And Abraham became the father of Isaac" (καὶ οὕτως ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰσαὰκ, v. 8b). Lake and Cadbury (1933:72) comment that the adverb οὕτως in v. 8b is emphatic. (k) "and circumcised him eight days after his birth" (καὶ περιέτεμεν αὐτὸν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ὀγδόῃ[25], v. 8c).

(l) "Later Isaac became the father of Jacob," (καὶ Ἰσαὰκ τὸν Ἰακώβ, v. 8d). (m) "and Jacob became the father of the twelve patriarchs" (καὶ Ἰακὼβ τοὺς δώδεκα πατριάρχας, v. 8e).[26] Lake and Cadbury (1933:72) consider the word πατριάρχας in Acts as to be its first occurrence in Greek literature (see Ac 2:29; 7:9; Heb 7:4), since the used word to describe Jacob's twelve sons is not found anywhere in earlier existing Greek literature, as I will discuss later. Isaac, Jacob, and the twelve patriarchs in v. 8 are introduced so as to make a movement to

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[24] Unless otherwise refered to, the two volumes edited by Charlesworth (1983; 1985) are used for the OT Pseudepigrapha.
[25] For the detailed explanation from the OT, see Gn 21:4 ("When his son Isaac was eight days old, Abraham circumcised him, as God commanded him.").
[26] For the birth of Jacob's twelve sons, see Gn 29:32-35; 30:6, 8, 11, 13, 18, 20, 24; 35:18 (Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Dan, Naphtali, Gad, Asher, Issachar, Zebulun, Joseph, Benjamin).

the story of Joseph (9-16). Kilgallen (1976ᵃ:45-46) and Bihler (1963:vii) therefore regard v. 8 as a transition, as discussed earlier, though the two viewpoints are a little bit different.

2.1 God's calling to Abraham and the quotation

2.1.1 The quotation from Gn 12:1 in Ac 7:3

2.2.1.1 Other occasions of the quotation

Although a vague reference to Gn 12:1 may be implied in Heb 11:8, this quotation is not found as an explicit quotation anywhere else in the NT. This is the first time that the explicit quotation appears here in the NT.[27]

2.2.1.2 The introductory formula (Ac 7:3a)

The explicit quotation from Gn 12:1 is identified by an introductory formula in Ac 7:3a (καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν), as has been pointed out (Kilgallen 1976ᵃ:125). According to Steyn (1995:27-28), this formula that is used to indicate an explicit quotation is one of two main ways - γράφω[28] or λέγω[29] - of introducing explicit quotations in Acts. Through the location or place - ὁ προφήτης[30] - from which the text is derived, the explicit quotation is used quite a few times in Acts. In that case, there are three additional occasions seemingly adopted from the Psalms -

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[27] The reference is also found in certain extra-canonical literature, e.g., Philo, *MigrAbr* 1, 16, 19, 20, 21 and *RerDivHer* 56; Jub 12:22-23; Clement(Rm), *1 Clem* 10:3.

[28] It comes to 7 times out of the 26 explicit quotations (see Ac 1:20 (presenting two citations from Psalms); 7:42; 8:32; 13:33; 15:15; 23:5).

[29] Including Ac 7:3, it comes to 19 times out of the 26 explicit quotations (see 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).

[30] It comes to 6 times of the 9 times that the Prophets are cited (see Ac 2:16; 7:42, 48; 13:40; 15:15; 28:26).

(βίβλος) ψαλμόι[31] or Δαυίδ[32] - and Torah - Μωϋσῆς.[33]

2.2.1.3 Establishing and describing the textual differences

NT(NA27)	LXX	MT
Ac 7:3b	Gn 12:1b[34]	Gn 12:1b
ἔξελθε ἐκ τῆς γῆς σου	ἔξελθε ἐκ τῆς γῆς σου	לֶךְ־לְךָ מֵאַרְצְךָ
καὶ [ἐκ] τῆς συγγενείας σου,	καὶ ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας σου	וּמִמּוֹלַדְתְּךָ
	καὶ ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου	וּמִבֵּית
	τοῦ πατρός σου	אָבִיךָ
καὶ δεῦρο		
εἰς τὴν γῆν ἣν ἄν σοι δείξω.	εἰς τὴν γῆν ἣν ἄν σοι δείξω	אֶל־הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר אַרְאֶךָּ׃

2.2.1.3.1 Textual differences between MT and LXX

There are no major differences between the MT and the LXX on this point. The LXX reading accordingly signifies here a comparatively faithful or literal translation of the Hebrew. In accordance with this, it must be stated that it is not clear that the author of Acts (and/or his tradition) made use of the Greek and not the Hebrew, or *vice versa*. Here he could have employed either the LXX or the MT.

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[31] For its occurrence as introductory formula in Acts, see Ac 1:20 (presenting two Psalms citations); 13:33.
[32] For its use as introductory formula in Acts, see Ac 2:25, 34; 4:25.
[33] For its employment as introductory formula in Acts, see Ac 3:22(Dt); 7:35(Ex); 7:37(Dt).
[34] Unless otherwise refered to, the LXX version edited by Wevers (1974) is used for the Greek translation of Genesis.

2.2.1.3.2 Textual differences between Acts and LXX (and their relation with MT)

In comparing the readings of the LXX and Acts, the quotation in Ac 7:3 corresponds closely with the LXX version of Gn 12:1 (cf. Fitzmyer 1998:370). Nevertheless, there are also two major, as well as one minor deviation visible in Ac 7:3, compared to the LXX: (1) Two major changes - (i) the omission of καὶ ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ πατρός σου and (ii) the addition of καὶ δεῦρο; and (2) one minor change - the omission of [ἐκ] within only two MSS.

(a) Omissions:

[1] The omission of [ἐκ] before τῆς συγγενείας σου

The LXX and all MSS of Acts have ἐκ before τῆς συγγενείας σου - except B D.

[2] The omission of καὶ ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ πατρός σου after τῆς συγγενείας σου

The phrase καὶ ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ πατρός σου after τῆς συγγενείας σου is omitted by Luke. Both the MT and the LXX, however, have the phrase.

(b) Addition:

[3] The addition of καὶ δεῦρο before εἰς τὴν γῆν

The reading of the NT adds the words καὶ δεῦρο before εἰς τὴν γῆν. Both the MT and the LXX, however, omit these words.

2.1.2 Lukan method used for the quotation

(a) Omissions ([ἐκ]; καὶ ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ πατρός σου).

Firstly, some comments on the omission of ἐκ. The LXX and all MSS of Acts have ἐκ before the phrase τῆς συγγενείας σου, except in the case of B and D.

Most scholars do not make mention of the omission of ἐκ before τῆς συγγενείας σου (cf. Archer & Chirichigno 1983:5; Arnold 1996:311-312; Bruce [1951]1976:162; Conzelmann 1987:52; Fitzmyer 1998:370; Haenchen 1971:278; Richard 1978:41-43).

Although the omission is attested to in only a few witnesses (B and D), an alternative reading is presented in the margin of Westcott/Hort, and NA25. This is because the addition of the term is supported by the vast majority of MSS (P[74] ℵ A *C* Ψ 33 1739 *M* lat sy Ir[lat]). Of particular significance is the attestation to the term in the more important MSS such as P[74] and ℵ.

Secondly: καὶ ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ πατρός σου. Although both the LXX and the MT retain this phrase after τῆς συγγενείας σου, it does not appear in the equivalent NT reading. Wilcox (1965:26-7) has suggested that the absence of the term forms "… a point of contact between a Targumic tradition and a text in Acts." However, the parallel with the late Targum Pseudo-Jonathan, is merely accidental (cf. Conzelmann 1987:52). According to Fitzmyer (1998:370), the reason for the omission, lies in the question of why Abraham departed from Haran.

The other possible reason for the omission of this phrase in Acts, lies in Luke's retention of the phrase καὶ [ἐκ] τῆς συγγενείας σου, which appears prior to the omitted portion. It can be suggested that the essential meaning of the omitted phrase is still retained in the text of Acts, due to the retention of the prior phrase, which essentially says much the same thing (cf. Koivisto 1982:57, Barrett 1994:342). Interestingly, in their translation of Philo's *On Abraham*, Colson et al. (1935:62) unite the two words, 'relatives' and 'father's house' with: 'kinsfolk'.

Thus, it can be seen that the omission in Acts of καὶ ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ πατρός σου

is understandable as Abraham departed from Ur in company with Terah, his father (cf. Haenchen 1971:278).

(b) Addition (καὶ δεῦρο).

Here, we refer to: καὶ δεῦρο. This phrase appears before εἰς τὴν γῆν in the NT, but is lacking in both the MT and the LXX. Of course, the word δεῦρο has no exact parallel in the Hebrew, but appears in all NT MSS of Ac 7:3. Hatch maintains that this expression "…might be an early and graphic gloss" ([1889]1970:154).[35] Of interest is the fact that the two LXX MSS, E and M retain these two words as well as Chr passim, Cyr I 165; Eus VI 9, Tht III 760; Arm[ap] Bo (cf. Davidson 1843:384; Turpie 1868:169; Bruce [1951]1976:162; Wevers 1974:149; Richard 1978:42). However, the term does not appear in the reading of Clement (*1 Clem* 10:3)*. Nevertheless, the presence of the term in the minor LXX witnesses is paralleled by its appearance in the quotations of other Church Fathers.

However, the addition (or absence) of these words does not have a major impact on the context of the Abraham story whether in the NT or the OT.

The adverb δεῦρο generally means, 'Come (here)'. It could thus indicate that God intended to reveal himself to Abraham in Canaan, or in some way was particularly connected with Canaan. However in its context, the term points to the fact that Abraham meets God when Abraham leaves his close relationships and goes on a pilgrimage without an inheritance of his own (Davies 1974:268-272).

Therefore the inclusion of καὶ δεῦρο could be regarded as a conscious addition

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[35] Fitzmyer (1998:370) states that "… it catches the sense of the original Hebrew."

by Luke.

2.1.3 Interpretation of the quotation by Luke

Stephen starts his speech by employing ἀδελφοι in v. 2, to assert that both he and his hearers, the Sanhedrin, belong to the same Abrahamic line of offspring to which he will presently refer. He emphatically repeats the term πατρὶ ἡμῶν Ἀβραάμ in v. 2. Employing this designation is critical to Stephen as the Sanhedrin will accuse him of attacking the two most sacred Jewish traditions: the Temple and the Law. In making use of the expressions: 'Abraham our father' and 'brothers and fathers', Stephen intends to show that he is just as much a true Israelite as his audience are.[36]

Nevertheless, Stephen's thinking presents a complete contrast to the mindset of his audience in the way he uses the term 'your fathers', at the end of his speech in vv. 51-52 (πατέρες ὑμῶν).[37] Koet's statement (1989:132) is right on the mark when he states that the term πατέρες "…depends mostly on the possessive pronouns whether it deals with the positive or negative aspect" of Israel's history. However, Stephen does not distinguish himself from his hearers until his speech reaches its climax, meaning that Luke had skillfully structured the speech around a striking and tragic reversal in its conclusion.[38]

In the first quotation from the OT in Stephens' speech, taken from Genesis, Luke wishes to establish his theological and hermeneutical agenda. With the reading of Gn 12:1, Luke intends to establish that God appeared to Abraham in

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[36] For the use of "our fathers" in Luke-Acts, see Lk 1:55, 72; Ac 3:13; 5:30; 7:11-12, 15, 19, 38-39, 44-45; 22:14. See also "your fathers" in Ac 3:25.
[37] For the use of "your fathers" in Luke-Acts, see also Lk 11:47-48. Notice also "our fathers" in Ac 7:39.
[38] Tannehill (1985:78-81) points out that reversal in the plot is a central device of tragedy.

Mesopotamia and instructed him to leave his country and his people, before he came to live in Haran. This command, representing the *ipsissima verba* of God, demonstrates that while many of the great events of Israel's salvation history took place within the land, this is not exclusively the case.

Many workings of God took place outside of the land itself [39] (cf. Bruce [1951]1976:161; Ehrhardt 1969:34; Richard 1979:259; Dunn 1991:65; Polhill 1992:189; Sterling 1992:373; Larsson 1993:388; Witherington 1998:266). Bruce ([1951]1987:145) says, "[i]t was in Mesopotamia, far from the promised land, that God first revealed himself to Abraham … Those who are obedient to the heavenly vision, Stephen seems to suggest, will always live loose to any one spot on earth, will always be ready to get out and go wherever God may guide."

Not surprisingly, on the one hand, Luke emphasises 'the land' and its capital – Israel and Jerusalem - in Luke-Acts. He thus starts and finishes his gospel in Jerusalem (Lk 1–2; 24). In his second volume, he narrates that the church originated in Jerusalem (Ac 1–9) and that even the apostle for the Gentiles, Paul is destined to come back to Israel (Ac 20–23). Within Stephen's speech there is also an optimistic perspective towards 'the land', in particular. God sent Abraham to 'the land' (v. 4). God pronounced that Abraham's descendants would worship him in that place (v. 7). The patriarchs' bodies were brought back to Shechem, a part of Canaan (v. 16). 'Our fathers' under Joshua took the land from the nations God drove out before them and the tabernacle, which our fathers brought at that time, remained in the land until the time of David (v. 45).

On the other hand, when the same writer opens and closes Stephen's speech with the indication to God's resident place (see vv. 2, 49-50), the relegation of

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[39] Munck (1959:222) regards Stephen's speech as a "…statement of a Diaspora Jew's attitude to the Old Testament."

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'the land' is presented as well. As stated by Stephen in Ac 7, God himself appeared to 'our father Abraham' while he was still in Mesopotamia, not in the land (v. 2). God rescued Joseph from all his troubles when Joseph was in Egypt - outside Jerusalem (vv. 9-10). Moses was raised in Egypt (v. 20), spent forty years in Midian (v. 29), and stood on 'holy ground' in the desert near Mount Sinai - outside of Israel (vv. 30-33). God handed the assembly, who were in the desert, living oracles (v. 38). God's punishment was to send the Israelites into exile beyond Babylon (v. 43). Lastly, the temple in the land cannot confine God, because heaven is his throne, and the earth is his footstool (7:48-50).

What then is Luke's attitude towards 'the land' in Acts? It is most likely that while he did not necessarily criticise the general idea of God promising his people 'land', in Scripture, he wished to criticise the theological associations his Jewish contemporaries had made with respect to 'the land'. According to Allison (1997[a]:644), Luke desired to disassociate himself from strong territorial theologies of the land, which had arisen in rabbinic tradition, such as that evident in *Mek* on Ex 12:1.

Of interest to the reader, is Luke's frequent reference to various geographic locations, in describing the unfolding of Israel's history in the first section of his speech (vv. 2-8). The geographical references are as follows: 'Mesopotamia,' 'Haran' (v. 2), 'the land' (v. 3), 'the land of the Chaldeans', 'Haran' again, 'this land' (v. 4), 'the land' again (v. 5), 'a country not their own' (v. 6), and 'this place' (v. 7). These frequent references seem to downgrade the importance of 'the land', since in this section Luke is at pains to illustrate the fact that Abraham and his descendants had no fixed place of residence.

Luke wishes to contrast the sovereign, unchangeable God, with the impermanent, contingent nature of 'the land'. Through this contrast, God's

faithfulness to the Israelites is made manifest in the Abraham story. In other words, although Israel wandered incessantly from place to place in their history, God always accompanied them. Therefore one of the most notable theological motifs, frequently reflected in Luke-Acts, is the idea of God the sovereign Lord and subject of history. O'Toole (1984:23-32) testifies to this theme of Luke-Acts, noting Luke's regular usage of the following verbs: πληρόω (see Lk 1:20; 4:21; 21:24; 22:16; 24:44; Ac 1:16; 3:18; 13:27; 14:26), ὁρίζω (see Lk 22:22; Ac 2:23; 10:42; 17:26, 31), τίθημι (see Ac 13:47), τάσσω (see Ac 13:48; 22:10), and especially δεῖ (see Lk 2:48-49; 9:22; 13:33; 17:25; 19:5, 7; 24:7, 26; Ac 17:3).

In the Stephen discourse, God calls Abraham and in fulfiling his purposes for Abraham's descendants, God works even through Joseph's malicious siblings. God protects his people during their sojourn in Egypt, finally enabling them to leave the land of slavery through miraculous means, and settles them in the promised land, Canaan.

Luke's selective reading of Israel's past, reflected in the Stephen speech, enables him to present to his audience the recurring OT theme of God as the true agent operating in Israel's history (cf. O'Neill [1961]1970:81; Schubert 1968[a]:243; Kilgallen 1976[a]:24-26; Richard 1978:265, 330-332; Marshall 1980:131-132; Squires 1983:66-67; Kee 1984:196-197; Johnson 1992:121).

Dunn (1996:92) also indicates that the old title, Ὁ θεὸς τῆς δόξης as the heading of the speech, plays a double role: one is to highlight the transcendence of the Most High who does not live in houses made by men; another role is to be an *inclusio* with δόξαν θεοῦ on which Stephen set his eyes in v. 55 (cf. Neudorfer 1998:283; Witherington 1998:264).[40] For the latter, the connection between

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[40]. But Witherington thinks v. 56 is the concluding place for the frame.

ἀκούσατε (v. 2) and Ἀκούοντες (v. 54) needs to be noticed in Ac 7. In addition, Neudorfer (1998:283) notes that "[t]he technical term εἰδέναι in its different forms occurs throughout the speech (7:2,[26]30,35,44,55) and comes to its almost ecstatic climax in the formula θεωρεῖν (v 56)."

The theme of God as master of history is further confirmed in the Stephen discourse through the employment of nine verbs that are concomitant with the subject, 'God' in the first section: appeared (v. 2), said, will show (v. 3), sent (v. 4), gave, promised (v. 5), spoke (v. 6), will punish (v. 7), and gave (v. 8). Martín-Asensio (1999:244) says that God "appears three times as full explicit subject, seven times as non-explicit subject and once as a non-subject participant."[41] At the same time, it is significant that Abraham is not referred to as an explicit subject of any action in Ac 7:2-8.[42] The author clearly does not wish to draw attention to the role of Abraham, as much as to the all-important role of Abraham's God.

Luke's attitude towards Israel's land in the earlier part of the Stephen speech, foreshadows his view of the temple, which will become apparent in the later part of the discourse. Luke will argue that God and his actions are not exclusively restricted to any real estate, even the temple in Jerusalem. This theme is progressively reinforced by Stephen as he proceeds in his presentation to the Sanhedrin.

The deletion of the words καὶ ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ πατρός σου may simply be the

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[41] For references to God as explicit subject, see Ὁ θεὸς τῆς δόξης ὤφθη τῷ πατρὶ ἡμῶν (v. 2); ἐλάλησεν δὲ οὕτως ὁ θεός (v. 6); ὁ θεὸς εἶπεν (v. 7). For references to God as a non-explicit subject, see εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν (v. 3a); εἰς τὴν γῆν ἣν ἄν σοι δείξω (v. 3b); μετῴκισεν αὐτόν (v. 4); οὐκ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ κληρονομίαν (v. 5a); ἐπηγγείλατο δοῦναι αὐτῷ (v. 5b); κρινῶ ἐγώ (v. 7); ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ διαθήκην περιτομῆς (v. 8). For a non-subject participant category, see also λατρεύσουσίν μοι (v. 7).
[42] Porter (1993[b]:200) argues that the use of the subject in the explicit sense is a means of emphasizing the importance of a character in Greek discourse.

result of Luke's compaction or contraction, because the sense is reasonably connoted by the preceding phrase καὶ [ἐκ] τῆς συγγενείας σου. Besides, both the omission of [ἐκ] and the addition of καὶ δεῦρο are insignificant for this part of Stephen's speech. Here, Luke reveals his theological idea through the quoted text itself. It becomes clear from the fact that Luke's quotation is the single canonical passage stating the matter of God's call to Abraham.

2.2 God's promise to Abraham and the quotation

2.2.1 The quotation from Gn 15:13-14 in Ac 7:6-7

2.2.1.1 Other NT occurrences of the quotation

No support is located in other places within the NT where this passage is quoted, so giving the impression that this citation appears here for the first time in the NT text. There is consequently no biblical proof to uphold the possibility that Luke (Stephen) could have drawn this quotation from tradition. Hence it can safely be attributed to the mouth of Stephen via the hand of Luke.

2.2.1.2 The introductory formula (Ac 7:6a, 7b)

The explicit quotation from Gn 15:13-14 is clearly identified by an introductory formula in Ac 7:6a (ἐλάλησεν δὲ οὕτως ὁ θεὸς ὅτι). Fitzmyer (1961:302) has discovered a parallel to this introductory formula in CD 6:13 and 8:9. Uncommonly, another introductory formula is found in the middle of the quotation at the beginning of v. 7b (ὁ θεὸς εἶπεν). Generally, two introductory formulae do not frequently occur in the case of only one explicit quotation; in fact, one introductory formula often suffices for the introduction of two quoted texts.

2.2.1.3 Establishing and describing the textual differences

NT(NA27)	LXX	MT
Ac 7:6b-7	Gn 15:13b-14	Gn 15:13b-14
⁶ὅτι <u>ἔσται τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ</u>	¹³ὅτι <u>πάροικον</u>	כִּי־גֵר
<u>πάροικον</u>	<u>ἔσται τὸ σπέρμα σου</u>	יִהְיֶה זַרְעֲךָ
ἐν γῇ <u>ἀλλοτρίᾳ</u>	ἐν γῇ <u>οὐκ ἰδίᾳ</u>	בְּאֶרֶץ לֹא לָהֶם
καὶ δουλώσουσιν <u>αὐτὸ</u>	καὶ δουλώσουσιν <u>αὐτοὺς</u>	וַעֲבָדוּם
καὶ κακώσουσιν	καὶ κακώσουσιν <u>αὐτοὺς</u>	וְעִנּוּ אֹתָם
	<u>καὶ ταπεινώσουσιν αὐτοὺς</u>	
<u>ἔτη τετρακόσια</u>	<u>τετρακόσια ἔτη</u>	אַרְבַּע מֵאוֹת שָׁנָה:
⁷<u>καὶ τὸ ἔθνος</u>	¹⁴<u>τὸ δὲ ἔθνος</u>	וְגַם אֶת־הַגּוֹי
ᾧ ἐὰν δουλεύσ<u>ουσιν</u>	ᾧ ἐὰν δουλεύσ<u>ωσιν</u>	אֲשֶׁר יַעֲבֹדוּ
κρινῶ ἐγώ,	κρινῶ ἐγώ	דָּן אָנֹכִי
<u>ὁ θεὸς εἶπεν,</u>		
<u>καὶ μετὰ</u> ταῦτα	<u>μετὰ δὲ</u> ταῦτα	וְאַחֲרֵי־כֵן
ἐξελεύσονται	ἐξελεύσονται	יֵצְאוּ
	<u>ὧδε μετὰ ἀποσκευῆς πολλῆς</u>	בִּרְכֻשׁ גָּדוֹל:
<u>καὶ λατρεύσουσίν μοι</u>		
<u>ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ.</u>		

2.2.1.3.1 Textual differences between MT and LXX (and their relation with Acts)

The LXX adds καὶ ταπεινώσουσιν αὐτούς after καὶ κακώσουσιν αὐτούς compared to the equivalent account appearing in the MT. However, this addition, present in the LXX is not found in the equivalent Acts reading. Thus, both the MT and the NT are in harmony at this point. It should, however, be noted that both the LXX

and the MT retain the plural pronoun (αὐτούς; אֹתָם) before the phrase in the LXX, which is different from the reading in the NT.

2.2.1.3.2 Textual differences between Acts and LXX

There are 10 major changes to be found between the readings of Ac 7:6-7 and Gn 15:13-14 (LXX): (1) Two transpositions in the NT of the LXX phrases, ἔσται τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ πάροικον; (2) and ἔτη τετρακόσια; (3) a change of the second person pronoun (σου) to the third person pronoun (αὐτου) in Ac 7:6; (4) two substitutions in Acts, ἀλλοτρίᾳ for οὐκ ἰδίᾳ; (5) and καί for δέ; (6) a number change of the plural pronoun (αὐτούς) to the singular pronoun (αὐτό); (7) two omissions of αὐτοὺς καὶ ταπεινώσουσιν αὐτούς after καὶ κακώσουσιν; (8) and ὧδε μετὰ ἀποσκευῆς πολλῆς after ἐξελεύσονται; and (9) a mood change of the subjunctive (δουλεύσωσιν) to the indicative (δουλεύσουσιν) in the NT. (10) The reading of the NT adds καὶ λατρεύσουσίν μοι ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ after ἐξελεύσονται.

  (a) Transpositions:
  [1] ἔσται τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ πάροικον (Ac 7:6)
The LXX replaced this sequence with πάροικον ἔσται τὸ σπέρμα σου, corresponding to the MT.

  [2] ἔτη τετρακόσια (Ac 7:6)
This phrase is also found in the LXX. But, the order in the LXX reading is τετρακόσια ἔτη.

  (b) Person change:
  [3] σου → αὐτου (Ac 7:6)
The second person pronoun of the LXX reading (σου) is substituted by the third person pronoun in Ac 7:6 (αὐτοῦ).

(c) Substitutions:

[4] οὐκ ἰδίᾳ → ἀλλοτρίᾳ (Ac 7:6)

Two words (οὐκ ἰδίᾳ) in the LXX are replaced by one word (ἀλλοτρίᾳ) in Ac 7:6, but their meanings do not differ from each other.

[5] δέ → καί (Ac 7:7)

The conjunction (δέ) in the LXX text is substituted twice by the conjunction (καί) in Ac 7:7.

(d) Number change:

[6] αὐτούς → αὐτό (Ac 7:6)

The plural pronoun (αὐτούς) after καὶ δουλώσουσιν in the LXX is somewhat awkwardly substituted by the singular pronoun (αὐτό) in the NT.

(e) Omissions:

[7] The omission of αὐτοὺς καὶ ταπεινώσουσιν αὐτούς after καὶ κακώσουσιν

With the change of the number given above, the personal plural pronoun αὐτούς is omitted twice in the NT.

[8] The omission of ὧδε μετὰ ἀποσκευῆς πολλῆς after ἐξελεύσονται

The phrase ὧδε μετὰ ἀποσκευῆς πολλῆς after ἐξελεύσονται in the LXX, following the reading of the MT on this point, is omitted in the reading of Ac 7:7.

(f) Mood change:

[9] δουλεύσωσιν → δουλεύσουσιν (Ac 7:7)

The aorist subjunctive (δουλεύσωσιν) in the LXX is replaced by the future indicative (δουλεύσουσιν) in Ac 7:7.

(g) Addition:

[10] The addition of καὶ λατρεύσουσίν μοι ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ after ἐξελεύσονται

This addition is likely to allude to the LXX of Ex 3:12: καὶ λατρεύσετε τῷ θεῷ ἐν τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ. If true, Luke changes ἐν τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ in the reading of the LXX to ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτω.

2.2.2 Lukan method used for the quotation

The most changes, (10 changes in total), occur in this passage within Stephen's speech. When Luke connects the quoted text from Gn 15:13-14 (LXX) to the new context, firstly the grammatical changes were made as follows:

(a) Person change (σου → αὐτου). It stands to reason that the text of Gn 15:13 is in direct speech, whereas the text of Ac 7:6 is in indirect speech (cf. Cadbury 1929:416). No LXX witnesses attest to this change.

(b) Number change (αὐτούς → αὐτό). Even if as a collective (see Lk 1:55; Ac 3:25), αὐτούς is well denoted by the personal plural pronoun. However, it is true that αὐτό, the personal singular pronoun, is consistent with σπέρμα (Barrett 1994:345). However, as this change needs to be discussed, as does the omission of the LXX phrase αὐτοὺς καὶ ταπεινώσουσιν αὐτούς, we will return to the matter of number change later. It should be noted that two NT witnesses (D lat) read αὐτούς at this point, following the LXX reading.

(c) Mood change (δουλεύσωσιν → δουλεύσουσιν). According to Bruce ([1951]1976:163), "… [t]he use of ἄν with Fut. Indic. is post-classical, being a mixture of two constructions, (1) the simple future, and (2) ἄν with the aorist subjunctive." No LXX witnesses support the mood change, but interestingly,

some NT witnesses (P⁷⁴ A D pc Ir^lat vid) read δουλεύσουσιν, while others (P³³ ℵ B E Ψ 1739 M) read δουλεύσωσιν, which agrees with the LXX.

In conclusion, it can be suggested that while Luke's adjustment of the text can be attributed to a stylistic preference, the influence of his possible *Vorlage* cannot be ruled out.

Following the grammatical changes, some stylistic changes were also made by Luke:

(a) Transpositions (πάροικον ἔσται τὸ σπέρμα σου → ἔσται τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ πάροικον; τετρακόσια ἔτη → ἔτη τετρακόσια).

Firstly, we observe that πάροικον ἔσται τὸ σπέρμα σου (LXX) is changed to ἔσται τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ πάροικον (Acts). In this transposition, the noun σπέρμα is placed at the beginning of the quotation, for emphasis. The retention of σπέρμα from the LXX, retains the OT idea of the promise concerning Abraham's descendants. Significantly, no LXX MSS attest to this transposition,[43] although it is found in all textual witnesses of Ac 7:6. Therefore, the transposition as found in Acts, reflects Luke's interpretation.

Secondly, we turn to τετρακόσια ἔτη (LXX) which is changed to ἔτη τετρακόσια (Acts). It is noteworthy that in the LXX MSS (M b d f n s Chr Passim; Cyr II 117; Epiph I 372, Or IV 546; Tht I 172; La) the order 'year/cardinal' is also found (cf. Wevers 1974:170). According to Steyn (2004:67-68), this order of 'year/cardinal,' with a few exceptions, is very often found in Luke-Acts (see Lk 2:36-37, 3:1, 23; 4:25; 8:42-43; 12:19; 13:11; Ac 4:22; 7:30, 36, 42; 9:33; 13:20-21; 19:10; 24:17).[44] When it appears in this sequence, it is always in order to give weight to the cardinal number (see Lk 13:7, 16; 15:29; Ac 24:10).

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[43] The exception here would be the later MSS, Chr IV 630. It reads πάροικον after σου.
[44] Apart from Luke-Acts, see also Mk 5:42; 2 Cor 12:2; Gl 1:18; 1 Tm 5:9.

Therefore *pace* Barrett (1986:59), this transposition is never insignificant in Luke-Acts.

Richard (1982:40) confidently concludes that "…in all probability the LXX employed by Luke provided the requisite text form or else, lacking this, he follows his own preference and modifies the word order."

In conclusion, it seems to this researcher that the transposition is indeed partly due to Luke's stylistic preference, as well as the possible influence of his *Vorlage*.

(b) Substitutions (οὐκ ἰδίᾳ → ἀλλοτρίᾳ; δέ → καί).
We begin, firstly, with the substitution of οὐκ ἰδίᾳ (LXX) with ἀλλοτρίᾳ (Acts). The phrase ἐν γῇ ἀλλοτρίᾳ in Ac 7:6 reflects a somewhat awkward rendition of the LXX ἐν γῇ οὐκ ἰδίᾳ. In his employment of this phrase in the Stephen speech, Luke might well have recalled the expression: ἐν γῇ ἀλλοτρίᾳ from Ex 2:22, even if it is difficult to make any certain ruling on this matter.

In conclusion, although Luke's substitution might reveal somewhat different wording, both the original phrase in the LXX, as well as Luke's own rendition in Acts, retain essentially the same meaning. Richard (1978:51) suggests that the replacement is "… consistent with the author's tendency to transform particular events, concepts, etc., into more generalized statements of the same."

This tendency in Luke is found at various points in Ac 7 (see vv. 5(X2), 9, 10, 11, 26, etc.). Significantly, the substitution is supported by all NT witnesses as well as the minor LXX witnesses, which are also found in the quotations of the early Church Fathers at later points in history (see Chr IV 630; Cyr II 120; Epiph I 372; II 229; La[s]). Accordingly, it is possible that the substitution again reflects an

intentional change on Luke's part.

Secondly, we consider δέ (LXX) which is substituted by καί (Acts). The conjunction δέ which appears twice in the quoted LXX text, has been replaced twice by καί in Acts. This is probably attributable to Luke's stylistic preference. The practice of using καί to mark the beginning of a sentence is also evident in Luke's transpositions. Thus: (τὸ δὲ ἔθνος → καὶ τὸ ἔθνος; μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα → καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα).

The replacements are supported by all NT witnesses, while among the LXX witnesses, C′′-413 b n read καὶ τό, and 54 La[s] (sed hab La[A]) read καὶ μετά.

These substitutions seem to reflect the author's stylistic preferences, although the influence of his *Vorlage* cannot be ruled out.

(c) Omissions (αὐτοὺς καὶ ταπεινώσουσιν αὐτούς **after** καὶ κακώσουσιν; ὧδε μετὰ ἀποσκευῆς πολλῆς **after** ἐξελεύσονται).

First, there is the omission of αὐτοὺς καὶ ταπεινώσουσιν αὐτούς. Here it is possible that Luke used an independent *Textvorlage*, which differs from the LXX. Nevertheless, the LXX witnesses are fairly complicated in this regard, but in short, a reading which omits these four words is supported by only one LXX witness (55). At the same time, the change of number discussed above, together with the omission of the phrase, is not attested to by any LXX witnesses. Finally, there are no NT readings which follow the LXX readings exactly.

In my opinion, Luke's omissions seem deliberate.

Secondly, there is the phrase ὧδε μετὰ ἀποσκευῆς πολλῆς. Luke also omitted this

phrase which appears after ἐξελεύσονται in the LXX, probably for stylistic improvement. Within its new context, Luke's addition (καὶ λατρεύσουσίν μοι ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ) which replaces the omitted portion, reads more smoothly. No LXX witnesses support this omission and replacement.

(d) Addition (καὶ λατρεύσουσίν μοι ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ after ἐξελεύσονται).

Here we concentrate on καὶ λατρεύσουσίν μοι ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ. This addition (referred to briefly, earlier) is probably based upon the LXX reading of Ex 3:12 (καὶ λατρεύσετε τῷ θεῷ ἐν τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ). If Exodus is the background here, then Luke has changed the Exodus phrase ἐν τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ in the LXX reading to ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ. What we have here in this Acts reading, is a case of Luke firstly subtracting from another OT text, before importing it into his reading of the Genesis text of the LXX.

In the OT, the Exodus verse focuses on God granting to Moses and the Israelites the privilege of worshipping him in the future land of Israel or Canaan, despite the fact that ἐν τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ refers literally to Mt. Sinai. In the context of the NT Barrett (1994:345) regards the phrase ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ as referring to the Temple Site, or Jerusalem, a synonymous term. Weiser (1981:184), however, maintains that the term refers specifically to the Temple, whilst Conzelmann (1987:52) asserts that both Jerusalem and the Temple are equally acceptable alternatives.

This understanding of the term, 'this place' (τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ), as referring to the Temple in Jerusalem, resounds in, and bolsters the accusation that Stephen is presenting to his contemporaries in Ac 6:13-14 (κατὰ τοῦ τόπου τοῦ ἁγίου [τούτου] in v. 13; τὸν τόπον τοῦτον in v. 14). However, this is not to say that Stephen looked upon Temple worship as the primary goal of the Exodus (Barrett 2002:99).

Kilgallen (1976[a]:38) rightly states that "… it seems, worship of God was added by Stephen, and seemingly this addition serves in the nature of an explanation of why the people were going free." Not one of the LXX textual witnesses support this addition found in Luke's NT reading.

2.2.3 Interpretation of the quotation by Luke

With the second Genesis quotation, Stephen addresses himself to answering the charges of those who witness falsely against him, namely that he (1) is guilty of blasphemy against the temple, and that he (2) claimed Jesus would destroy the temple, and he (3) changes the customs of Moses (Ac 6:13-14).

This quotation reinforces Luke's argument that whilst no part of the promised land was ever given to Abraham, he nevertheless, had the promise of God's future blessing. However, together with the promise of future blessing, comes the present necessity for preparation (Rackham 1953:102). In connection with this need to prepare for the coming inherited promise, Luke now moves on to the second quotation from Genesis in the Stephen discourse of Ac 7. In spite of God's promise, Luke pointedly refers to the lengthy period during which Abraham's progeny wandered without a fixed abode, as well as enduring a four-hundred-year period of slavery.

Spencer (1997:71) points out that in the context of the Stephen speech, the space dedicated to describing the lengthy delay before entering the land relativizes the significance of the actual land itself. With reference to the first quotation, the second citation also emphasises that the major events within Israel's early history occurred outside of the land. This remains a consistent theme throughout the Stephen speech, particularly in the early section dealing

with Abraham (cf. Davies 1974:270-272). This focus also indicates Luke's attention to God's omnipresence in the argument. It refers to "the providential care of God for his people", irrespective of place (Marshall 2004:165).

The speech then (v. 7) refers to the fact that after subjecting the Hebrews to four hundred years of slavery, God punished the nation who enslaved them and brought Israel out of Egypt in order to worship him in 'this place'. The second quotation focuses on the fact that God fulfilled this promise originally given to Abraham (cf. Dahl 1966:139-158; Johnson 1992:121; Polhill 1992:189-190; Kee 1997:97; Witherington 1998:267). The quotation supplies the overarching theological framework to the rest of the speech, which confines itself to a promise/fulfilment pattern. According to Kurz (1999:151), "[o]ne of the most consequential themes for the plotting of Luke and Acts is that of fulfillment of God's biblical promises to Abraham, a fulfillment that takes place from the beginning." See here also Dahl (1966:143-145, 147); Dupont (1985:153-167); Hall (1991:197); Brawley (1999:109-132); Tannehill (1999:327-328); Penner (2004:306-307).

If the prediction of the partial fulfilment of the promise occurs in Ac 7:17, the complete fulfilment in Christ is finally depicted in Ac 7:37, when Luke refers to the coming of an eschatological prophet according to the model of Moses ("a prophet just like me"). Luke is clearly interested in how the promise given to Abraham will lead to an ultimate fulfilment that comes about much later, long after Abraham himself. Nevertheless, Luke portrays the fulfilment of the promise given to Abraham in different ways. The fact that Stephen and his hearers were in Jerusalem at that time represents a partial fulfilment (Marshall 1980:136). Furthermore, the deliverance of Joseph and Moses, along the way, also represents a partial fulfilment of the promise, even if its actual realisation only comes about "… in the messianic relation of the promise" (Johnson 1992:121).

We have already noted in the course of the argument above that the last part of Ac 7:7, differs from its OT source. Stephen states, "… and afterward they will come out of that country and worship me in this place." However, as has already been seen, the OT text reads: "…and afterward they will come out with great possessions." Luke has clearly inserted an addition that is based upon another OT passage, namely Ex 3:12. Here, instead of wishing to draw attention to the Israelite's deliverance from bondage as in the insertion of the citation based on Ex 3:12, Luke intends to highlight the goal and destination of the exodus, which is to worship God 'in this place' (cf. Dahl 1966:145; Spencer 1997:71).

At this point, it is interesting to note Paul's employment of the Abraham episode, compared with Stephen's. This could explain why both Stephen and Paul introduce Abraham to us. But it is probable that their concentration on him was at odds. Stephen quoted God's call to Abraham in order to leave his residence and take the land that God swore to him and his progeny. His interest here was not only in the promise of land and offspring, but also in the promise of true worship. However, Paul's interest in Abraham was that Abraham's faith was reckoned as righteousness (see Gl 3) before the giving of the law and circumcision (see Rm 4). So, although both Stephen and Paul make mention of Abraham, their concerns and intentions differ (cf. Dahl 1966:139-142; Harrop 1990:196-197).

In the end, most of the changes that Luke made seem to be due to his grammatical intentions, meaning, his need to write this volume in intelligible Greek, and stylistic preferences within the new context. The most noticeable change in this subsection is the Lukan addition-cum-substitution of the phrase καὶ λατρεύσουσίν μοι ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ. Luke might intentionally substitute 'this

place' for 'this mountain' in order "to make explicit what is only implied in the Genesis passage, namely, that Abraham's posterity would return to Canaan" and worship God (Walaskay 1998:133).

3. SUMMARY

3.1 The quoted text from Gn 12:1 in Ac 7:3

The highlighted phrase ἔξελθε ἐκ τῆς γῆς σου καὶ [ἐκ] τῆς συγγενείας σου, καὶ δεῦρο εἰς τὴν γῆν ἣν ἄν σοι δείξω in v. 3 is an explicit quotation from Gn 12:1 that is identified by the introductory formula καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν, derived from the text and which I have underlined. Although a reference to Gn 12:1 might be implied in Heb 11:8, the Genesis text is not found explicitly quoted anywhere else in the NT. Even if Acts does not quote from Gn 12:1 word for word, it is nevertheless clear that Luke followed the LXX in his reading of Genesis (cf. Wilson 1962:168; Kilgallen 1976[a]:125; Richard 1978:41; Johnson 1992:115; Barrett 1994:342; Fitzmyer 1998:370).

However, as indicated earlier, Luke's changes do not significantly alter the original meaning of the Genesis text whether of the LXX or the MT, and thus in comparison to the original reading, they do not create any contextual difficulty within the Stephen discourse. Luke therefore uses this quotation in the way that he does, in order to reflect his theological intentions and agenda.

In this subsection we have attempted to demonstrate that the first quotation serves to highlight God's command to Abraham, to leave his country and proceed to the new land to be revealed to him. Within the context of this first quotation, Luke portrays God as the Lord and the true subject of history, largely because of his revealing of himself to his people at various geographical points,

many of which were outside of the land. This sovereign attribute of God is also made clear in the great commission of Acts: "… you will be my witnesses … and to the ends of the earth" (Ac 1:8 NIV).

In conclusion, Luke here used the quotation from Gn 12:1 so as to make his theological points, e.g., God as the Master of history and God being outside of the land. In the process of his quotation, Luke could have used either the LXX or the MT, making changes to the first quoted text. These changes seem to be expected within the changes in context between that of Luke and the Genesis text. However, the changes do not significantly modify the meaning of the original source.

3.2 The quoted text from Gn 15:13-14 in Ac 7:6-7

The highlighted phrase ἔσται τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ πάροικον ἐν γῇ ἀλλοτρίᾳ καὶ δουλώσουσιν αὐτὸ καὶ κακώσουσιν ἔτη τετρακόσια καὶ τὸ ἔθνος ᾧ ἐὰν δουλεύσουσιν κρινῶ ἐγώ, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξελεύσονται καὶ λατρεύσουσίν μοι ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ in vv. 6-7 is an explicit quotation from Gn 15:13-14 (LXX) that is identified by two introductory formulae which I derived from the text and underlined, viz., ἐλάλησεν δὲ οὕτως ὁ θεὸς ὅτι and ὁ θεὸς εἶπεν.

This quotation is found nowhere else in the NT. As already suggested, it is possible that Luke partly drew upon another *Vorlage* in the composition of his unique rendering of the LXX. However, if we look at the other modifications that Luke made to the LXX text, this addition might be due to both (1) the other grammatical changes (i.e., the Person Change, Number Change, Mood Change discussed earlier) as well as (2) the author's own stylistic preferences (revealed in the Transpositions, Substitutions, Omissions, and finally, the Addition).

Having mapped the changes Luke made to the LXX for his reading of Ac 7, we are now in a position to comment in the next section on the possible theological motives that are reflected in the changes themselves. The quotation enables Luke to reflect on Israel's redemption from Egypt and her arrival in Canaan in order to worship God, subsequent to the call of Abraham. The very presence of Stephen and his Jewish peers in Jerusalem serves to illustrate this promise's fulfilment. Although one of the major themes of the second portion of this section is God's promise of land and offspring, the presence of God with his people cannot be restricted to any one particular place as God is universally present.

The implication therefore, is that the worship of God cannot be restricted to the temple in Jerusalem only. Because God is the sovereign subject of all history, he can be worshipped wherever his people find themselves (Ac 17:26-27). The sign of the true worship by God's people is not a matter of the worship venue, but whether or not God's people are obedient to him (Kee 1997:97).

In conclusion, Luke presents the fulfilment of God's promise given to Abraham by citing from Gn 15:13-14 for this part of Stephen's speech. According to Steyn (1995:230), "[i]nteresting was the confirmation that in all these speeches and dialogues which contain explicit quotations, the hearers were Jews." In the course of his quotation, although it might have been possible that Luke used another *Textvorlage*, most of the changes were made to a LXX version by Luke, as a result of stylistic preference and theological intention. In particular, the addition of καὶ λατρεύσουσίν μοι ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ is likely to be Luke's key textual adaptation at this point.