

CHAPTER VII

SYNTHESIS AND CONCLUSION

1. THE TEXT-HISTORICAL ASPECT

1.1 Identification of quotations

First of all, it is a little difficult for scholars to reach consensus on the number of explicit quotations in Acts. According to Steyn (1995:28-29), this fact

is due, as M. RESE has already pointed out, to the manner in which a quotation is defined by the specific scholar; this becomes especially evident in Stephen's speech (Ac 7), where it is not always easy to determine the difference between an explicit quotation and a direct phrase ("Anspielung") ... even when scholars agree on the same number ..., they still differ on the identification of individual quotations. Others, as J. DUPONT, also includes the direct phrases, and ends, therefore with a higher number than the others.

The number of the explicit quotations in Acts, is calculated at 23 by Ellis (1991:53), whereas both Rese (1979:69) and Swete (1900:388) count 24 citations. However, in spite of the discrepancies among the scholars, the number of the explicit quotations, which are identified with introductory formulae as syntactic pointers of deliberate citations in Acts, is 25 (cf. chap. 1).

The 25 explicit quotations in Acts are identified and categorized as follows (cf. Steyn 1995:28-29):

(a) 10 Explicit Quotations from the Torah:

[1] Ac 3:22-23 from Dt 18:15-20 and Lv 23:29; [2] Ac 3:25 from Gn 22:18; **[3] Ac 7:3 from Gn 12:1; [4] Ac 7:6-7 from Gn 15:13; [5] Ac 7:27-28 from Ex 2:14; [6] Ac 7:33-34 from Ex 3:5, 7-10; [7] Ac 7:35 from Ex 2:14; [8] Ac 7:37 from Dt 18:15; [9] Ac 7:40 from Ex 32:1, 4, 8, 23; [10] Ac 23:5 from Ex 22:27.**

(b) 6 Explicit Quotations from the Psalms:

[1] Ac 1:20 from Ps 68:26 and Ps 108:8; [2] Ac 2:25-28 from Ps 15:8-11; [3] Ac 2:34 from Ps 109:1; [4] Ac 4:25 from Ps 2:1; [5] Ac 13:33 from Ps 2:7; Ac 13:35 from Ps 15:10.

(c) 5 Explicit Quotations from Isaiah:

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

(d) 4 Explicit Quotations from the Twelve Minor Prophets:

[1] Ac 2:17-21 from Jl 2:28-32; **[2] Ac 7:42-43 from Am 5:25-29;** [3] Ac 13:41 from Hab 1:5; [4] Ac 15:16-18 from Am 9:11-12.

The references to the chapters and verses of the OT follow the LXX. Here I disagree with Steyn's identifications on four points, - all of which relate to sources of quotations in Ac 7. They are as follows: (1) As (a) [4] Ac 7:6-7 from Gn 15:13, v. 14 should be added; (2) as (a) [6] Ac 7:33-34 from Ex 3:5, 7-10, v. 9 should be excluded; (3) as (a) [9] Ac 7:40 from Ex 32:1, 4, 8, 23, vv. 4, 8 should be excluded, because Ex 32:4, 8 is merely referred to in Ac 7:41 and explicitly not quoted; and (4) as (d) [2] Ac 7:42-43 from Am 5:25-29, should not be Am 5:25-29, but Am 5:25-27, however as far as I am able to ascertain Am 5:25-29 is a misprint.

In the end, 9 explicit quotations are found in Ac 7 as follows: [1] Ac 7:3 from Gn 12:1; [2] Ac 7:6-7 from Gn 15:13-14; [3] Ac 7:27-28 from Ex 2:14; [4] Ac 7:33-34 from Ex 3:5, 7-8, 10; [5] Ac 7:35 from Ex 2:14; [6] Ac 7:37 from Dt 18:15; [7] Ac 7:40 from Ex 32:1, 23; [8] Ac 7:42-43 from Am 5:25-27; [9] Ac 7:49-50 from Is 66:1-2.

Interestingly, Psalms are not quoted in Ac 7, despite their importance in the NT. It seems that Stephen's speech provides chiefly the selective summary of the Israelite history.

1.2 Occurrences of quotations

1.2.1 Pre-Lukan occurrences of explicit quotations

The 1st quotation from Gn 12:1 is to be found in Ac 7:3, though there does seem to be a vague reference to Gn 12:1 in Heb 11:8. However, there is no support in other places within the NT where this passage is quoted (see, however, Philo, MigrAbr 1 and RerDivHer 56; Jub 12:22-23; Clement(Rm), 1 Clem 10:3). The same applies to the 2nd quotation from Gn 15:13-14 that occurs in Ac 7:6-7, which is also not quoted anywhere else in the NT.

The 3rd and 5th quotations from the same text (Ex 2:14) are to be found in Ac 7:27-28 and 7:35 respectively: These quotations appear only twice within Stephen's speech in the NT. It is noticeable that the reference to Ex 2:14 is implicitly found in Lk 12:14. However, the 4th quotation from Ex 3:5, 7-8, 10 in Ac 7:33-34, is not found anywhere else in the NT.

The 6th quotation from Dt 18:15 in Ac 7:37, is vaguely referred to by the

evangelists in Mk 9:4, 7 (par. Mt 17:5; Lk 9:35); Lk 7:39; 24:25; Jn 1:21; 5:46 and by Philo in the prophecy in *SpecLeg* 1:65. These references, however, are not explicit quotations. The quotation finally occurs only twice, once in Ac 3:22 (Petrine speech), and then in Ac 7:37 in the NT.

The situation is similar to *the 7th quotation from Ex 32:1, 23 in Ac 7:40*, with no support established in other areas within the NT to show that this text is quoted. *The 8th quotation from Am 5:25-27 in Ac 7:42-43*, is also not found anywhere else in the NT, but it does occur in CD 7:14-15. However, the quotations of CD are completely different from the original meaning of the MT.

The 9th quotation from Is 66:1-2 which is to be found *in Ac 7:49-50*, is faintly referred to in Mt 5:34, but this quotation is also not found anywhere else in the NT in its complete or exact form (see *Barn* 16:2; *Justin Dial* 22:11).

In the end, these results give the distinct impression that these explicit quotations appear in this section of the NT for the first time in this volume of writings, - with the exception of course of the quotations from Ex 2:14 and Dt 18:15. Consequently, no biblical proof supports the possibility that Luke could have drawn these quotations from early NT Christian tradition for this part of Stephen's speech.

1.2.2 Excursus 1: Other occasions of quotations in Philo and DSS

Philo

Philo just implies the quoted text from Gn 12:1 in *LegAll* 3:27; *DetPotIns* 44; *RerDivHer* 14. Besides, the quotation is also found explicitly in *MigrAbr* 1 and *RerDivHer* 56, as discussed earlier. However, his exegesis of Gn 12:1 at *MigrAbr* 2; *RerDivHer* 56 is quite different from the original context. Philo also

quotes from Gn 15:13 in *RerDivHer* 54 and Gn 15:14 in *RerDivHer* 55 individually. Furthermore he deals once again with the text of Gn 15:13 in *QinGn* 3, which is a brief commentary on Genesis. According to Borgen (1992:334), these commentaries on Genesis are chiefly “the literal and the allegorical”.

The quoted text from Ex 3:5 is implied in *Fug* 29 by Philo. Yonge (1993:606) points out that the quotation from Ex 32:1 is referred to in 3:22 by Philo, but it is improbable. In *SpecLeg* 1:11, he mentions ‘some other prophet’ who is similar to ‘the prophet’ in Dt 18:15, but an eschatological prophet does not appear there, as shown earlier.

Philo seems to be quite indifferent to the historical description of the OT. Instead, he expounds the biblical accounts for his Hellenistic readers by restating them, so that those people who read can understand from his viewpoint. In the end, Wilson’s words (1962:242) are noticeable that (cf. Martin 1997:934)

It is unnecessary to postulate influence from Philo ... when the raw material is extant in the Septuagint itself. One may say with a great deal of certainty that the Septuagint remains the ultimate major source for the speech; the existence or non-existence of intermediate stages in the way the material of the Septuagint has been used creates the problem of sources.

Nonetheless, the Hellenistic Jewish philosopher of the first century Alexandria is worthy to be studied in Luke-Acts,¹⁹¹ because of the significance of his philosophical and theological thought within Judaism in the days of early Christianity.

¹⁹¹ In fact, scholars have lively arguments on Philo, primarily in Hebrews, John’s Gospel, and the Pauline letters.

The DSS

4Q243 refers vaguely to the quoted text from Gn 15:13-14 in fragment 12,¹⁹² which contains the words as follows: “¹ [...] fo]ur hundred [years] and from [...] ² [...] their [...] and they will depart from within” (Martínez & Tigchelaar 1997:489). The text of Gn 15:13 also appears in part in 4Q464 which has unclassified fragments: “and they shall serve them and they shall oppress” (Wise, Abegg, and Cook 1996:402).

As I mentioned earlier, 4Q175 5-8 and 1QS 9:11 indicate the thought of ‘a prophet like Moses’. In particular, 4Q175 quotes from Dt 18:15, 18, but it differs from the original context. In the context of 4Q175, the writer demands to obey the teacher, namely the interpreter of the law. CD 7:14-15 also quotes from Am 5:25-27, as shown earlier. However, the author of CD uses the quoted text in a different way. Through its context, along with the quotations from Isaiah and Numbers, the writer develops two messianic figures.

In conclusion, some of the authors of the DSS seem to use their sources in order that they may mostly explain the origin of the Qumran community. It thus is not the same in their meanings between the OT and the DSS. In spite of their discrepancy, the writings of Qumran are important because they significantly enhance our knowledge of Judaism around the period.

¹⁹² For this part of 4Q243, Wise, Abegg, and Cook (1996:267) reconstruct as follows: “¹³[...] all of them shall come out of ¹⁴Egypt by the hand of [Moses ... the day].”

1.2.3 Excursus 2: Relationship between Ac 7 and the Epistle to the Hebrews

For Guthrie (1997:841-842), “[o]f all the NT literature no document cites the OT text more extensively than Hebrews.”¹⁹³ Hebrews thus has been the centre of researched NT books on the use of the OT by many distinguished scholars.¹⁹⁴ Brown (1948:513-514) also explains that “no section of the same length in the N.T. contains as large a proportion of quoted words as Stephen’s ‘Defense’; and similiary – with the exception of the ‘Apocalypse’ – concerning ‘Hebrews.’ ... Almost half of the ‘Defense’ and fully a fifth of ‘Hebrews’ are citation.”

These interests amongst NT scholars have predictably gone in the direction of drawing comparisons between Stephen’s speech and Hebrews. Firstly, Scott (1922:63-64) advocates the similarity between the two as follows:

Between this speech and the Epistle to Hebrews there are resemblances so numerous and striking that they can hardly be set down to accident. In both documents the history of Israel is passed under review, with particular emphasis on certain episodes; the typological method is applied to the interpretation of the Old Testament; the idea of worship is made central. There is reference in both to the Rabbinical legends that the Law was given by angels and that the tabernacle was modeled on a heavenly pattern. Above all, the speech and the Epistle have the same fundamental motif, although they develop it in very different ways. Christianity is viewed in the Epistle as

¹⁹³ Carson, Moo and Morris (1992:405) describe that “[o]nly Matthew in the New Testament rivals this book for the range and hermeneutical complexity of the Old Testament texts it cites.”

¹⁹⁴ For the textual aspect, cf. Thomas (1959; 1965:303-325); Howard (1968:208-216); McCullough (1971; 1980:363-379); Cadwallader (1992:257-292). For the exegetical-hermeneutical aspect, cf. Caird (1959:44-51); Ellingworth (1978; 1993:37-42); Hughes (1979); Leschert (1994); Stanley (1994); Bateman (1997); especially with the textual aspect Steyn (2000:263-272). For the rhetorical aspect, cf. also Davis (1994) and Buck (2002).

the perfecting of a revelation which had been made in many fragments to the fathers, and this is likewise the governing idea of the apparently aimless summary of Old Testament events which occupies the speech of Stephen.

Brown (1948:513-514) again depicts that ninety percent of Stephen's 1022 words in his speech recur in Hebrews. Alternatively, "if we consider different vocables only, as recorded in Acts VII, Stephen uses some three hundred (301); and nearly seventy percent of these are found in 'Hebrews.'" He adds that only some one hundred of Stephen's words (103), not including recurrences, do not appear in Hebrews. The theory is further supported by a few pertinent examples in Harrop's dissertation (1955:167-169): the occurrence of Joshua's name only in Hebrews and Ac 7 within the NT (Heb 4:8; Ac 7:45); the only references to God's rest in the NT (Heb 3:11, 18; 4:1, 3, 5, 8, 10-11; Ac 7:49); in the NT the only occasions of the Israelite deliverance at the Red Sea (Heb 11:29; Ac 7:36).

Furthermore, Manson (1951:36) catalogues eight topics of similarity between the two:¹⁹⁵ (a) the attitude of Stephen to the Cult and Law of Judaism; (b) his declaration that Jesus is the change and supersedes these things; (c) his sense of the divine call to the people of God being a call to 'Go out'; (d) his stress on the ever-shifting scene in Israel's life, and on the ever-renewed homelessness of the faithful; (e) his thought of God's Word as 'living'; (f) his incidental allusion to Joshua in connection with the promise of God's 'Rest'; (g) his idea of the 'angels' being the ordainers of God's Law; (h) his directing of his eyes to Heaven and to Jesus. It is thus not surprising, taking the above into account, that a few scholars have asserted that the authorship of Hebrews is finally even

¹⁹⁵ Hurst (1990:94-106) agrees with Manson's parallels except (b) and (h), and adds the citation of Ex 25:40. Bowman (1962:11) offers other resemblances: God as the universal saviour (see Ac 7:2, 9, 30-31, 36, 38; Heb 2:5-18); God who is transcending culture (see Ac 7:17-29; Heb 7:4-10); God who is not confined to any place (see Ac 7:44-50; Heb 11:10, 14-16, 23-31; 13:12-14); the rejection of God's messengers (see Ac 7:25-26, 35-36, 51-53; Heb 3:17-19; 11:1-40).

more decidedly of Stephen's school than of a Pauline tradition.

However, Ellingworth (1993:17) rightly points out that an “[a]ssessment of his possible authorship of Hebrews fortunately does not depend on how far Ac 7 may be considered an exact account of his only recorded discourse.” Ac 7 and Heb 11 of course have some *hapax legomena* or uncommon vocabulary.¹⁹⁶ For example, the adjective ἀστειλος occurs only in Ac 7:20 and Heb 11:23 (with the accusative form ἀστειλον), but both come from Ex 2:2.¹⁹⁷ However, Ellingworth (1993:17-18) adds that the resemblances between Ac 7 and Heb 11 appear less notable on more detailed investigation. He reports as follows:

Both texts form part of a larger group of recapitulations of Jewish history, and the obvious explanation of most points of contact is that they refer to the same OT narratives. The greatest contrast between the two chapters is the intensely polemical climax to Stephen's speech, which recalls the Epistle of Barnabas rather than Hebrews. It is just possible to assume that tensions between Judeo-Christians and other Jews had increased between Stephen's supposed writing of Hebrews and his martyrdom; but this hypothesis raises cumulative problems concerning the date and place of composition of Hebrews, if indeed it were written by Stephen.

Except for Braun's mention of Plutarch outside the biblical tradition, similar lists of OT history are found in many Judaistic and early Christian writings, for example: Ps 78; 136:4-22; 1 Macc 2:49-68; 4 Macc 16:16-23; Sir 44:16-50:29; Wis 10:1-19:22; 4 Ezr 7:105-110; Philo, *Praem* 11; *Virt* 198-227; Clement(Rm),

¹⁹⁶ For similarities between Ac 7 and Heb 11, Allen (1987:77-79) tries to establish the linguistic parallels.

¹⁹⁷ Besides, the adjective ἐντρομος occurs only in Ac 7:32; 16:29; Heb 12:21. The word χειροποιήτοις occurs in Ac 7:48; 17:24; Heb 9:11, 24; Mk 14:58; Eph 2:11. The noun κατάπαυσις appears in Ac 7:49; Heb 3:11, 18; 4:1, 3(x2), 5, 10, 11.

1 Clem 4:1-13; 9:2-12:8; 17:1-18:17; 31:2-32:2.¹⁹⁸ The use of these lists of OT history seems to be a kind of the Jewish-hellenistic homily in the period close to the first century.¹⁹⁹ The use of the quotations from the OT in Heb 11 also displays a pattern easily discovered in the Jewish-hellenistic homilies.

Also, the historical scope of *exempla* differs between two texts. For instance, Heb 11 begins with Abel, while Ac 7 begins with Abraham, and omits Abel, Enoch, Noah, Isaac, and Jacob. The purpose of *exempla* also varies somewhat. For example, Heb 11 presents examples of faith, whereas Ac 7 describes cycles of rebellion against God and his messengers (Ellingworth 1993:560). Lastly, Lewis (1965:158) states that the *Vorlage*²⁰⁰ in Heb 11 is “not a conglomeration of quotations from Old Testament, but it is already a summary²⁰¹ interpretation of the tradition of Israel either by Jewish or Christian hands.” However, in Ac 7 the quotations, rather than *exempla*, from the OT play an important role, as we saw earlier. We must listen attentively to Reid’s words not to exaggerate the similarities (1964:161).

1.2.4 Excursus 3: Position of Codex Bezae in Acts

“Perhaps more than any other book in the NT, the text of the Acts of the Apostles has been under debate for the last 150 years” (Witherington 1998:65; cf. Barrett 1994:2; Fitzmyer 1998:66). There are basically three types of the text

¹⁹⁸ D’Angelo (1979:19) affirms that “[t]he closest parallel to the list in Hebrews 11 is 1 Clement 17-19.” Furthermore, among scholars it is generally accepted that Clement relied on Hebrews (cf. Hagner 1973:179–195; Cockerill 1978:437–40; Ellingworth 1979:262–269; Attridge 1989:6–8; Lane 1991:lxii–lxiii).

¹⁹⁹ Cosby (1988:257-273) advocates that these usages correspond to rhetorical practices of the ancient world (cf. Guthrie 1997:843).

²⁰⁰ On the *Vorlage* of Heb 11, there are various arguments among scholars. Some think that it could have stemmed from the Jewish scholastic background (cf. Käsemann 1961:117), whereas others assume that it is rather Hellenistic than rabbinic (cf. Michel [1936]1960:245).

²⁰¹ Reid (1964:35) states that Heb 11 is “little more than a summary of the Old Testament history.”

for Acts as follows: the Alexandrian text; the Western text; the Byzantine text.

Firstly, the Alexandrian text represented mainly by P⁴⁵, P⁵⁰, P⁷⁴, \aleph , A, B, C, Ψ , 33, 81, 104, 326, 1175, the Sahidic version, and the quotations of Clement and Origen. Of importance is that this Alexandrian text consists in the editions of the NA27 and GNT4 (Comfort 1997:1174; Fitzmyer 1998:69). Secondly, the Byzantine text was found in the uncials H, L, P, and S. Lastly, the Western text witnessed chiefly by Codex Bezae (known as Codex Cantabrigiensis as well), but also by P²⁹, P³⁸, P⁴⁸, E, 383, 614, the Harclean Syriac version (margin marked with an asterisk), the African Old Latin MS h, cop^{G67}, and the quotations of several Latin church fathers (Tertullian, Cyprian, Augustine).

Concerning the text-traditions of Acts,²⁰² Blass (1894:86-119) suggested that Luke had two texts which completely differ from each other,²⁰³ but his view has not won much support (cf. Haenchen 1971:51). Clark (1933:374-376) argued that the original text of Acts might be rather the Western text²⁰⁴ than the Alexandrian text, but this idea has gained even less support (cf. Ropes 1926:215-246; Kenyon 1937:234-236).

According to most scholars (Carson, Moo, and Morris 1992:201; cf. Kümmel [1966]1975:187-188), the great majority regard the Western text “as a ... modification of the generally accepted text” (i.e. the Alexandrian text, *J-W Kim*). That is the reason why the Western text is approximately 8.5 percent longer

²⁰² For the brief, but useful study on the text of Acts, cf. Metzger ([1971]1975:259-272); Fitzmyer (1998:66-79).

²⁰³ Recited from Guthrie ([1965]1975:377). Rackham (1953:26) proposed that Luke made several drafts in the successive processes of revision and that some of the earlier drafts may have been circulated and may have formed the basis of the Western text, while the more authoritative form of text became the basis of the Alexandrian and other types of texts.

²⁰⁴ Besides, Torrey (1941:112-148) tried to view the origin of the Western text as the translated edition from an Aramaic document.

than the Alexandrian text (Kenyon 1938:26).²⁰⁵ According to the criteria of textual criticism, the shorter reading is to be preferred, with few exceptions (Metzger [1964]1968:120, 209-210).

Codex Bezae's special characteristic is "to smooth out grammatical difficulties, clarify ambiguous points, ..., and add notes of historical detail and interest" (Carson, Moo, and Morris 1992:201; cf. Metzger [1964]1968:50). Moreover Comfort (1997:1174) states that the Western scribe "shaped the text to favor the Gentiles over the Jews."

For the problem of the text of Acts, Kenyon (1937:236) concludes that "unless future discoveries should supply a solution, the problem must be solved according to the intrinsic probabilities of the methods of insertion or excision." Furthermore Green (1997:10) states, "although there remains little agreement on the nature of the original text of Acts, it remains true that most study of Acts continues to proceed on the basis of the relative superiority of the Alexandrian text type."

1.3 Textual differences (between MT, LXX, and NT)

Gn 12:1 and Ac 7:3

There are no differences between the MT and the LXX. There are two major changes and one minor change to be found between the NT and the LXX: (1) Two major changes – (i) the omission of *καὶ ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ πατρὸς σου* and (ii) the addition of *καὶ δέυρο*; and (2) one minor change - the omission of [ἐκ] within only two MSS.

²⁰⁵ On the date of the Western text, most scholars consider it as the fifth century (Fitzmyer 1998:70), while it is presumed somewhere between the third and fourth century by K Aland and B Aland (1987:69).

Gn 15:13-14 and Ac 7:6-7

The LXX has only one addition of *καὶ ταπεινώσουσιν αὐτούς* after *καὶ κακώσουσιν αὐτούς* to the text against that which appeared in the MT. There are 10 major changes to be found between the readings of the NT and the 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 *καὶ* for *δέ*; (6) a number change of the plural pronoun (*αὐτούς*) to the singular pronoun (*αὐτο*); (7) two omissions of *αὐτούς καὶ ταπεινώσουσιν αὐτούς* after *καὶ κακώσουσιν*; (8) and *ὧδε μετὰ ἀποσκευῆς πολλῆς* after *ἐξελεύσονται*; (9) a mood change of subjunctive (*δουλεύσωσιν*) to indicative (*δουλεύσουσιν*); and (10) an addition of *καὶ λατρεύουσίν μοι ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ* after *ἐξελεύσονται*.

Ex 2:14 and Ac 7:27-28

The LXX reading has an addition of *ἐχθές* after *ὄν τρόπον ἀνείλες* against the MT reading, whereas the NT reading and the LXX reading coincide exactly with each other.

Ex 3:5, 7-8, 10 and Ac 7:33-34

The reading of the LXX has 2 minor alterations, as compared to that of the MT: (1) a mood change of the imperative (*לֵב*) to the infinitive mood (*λῦσαι*); and (2) a number change of the singular suffix (*לְיָחִידִי*) to the plural pronoun (*αὐτούς*) in the LXX. There are six major changes to be observed between the two versions of Ac 7:33-34 and Ex 3:5, 7-8, 10 (LXX): (1) Four substitutions in Acts, *λῦσον* for *λῦσαι*; (2) *ἐφ' ᾧ* for *ἐν ᾧ*; (3) *τοῦ στεναγμοῦ αὐτῶν ἤκουσα* for *τῆς κραυγῆς αὐτῶν ἀκήκοα*; (4) and *εἰς Αἴγυπτον* for *πρὸς Φαραῶ βασιλέα Αἰγύπτου*; and (5) two omissions of *ἐκ* before *τῶν ποδῶν σου*; (6) and *σύ* before *ἔστηκας* in the NT.

Ex 2:14 and Ac 7:35

The LXX text agrees with the MT text, and then the NT text follows the LXX text accurately.

Dt 18:15 and Ac 7:37

The same single alteration appears in both the readings of the LXX and the MT. Both the LXX and the NT omit the equivalent of the MT מִקְרָבָךְ on this point. There are six changes to be found between the two versions of the NT and the LXX: (1) Two transpositions of ὑμῖν ἀναστήσει ὁ θεὸς ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὑμῶν ὡς ἐμέ; (2) and ὑμῖν ἀναστήσει; (3) two number changes of the singular pronoun (σοι) to the plural pronoun (ὑμῖν); (4) and σου to ὑμῶν; and (5) two omissions of κύριος; (6) and σου in Ac 7:37.

Ex 32:1, 23 and Ac 7:40

Both the texts of Ex 32:1 and Ex 32:23 are much the same in both the MT and the LXX. There are 2 changes to be displayed between the versions of the NT and the LXX: (1) An omission of ὁ ἄνθρωπος after Μωϋσῆς οὗτος; and (2) one substitution of ἐγένετο for γέγονεν in the NT.

Am 5:25-27 and Ac 7:42-43

It is interesting to note 3 differences between two versions of CD 7:14-15a and Am 5:25-27 (MT): (1) One transposition of וְהִגַּלִּיתִי; (2) an omission of אֱלֹהֵיכֶם כּוֹכַב; and (3) a replacement of מִזֶּה לָאָה לְדַמְשֶׁק with מִזֶּה לְדַמְשֶׁק in CD. There are 4 variations found between the versions of the MT and the LXX: (1) One number change of the singular noun (מִנְחָה) to the plural noun (θυσίας); (2) one omission of בְּמִדְבָּר; and (3) two substitutions of τὴν σκητὴν τοῦ Μόλοχ for מִלְכָּם סִפּוֹת; (4) and καὶ τὸ ἄστρον τοῦ θεοῦ ὑμῶν Παιφάν τοὺς τύπους αὐτῶν for אֱלֹהֵיכֶם כּוֹכַב וְאֵת כִּיּוֹן צִלְמֵיכֶם כּוֹכַב in the LXX. There are 6 alterations found between the versions of the NT and the LXX: (1) Two additions of ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ after ἔτη

τεσσεράκοντα; (2) and προσκυνεῖν before αὐτοῖς; (3) an omission of αὐτῶν after τύπους; (4) a transposition of ἔτη τεσσεράκοντα, with the change of the vowel α to ε; and (5) two substitutions of αὐτοῖς for ἑαυτοῖς; (6) and Βαβυλῶνος for Δαμασκου in Acts.

Is 66:1-2 and Ac 7:49-50

The LXX follows the MT very closely, in spite of one minor difference. The MT has “and what (is) this place” (וְיִשְׂרָאֵל וְיִשְׂרָאֵל), while the LXX translates it as “or what kind of place” (ἢ ποῖος τόπος). There are 3 changes, however, to be found between the readings of the NT and the LXX: (1) one transposition in the NT of the LXX phrases, λέγει κύριος; (2) one substitution of τίς for ποῖος in the NT; and (3) another transposition with the changes οὐχὶ ἡ χεὶρ μου ἐποίησεν ταῦτα πάντα.

2. LUKAN METHODOLOGICAL ASPECT

Lukan method for Gn 12:1 in Ac 7:3

Luke might use either the LXX or the MT at this point. It was shown that the differences between the LXX and the NT were perhaps owing to the hand of the author. The absence of καὶ ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ πατρὸς σου is possibly due to the sense that is implied by the phrase of καὶ [ἐκ] τῆς συγγενείας σου. The insertion of καὶ δεῦρο here seems to be the stylistic preference of the author. The changes that Luke made are likely to be required and expected within the change in context between that of Luke and the original source of the quotation. However, the original meaning is not significantly altered by these changes.

Lukan method for Gn 15:13 in Ac 7:6-7

It presents the greatest number of textual variations (10) in the explicit quotation of the OT within Stephen's speech. The omission of αὐτοὺς καὶ ταπεινώσουσιν αὐτούς shows only the fact of that Luke might have used another *Textvorlage*.

Person (second → third), number (plural → singular), and mood (future indicative → aorist subjunctive) changes occur to apply the quoted text to its new context. Luke transposes the phrase ἔσται τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ πάροικον in order to put the noun σπέρμα in an emphatic place. The word order of ‘year/cardinal’, two substitutions (ἄλλοτρία; καί), and an omission (ὧδε μετὰ ἀποσκευῆς πολλῆς) are likely to be attributable to Luke’s stylistic tendency. Luke’s cautious theological and hermeneutical intention also seems to be made in the addition of καὶ λατρεύουσίν μοι ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ, in spite of an allusion to Ex 3:12. However, the meaning between the original and new context is not considerably different from each other.

Lukan method for Ex 2:14 in Ac 7:27-28

It is clear that here Luke might have drawn on the LXX, as a consequence of the fact that both the LXX and the NT add an adverb (ἐχθές), against the MT reading.

Lukan method for Ex 3:5, 7-8, 10 in Ac 7:33-34

The LXX is a suitable Greek translation of the MT, in spite of two small changes. When Luke relates the quoted text from Ex 3:5, 7-8, 10 (LXX) to his new hearers, some grammatical, as well as stylistic changes were made by Luke, although the possibility of the changes being due to his *Vorlage*, should not be excluded. Two replacements of ἤκουσα and εἰς Αἴγυπτον are largely formal, while the content remains quite similar. Two omissions of ἐκ and σύ seem to be due to necessary grammatical changes. Thus the meaning was not changed by these alterations.

Lukan method for Ex 2:14 in Ac 7:35

There is no textual discrepancy among the three versions. Thus Luke could use either the LXX or the MT for this part of Stephen’s speech. It should be noted

that Luke's recurring employment of the same quotation, makes his ideological and hermeneutical intentions regarding the motif of Israel's refusal of God's chosen one quite clear.

Luke's method for Dt 18:15 in Ac 7:37

When Luke takes in hand the text of a LXX version known well to his contemporary hearers, he transposes the phrase of ὑμῖν ἀναστήσει ὁ θεὸς ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὑμῶν ὡς ἐμέ for the purpose of placing the words ὑμῖν ἀναστήσει in an emphatic position. Two number changes (singular → plural) and two omissions seem to be attributable to Luke's deliberate intention to update the quotations to meet his new context. Particularly, the omission of κύριος shows the probability that Luke frequently uses the title so as to point to Jesus as well as God in his book (cf. Marshall 2005:136-137). Notwithstanding, Luke's changes do not alter the original meaning.

Luke's method for Ex 32:1, 23 in Ac 7:40

Here Luke could employ either the LXX or the MT. When Luke relates the quotation from Ex 32:1, 23 (LXX) to his new context, the omission (ὁ ἄνθρωπος) and the substitution (perfect → aorist) seem to be ascribed to Luke's grammatical and stylistic preference. However, it is necessary to note that the original meaning is not extensively changed by these variations.

Luke's method for Am 5:25-27 in Ac 7:42-43

Firstly, three variations exist between the two textual readings - CD 7:14-15a and Am 5:25-27 (MT). But, the citation of CD is in itself unlike the original meaning of the MT. Secondly, four variations are found among the two textual readings – the MT and the LXX. However, the changes of the LXX are nearly equivalent to the MT at this point, except for ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ. Lastly, the reading of the NT is closest to that of the LXX, in spite of six changes between them. The

addition of ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ shows the possibility of another *Vorlage*. The order 'year/cardinal' and the omission (αὐτῶν) are likely to be attributed to Lukan stylistic preference. His theological and hermeneutical intentions are found in the addition of προσκυνεῖν and the replacement of Βαβυλῶνος.

Luke's method for Is 66:1-2 in Ac 7:49-50

Despite a minor difference, the LXX is a proper Greek translation of the MT. When Luke relates the quoted text from Is 66:1-2 (LXX) to his new context, it becomes quite clear that Luke is the author of the changes to the quotation. The transposition together with the emphatic tendency makes the text more appropriate to the intention of the author, and the two substitutions make a much stronger case for Stephen's dispute. In spite of these facts, it seems probable that Luke quotes from a LXX version and the original meaning is not noticeably changed by him.

3. LUKE'S HERMENEUTICAL ASPECT

Interpretation of the 1st quotation by Luke

The quotation from Gn 12:1 (LXX) illustrates God's calling of Abraham. It helps to depict God's initiative within Israelite history. It should be noted that God's command takes place outside the land, that is, in Mesopotamia.

Interpretation of the 2nd quotation by Luke

Luke here announces the fulfilment of the promise given to Abraham by quoting from Gn 15:13-14. It results from the Israelite deliverance from Egypt, and ultimately their worship in the land follows. In the end, this quotation has been seen to reflect particular Theo-centric theological priorities, which include God's omnipresence, God's faithfulness to his promise and finally, God as the subject and master of history.

Interpretation of the 3rd quotation by Luke

The quotation from Ex 2:14 serves to represent the Israelite incomprehension of Moses whom God had called and appointed. This motif is clearly developed gradually in the whole speech. It is worth observing that Luke's statement (v. 25) prior to the quotation here makes the meaning of the quotation within this context much clearer.

Interpretation of the 4th quotation by Luke

Here Luke focuses largely on God's calling of Moses with the quotation from Ex 3:5, 7-8, 10. The intention is to display God's justification of Moses who was rejected by a fellow Hebrew earlier. The place of God's calling is holy ground, even though it is not in the land, but rather in Sinai. Thus, the motif of God outside of the land reappears at this point. The point of God's faithfulness to keeping his promises is reiterated in this section.

Interpretation of the 5th quotation by Luke

The answer to the question in v. 27 is provided here by Luke's skilful use of the quotation from Ex 2:14 again. Underlining the irony of the situation, he describes Moses' rejection by his fellows, but he is protected by God. Once more, although Israel's people have unjustly judged Moses, God sends him not to avenge, but to deliver them.

Lukan interpretation of the 6th quotation

Here Luke shows that Moses is rejected by the people, but commissioned by God, and then acts as a mediator between God and man. It is also important that this quotation serves to refer to Jesus who is the eschatological prophet promised in Dt 18:15.

Lukan interpretation of the 7th quotation

This quotation points out the rehearsal of Israel's rejection of God as well as Moses and the Mosaic Law, and also of Jesus, even if Stephen does not speak directly about Jesus until v. 52. There is little doubt that this rejection will have the outcome of leading to God's verdict of punishment. The refutation of Moses led to asking for delivery from idols rather than from God. Moses is nowhere to be found and the Israelites were no longer satisfied with the invisible God, so they craft a golden calf. The rejection of God's messenger results in the rejection of God, i.e., apostasy. The focus of the quotation from Ex 32:1, 23 in Ac 7:40 finally is on the repudiation of God himself rather than on any such overt worship of the golden calf. This act of apostasy must be a horror of God's people.

Lukan interpretation of the 8th quotation

Although the Damascus document has a similar quotation from Amos to the one in Luke, it is nonetheless clear that Luke quoted from Am 5:25-27 (LXX) in Ac 7:42-43. The difference between the LXX and the NT is only that Amos rather saw God's penalty as a consequence of their idolatry, while Luke thought that the idolatry – their rejection of God and his word - was God's judgement in and of itself. God judged Israel and gave her up to serve the heathen deities. Nevertheless, Luke's quotation is far closer to the original context. Luke explains Israel's offence in pointing out that the Israelites, who accused Stephen on charge of blasphemy against God's law and temple, actually violated both of these themselves. Simultaneously, it accomplishes the promise-fulfilment motif through prophets, at which point God is acknowledged as the subject who directs all of human history according to his own plan.

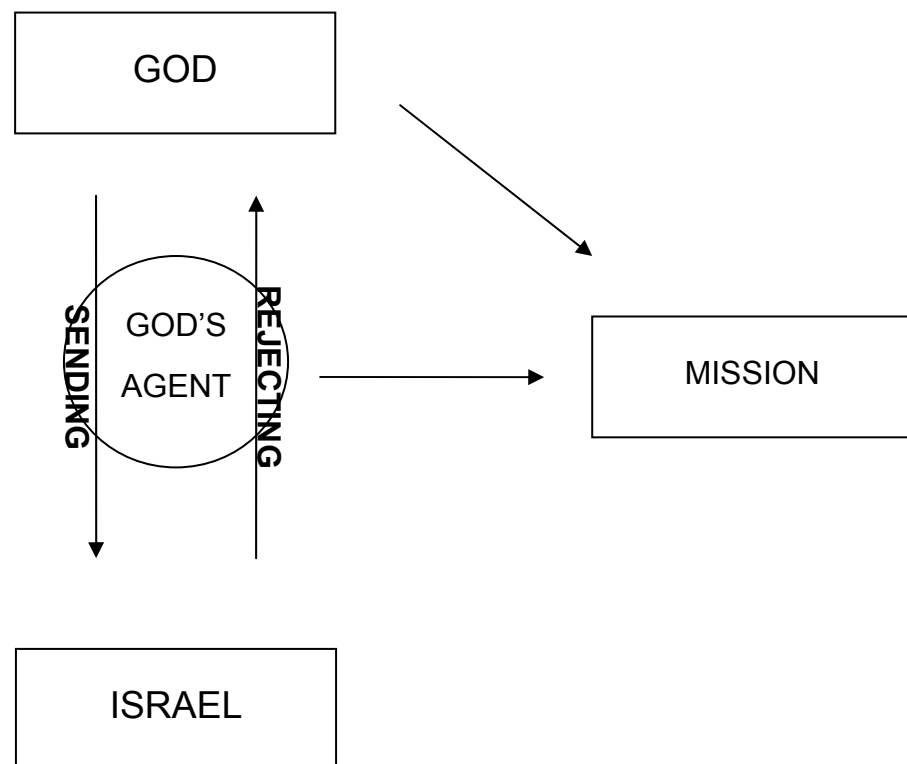
Lukan interpretation of the 9th quotation

Through the quoted text from Is 66:1-2 (LXX), the theme of 'God outside the

land' is here recaptured by Luke. The emphasis furthermore is on the true worship of God which is not confined to one place, namely the temple. However, Luke does not criticise the temple itself here, but rather the Jewish idolatrous thought about the temple.

3.1 Aspects of Luke's theology through his quotations

Aspects of Luke's theology within the context of Stephen's speech can be presented by the following diagram:



3.1.1 God as the subject of human history

God as the master of history is already proclaimed at the beginning of this

speech, as discussed earlier. From the event of God's epiphany that the God of glory appears to Abraham, the Israelite father, Stephen commences his address. In the Abraham story, God is for the most part depicted as the subject who appears, says, shows, sends, gives, promises, speaks, and punishes.

In the Joseph narrative, God also is with him, rescues him, gives him wisdom, and bestows a favour on him. The proposition that God is with his people has been developed from the OT, and is the very core throughout the whole Bible. In the end, one of the foci of the Bible as well as this discourse is on the fact that God is the master of everything.

In Moses' episode, God fulfils his promise, gives his people salvation, and appears to Moses through an angel. He also says, sees, hears, acts, sends, turns away, and judges. God is dynamically at work in the past history. Besides, Luke portrays that Moses is beautiful in God's sight. Especially, it is necessary to notice Luke's repeated use of ὥφθη in vv. 2 and 30, along with his skilful connection between God's calling to Abraham and Moses.

As regards the promise-fulfilment pattern, God has already promised to Abraham long ago that this will happen (Καθὼς δὲ ἤγγιζεν ὁ χρόνος τῆς ἐπαγγελίας ἧς ὡμολόγησεν ὁ θεὸς τῷ Ἀβραάμ, v. 17): after the Israelite slavery in Egypt, their deliverance and worship in the promised land (vv. 6-7). God's delivery of Joseph and Moses signifies a partial fulfilment of the promise. The promise has been ultimately completed in Jesus (implicitly through v. 37). It should be noted that in order to present God's covenantal promise and fulfilment within the salvation history, Luke uses the same terms repetitively - ἐπαγγελίας in v. 17 and ἐπηγγείλατο in v. 5; ἐπληροῦτο in v. 23 and πληρωθέντων in v. 30.

In spite of the Israelites' resistance to God's activity, his protection and leadership carry on during their conquest and monarchy, in relation to building the tabernacle and temple (see vv. 44-50). The tabernacle was made according to God's directions. God fought with the enemies instead of Israel. The temple at length was built by Solomon, which had been asked for by David who enjoyed God's favour.

In conclusion, God has always exercised his guidance and providence despite his people's opposition. God as the subject of the history has been consistently working for his people.

3.1.2 God's agent vs. Israel

God sends his servants as his proxies in line with his salvific purpose and will. Stephen's address begins with the story of Abraham – Israel's true father – who was thoroughly obedient to God's command (see the 1st quotation). However, his people repeatedly reject God's messengers and disobey God's words given via them. Notably Joseph and Moses were rejected by Israel's fathers, made to suffer, but at long last vindicated by God. This pattern also appears in the traditions of prophets, and then its climax is found in the killing of the Righteous One, viz., Jesus (v. 52). Ironically, Jesus who was betrayed and murdered by the Jews, has been their long expectation of 'a prophet like Moses' (προφήτην ὑμῖν ἀναστήσει ὁ θεὸς ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὑμῶν ὡς ἐμέ, v. 37; see also Ac 3:22).

Stephen himself at last stands in the line of God's agents, and is killed by the Jews' stoning. Before his martyrdom, however, Luke shows that he is also vindicated by God. His fullness of the Holy Spirit, his vision of God's glory (δόξαν θεοῦ; see v. 2) and Jesus standing at the right hand of God (v. 55), and his death in close association with God by way of prayer (vv. 59-60) are strong evidence

of God's justification of Stephen. It is also noteworthy that Stephen is spoken to (Ac 6:10) and filled with the Holy Spirit, while Israel always resists the Spirit of God.

In conclusion, these ideological contrasts throughout the discourse function to unveil the false testimony of Stephen's plaintiffs that he uttered blasphemous words against Moses and God (see Ac 6:11).

3.1.3 God's endless love: Mission

Luke finally reveals that the Israelites' rejection of the servants who are sent by God (especially for Moses, see the 3rd and 5th quotations), is followed by their rejection of God himself, that is, the abandonment of their faith (see the 7th and 8th quotations). Nonetheless, God continues to be at work to accomplish his salvific plan for his people, irrespective of the hostile attitude of the nation toward God himself as well as his servants.

It can be said that God's endless love is due to his following attributes: God's presence is not confined to one particular place (see the first and last quotations). God is faithful to his words (see the 2nd quotation). God's mercy is as limitless as his transcendence. His promise inevitably attains to its fulfilment despite any obstacle. In the long run, it results in his salvific activity 'to the ends of the earth' (see Ac 1:8) through his numerous witnesses again. Stephen's martyrdom serves as the "turning point" (Kilgallen 1977:178) in Luke's second volume for the progress of God's word from Jerusalem to Judea and Samaria (see Ac 8:1, 4). It is also impressive that Luke intentionally introduces Saul to us at this point (v. 58). Saul finally would deliver the Gospel to the ends of the earth.

In conclusion, Luke deliberately makes his theological and hermeneutical

intentions clear with his explicit quotations from the LXX. He even alludes to the OT (LXX) as follows: God as the subject of the history; God's continuous ministry through his agents despite Israel's hostility; God's mission even to the Gentiles. Besides, Luke confirms God's legitimation of his agents, particularly Stephen within the context of his speech.