

OLD TESTAMENT QUOTATIONS WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF STEPHEN'S SPEECH IN ACTS

By

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Declaration

I the undersigned hereby declare that the work contained in this dissertation is my own original work and has not previously in its entirety or in part been submitted at any university for a degree.

Signature: 

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SUMMARY

**Title: Old Testament quotations within the context of Stephen's speech
in Acts**

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The aim of this study is to contribute to ongoing studies on the Acts of the Apostles, particularly in the area of the manner in which the NT writer quotes and interprets the OT. Many scholars have studied the use of the OT in the NT, though few have investigated the explicit quotations in Acts. The discussion confines itself to an examination of the nine explicit quotations in Stephen's speech of Acts 7 which are identified with introductory formulae, i.e.: (7:3 from Gn 12:1; 7:6-7 from Gn 15:13-14; 7:27-28 from Ex 2:14; 7:33-34 from Ex 3:5, 7-8, 10; 7:35 from Ex 2:14; 7:37 from Dt 18:15; 7:40 from Ex 32:1, 23; 7:42-43 from Am 5:25-27; and 7:49-50 from Is 66:1-2).

The study first seeks to situate the quoted texts in their original context, after which attention is paid to their appearance in Stephen's discourse in Acts. Specific attention is given to the question of the presence of a possible independent Lukan *Textvorlage* which might underlie these quotations. To this end, firstly an overview of the differences between the pertinent OT textual traditions (e.g., MT, LXX, etc), and the NT is provided. This clearly establishes the nature of the changes and modifications present in Luke's reading of his original material. Secondly and finally, the discussion seeks to provide an assessment of Luke's theological and hermeneutical framework, reflected within the OT quotations of Stephen's defense.

Through the method referred to above, best depicted as consisting of *text-historical, methodological and hermeneutical aspects* (Steyn 1995:31-37), this study makes the following observations: Firstly, most of the explicit quotations in Ac 7 are not found anywhere else in the NT, except for the book of Acts. Only the 8th quotation from Am 5:25-27 in Ac 7:42-43 occurs in CD 7:14-15, but the quotation from CD differs from the meaning of the original context. It seems clear that these quotations are attributable to Luke himself via his LXX version - although it is possible that Luke might have used either the LXX or the MT in a few places.

Secondly, when Luke relates the quoted texts from his LXX version of the OT to his new hearers, most of the changes that Luke made are likely to be expected within the change in context between that of Luke and the original source of the quotation. That is, the grammatical and stylistic changes were made by Luke, although the possibility of the changes being due to his *Vorlage*, should not altogether be excluded. Luke's cautious theological and hermeneutical intention is also to be detected in Stephen's speech. However, it is true that the original meaning is not significantly altered by these changes. At last, it may be assumed that Luke is the author of the changes to these quotations.

Thirdly and finally, Luke's theological intentions for applying the quotations are revealed as follows: God as the subject of the history has been constantly at work for his people. However, his people repetitively reject God's servants and go against God's words given through them. The climax of this pattern is found in the killing of Jesus and Stephen (Ac 7:52, 60). Nonetheless, God continues to be working to accomplish his salvific plan for his people, regardless of the hostile attitude of the Israelites toward God himself as well

as his messengers. At last, it results in his salvific activity (endless love) ‘to the ends of the earth’ (Ac 1:8), viz., even to the Gentiles through his numerous witnesses again.

This study comprises of seven chapters according to the flow of the narrative, which are designed as follows: the Abraham Story (chapter 2); the Joseph Story (chapter 3); the Moses Story (chapter 4); the Temple (chapter 5); Stephen’s Indictment (chapter 6). In addition, chapter 1 presents the introduction, and chapter 7 describes the synthesis and conclusion.

KEY TERMS

MT

LXX

NA27

OT in NT

Textvorlage

Textual difference

Introductory formula

Explicit quotation

Luke’s context

Pre-Lukan occurrence

Text-historical aspect

Methodological aspect

Hermeneutical aspect

ABBREVIATIONS

1. GENERAL ABBREVIATIONS

A.D.	Anno Domini
B.C.	Before Christ
c.	circa, about (with dates)
cf.	<i>confer</i> , compare
chap(s).	chapter(s)
diss.	dissertation
DSS	Dead Sea Scrolls
ed(s)	edition; edited by, editor(s)
e.g.	<i>exempli gratia</i> , for example
et al.	<i>et alii</i> , and others
etc.	<i>et cetera</i>
Gk	Greek
GNT	UBS The Greek New Testament
Heb	Hebrew
idem.	written, from the same book, article, author, etc
i.e.	<i>id est</i> , that is
LXX	Septuagint (Greek translation of the Old Testament)
MS(S)	manuscript(s)
MT	Masoretic Text (standard Hebrew text of the Old Testament)
NA	Nestle-Aland Novum Testamentum Graece
NT	New Testament
OT	Old Testament
par.	Parallel

<i>pace</i>	with due respect to, but differing from
Rev.	revised by
<i>s.v.</i>	<i>sub voce, sub vocibus</i> (under the word[s])
Transl.	translated by
v. or vv.	verse or verses
viz.	<i>videlicet</i> , namely
vol	volume
=	equal
x	times (x2 = two times, etc.)
§	section or paragraph number

2. ABBREVIATIONS FOR TRANSLATIONS OF THE BIBLE

DBY	The Darby Bible
ELO	Unrevidierte Elberfelder
ESV	English Standard Version
(N)KJV	(New) King James Version
LUT	Revidierte Lutherbibel
LXE	LXX English Translation (Brenton)
NAB	The New American Bible
NASB	New American Standard Bible
NEB	New English Bible
NIV	New International Version
NJB	The New Jerusalem Bible
NLT	New Living Translation
PMV	Phillips and Moffatt Version
(N)RSV	(New) Revised Standard Version
SCH	German Schlachter Version

TEV

Today's English Version

3. ABBREVIATIONS FOR BOOKS OF THE BIBLE WITH APOCRYPHA AND PSEUDEPIGRAPHA

Gn	Genesis	1 Cor	1 Corinthians
Ex	Exodus	2 Cor	2 Corinthians
Lv	Leviticus	Gl	Galatians
Nm	Numbers	Eph	Ephesians
Dt	Deuteronomy	Phlp	Philippians
Jos	Joshua	Col	Colossians
Jdg	Judges	1 Th	1 Thessalonians
Ruth	Ruth	2 Th	2 Thessalonians
1 Sm	1 Samuel	1 Tm	1 Timothy
2 Sm	2 Samuel	2 Tm	2 Timothy
1 Ki	1 Kings	Tt	Titus
2 Ki	2 Kings	Phlm	Philemon
1 Chr	1 Chronicles	Heb	Hebrews
2 Chr	2 Chronicles	Ja	James
Ezr	Ezra	1 Pt	1 Peter
Neh	Nehemiah	2 Pt	2 Peter
Es	Esther	1 Jn	1 John
Job	Job	2 Jn	2 John
Ps	Psalms	3 Jn	3 John
Pr	Proverbs	Jude	Jude
Ec	Ecclesiastes	Rv	Revelation
Ss	Song Of Songs		
Is	Isaiah	2 Esd	2 Esdras
Jr	Jeremiah	Jdt	Judith

Lm	Lamentations	1 Macc	1 Maccabees
Ezk	Ezekiel	2 Macc	2 Maccabees
Dn	Daniel	4 Macc	4 Maccabees
Hs	Hosea	PssSol	Psalms of Solomon
Jl	Joel	Sir	Ecclesiasticus or the Wisdom of Jesus son of Sirach
Am	Amos		
Ob	Obadiah	Wis	Wisdom of Solomon
Jnh	Jonah		
Mi	Micah	ApMos	Apocalypse of Moses
Nah	Nahum	AsMos	Assumption of Moses
Hab	Habakkuk	AscensIs	Ascension of Isaiah
Zph	Zephaniah	BibAnt	Biblical Antiquities of Pseudo-Philo
Hg	Haggai	1 En	1(Ethiopic Apocalypse of) Enoch
Zch	Zechariah	4 Ezr	4 Ezra
MI	Malachi	Jub	The Book of Jubilees
		T12P	Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs
Mt	Matthew	TDan	Testament of Dan
Mk	Mark	TGad	Testament of Gad
Lk	Luke	TJos	Testament of Joseph
Jn	John	TReu	Testament of Ruben
Ac	Acts	TSim	Testament of Simeon
Rm	Romans		

4. ABBREVIATIONS OF CLASSICAL, HELLENISTIC AND EARLY CHRISTIAN WRITERS AND THEIR WRITINGS

4.1 Classical and Hellenistic Writers and their Writings

Chrysostom	Dio Chrysostom
<i>Or</i>	<i>Orationes</i>
Josephus	Flavius Josephus
<i>Ant</i>	<i>Antiquitates Judaicae</i>
Lucianus	Lucianus of Samosata
<i>Demon</i>	<i>Demonax</i>
Philo	Philo of Alexandria
<i>Abr</i>	<i>De Abrahamo</i>
<i>DetPotIns</i>	<i>Quod Deterius Potiori Insidiari Soleat</i>
<i>Flacc</i>	<i>In Flaccum</i>
<i>Fug</i>	<i>De Fuga et Inventione</i>
<i>Jos</i>	<i>De Josepho</i>
<i>LegAll</i>	<i>Legum Allegoriae</i>
<i>LegGai</i>	<i>Legatio ad Gaium</i>
<i>MigrAbr</i>	<i>De migratione Abrahami</i>
<i>Praem</i>	<i>De Praemiis et Poenis</i>
<i>QinGn</i>	<i>Quaestiones in Genesin</i>
<i>RerDivHer</i>	<i>Quis Rerum Divinarum Heres Sit</i>
<i>SpecLeg</i>	<i>de Specialibus Legibus</i>
<i>Virt</i>	<i>De Virtutibus</i>
<i>VitMos</i>	<i>De Vita Mosis</i>
Philostratus	Flavius Philostratus
<i>VitAp</i>	<i>Vita Apolonii</i>
Plato	Plato
<i>Ap</i>	<i>Apology</i>
<i>Crito</i>	<i>Crito</i>
Seneca	Seneca (The Younger)
<i>QNat</i>	<i>Quaestiones Naturales</i>

4.2 Early Christian Writers and their Writings

<i>Barn</i>	<i>Epistula Barnabae</i>
Clement(Rm)	Clement of Rome
<i>1 Clem</i>	<i>Epistula Clementis ad Corinthios</i>
Eusebius	Eusebius of Caesarea
<i>PE</i>	<i>Praeparatio Evangelica</i>
Jerome	Jerome/Hieronymus
<i>Jov</i>	<i>Jovinian</i>
Justin	Justin Martyr
<i>Dial</i>	<i>Dialogus cum Tryphone Judaeo</i>
Tertullian	Tertullian
<i>Pat</i>	<i>De Patientia</i>
<i>Scorp</i>	<i>Scorpiace</i>

5. DEAD SEA SCROLLS AND RABBINICA

5.1 Dead Sea Scrolls

CD	Cairo (Genizah text of the) Damascus Document / Rule
P	Pesher (commentary)
1Q, 4Q etc.	Numbered caves of Qumran, followed by abbreviation or number of document
1QapGn	20/Genesis Apocryphon
1QpHab	Pesher on Habakkuk
1QS	28/Serek hayyaad or Rule of the Community, Manual of Discipline
4QGn-Ex ^b	Genesis and second copy of Exdous from Qumran Cave 4
4QEx ^b	Second copy of Exdous from Qumran Cave 4
4QTest	175/Testimonia

4Q243	Pseudo-Daniel ^a
4Q464	Exposition on the Patriarchs

5.2 Rabbinica (Midrashim and Talmud)

<i>'Abod Zar</i>	<i>'Aboda Zara</i>
<i>'Abot R Nat</i>	<i>'Abot de Rabbi Nathan</i>
B	Babylonian Talmud
<i>Meg</i>	<i>Megilla</i>
<i>Mek</i>	<i>Mekilta</i>
R	Rabbah (following abbreviation for biblical book: Ex R = Exodus Rabbah)
<i>Šabb</i>	<i>Šabbat</i>
<i>Sanh</i>	<i>Sanhedrin</i>
<i>Sop</i>	<i>Sopherim</i>
<i>Yebam</i>	<i>Yebamot</i>

6. ABBREVIATIONS OF COMMONLY USED PERIODICALS AND REFERENCE WORKS

AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	Anchor Bible Dictionary
<i>ABR</i>	<i>Australian Biblical Review</i>
<i>AbrN</i>	<i>Abr-Nahrain</i>
ACR	Australian Catholic Record
AnBib	Analecta Biblica
AnGr	Analecta Gregoriana
<i>Anvil</i>	<i>Anvil: An Anglican Evangelical Journal for Theology and Mission</i>
ATANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments

<i>ATJ</i>	<i>Ashland Theological Journal</i>
<i>ATR</i>	<i>Anglican Theological Review</i>
<i>AUSS</i>	<i>Andrews University Seminary Studies</i>
<i>BA</i>	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>
<i>BARev</i>	<i>Biblical Archaeology Review</i>
<i>BBB</i>	Bonner biblische Beiträge
<i>BeO</i>	<i>Bibbia e Oriente</i>
<i>BETL</i>	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
<i>BGBE</i>	Beiträge zur Geschichte der biblischen Exegese
<i>BHT</i>	Beiträge zur historischen Theologie
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
<i>BibOr</i>	Biblica et Orientalia
<i>BibTo</i>	<i>Bible Today</i>
<i>BIOSCS</i>	<i>Bulletin of The International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies</i>
<i>BJRL</i>	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester</i>
<i>BT</i>	<i>The Bible Translator (Ap, O Practical Papers)</i>
<i>BTB</i>	<i>Biblical Theology Bulletin</i>
<i>BW</i>	Biblical World
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>BZNW</i>	Beihefte zur ZNW
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
<i>CBQMS</i>	CBQ Monograph Series
<i>Ch</i>	<i>Churchman</i>
<i>CJT</i>	<i>Canadian Journal of Theology</i>
<i>ConBOT</i>	Coniectanea Biblica Old Testament
<i>ConcJ</i>	<i>Concordia Journal</i>
<i>CRINT</i>	Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
<i>CTJ</i>	<i>Calvin Theological Journal</i>

CTQ	<i>Concordia Theological Quarterly</i>
CV	<i>Communio viatorum</i>
DJD	Discoveries in the Judean Desert
DRev	<i>Downside Review</i>
EBC	The Expositor's Bible Commentary
EstBíb	<i>Estudios Bíblicos</i>
EstEcl	<i>Estudios Eclesiásticos</i>
EvQ	<i>Evangelical Quarterly</i>
Expos	<i>Expositor</i>
ExpT	<i>Expository Times</i>
FN	<i>Filologia neotestamentaria</i>
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literature des Alten und Neuen Testaments
FV	<i>Foi et Vie</i>
FzB	Forschung zur Bibel
GNS	Good News Studies
GTJ	<i>Grace Theological Journal</i>
Herm	Hermeneia
HTKNT	Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
HTS	<i>Hervormde Teologiese Studies</i>
HUCA	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
ICC	International Critical Commentary
Imp	<i>Impact</i>
Int	<i>Interpretation</i>
IVP	Inter Varsity Press
JATS	<i>Journal of the Adventist Theological Society</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JBLMS	JBL Monograph Series

<i>JETS</i>	<i>Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society</i>
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>JOTT</i>	<i>Journal of Translation and Textlinguistics</i>
JPS	Jewish Publication Society
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha and Related Literature Supplement
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>JTS(n.s.)</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies (new series)</i>
<i>K</i>	<i>Kairos</i>
KEK	Kritisch-Exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament
LBC	Layman's Bible Commentary
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LD	Lectio Divina
LEC	Library of Early Christianity
MNTC	Moffatt New Testament Commentary
NAC	The New American Commentary
NCB	The New Century Bible Commentary
<i>Neot</i>	<i>Neotestamentica</i>
NICNT	The New International Commentary on the New Testament
NICOT	The New International Commentary on the Old Testament
<i>NIDNTT</i>	<i>New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology</i>
NIGTC	The New International Greek Testament Commentary
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NovTSup	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
NSBT	New Studies in Biblical Theology

NTD	Das Neue Testament Deutsch
NTL	New Testament Library
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
NTSSA	New Testament Society of South Africa
NTTS	New Testament Tools and Studies
<i>OLZ</i>	<i>Orientalische Literaturzeitung</i>
ÖTKNT	Ökumenischer Taschenbuch-Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
OTL	Old Testament Library
<i>Pn</i>	<i>Pneuma</i>
<i>PRS</i>	<i>Perspectives in Religious Studies</i>
<i>QuartRev</i>	<i>Quarterly Review</i>
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
<i>ResQ</i>	<i>Restoration Quarterly</i>
<i>RevExp</i>	<i>Review and Expositor</i>
<i>RevQ</i>	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
<i>RSR</i>	<i>Recherches des science religieuse</i>
RVV	Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten
SacP	Sacra Pagina
<i>SBFLA</i>	<i>Studium Biblicum Franciscanum Liber Annuus</i>
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBLDS	SBL Dissertation Series
SBLMS	SBL Monograph Series
<i>SBLSP</i>	<i>SBL Seminar Papers</i>
SBLTT	SBL Texts and Translations
<i>ScEsp</i>	<i>Science et Esprit</i>
SCS	Septuagint and Cognate Studies
SNT	Studien zum Neuen Testament
SNTA	Studiorum Novi Testamenti Auxilia
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series

STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
<i>StB</i>	<i>Studia biblica</i>
<i>StBT</i>	<i>Studia Biblica et Theologica</i>
SVTQ	<i>St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly</i>
SWJT	<i>Southwestern Journal of Theology</i>
<i>Th</i>	<i>Theology</i>
<i>Them</i>	<i>Themelios</i>
<i>ThEv</i>	<i>Theologia Evangelica</i>
THKNT	Theologischer Hand-Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
<i>TJ</i>	<i>Trinity Journal</i>
<i>TLZ</i>	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
TNTC	Tyndale New Testament Commentary
TOTC	Tyndale Old Testament Commentary
<i>TSK</i>	<i>Theologische Studien und Kritiken</i>
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
<i>TynBul</i>	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
UBS	United Bible Societies
<i>USQR</i>	<i>Union Seminary Quarterly Review</i>
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
<i>WTJ</i>	<i>Westminster Theological Journal</i>
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
<i>ZAW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
<i>ZNW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
<i>ZTK</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i>

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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

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

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-Acts⁶ amongst other NT books,⁷ few have investigated the explicit quotations in

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); Eird (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)*

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.

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 investigation: 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

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,

-
- 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 (1976^a: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 $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\nu$ (x2) in v. 35 and $\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ [$\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota\nu$] (x3) in vv. 36-38, and the link of the final $\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ in v. 38 with $\omega\grave{\rho}$ 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

35-37	God's Sending
38-43	Israel's Idolatry and God's Judgement
44-50	The Temple
51-53	Stephen's Indictment

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. COMPOSITION¹⁵

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” (Ἄνδρες ἀδελφοὶ καὶ πατέρες, v. 2a). The vocative Ἄνδρες ἀδελφοὶ 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 occurrences 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 ἀδελφοὶ 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 Ἄνδρες ἀδελφοὶ.

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 ὠφθη τῷ πατρὶ ἡμῶν Ἀβραάμ ὅτι 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’” (καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν ἕξελθε 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 אֱלֹהֵי-הַכְבוֹד¹⁹ 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).

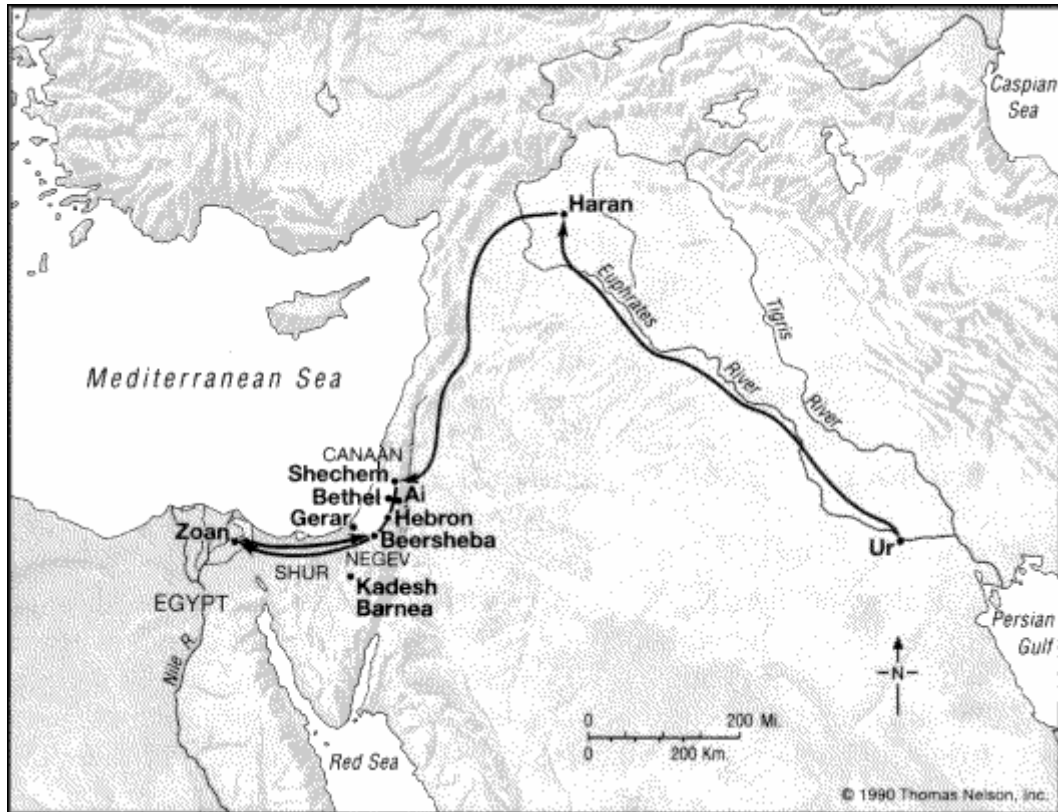
¹⁹ For a repudiation of the opinion that it is any reference to the Jewish doctrine of the Shekinah, see also Abrahams (1925:11-88).

θεός 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), μετώκισεν (v. 4), ἔδωκεν, ἐπηγγείλατο (v. 5), ἐλάλησεν (v. 6), κρινῶ (v. 7), ἔδωκεν (v. 8). Enclosed with Ὁ θεός 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).

²⁰ Unless otherwise referred 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

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

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 Ἀβραμ. 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.

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 κατώκησεν 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” (κάκειθεν μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ μετώκισεν 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; Gloey 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 μετακίζω 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 ποδός, 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 σέ 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.

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 γῆ ἀλλοτρίᾳ καὶ δουλώσουσιν αὐτὸ καὶ κακώσουσιν ἔτη τετρακόσια καὶ τὸ ἔθνος ᾧ ἔαν δουλεύσουσιν κρινῶ ἐγώ, νν. 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 λατρεύουσίν 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 ὀγδόῃ²⁵, 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 Ἰακώβ 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

²⁴ Unless otherwise referred 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 (1976^a: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 1976^a:125). According to Steyn (1995:27-28), this formula that is used to indicate an explicit quotation is one of two main ways - γράφω²⁸ or λέγω²⁹ - of introducing explicit quotations in Acts. Through the location or place - ὁ προφήτης³⁰ - 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 -

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) ψαλμοί³¹ or Δαυίδ³² - and Torah - Μωϋσης.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	לְךָ-לְךָ מֵאֶרֶץךָ
καὶ [ἐκ] τῆς συγγενείας σου,	καὶ ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας σου	וּמְמוֹלַדְתֶּךָ
	<u>καὶ ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου</u>	וּמִבֵּית
	<u>τοῦ πατρός σου</u>	אָבִיךָ
καὶ δεῦρο		
εἰς τὴν γῆν ἣν ἂν σοι δείξω.	εἰς τὴν γῆν ἣν ἂν σοι δείξω	אֶל-הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר אֶרְאֶךָ:

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.

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 referred 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 πατρὸς 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 πατρὸς σου* after *τῆς συγγενείας σου*

The phrase *καὶ ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ πατρὸς 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 πατρὸς 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 (P⁷⁴ & 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 P⁷⁴ and &.

Secondly: καὶ ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ πατρὸς 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 πατρὸς 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

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 ἀδελφοί 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

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 itself³⁹ (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

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

'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), ὀρίζω (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 fulfilling 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

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

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); μετόκισεν 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 λατρεύουσίν 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
ὅτι <u>ἔσται τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ</u> <u>πάροικον</u> ἐν γῆ <u>ἀλλοτρία</u> καὶ δουλώσουσιν <u>αὐτὸ</u> καὶ κακώσουσιν	¹³ ὅτι <u>πάροικον</u> <u>ἔσται τὸ σπέρμα σου</u> ἐν γῆ <u>οὐκ ἰδία</u> καὶ δουλώσουσιν <u>αὐτούς</u> καὶ κακώσουσιν <u>αὐτούς</u> <u>καὶ ταπεινώσουσιν αὐτούς</u>	כִּי־יִגַּר יְהִי זְרַעְךָ בְּאֶרֶץ לֹא לְהֶם וַעֲבָדוּם וַעֲנֹוּ אֹתָם
<u>ἔτη τετρακόσια</u> ⁷ καὶ τὸ ἔθνος ὧ̄ ἐὰν δουλεύουσιν κρινῶ ἐγώ, <u>ὁ θεὸς εἶπεν,</u> καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξελεύσονται	τετρακόσια ἔτη ¹⁴ τὸ δὲ ἔθνος ὧ̄ ἐὰν δουλεύσωσιν κρινῶ ἐγώ μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐξελεύσονται	אַרְבַּע מֵאוֹת שָׁנָה: וְגַם אֶת־הַגּוֹי אֲשֶׁר יַעֲבֹדוּ דָן אֲנִי וְאַחֲרֵי־כֵן יֵצְאוּ
καὶ <u>λατρεύουσίν μοι</u> <u>ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ.</u>	<u>ὧδε μετὰ ἀποσκευῆς πολλῆς</u>	בְּרַכְשׁ גְּדוּלָּה:

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; אַתְּ) 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 (αὐτοῦ) in Ac 7:6; (4) two substitutions in Acts, ἀλλοτρία for οὐκ ἰδία; (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 λατρεύουσίν 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 → αὐτοῦ (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 λατρεύουσίν 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 τούτῳ.

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 → αὐτοῦ). 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 (δουλεύωσιν → δουλεύουσιν). 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 δουλεύουσιν, while others (P³³ & B E Ψ 1739 M) read δουλεύωσιν, 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).

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 → ἀλλοτριᾳ; δέ → καί).

We begin, firstly, with the substitution of οὐκ ἰδίᾳ (LXX) with ἀλλοτριᾳ (Acts). The phrase ἐν γῆ ἀλλοτριᾳ in Ac 7:6 reflects a somewhat awkward rendition of the LXX ἐν γῆ οὐκ ἰδίᾳ. In his employment of this phrase in the Stephen speech, Luke might well have recalled the expression: ἐν γῆ ἀλλοτριᾳ 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, C⁴¹³ 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 αὐτοῦς **after** καὶ κακώσουσιν; ὧδε μετὰ ἀποσκευῆς πολλῆς **after** ἐξελεύσονται).

First, there is the omission of αὐτοὺς καὶ ταπεινώσουσιν αὐτοῦς. 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 λατρεύουσίν μοι ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ) which replaces the omitted portion, reads more smoothly. No LXX witnesses support this omission and replacement.

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

Here we concentrate on καὶ λατρεύουσίν μοι ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ. This addition (referred to briefly, earlier) is probably based upon the LXX reading of Ex 3:12 (καὶ λατρεύετε 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 λατρεύουσίν 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 γῆ ἀλλοτρίᾳ καὶ δουλώσουσιν αὐτὸ καὶ κακώσουσιν ἕτη τετρακόσια καὶ τὸ ἔθνος ᾧ ἂν δουλεύουσιν κρινῶ ἐγώ, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξελεύσονται καὶ λατρεύουσίν 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 λατρεύουσίν μοι ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ is likely to be Luke's key textual adaptation at this point.

CHAPTER III

THE JOSEPH STORY (Ac 7:9-16)

1. INTRODUCTION

Stephen closes Abraham's story and opens Joseph's story with the same word, 'patriarchs'. Moreover, v. 15 says that "Jacob went to Egypt," whereas v. 17, as the starting point of Moses' story, points out that "the people in Egypt greatly increased." Besides, "[t]he name of Abraham appears in both vv 16 and 17, thereby providing an added link between the two episodes" (Richard 1979:257). These facts show that Luke makes proficient and deliberate use of the Joseph story within the structure of the entire speech.

At the same time, this section starts with an account of the rejection of Joseph because of his brothers' jealousy, i.e., in the context of Acts this is related to the Israelite fathers' attitude. This theme of the Israelite rejection of God's servants is also one of the main motifs in the Moses episode. However, in the final indictment (vv. 51-53), Joseph's story, unlike Moses', ends happily. "The 'happy ending', however, was not owed to Israel" (Kilgallen 1989:181). The Joseph narrative thus fits with the flow of the discourse as well as its ideological inclination at this point.

It should also be noted that there is no quotation in this episode. Nonetheless, Luke continues to employ the OT text implicitly for his review of Jewish history. Furthermore, his implied use of the OT never obstructs the narratological consistency and theological system of Stephen's defence.

2. COMPOSITION

Stephen passes over the story of Isaac and Jacob and focuses on Joseph's story in this section. Stephen continues to speak: (a) "Because the patriarchs were jealous of Joseph, they sold him as a slave into Egypt" (Καὶ οἱ πατριάρχαι ζηλώσαντες⁴⁵ τὸν Ἰωσήφ ἀπέδοντο εἰς Αἴγυπτον, v. 9a). Stephen in v. 9 encapsulates the OT story very well (see Gn 37:11 "His brothers were jealous of him, but his father kept the matter in mind."). He, at the same time, begins to introduce the theme of the opposition. Jub 39:1-2 leaves out this facet of the account exclusively. BibAnt 8:9 retains the 'hatred'. Josephus emphasises that Joseph's brothers are filled with 'envy and hatred' in *Ant* 2:10-13. Moreover, Philo draws 'envy' into the topic in his book *Jos*: envy (5, 17), hatred (5), disturbance and upheaval (10), grief and anger (10-11), and rage leading to slaughter (12). The story of Joseph appears in T12P. (cf. TGad 3:3; 4:5-6; 5:1; TJos 1:3-4; and especially TSim 2:6-7, 11, 14; 3:2-3; 4:4-9).

According to the NIV translation of Gn 37:28, the OT story is described as follows: "So when the Midianite merchants came by, his brothers pulled Joseph up out of the cistern and sold him for twenty shekels of silver to the Ishmaelites, who took him to Egypt." In this section, the name Αἴγυπτος occurs six times.⁴⁶ Here the theme of people's misunderstanding and their failure to acknowledge the Saviour dispatched by God is clearly displayed.

(b) "But God was with him" (καὶ ἦν ὁ θεὸς μετ' αὐτοῦ, v. 9b). In Gn 39 the phrase καὶ ἦν κύριος μετὰ Ἰωσήφ appears analogously four times (vv. 2, 3, 21, 23). Other occurrences are also found in Jub 39:4; Philo, *Jos* 37; and especially Ac 10:38.

⁴⁵ For the usage of Luke, see also Ac 5:17; 13:45; 17:5.

⁴⁶ Αἴγυπτον occurs five times (vv. 9, 10, 11, 12, 15), while Αἴγύπτου is used once (v. 10).

(c) “and rescued him from all his troubles” (καὶ ἐξείλατο αὐτὸν ἐκ πασῶν τῶν θλίψεων αὐτοῦ, v. 10a). Compared with Genesis, Stephen crudely shortens the narrative of the OT in v. 10: after Joseph’s first favour with Potiphar, an Egyptian who was one of Pharaoh’s officials, the trial to tempt him by his master’s wife (39:6-18) led to his custody (39:20) and his being slighted for more than two years (41:1), before his reinstatement (41:39).⁴⁷

(d) “He gave Joseph wisdom and enabled him to gain the goodwill of Pharaoh king of Egypt” (καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ χάριν καὶ σοφίαν ἐναντίον Φαραῶ βασιλέως Αἰγύπτου, v. 10b). Luke connected σοφία with Stephen (Ac 6:3, 10) and even the young Jesus (Lk 2:40, 52) as well as Joseph (Ac 7:10) and the young Moses (Ac 7:22) in his books.

(e) “so he made him ruler over Egypt and all his palace” (καὶ κατέστησεν αὐτὸν ἡγούμενον ἐπ’ Αἴγυπτον καὶ [ἐφ’] ὅλον τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ, v. 10c). Although it is natural that the subject of κατέστησεν is Pharaoh, it should rightly refer to God. For this reason, the phrase points to Gn 45:8 rather than to Gn 41:38-45 (Lake and Cadbury 1933:72). Further, it makes sense that this small paragraph of phrases fit together under one subject in vv. 9b-10.

What Stephen speaks in v. 10c seems to be summed up in Gn 41:38-45, but is nearer materially to Ps 104:21 (LXX). Haenchen (1971:279) notes that “this Psalm is important as exemplifying the edification drawn by the Jews from their history between Abraham and Moses” (see also Josephus, *Ant* 2:87-94; Philo, *Jos* 119-162; Jub 40:10; Artapanus, *On the Jews and Joseph and Aseneth*). Wilcox (1965:27-28) remarks that the Lukan reading may be connected with “the textual tradition” sustained in the late Targum Pseudo-Jonathan (the

⁴⁷ For the various descriptions of Joseph’s life by Josephus and Philo, see Josephus, *Ant* 2:41-86; Philo, *Jos* 40-104.

similarity corresponds to Targum Yerushalmi). That is why the equivalent of the Gk word ἡγούμενος is lacking in the MT, LXX, and the Samaritan version, but it is found in the Targum Pseudo-Jonathan of Gn 41:41, 43. The Lukan text however may have a greater effect on that tradition (Fitzmyer 1998:373).

(f) “Then a famine struck all Egypt and Canaan, bringing great suffering” (ἦλθεν δὲ λιμὸς⁴⁸ ἐφ’ ὅλην τὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ Χανάαν καὶ θλίψεις μεγάλη, v. 11a). The majority of MSS read ἐφ’ ὅλην τὴν γῆν Αἰγύπτου. P⁴⁵ P⁷⁴ X B A C Ψ 1175 pc have ἐφ’ ὅλην τὴν Αἴγυπτον. D has ἐφ’ ὅλης τῆς Αἰγύπτου.

(g) “and our fathers could not find food” (καὶ οὐχ ἠύρισκον χορτάσματα οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν, v. 11b). On the term χορτάσματα there is some disagreement among scholars. Certain scholars (e.g., Wilson 1962:172) maintain that the noun means ‘fodder’, ‘forage’ for animals. Others (Lake & Cadbury 1933:73; Bruce [1951]1976:164; Kilgallen 1976^a:138) state that it denotes ‘provender’, or ‘food’ for men. Barrett (1994:348) claims that Stephen may have it in mind that the ancestors were graziers or the term may be employed unusually to imply human food. Lastly, some (Haenchen 1971:279; Conzelmann 1987:46; Richard 1979:260) assert that the term indicates ‘sustenance’, or ‘supplies’.

(h) “When Jacob heard that there was grain in Egypt, he sent our fathers on their first visit” (ἀκούσας δὲ Ἰακώβ ὄντα σιτία εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐξαπέστειλεν τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν πρῶτον, v. 12). Both σιτία (P⁷⁴ X A B C D E 945 1175 1739 a) and σῖτα (Ψ M) are better translations of שֵׂבֶר than πρᾶσις (Barrett 1994:349). Some MSS (D Ψ) have ἐν instead of εἰς. However, Moulton (1963:254) rightly indicates that εἰς and ἐν are frequently exchangeable. Ramsay (1914:254) has argued that πρῶτον ought to represent the first of three visits, asserting that the third is

⁴⁸ For the LXX usage of the term (famine), see Gn 41:54, 56, 57; 42:5.

when Jacob's whole family went down to Egypt in v. 14. However, Bruce ([1951]1987:148) reckons that the classical force of “Gk. πρῶτος cannot be pressed in this way in Hellenistic times. Here ‘the first time’ is simply correlative to ‘the second time’ of v. 13.”

According to Hasel (1982:281), “Egyptian sources refer to numerous instances in which inhabitants from other nations, or even whole nations, sought help from Egypt during periods of famine. Against this background the seven-year famine in Joseph’s day has a ring of historical accuracy.” The numerous references to this story are also found in the following variety of documents: Gn 42:1-2; 1QapGn 19:10; Josephus, *Ant* 2:97; Philo, *Jos* 165-167; *BibAnt* 8:10.

(i) “On their second visit, Joseph told his brothers who he was” (καὶ ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ ἀνεγνωρίσθη Ἰωσήφ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς αὐτοῦ, v. 13a).⁴⁹ The majority of MSS (P⁷⁴ & A B C Ψ and NA27) have the compound verb ἀνεγνωρίσθη, which employs the equivalent verb ἀνεγνωρίζετο in Gn 45:1 (LXX), but others (A B p vg) have the simple verb ἐγνωρίσθη. In both occurrences, the passive voice must be comprehended in a middle meaning (Fitzmyer 1998:373).

(j) “and Pharaoh learned about Joseph’s family” (καὶ φανερόν ἐγένετο τῷ Φαραῶ τὸ γένος [τοῦ] Ἰωσήφ, v. 13b).⁵⁰ The word γένος may point out race or family (Haenchen 1971:280; Barrett 1994:350). The noun occurs again in Ac 7:19. P⁴⁵ D Ψ M read τοῦ Ἰωσήφ, but Ἰωσήφ – without the article - (P³³ B C pc) is possibly accepted. P⁷⁴ & A E vg read αὐτοῦ.

(k) “After this, Joseph sent for his father Jacob and his whole family, seventy-five in all” (ἀποστείλας δὲ Ἰωσήφ μετεκαλέσατο Ἰακώβ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ

⁴⁹ For the original narrative of v. 13a, see Gn 45:1-3.

⁵⁰ For the original account of v. 13b, see Gn 45:16.

πάσαν τὴν συγγένειαν ἐν ψυχαῖς ἑβδομήκοντα πέντε, v. 14). For Moulton (1908:103), ἐν may mean “amounting to”.

In relation to numerical elements of this passage there is once more a disagreement between the OT and the NT.⁵¹ Stephen says that there were seventy-five persons in all (ἐν ψυχαῖς ἑβδομήκοντα πέντε) who went down to Egypt. But in the OT (MT) the members of Jacob's family, who went to Egypt, were seventy in all (שִׁבְעִים). Interestingly, the reading of the LXX has seventy-five (ἑβδομήκοντα πέντε) within the same text of Gn 46:27 and Ex 1:5, - similar to this reading which has πέντε καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα. In the text of the MT, on the one hand, it is evident that seventy persons equal sixty-six in Gn 46:26 plus Jacob, Joseph, and Joseph's two sons. On the other hand, the reading of the LXX is also not wrong that seventy-five equals the numbered sixty-six plus nine of Joseph's sons (see Dt 10:22; 4QGn-Ex^b 17-18:2; 4QEx^b 1:5; Josephus, *Ant* 2:183; 6:89; Philo, *MigrAbr* 199-201).

(l) “Then Jacob went down to Egypt” (καὶ κατέβη Ἰακώβ εἰς Αἴγυπτον, v. 15a).⁵²
(m) “where he and our fathers died” (καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν, v. 15b). The story of the death of Jacob is described in Gn 49:33. The narrative of the death of Joseph and his brothers also occurs in Gn 50:26 and Ex 1:6.

(n) “Their bodies were brought back to Shechem” (καὶ μετετέθησαν εἰς Συχέμ, v. 16a). (o) “and placed in the tomb that Abraham had bought from the sons of Hamor at Shechem for a certain sum of money” (καὶ ἐτέθησαν ἐν τῷ μνήματι ᾧ ὠνήσατο Ἀβραάμ τιμῆς ἀργυρίου παρὰ τῶν υἱῶν Ἑμμὼρ ἐν Συχέμ, v. 16b). ἐν Συχέμ (ℵ* B C 36 323 945 1175 1739 a) is probably correct. ℵ^c A E pc have τοῦ ἐν Συχέμ, but it does not alter the meaning seriously. τοῦ Συχέμ (P⁷⁴ D Ψ M vg)

⁵¹ For comprehensive debate, cf. Koivisto (1982:90-126).

⁵² For the original depiction of v. 15a, see Gn 46:7.

means the father of Shechem.

A discrepancy on the burial place of Jacob is also found between the Scriptures (cf. Koivisto 1982:127-143). Jacob was buried in the cave of Machpelah near Mamre, that is Hebron (Gn 23:19) in Canaan. Abraham bought the field from Ephron the Hittite for four hundred shekels of silver (Gn 23:16; 49:29-33; 50:13).⁵³ Joseph was buried at Shechem, in the plot of ground which Jacob bought from the sons of Hamor in Shechem for a hundred pieces of silver (Gn 33:18-19; Jos 24:32). The OT does not report any further on where the other sons of Jacob were buried. Other than the Bible, Josephus (*Ant* 2:199) describes that the other sons of Jacob were buried at Hebron (see also Jub 46:8-10; TRou 7:2).

According to Barrett (1994:351), the original name of Hebron was Kirjath Arba, which denotes the city of Four. From this name, the Jews inferred that four were buried there – Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and (by the majority) Adam. Barrett (2002:100) continues:

It has been concluded that Stephen (Luke) was either expanding Josh. 24.32 to cover Joseph's brother or was dependent on local Shechemite tradition. If the latter alternative is adopted we may have a further link between Stephen and Samaritans. This must be judged not impossible, but not probable.⁵⁴

⁵³ On the problem of Abraham's tomb purchase, cf. also Koivisto (1982:144-207).

⁵⁴ For various opinions, see also Wilcox (1965:31, 160); Kilgallen (1976^a:56-63); Bruce ([1951]1976:166; [1951]1987:149); Marshall (1980:138-139); Dunn (1996:93).

3. INTERPRETATION OF THE STORY BY LUKE

After the simple historical reference to the twelve patriarchs in v. 8b, Stephen recounts Joseph's story. Luke starts the story of Joseph "by detaching him from the rest of the patriarchs" (Martín-Asensio 1999:245): "and Isaac became the father of Jacob, and Jacob of the twelve patriarchs" (v. 8). "The patriarchs became jealous of Joseph and sold him into Egypt. Yet God was with him" (v. 9 NASB).

Clearly, the end of v. 8 and the opening of v. 9, which end with the same word *πατριάρχης* seem to be Luke's literary connection between two sections (cf. Richard 1979:257). V. 8b thus helps to make a transition between the stories of Abraham and Joseph (cf. Bihler 1963:vii; Kilgallen 1976^a:45-46; Fitzmyer 1998:372). Kilgallen (1976^a:45) states:

The parallels for *patriarchai* in the traditions, Hebrew, Greek, Aramaic, are few and rather appear only in the first two centuries before Christ and thereafter. The reason for its usage here ... is perhaps that it clearly defines the sons of Jacob as the heads of the tribes of Israel.

Furthermore, within the NT writings, the word *πατριάρχης* appears only four times, three times in Acts and once in Hebrews. In Acts, except for the two occurrences in vv. 8-9, the only other appearance is found in Peter's second speech (Ac 2:29), where he calls David *τοῦ πατριάρχου*. The biblical word is also unusual in the LXX, only appearing five times in the book of 1 and 2 Chronicles,⁵⁵ largely with a general meaning. While the word need not to be

⁵⁵ For the occurrence of *πατριάρχει*, see 1 Chr 24:31; 27:22 and see also 4 Macc 7:19; 16:25. For the occurrence of *πατριάρχας*, see 2 Chr 23:20. For the occurrence of *πατριάρχων*, see 2 Chr 19:8; 26:12.

regarded exclusive in Luke-Acts, the application of it to Joseph's brothers is most likely to be exclusive within the speech where the writer chooses mainly the word πατήρ.

In fact, based in part upon Dibelius' evaluation of Stephen's speech as a "neutral history of Israel" (1956^c:169), many scholars (Foakes-Jackson 1931:61; Bruce [1951]1987:148; Dibelius 1956^c:169; Easton 1955:47, 177; Wilson 1962:171, 236; Haenchen 1971:288; Wilson 1973:134-136) maintain that the Joseph episode is a largely factual recounting of the story of Joseph without polemical or theological overtones. This view of Joseph's story is due to its place within the first part of Stephen's speech (vv. 2-34), seen by some as a straightforward history, while the second part of the speech is primarily understood as polemical in character (cf. Richard 1979:256).

However, Kilgallen (1976^a:10) says that "[t]he single greatest impetus to our writing of this book is the need to determine the relationship of the first 15 verses (vs. 2-16) of Stephen's speech to the rest of the speech." Richard (1979:262) supports that, saying

The author, rather than offering a straightforward account of Joseph and his brothers, has presented a very unique and indeed severely polemical picture of the patriarchs. And to add insult to injury, he again borrows his inspiration from the Jewish scriptures: the positive/negative construct (Joseph/the brothers) and most of the vocabulary of the Joseph episode.

In v. 9, Richard (1979:258-259) argues that two words – ζήλω and ἀποδίδωμι – serve to emphasize the victimization of Joseph at the hands of his brothers. Firstly, for theological reasons Luke seems to borrow the verb ζήλω from Gn 37:11. Although Haenchen (1971:288) says that the Joseph episode "is not in

itself polemical – Ps. 105.17 also does not pass it by,” the choice of the word is deliberate and intends to bring out the motivations behind the patriarchs’ action.

Indeed, other résumés of OT history such as Jos 24, Neh 9, 2 Esd 19, and Jdt 5 exclude the event completely. Only here in the biblical writings is the feature of the brothers’ jealousy explicitly noted. Moreover the word appears three times more in Acts. In Ac 5:17, the high priest and all his associates, who were members of the party of the Sadducees, were filled with jealousy (ἐπλήσθησαν ζήλου) because of the apostles. In Ac 13:45, the Jews were filled with jealousy (ἐπλήσθησαν ζήλου) because of Paul and Barnabas. In Ac 17:5, the Jews were jealous (ζηλώσαντες) because of Paul and Silas. In each case, it is interesting to note that jealousy is attributed to Jews and it is continuously followed by a rejection of God’s messengers.

Secondly, as mentioned earlier, this event where Joseph is sold as a slave is derived from Gn 37. In Gn 37, however, it is not his brothers who sold (ἀπέδοντο) Joseph into Egypt. For this part Gn 45:4 is much closer than Gn 37:28, 36: “I am your brother Joseph, whom you sold into Egypt” (NASB). It shows that Luke finally chooses and organizes the story for himself, though the story is clearly from the OT.

Richard (1979:259) states that “Acts 7:9 is as violently polemical as are vv 51-53 of the speech. Only Joseph is seen favourably. The same is not true of the Joseph episode of Gen 37-50 or of later treatments of Joseph in Jewish literature” (cf. Harrington 1976:165-171; Ward 1976:173-184). Along with two words, attention is also focused on the activities of Joseph’s brothers whom Stephen identifies with the patriarchs, thus continuing the disobedience of the fathers motif introduced in Abraham’s story.

The key phrase of the story of Joseph - “God was with him” - is found in v. 9b, although he was sold into Egypt. The earlier theme of God’s omnipresence is restated here. At the same time, in the Joseph story, the motif of ‘outside the land’ occurs once again through God’s salvation history of Israel (cf. Richard 1979:260).

As in the Abraham episode, the motif of God as Master of history is also confirmed here, owing to the use of two verbs that are attendant with the subject, ‘God’ in v. 9; ‘rescued, gave’ (v. 10). The word ἐξαιρέω in v. 10 appears eight times in the NT - five times in Acts (see Ac 7:10, 34; 12:11; 23:27; 26:17). The two occurrences in Matthew mean ‘pull out’ (see Mt 5:29; 18:9), while only Gl 1:4 shares its meaning with the Acts passages i.e., ‘rescue’.

The phrase ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ χάριν seems to be drawn from the Joseph narrative in Genesis (see Gn 39:21 (LXX)), while Luke adds here καὶ σοφίαν. The Heb word חָכְמָה does not occur at all in Genesis, and the Gk word σοφία is rather rare in the Synoptic Gospels. It appears once in Markan material (see Mk 6:2; Mt 13:54), and three times in Q material (see Mt 11:49; 12:42; Lk 7:35; 11:31, 49), and then three times in Lukan material (see Lk 2:40, 52; 21:15). All four occurrences in Acts are in chapters 6 and 7 (see Ac 6:6, 10; 7:10, 22).⁵⁶

It is probable that ‘God’ is again the subject of the verb κατέστησεν (‘appointed’) in v. 10. The noun θλιψις in v. 10 is a specialized eschatological expression in Matthew and Mark, but it is used here as the common Lukan non-eschatological meaning (cf. Conzelmann 1960:98-99). Here Luke emphasizes God’s activity on Joseph’s behalf rather than the sufferings of Joseph, which are described in

⁵⁶ Once again, for the Gk word σοφία, the occurrence of the nominative form is found nine times in Mt 11:49; 13:54; Mk 6:2; Lk 2:40, 52; 7:35; 11:49; Ac 6:10; 7:22, and the accusative form is found three times in Lk 11:31; 21:15; Ac 7:10, and then the genitive form is found once in Ac 6:3.

the original context.

Furthermore Soards (1994:63-64) portrays God's role for this section, paying attention to two verbs ἐξαπέστειλεν and μετεκαλέσατο. The first verb ἐξαπέστειλεν in v. 12 relates to God's working and authority. It occurs in Ac 9:30; 11:22; 12:11; 13:26; 17:14; 22:21, which frequently entails God's command. The second verb μετεκαλέσατο in v. 14 also puts forward the act in obedience to God's purposes. It appears only four times (see Ac 7:14; 10:32; 20:17; 24:25) in Acts in the NT, which implies people's deeds in compliance with God's plan, but Ac 24:25 is likely to be a different case. As Conzelmann (1987:52) comments, "[t]he bearers of the promise themselves bring about the crisis (Gen 37:11, 28; 39:21), thus placing the stress on divine guidance."

The noun χόρτασμα in v. 11 is a *hapax legomenon* in the NT, but it occurs nine times in the LXX (Gn 24:25, 32; 42:27; 43:24; Dt 11:15; Jdg 19:19; Sir 33:25; 38:26; PssSol 5:10). Amongst scholars the meaning is problematic, though Richard (1979:260) states that "the term means 'sustenance' (influence of Ps 36:19) or 'supplies' as it does in the papyri."⁵⁷ Via the arrangement of the elements, it is well presented as follows: (Richard 1979:260-261)

⁵⁷ For the former case, cf. Haenchen (1971:279). For the latter case, cf. Moulton & Milligan ([1930]1949:690).

Positive Aspect: Joseph

God was with him

he delivered him from all his tribulations (θλίψεις)

he gave him favor and wisdom before Pharaoh king of Egypt

he appointed him ruler over Egypt and over his whole house.

Negative Aspect: The Patriarchs

[God was not with them]

but there came a famine upon all Egypt and Canaan

[there came] great tribulation (θλίψεις)

the fathers were unable to find sustenance (χορτάσματα).

Concerning this paradigm which is evidently confirmed by the OT passages (see Dt 31:17;⁵⁸ Ps 36:18-19 (LXX),⁵⁹ 2 Chr 20:6-17⁶⁰), Richard (1979:261) concludes that God is not with evil men and thus there follow many evils, famine, afflictions, and deficiency of provisions; in contrast, God is with the righteous and he rescues them from all their troubles and gives them immeasurable goodwill.

As discussed earlier, the mentioning of Shechem as the burial site in v. 16 is contentious among scholars. Harrison (1975:115-116) states that:

Stephen's mention of Shechem was probably not casual but deliberate ... A

⁵⁸ "And I will be very angry with them in that day, and I will leave them and turn my face away from them, and they shall be devoured; and many evils and afflictions (θλίψεις) shall come upon them; and they shall say in that day, Because the Lord my God is not with me, these evils have come upon me" (LXE).

⁵⁹ "The Lord knows the ways of the perfect; and their inheritance (κληρονομία; cf. Ac 7:5) shall be for ever.

They shall not be ashamed in an evil time;

and in days of famine they shall be satisfied (χορτασθήσονται)" (LXE).

⁶⁰ Especially, v. 9: "If there should come (ἐπέλθῃ) upon us evils, sword, judgment, pestilence, famine (λιμός), we will stand before this house, and before thee, (for thy name is upon this house,) and we will cry to thee because of the affliction (θλίψεως), and thou shalt hear, and deliver" (LXE).

rigid Jew might want to forget the patriarchal contacts with Shechem, but Stephen would not permit that. To mention Shechem was almost the equivalent of calling attention to Samaria.

Similarly, some (Spiro 1967:285-300; Scharlemann 1968:21; Mare 1971:16; Scobie 1972-1973:391; Purvis 1975:174) have maintained that the Lukan use of Shechem was influenced by the Samaritan tradition, although their points are respectively different.

However, Richard (1977:190-208) criticises that as does the MT. The Samaritan Pentateuch represents the burial site of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob as Hebron. Luke's real intention in using this place name with his theological motivation is to express the motif of being 'outside the land'. Here one could connect the following narrative of Philip's evangelization in Samaria, and confirm this fact in v. 5: "God gave Abraham no inheritance, not even a foot of ground."

Some scholars such as Lake and Cadbury (1933:73), Kilgallen (1976^a:49-60), and Dupont (1979:135) regard Joseph as a prefiguring of Jesus, Messiah. There are three main reasons: Joseph's deliverance of the patriarchs (Bruce [1951]1987:148; Williams 1957:105-106),⁶¹ his innocent suffering (Conzelmann 1987:53), and Joseph's brothers (patriarchs) second visit to him as a parallel to the time of deliverance (Scharlemann 1968:40).

The Joseph story however suggests that the reasons for thinking Joseph as a prefiguring of Jesus are uncertain at this point (cf. White 1992:170). Firstly, the deliverance of the patriarchs is depicted in a direct manner, exclusive of any salvific appellations bestowed on Joseph. Secondly, the innocence factor in

⁶¹ Kilgallen (1976^a:62) regards it as "christological" allusions in Joseph's story, saying that "Joseph, rejected, but saved by God and glorified, is the means by which Israel is saved ..."

relation to Joseph's affliction is by no means revealed in Ac 7 and there is no comprehensive explanation of Joseph's unreasonable treatment. Thirdly, the purpose of Jesus' second coming is not found in the story. More likely, Joseph seems to be chosen because of the motif of insubordination of the patriarchs that is exposed in the Joseph episode.

4. SUMMARY

In this section, no explicit quotation is found. For this reason, Marshall (1980:137) responds that Joseph's story is "recorded factually, and it is not clear what the theological point of the details is" (cf. Foakes-Jackson 1931:61; Dibelius 1956^c:169; Wilson 1962:171; Haenchen 1971:288). Within Joseph's episode, however, there are still the motifs of God's salvation outside of Judaea (cf. Richard 1979:260) and the disobedience of the Israelite fathers. Luke's uses of the OT in Stephen's speech thus seem the presentation of the author's theological intention. However, the fact should not be ignored that via the explicit quotations in this speech the writer's theological and hermeneutical aim is reinforced even more powerfully.

Prior to the Moses story, the theme of the Israelite rejection of God's servant, in fact, has already been shown in the story of Joseph (7:9-16). Luke has presented an implication of the conflict between brothers that goes through Joseph's story. Since Joseph's brothers (the patriarchs) were jealous of him, they sold him to Egypt as a slave destined to suffer many afflictions. But God was with him and rescued him from all his troubles.

It is proper that, at last, the victimization of Joseph at the hands of his brothers accompanied by an equally powerful assertion of God's attendance and working in his life. Martín-Asensio (1999:246) describes this theme by grouping

Joseph's story into the repeated twofold structure as follows: adversity (9a); blessing (9b-10); adversity (11-12); blessing (13-16).

Keeping in mind that the setting for Joseph's story is predominantly in Egypt, it can also be said that the previous theme of God as transcending the land is reiterated.

In conclusion, the themes of rejection, vindication, God outside of the land, and God as the main actor of history recur in Joseph's story, in spite of no explicit quotation.

CHAPTER IV

THE MOSES STORY (Ac 7:17-43)

1. INTRODUCTION

“Moses, Judaism’s most important and imposing figure, plays a prominent role in early Christian literature ... for Christians claimed to be the authentic heirs of Israel’s history, and in first-century Judaism that meant they had to show themselves to be the rightful children of Moses” (Allison 1997^b:777-778). What is noteworthy here is that the story of Moses is the longest in the speech. Martín-Asensio (1999:246) calculates that the Moses’ story in the speech occupies approximately 35% of the total,⁶² compared with 11.6% for Joseph’s story. So, most of the speech is devoted to Moses’ story.

Richard (1978:76) suggests that the Moses story can be classified into three parts, each of which covers forty years of Moses’ life⁶³ and is compatible with one of the first three chapters of Exodus. Nonetheless, the story here is more minutely grouped into five subsections. According to Richard, this division offers fair proof that “the author is employing the OT text as his direct source.” Furthermore in this section Luke uses the most quotations (six) in the discourse.

Via the quotations he makes his theological points deliberately and skilfully, e.g., God’s omnipresence; the Israelites’ rejection of God’s living oracles including his agent – Moses; further, their rejection of God by means of their idolatry in contrast to God’s faithfulness to his words, and God as the primary subject

⁶² According to Moessner (1983:605), the size of the Moses-Exodus narrative is calculated at 53.8 % of Stephen’s words.

⁶³ This division is mainly based on Dt 34:7a (“Moses was a hundred and twenty years old when he died”).

within Israel's history. In the end, these motifs serve to disclose the false witnesses of Stephen's accusers, who had accused him of blasphemy against Moses and the law.

2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND MOSES' INFANCY (AC 7:17-22)

2.1 Composition

The major section of Stephen's speech centres on the story of Moses, which is divided into five subsections. The first of the five subsections is started by Stephen: (a) "As the time drew near for God to fulfil his promise to Abraham, the number of our people in Egypt greatly increased.⁶⁴ Then another king, who knew nothing about Joseph, became ruler of Egypt" (Καθώς δὲ ἤγγιζεν ὁ χρόνος τῆς ἐπαγγελίας ἧς ὠμολόγησεν ὁ θεὸς τῷ Ἀβραάμ, ἠύξησεν ὁ λαὸς καὶ ἐπληθύνη ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἄχρι οὗ ἀνέστη βασιλεὺς ἕτερος [ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον] ὃς οὐκ ᾔδει τὸν Ἰωσήφ, vv. 17-18).

Regarding the phrase 'another king' (cf. Rowley 1950^a:*passim*; Noth 1962:119), Bruce ([1951]1987:149) says,

it is evident from the early chapters of Exodus that the Egyptian court was not far distant from the place of the Hebrews' residence in Egypt; this fits the nineteenth rather than the eighteenth dynasty. The reference to the building of Rameses in Ex 1:11 probably points to Per-Rameses-Mry-Amun (later Tanis), built by Rameses II (c. 1301-1234 B.C.), chief king of the nineteenth dynasty (c. 1320-1200 B.C.).

⁶⁴ For the original context, see Ex 1:7. See also Josephus, *Ant* 2:201.

Alternatively, Fitzmyer (1998:375), suggests that the king may be Seti I (c. 1308-1290 B.C.), of the nineteenth dynasty, “who moved the royal throne from Thebes in Upper Egypt to the Nile Delta region in the hope of recapturing control over western Asia and there began a vast building continued.”

The subordinate conjunction *καθώς* is infrequently used in a temporal meaning, e.g., ‘as’ or ‘when’. So this meaning of the word only appears here in the NT (see also 2 Macc 1:31; Neh 5:6; contrast Page 1918:122). The noun *χρόνος* means a time for the fulfilment of the promise of vv. 6-7 (see also vv. 20, 23). Barrett (1994:353) states that it is difficult to tell the difference between *χρόνος* and *καιρῶ* in Acts. The word *ὁμολογέω* means rather ‘to make one’s confession’ than ‘to make a promise’ (Neufeld 1963:13-20). On this word, the witnesses P⁴⁵ D E p vg^{mss} have *ἐπαγγείλατο*, whilst Ψ M gig sy^(p) bo have *ὥμοσεν*.

The reading of Ex 1:7 (LXX) has *οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραηλ* instead of *ὁ λαός* in Acts. Interestingly, Luke again employs the two words (*αὐξάνω* and *πληθύνω*) which already occurred in Ac 6:7. Finally, vv. 17-18 are connected with the phrase *ἄχρι οὔ*. With regard to the problem of [*ἐπ’ Αἴγυπτον*], Metzger ([1971]1975:345-346) says,

on the one hand, if the shorter reading be regarded as original, it is easy to see how Ex 1:8 in the Septuagint would have influenced scribes to insert the phrase, *ἐπ’ Αἴγυπτον*. On the other hand, since the preceding verse in Acts speaks of the people of Israel being *ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ*, it may be that the phrase was deleted as superfluous.

The Committee thus put the phrase in brackets in the final translation.

Stephen quotes almost verbatim from Ex 1:8: ἀνάστη δὲ βασιλεὺς ἕτερος ἐπ’ Αἴγυπτον ὃς οὐκ ᾔδει τὸν Ἰωσηφ. According to Barrett (1994:352), the Western text therefore may be the original text in this instance. It has two different elements: the omission of ἐπ’ Αἴγυπτον (P^{45vid} D E M gig p sy^h) and the substitution of ἐμνήσθη τοῦ for ᾔδει τὸν (D E gig p).

(b) “He dealt treacherously with our people⁶⁵ and oppressed our forefathers by forcing them to throw out their newborn babies so that they would die”⁶⁶ (οὗτος κατασοφισάμενος τὸ γένος ἡμῶν ἐκάκωσεν τοὺς πατέρας [ἡμῶν] τοῦ ποιεῖν τὰ βρέφη ἔκθετα αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ μὴ ζωογονεῖσθαι, v. 19). According to Ex 1:11, the new king compelled the Israelites to build Pithom and Rameses as store cities for himself. The verb κατασοφισάμενος is found only here in the NT (see also Ex (LXX) 1:10; Jdt 5:11; 10:19; Plutarch and Lucian). The adjective ἔκθετα is also a *hapax legomenon*. The noun βρέφη means ‘a newborn baby’ (see Lk 2:12, 16). Despite the external evidence in the absence of the first personal plural pronoun [ἡμῶν], the text critical Committee put it in brackets to indicate uncertainty as to whether it fits here; this is the first instance of the same pronoun in the same verse (Metzger [1971]1975:346).

(c) “At that time Moses was born” (Ἐν ᾧ καιρῷ ἐγεννήθη Μωϋσῆς, v. 20a). (d) “and he was no ordinary child. For three months he was cared for in his father's house”⁶⁷ (καὶ ἦν ἀστέλιος⁶⁸ τῷ θεῷ ὃς ἀνετρέφη μῆνας τρεῖς ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ πατρός, v. 20b).

Concerning the name of Moses (see Philo, *VitMos* 1:17), Fitzmyer (1998:375)

⁶⁵ For the detailed depiction of the OT, see Ex 1:9-14.

⁶⁶ For the context of the OT, see Ex 1:22. See also Josephus, *Ant* 2:205-208.

⁶⁷ For the full narrative of the OT, see Ex 2:1-2. See also Josephus, *Ant* 2:210-218; Philo, *VitMos* 1:9; Jub 47:3; BibAnt 9:3-10.

⁶⁸ On the various meanings, cf. Barrett (1994:353-354).

explains as follows:

As given to the child by Pharaoh's daughter, it undoubtedly stands for a shortened form of Egyptian names like Ah-mose ("Ah is born"), Har-mose ("Horus is born"), Thut-mose ("Thut is born"). Exod 2:10de, however, records a Hebrew folk etymology, even ascribing it to the Pharaoh's daughter: "Because I drew him (*měšītihû*) from the water." The author of Exodus saw divine providence at work in that the very daughter of the Pharaoh, who had ordered the death of male Hebrew infants, became the instrument of the salvation of Moses, drawing him from the waters of the Nile and naming him. His name was written in Greek as *Mōysēs* or *Mōsēs*, whence comes the English spelling. See Josephus, *Ant* 2.9.6 §228, where the name is explained as derived from Egyptian *mōy*, "water," and *esēs*, "those saved," another folk etymology.

In Ex 2 the name of Moses' father is not mentioned, but simply depicted as "a man from the house of Levi". He is called Amram in Ex 6:20. Moulton thinks τῷ θεῷ is the "dative of the person judging" (1908:104) and a "Hebraism" (Moulton & Howard 1929:443; Bruce [1951]1976:167).

(e) "When he was placed outside, Pharaoh's daughter took him"⁶⁹ (ἐκτεθέντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀνείλατο αὐτὸν ἡ θυγάτηρ Φαραω, v. 21a). Josephus (*Ant* 2:224-237) calls ἡ θυγάτηρ Φαραω Thermutis, while Jub 47:5 calls Pharaoh's daughter Tharmuth, and Artapanus in his work *On the Jews* calls her Meris. The Western text (D E syr^h with * cop^{G67}) adds εἰς (παρὰ D) τὸ ποταμόν after ἐκτεθέντος to accentuate Moses' uncovered place.

⁶⁹ The original portrayal of the OT occurs in Ex 2:3-5.

(f) “and brought him up as her own son”⁷⁰ (καὶ ἀνεθρέψατο αὐτὸν ἑαυτῇ εἰς υἱόν, v. 21b). Perhaps the verb ἀνείλατο may be taken literally, but the word is employed in Koine Greek for acknowledging one’s child or adopting a child as one’s son (Barrett 1994:354-355). According to Horsely (1982:9), “Both the LXX and the NT passages reflect the terminology of these nursing contracts from Egypt.”

(g) “Moses was educated in all the wisdom of the Egyptians” (καὶ ἐπαιδέυθη Μωϋσῆς [ἐν] πάσῃ σοφίᾳ Αἰγυπτίων, v. 22a). Philo (*VitMos* 23) supplies details of all that the Egyptians taught Moses “arithmetic, geometry, the lore of metre, rhythm and harmony, and the whole subject of music as shown by the use of instruments or in textbooks and treatises of a more special character.” B Ψ M d vg have πάσῃ σοφίᾳ, while P^{74vid} Ⲭ A C E g i g p have ἐν πάσῃ σοφίᾳ.

(h) “and was powerful in speech and action” (ἦν δὲ δυνατὸς ἐν λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις αὐτοῦ, v. 22b). This sentence looks as though it is in conflict with Ex 4:10 (Moses said to the LORD, “O Lord, I have never been eloquent, neither in the past nor since you have spoken to your servant. I am slow of speech and tongue.”). Barrett (1994:356) states that because of Ex 7:1-2 (...your brother Aaron will be your prophet...), “this is not to be dismissed as mock modesty on Moses’ part or as a way of excusing himself from a difficult and dangerous task”. Fitzmyer (1998:376) also denotes that there is no ancient tradition to show Moses’ fluency.

However, according to Sir 45:3, “By his words he [Moses] caused signs to cease (ἐν λόγοις αὐτοῦ σημεῖα κατέπαυσεν).” Josephus (*Ant* 2:271; 3:13) also speaks of his “extraordinary influence in addressing a crowd” (see also Philo, *VitMos* 1:80). Lake and Cadbury (1933:75), however, argue that the mention of

⁷⁰ For the detailed episode of the OT, see Ex 2:9-10. See also Josephus, *Ant* 2:232.

Moses' power in speech relates to the written word. It is proper that the inconsistency should not be given too much weight, as compared to the later records of the OT above.

The very phrasing δυνατὸς ἐν λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις αὐτοῦ resonates with the depiction of Jesus in Lk 24:19 (δυνατὸς ἐν ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ) and somewhat with that of Stephen in Ac 6:8 (χάριτος καὶ δυνάμεως ἐποίει τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα μεγάλα).⁷¹

2.2 Interpretation of the subsection by Luke

At this point Stephen brings to an end the patriarchs' story and moves on to talk about Moses. Vv. 17-19 are used to form a transition from the Joseph story to the Moses story, as mentioned earlier (cf. Fitzmyer 1998:374). Through Moses' life, above all, Stephen starts responding to the charge that was levelled against him i.e., that he has blasphemed against Moses.

The offspring of Jacob continued to stay in Egypt and to multiply until the dawn of the era when God was to fulfil his covenantal promise to Abraham (see Gl 4:4). It reveals, on the whole, how Luke perceives prophecy. Luke links the noun ἐπαγγελίας in v. 17 to the verb ἐπηγγείλατο in v. 5, showing us that he already sees the events in Egypt as God at work to fulfil his promise. However, that he does not consider the growth of Israel as the promise-fulfilment pattern on this point is clear (contrast Gn 15:5). Barrett (1994:352) finds it interesting that the fulfilment of God's promise to Abraham at the Exodus is not a Christian viewpoint, but a Jewish viewpoint.

The population numbers mentioned in this section are a matter of disagreement

⁷¹ For another occurrence of a similar expression, see also Ac 2:22 (δυνάμεσι καὶ τέρασι καὶ σημείοις).

among scholars. For example, Kistemaker (1990:250) suggests that the total population was about one million five hundred thousand. As “the word of God continued to increase (ἠύξανεν), and the number of the disciples multiplied greatly (ἐπληθύνετο)” in Ac 6:7 (ESV), “the people grew (ἠύξησεν) and multiplied (ἐπληθύνθη)” in Ac 7:17 (NKJV). Goulder (1964:164) says that “[g]rowth and multiplication are the features of the new people of God in Acts.” The phrase ὁ λαός denotes the Israelites who were descended from Jacob and his sons.

A central thematic issue in the Moses story is that the king of Egypt who came to the throne did not know Joseph. Marshall (1980:139) sees this event as the climax of the Moses story. Under his administration there was a sudden change in the treatment of the Israelites. The new king oppressed them and took advantage of them, even to the extent that Israelites were dying as a result of forced labour. He sought to repress their increasing numbers by putting them to forced labour and by compelling them to exterminate all male Hebrew babies by leaving them exposed to the elements so that they would not survive.

Despite this imperial decree, the Hebrews continued to increase in number. Kee (1997:98) states that Pharaoh’s inhuman decree “had the reverse effect of bringing Moses into a place of unique favor in the center of power.” Haenchen (1971:280) comments that v. 19 “makes freer use of Exod. 1.10f.” so as to convey the fulfilment of God’s promise to Abraham, as occurred in v. 6. Luke’s connection of the verb ἐκάκωσεν in v. 19 to the verb κακώσουσιν in v. 6 also serves to report the motif (cf. Tannehill 1990:91). The reference to “our race” in v. 19 continues to describe Stephen’s shared identity with his hearers.

Two observations can be shown here. Firstly, the killing of the male babies in Egypt is analogous to the infanticide in Bethlehem when Jesus was born. Secondly, by means of Pharaoh’s unceasing brutality to Israel’s people, God

made them get ready for their liberty and exodus and granted them a yearning to go to 'the land'.

At that time Moses was born and was beautiful. Both Philo (*VitMos* 1:9) and Josephus (*Ant* 2:224, 229-331) speak of Moses' beauty. In opposition to the king's proclamation, his parents kept him for three months before abandoning him. The verb ἀνετρέφει in v. 20 with the meaning of 'bring up' seems to be Lukan in the NT (see also Ac 7:21; 22:3). As compared with Ex 2:2, τῷ θεῷ is added after ἀστειός, and it "may be taken in its full sense 'in the sight of God'" (Bruce [1951]1976:167). Here Luke again describes for his hearers the superiority of God's activity over human activity.

The three month old baby, Moses, was finally placed outside by his parents, where he was discovered and raised by Pharaoh's daughter (contrast Josephus, *Ant* 2:217-223). Consequently, it is likely that he had no personal complaint against the Egyptians at this point. Moses is here illustrated as being suggestive of Jesus, e.g., 7:20-22 with the Lukan narrative of the birth and childhood of Jesus through Lk 2.⁷²

Marty (1984:212) provides further detailed parallels between Moses and Jesus. Both are jeopardized in babyhood, but protected (see Ex 1:7; Mt 2:13-18; Heb 11:23). Both are called out of Egypt to save their people (see Mt 2:14-15). In Lk 24:19 the two disciples on the road to Emmaus portray Jesus as being powerful in word and deed (ὃς ἐγένετο ἀνὴρ προφήτης δυνατὸς ἐν ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ), while in Acts Stephen uses an analogous set phrase to illustrate Moses in v. 22 (ἦν δὲ δυνατὸς ἐν λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις αὐτοῦ). Marty adds that the set phrase "powerful in

⁷² Daube (1985^a:2329-2331, 2346-2348) describes Jesus as the new Moses. Cf. also Marty (1984). For the interpretation of Jesus as the new Moses, especially in Matthew, cf. Allison (1993:137-290).

speech and action” is related to a prophet in Luke-Acts. However, in his two volumes, Luke perhaps employs the concept of ‘a prophet’ to indicate rather Elijah and Elisha than specifically Moses, as I will discuss later (see Lk 3:16; 7:19 from Mt 3:1-24; Lk 4:25-27 from 1 Ki 17:8-16; 2 Ki 5:1-14; Lk 7:16 from 1 Ki 17:23; Lk 9:54-55 from 1 Ki 18:36-38; 2 Ki 1:9-14;⁷³ Lk 9:61-62 from 1 Ki 19:19-21; cf. also Fitzmyer 1986:213-215).⁷⁴

Luke’s reference to the Egyptian education of Moses and his resultant capabilities is a clue to the motif that God is not confined to any one place. The emphasis here is that God even makes use of the knowledge of Egyptians to prepare his agent. God as the subject of Moses’ life appears seminal at this point. However, it is also clear that the motif of Moses’ rejection already occurs from the beginning of this section of Stephen’s speech.

3. FLIGHT INTO MIDIAN (AC 7:23-29)

3.1 Composition

The second of the five subsections on Moses in Stephen’s speech continues as follows: (a) “When Moses was forty years old, he decided to visit his fellow Israelites” (Ὡς δὲ ἐπληροῦτο αὐτῷ τεσσαρακονταετῆς χρόνος, ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ ἐπισκέψασθαι τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραήλ, v. 23). It is necessary to notice Luke’s manipulation of the expression ἐπληροῦτο which might contain the scheme of God’s timing (see also vv. 17, 30; Ac 2:1).

In spite of Wilcox’s argument on an Aramaic influence (1965:63), the phrase ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν has some prior examples that can be found in the LXX of

⁷³ See also Lk 12:49.

⁷⁴ Besides, Lk 9:51 alludes to 2 Ki 2:11 with the phrase “taken up”.

2 Ki 12:5; Jr 3:16; 28:50; 51:21; Ezk 38:10; Is 65:16 (cf. Fitzmyer 1998:376; Richard 1978:82). According to Barrett (1994:357), the phrase “may be described as a Lucan septuagintalism ..., but here it could well have been drawn from the (equally septuagintalizing) source that Luke was using.” The sense of the verb ἐπισκέψασθαι goes beyond the normal meaning, that is, ‘visit’ (see Lk 1:68, 78; 7:16; Ac 6:3; 15:14, 36). Luke seems to allude to Ex 2:11b (LXX): ἐξήλθεν πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραηλ, with the substitution of ἐπισκέψασθαι for ἐξήλθεν πρὸς.

According to Dt 34:7, Moses was a hundred and twenty years old when he died. However, Moses’ age, as spoken of by Stephen (age 40), is not mentioned in the OT. Nevertheless, Stephen’s testimony is similar to one rabbinic tradition. The *Midrash Tanhuma* on Ex 2:6 divides all Moses’ life into three equal sections of forty years each: (1) Moses was 40 years of age when he fled Egypt, (2) lived in Midian for 40 years, (3) and led the Israelites for 40 years. Witherington (1998:269) regards this as a Greek threefold scheme “of speaking of his birth, early upbringing, and then education,” which is also applied to the life of Paul in other sources (see Ac 22:3; Plato, *Crito* 50E; 51C; Philo, *Flacc* 158). Marshall (1980:140) says that “forty was the age at which a person had grown up (Ex 2:11).”

(b) “He saw one of them being mistreated by an Egyptian”⁷⁵ (καὶ ἰδὼν τινα ἀδικούμενον ἠμύνατο, v. 24a). (c) “so he went to his defense and avenged him by killing the Egyptian”⁷⁶ (καὶ ἐποίησεν ἐκδίκησιν⁷⁷ τῷ καταπονουμένῳ πατάξας τὸν Αἰγύπτιον, v. 24b). The verb ἠμύνατο in v. 24a is a *hapax legomenon* and usually means ‘defend’, but once in a while it is translated ‘to help’ (see Is (LXX) 59:16).

⁷⁵ For the original context of the OT, see Ex 2:11c.

⁷⁶ For the detailed narrative of the OT, see Ex 2:12.

⁷⁷ For the occurrence of the noun in Luke-Acts, see Lk 18:7-8. For the other occurrences in the NT, see 2 Cor 7:11; 2 Th 1:8; 1 Pt 2:14.

The Western text, following the OT reading, adds that Moses “hid him in the sand” (see also Philo, *VitMos* 43-44).

(d) “Moses thought that his own people would realize that God was using him to rescue them” (ἐνόμιζεν δὲ συνιέναι τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς [αὐτοῦ] ὅτι ὁ θεὸς διὰ χειρὸς αὐτοῦ δίδωσιν σωτηρίαν⁷⁸ αὐτοῖς, v. 25a). (e) “but they did not” (οἱ δὲ οὐ συνῆκαν, v. 25b). The third person singular pronoun αὐτοῦ in v. 25a occurs in P⁷⁴ & B C pc gig vg, but A D E Ψ 33 do not have it. V. 25 is lacking totally from Exodus. Stephen again introduces the theme of the people’s misunderstanding and their failure to acknowledge the leader dispatched by God (see vv. 9-10).

(f) “The next day Moses came upon two Israelites who were fighting” (τῇ τε ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ ὤφθη⁷⁹ αὐτοῖς μαχομένοις, v. 26a).⁸⁰ (g) “He tried to reconcile them by saying” (καὶ συνήλλασεν⁸¹ αὐτοὺς εἰς εἰρήνην⁸² εἰπών, v. 26b). (h) “Men, you are brothers” (ἄνδρες, ἀδελφοί ἐστε, v. 26c). (i) “why do you want to hurt each other?” (ἵνατί ἀδικεῖτε ἀλλήλους; v. 26d).⁸³

(j) “But the man who was mistreating the other pushed Moses aside and said” (ὁ δὲ ἀδικῶν⁸⁴ τὸν πλησίον ἀπώσατο αὐτὸν εἰπών, v. 27a). The verb ἀπώσατο is often used by the text of the LXX for God’s rejection (see Jdg 6:13; 1 Sm 12:22; Ps 42:2; 43:9, 23; 59:1; Jr 2:37; Ezk 5:11; Hs 4:6; 9:17). (k) “Who made you ruler and judge over us?” (τίς σε κατέστησεν ἄρχοντα καὶ δικαστὴν ἐφ’ ἡμῶν; v. 27b). The noun ἄρχοντα normally means one in authority, such as a ruler, official, or

⁷⁸ The word can be translated into ‘salvation’ (see ESV).

⁷⁹ For the other occurrences of the verb in Acts, see Ac 2:3; 7:2, 30, 35; 9:17; 13:31; 16:9; 22:16.

⁸⁰ For the original context of the OT, see Ex 2:13a.

⁸¹ For the concept of reconciliation, see Chrysostom, *Or* 22; 38; 77-78; Lucianus, *Demon* 9; Philostratus, *VitAp* 1:15; 6:38.

⁸² For the other occurrences of the noun in Luke-Acts, see Lk 1:79; 2:14, 29; Ac 10:36.

⁸³ For the original question of Moses in the OT, see Ex 2:13b.

⁸⁴ Cf. ἀδικούμενον in v. 24 and ἀδικεῖτε in v. 26.

judge (see Ac 3:17).

(l) “Do you want to kill me as you killed the Egyptian yesterday?”⁸⁵ (μὴ ἀνελεῖν με σὺ θέλεις ὄν τρόπον ἀνεῖλες ἐχθὲς τὸν Αἰγύπτιον; v. 28). (m) “When Moses heard this,⁸⁶ he fled” (ἔφυγεν δὲ Μωϋσῆς ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ, v. 29a). Ex 2:15a entails that Moses fled from Pharaoh because Pharaoh had heard of this matter and tried to kill Moses. According to Johnson (1992:127),

the Jewish apologists had various ways of dealing with this embarrassing incident. *The Book of Jubilees* 47:12 is very close to Acts, giving as the motivation for the flight, ‘because of these words’. In sharp contrast, Pseudo-Philo’s *Biblical Antiquities* 9:16-10:1 omits the entire sequence, moving directly from Moses’ childhood to the plagues. Artapanus’ *On the Jews* gives a novelistic account of a rivalry between Moses and the Egyptian king; it was the assassin sent by the king to kill Moses that Moses himself killed, forcing him to flee. Josephus also attributes Moses’ flight to an envious plot against him, but does not have Moses’ killing anyone (*Antiquities of the Jews* 2:254-256). Philo combines these elements, retaining the killing of the Egyptian as in Exodus, but also including a royal plot against Moses (*De Vita Mosis* 1:43-46).

(n) “and became an alien in the land of Midian,⁸⁷ where he became the father of two sons” (καὶ ἐγένετο πάροικος ἐν γῆ Μαδιάμ, οὗ ἐγέννησεν υἱοὺς δύο, v. 29b). Most scholars locate Midian on the east side of the Gulf of the Aqabah, in modern Saudi Arabia (cf. Barrett 2002:102).⁸⁸ In the land of Midian Moses married Zipporah, one of Jethro’s seven daughters, who bore him two sons,

⁸⁵ For the original question of the Hebrew in the OT, see Ex 2:14b.

⁸⁶ For the detailed narrative of the OT, see Ex 2:14c.

⁸⁷ For the full description of the OT, see Ex 2:15b.

⁸⁸ For various arguments, cf. also Philby (1957).

Gershom and Eliezer (see Ex 2:16-22; 18:3-4). According to Fitzmyer (1998:377), “[t]he Midianites seem to have been a tribal group related to the early Hebrews” (see Gn 25:1-2, 4).

3.2 Moses refuted by a fellow Israelite and the quoted text from Ex 2:14 in Ac 7:27-28

3.2.1 Other occurrences of Ex 2:14

As a matter of interest there is a vague reference to Ex 2:14 in Lk 12:14 which is of course written by Luke, the same author as the book of Acts.

3.2.2 The introductory formula (Ac 7:27a)

The introductory formula is formed by the words: “But the man who was mistreating the other pushed Moses aside and said” (ὁ δὲ ἀδικῶν τὸν πλησίον ἀπώσατο αὐτὸν εἰπών, v. 27a), as we have seen.

3.2.3 Establishing and describing the textual differences

NT(NA27)	LXX	MT
Ac 7:27b-28	Ex 2:14b ⁸⁹	Ex 2:14b
²⁷ τίς σε κατέστησεν ἄρχοντα καὶ δικαστὴν ἐφ' ἡμῶν;	¹⁴ τίς σε κατέστησεν ἄρχοντα καὶ δικαστὴν ἐφ' ἡμῶν	מִי שָׂמַךְ לְאִישׁ שֶׁר וְשֹׁפֵט עָלֵינוּ
²⁸ μὴ ἀνελεῖν με σὺ θέλεις ὄν τρόπον ἀνεῖλες ἐχθὲς τὸν Αἰγύπτιον;	μὴ ἀνελεῖν με σὺ θέλεις ὄν τρόπον ἀνεῖλες ἐχθὲς τὸν Αἰγύπτιον	הֲלֹהֶרְגֵנִי אַתָּה אָמַר כְּאִשֶׁר הָרַגְתָּ אֶת־הַמִּצְרִי

3.2.3.1 Textual differences between MT and LXX

In the case of the quotation from Ex 2:14, the LXX reading follows exactly the reading of the MT, except for the addition of the adverb (ἐχθὲς).

3.2.3.2 Textual differences between Acts and LXX

Both the text of Acts and the text of the LXX coincide with each other, despite the one difference between the MT and the LXX. It is thus unnecessary to deal extensively with the textual difference between the two versions. Therefore, it seems clear that Luke used the Greek version as his source for this part of Stephen's speech.

⁸⁹ Unless otherwise referred to, the LXX version edited by Wevers (1991) is used for the Greek translation of Exodus.

3.3 Lukan method used for the quotation

As mentioned earlier, both the LXX and the NT agree with the MT, with the exception of the addition of the adverb (ἐχθές). It is somewhat surprising that a large number of scholars (e.g., Bruce [1951]1976:169; Wilson 1962:178; Lawrence 1964:22-24; Haenchen 1971:281; Kilgallen 1976^a:71-72; Richard 1978:85-86; Conzelmann 1987:53; Johnson 1992:127; Barrett 1994:359; Arnold 1996:313-314) do not take notice of the difference between the MT and the LXX. In fact, some scholars (e.g., Walton 1972:72-73; Fitzmyer 1998:377) speak of the textual agreement between them. On account of the textual agreement between the LXX and the NT, we can be reasonably certain that the quotation originated in a LXX version, which Luke had, and from which he quoted this text from Ex 2:14. A lot of LXX MSS (B* F M 64*-708-*oll*⁷⁰⁷ 56-129 134-370 318 407-630 ClemR 4^{te}) have the reading that includes ἐχθές.

According to the following scholars (e.g., Kilgallen 1976^a:152; Nolland 1993:685), in Lk 12:14 Jesus' answer echoes the words from Ex 2:14. Luke could also have known this quotation well from the Scriptures. Archer and Chirichigno (1983:13), mention that it is possible to infer this addition from its original context (Ex 2:13-14). What is striking is that the full narrative that is illustrated in this subsection is from Ex 2 (Arnold 1996:313).

3.4 Interpretation of the quotation by Luke

The second subsection (Ac 7:23-29), focuses chiefly on Moses' flight into the desert of Midian, so corresponding with the middle forty years of Moses' life. Luke continues to detail his main theological theme of the Israelite rejection of God's messenger in this subsection, especially with his explicit quotation from Ex 2:14.

When Moses is forty years old, he is sent to visit his fellow Israelites. As we have said above, Luke's repeated use of the expressions ἐπληροῦτο in v. 23, and πληρωθέντων in v. 30 shows that God controls the time of the salvation history of his people. The phrase ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ seems to mean "it came into (his) heart" (Conzelmann 1987:53), so implying that the intention of Moses' visit is not his own, rather it comes from God (cf. Marshall 1980:140).

It is confirmed by the following verb ἐπισκέψασθαι, which means more than a social meeting (Barrett 1994:357). Out of the 11 occurrences in the NT, the word is employed 7 times in Luke-Acts, three times in Luke and four in Acts. It is seen to describe God's merciful visit to his people (see Lk 1:68, 78; 7:16; Ac 15:14), the appointment of the seven men under God's supervision (see Ac 6:3), and Paul's and Barnabas' determination to revisit the churches on a second missionary trip. Finally, it seems to point out Moses' action under divine guidance at this point. Ironically however Moses' attempt fails and he escapes.

During his visit Moses kills an Egyptian for his fellow's sake. Here, Luke's emphasises Moses' justice (ἐποίησεν ἐκδίκησιν)⁹⁰ rather than the killing itself. Luke interprets this fact, which is not mentioned in the OT, to make his point. Kilgallen (1976^a:68) states that the verb καταπονέω "lends credence to the justice of Moses' action, indeed, to the accuracy of Moses' moral sense." The word καταπονέω occurs only twice in the NT (see 2 Pt 2:7).

It is interesting to note that Philo (*VitMos* 1:43-44) justifies Moses' killing of the Egyptian because some of the Egyptian overseers were

⁹⁰ For Lukan usage of the word, see Lk 18:7.

very savage and furious men, being, as to their cruelty, not at all different from poisonous serpents or carnivorous beasts--wild beasts in human form--being clothed with the form of a human body so as to give an appearance of gentleness in order to deceive and catch their victim, but in reality being harder than iron or adamant. ... it was a pious action to destroy one who only lived for the destruction of others.

Moses expects his fellow Israelites to accept him as their saviour, but they do not seem to realize that God sent Moses to rescue them, God's own people. Moses soon discovers that he is mistaken. Combrink (1979:13) asserts that in this subsection this verse is the most important. That is why v. 25 is entirely unmatched in Ex 2 "that Moses had this sight of how God would be working through him even before his flight from Egypt" (cf. Witherington 1998:269). The verse reflects Luke's interpretative embellishment of Moses' deed once again.

Luke here depicts the murder as a divine action (cf. Haenchen 1971:281), reflecting back to God's promise in v. 7, of which Moses is God's agent. God is now giving Israel's people salvation (*σωτηρίαν*) through Moses' hand. According to Soards (1994:65), the term *σωτηρίαν* in Acts is "the second of five uses of an important word" (see Ac 4:12; 13:26, 47; 16:17).

Witherington (1998:269) states that the Israelite "misunderstanding is paradoxically understandable in Luke's view because this is only the first period of interaction between Moses and God's people, and their ignorance of who Moses really was is not surprising, as is also later the case with Jesus (Acts 3:17)." It is probable only in the Moses section, but it should be noted that within the context of the Stephen discourse as a whole the motif of the Israelite misunderstanding has already been raised in the Joseph episode (cf. Barrett

1994:357-358), as discussed earlier, *pace* Haenchen (1971:281)⁹¹ and Soards (1994:65).

Johnson (1992:127) also states that v. 26 “has a deeper edge within Luke-Acts as a whole: like the brothers of Joseph ..., and like these contentious Israelites, so do the hearers of Stephen reject Jesus and the apostles and the one speaking to them.” The fact that Moses’ action is God’s action through him for their rescue, therefore, continues to build on the motif of the people’s lack of understanding and their failure to identify the divinely chosen saviour.

The following day serves to be Moses’ turning point. When Moses returns to Israel’s people, two Israelites are fighting. He tries to mediate as reconciler. Wilson (1962:177) - cf. also Barrett (1994:358) - says that:

The verb form used in connection with ordinary sight, ὁρᾶν, is replaced by the form ὠφθῆναι, otherwise reserved by Luke for use with angels (Luke 1:11; 22:43; Acts 16:9 the “man of Macedonia”), the risen Lord (Luke 23:34; Acts 9:17; 13:31; 26:16), or supernatural phenomena (Acts 2:3). Indeed, within Acts 7 is used otherwise to refer to the appearance of God (7:2) or an angel (7:30, 35).

Throughout Luke-Acts, the use of the verb possibly shows Luke’s appreciation of Moses.

Here Luke emphasises the verb συνήλλασσεν to illustrate Moses as a reconciler

⁹¹ In his commentary, he says that “[f]or the first time in the speech we hear the theme of the people’s incomprehension and their failure to recognize the savior sent by God.”

among his own people. The verb *συνήλλασσειν* is a *hapax legomenon*.⁹² Johnson (1992:127) explains that the action of Moses for peace is connected with Jesus' ministry. Of interest is that one of the sage's (θεῖος ἀνὴρ) features is described as a peacemaker in Hellenistic works (see Chrysostom, *Or* 22; 38; 77-78; Lucianus, *Demon* 9; Philostratus, *VitAp* 1:15).

Moses' question - "Men, you are brothers; why do you want to hurt each other?" - to both Israelite men differs from the wording of Ex 2:13 (LXX), "but the dialogue nearly agrees and is probably a quotation" (Hatch 1970:169). The original question in the LXX is διὰ τί σὺ τύπτεις τὸν πλησίον. According to Barrett (1994:358), "D, as often, makes the language somewhat more forceful, replacing the first three words with τί ποιεῖτε, ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί" (see also NA27).

Instead of πλησίον, the Lukan phrase ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί occurs fourteen times in Acts, but does not occur in any other NT books (Wilson 1962:178). With regard to the use of ἀδελφοί, Kistemaker (1990:255) comments that "Moses stressed the concept brothers not in the sense that these two men belonged to one family but rather that they were members of the Hebrew race. Moses, therefore, called attention to their (and his) shared nationality."

As a result of Moses' question, the one man pushes Moses aside and asks Moses a question in return. The verb ἀπόσαστο literally means 'to thrust away'. According to Johnson (1992:127), "the rejection is both verbal and physical." It should be noted that the use of the verb ἀπωθέομαι against Moses is repeated in v. 39.

⁹² The apostle Paul habitually uses καταλλάσσω for the concept of the reconciliation (cf. Büchsel [1964]1981:254-259; Martin 1993:94; Porter 1993^a:695-699; Dunn 1998:228). For the brief survey of the concept by Paul, cf. Joubert (2005:112-122).

The man says, “Who made you ruler and judge over us? Do you want to kill me as you killed the Egyptian yesterday?” Here Luke has placed his quotation in a very similar context to that in which the quoted text originally emerged. The quotation, which follows the LXX exactly, serves to confirm Luke’s interpretation of the Israelite ignorance of Moses’ role as their deliverer. This theme will recur in vv. 35, 39.

One of the two Israelites here condemns Moses for claiming to be a ruler and judge over them, hence not understanding that it was God who had so chosen him. In spiritual blindness, as an Israelite, he closed his eyes to God’s strategy of deliverance. The quotation is an appropriate means of highlighting Luke’s censure of Israel’s people for discarding God’s servant. The determinants to understanding the writer’s intention behind this subsection are often the interpretative expressions and words that he puts in his selective abridgment of Moses’ story which do not appear in the OT.

According to Combrink (1979:13), it is important to note how the contrast between v. 25a and v. 25b is repeated in the contrast between v. 26 and v. 27. Moses hopes that his fellow Israelites understand him as God’s agent, but he is unrecognized by them. Once again, Moses seeks to settle a quarrel between two of Israel’s men, but he is resisted and dismissed. Before Luke presents his quotation in this subsection, the theme of the rejection of Moses has already been foreshadowed. However, the theme reaches its climax at this point by means of Luke’s quotation.

In the end, Moses departs into exile at one man’s word (ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ). According to Ex 2:15 (LXX), Pharaoh sought to kill Moses, and so Moses fled from the presence of Pharaoh (ἐζήτει ἀνελεῖν Μωυσῆν ἀνεχώρησεν δὲ Μωυσῆς ἀπὸ προσώπου Φαραῶ), as mentioned earlier. Knowling ([1900]1951:153) interprets

that “[t]he matter would become known to Pharaoh as the words of the Hebrew intimated; it could not be hidden; and in spite of the attempt at concealment on the part of Moses by hiding the body in the sand, his life was no longer safe, and so he fled because he had nothing to hope for from his people.” The two accounts between the OT and the NT thus seem not to be in conflict with each other, but rather to be in harmony.

A further striking feature is that Luke’s explanation of the cause for Moses’ flight differs from the description which is given in the OT. Blass and Debrunner (1961 §219.2) categorize the preposition ἐν into an instrumental, but delineate it as clarifying the reason. It has a temporal purpose, indicating the time of Moses’ flight (Barrett 1994:359).

Here it is likely that Luke is seeking to reinforce the correlation between the fellow Israelites’ rejection of Moses and his flight into Midian, by neglecting Pharaoh’s threat that originally appeared in Ex 2:15. Loisy (1920:332) understands v. 29 allegorically as follows: Moses’ flight into Midian = carrying of the gospel to the Gentiles; the birth of his two sons = the bearing of the fruit of the gospel among the Gentiles.⁹³ However, Luke is describing a historical event and not presenting a symbolic allegory.

V. 29 closes the story about Moses’ second forty years. According to Barrett (1994:359), the words ἐγένετο πάροικος in v. 29 imply that “in Midian Moses was no more than a temporary resident alien” (see Ac 7:6), although the verb ὤκησεν in the LXX does not explicitly suggest this understanding. Through his vocabulary, Luke seems to suggest Moses’ return despite his earlier flight. Concerning Moses’ two sons, Lake and Cadbury (1933:76) affirm that “[t]he

⁹³ Recited from Haenchen (1971:282).

reference to these sons is irrelevant.” For Barrett (1994:360), however, Luke seems to intend that “for the divine call Moses would have good reason to remain in Midian.”

Regarding the Hebrew’s question, Krodel (1986:145) interprets it as follows: “The answer to this question, namely that God made him a ruler and a judge (cf. v. 35), never occurred to this Israelite, a paradigm of ignorance encountered in the Jesus story (cf. 2:36; 3:17; 13:27).” The point which Luke will advance in the process of Stephen’s speech is that just as Moses was rejected by his fellows, so Jesus was rejected by his people (see v. 52). There has been no change in attitude over the years. This quotation is part of the crescendo of Stephen’s dispute, which culminates in v. 37, despite the repetition of the same quotation.

Of further importance is the fact that Moses was born at the time when the fulfilment of the promises to Abraham was approaching. It reveals that vv. 6-7 served as a foreshadowing of the discussion of Moses and the exodus. The motif of God’s faithfulness to his people, is consistently repeated in the speech. Furthermore, according to Squires (1983:66), even in the Moses story God is still seen as the subject of Israelite history through Luke’s use of the following verbs: δίδωσιν (v. 25), ὤφθη (v. 30),⁹⁴ εἶπεν (v. 33), εἶδον, ἤκουσα, ἀποστείλω (v. 34), ἀπέσταλκεν (v. 35), ἀναστήσει (v. 37).⁹⁵

⁹⁴ In particular, ἄγγελος here is the subject of the verb.

⁹⁵ Dahl (1966:144) indicates that v. 36 fulfils the promise of v. 7b (ἐξελεύσονται) and v. 35 fulfils the promise of v. 34 (ἀποστείλω).

4. GOD'S CALLING (AC 7:30-34)

4.1 Composition

Stephen's speech now reaches the third story of the five sections regarding Moses: (a) "After forty years had passed, an angel appeared to Moses in the flames of a burning bush⁹⁶ in the desert near Mount Sinai" (Καὶ πληρωθέντων ἐτῶν τεσσαράκοντα ὤφθη αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τοῦ ὄρους Σινᾶ ἄγγελος ἐν φλογὶ πυρὸς βάτου, v. 30). The verb πληρόω is used once more in Stephen's speech (see v. 23; Ac 2:1). D^(c) reads μετὰ ταῦτα πλησθέντων αὐτῷ ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα at this point. D H P S 614 have κυρίου instead of ἄγγελος.⁹⁷ Strack and Billerbeck (1961:680) explain that the rabbis have identified the angel as Michael or Gabriel. ⋈ B D Ψ M gig p sy^h read ἐν φλογὶ πυρὸς, while P⁷⁴ A C E 36 323 945 1739 *al* vg sy^p read ἐν πυρὶ φλογός. It is, however, difficult to find any dissimilarity between the two versions.

Now Moses' second epoch of forty years passes (see v. 23; Ex 7:7). The OT names the mountain where God appeared to Moses, not as Sinai but as Horeb (see Ex 3:1). Wilson (1962:178) points out that the name of Mount Sinai is used in the J and P sources, while Horeb is used in the E and D sources. However, both of them are used interchangeably in the OT. Nonetheless, it is true that Sinai occurs more frequently than Horeb. Sinai occurs four times in the NT (see Ac 7:30, 38; Gl 4:24, 25), while Horeb never occurs. For Kilgallen (1976^a:74), the reason for the changed name by Luke is because "in the later tradition this mountain was associated with both the giving of the commandments and with the appearance of the angel."

⁹⁶ For the detailed narrative of the OT, see Ex 3:2.

⁹⁷ For more on the mention of the angel in this speech, see also vv. 35, 38, 53.

According to Strack and Billerbeck (1961:680), the rabbis speculated about why God would have elected to address Moses from a burning bush. A fascinating reply was “to teach men that there is no place, however desolate, not even a thornbush, without the Shekinah.”

(b) “When he saw this, he was amazed at the sight”⁹⁸ (ὁ δὲ Μωϋσῆς ἰδὼν ἐθαύμαζεν τὸ ὄραμα, v. 31a). (c) “As he went over to look more closely, he heard the Lord's voice”⁹⁹ (προσερχομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ κατανοῆσαι ἐγένετο φωνὴ κυρίου, v. 31b). The verb κατανοέω means to ‘consider, detect, or notice’ (Lk 6:41; 12:24, 27; 20:23; Ac 11:6; 27:39). Moulton (1908:117) says that the compound verb κατανοῆσαι

should describe the *completion* of a mental process. In some passages, as Lk. 20:23 (‘he *detected* their craftiness’), or Acts 7:31 (‘to *master* the mystery’), this will do very well; but the durative action is most certainly represented in the present κατανοεῖν, except in Acts 27:39 (? ‘noticed one after another’).

Instead of Yahweh, κυρίου is used in v. 31b (see Ex 3:4). According to Fitzmyer (1998:260), “‘Lord’ was used by Palestinian Jews in the last pre-Christian centuries as a title for Yaweh: either mārê’ or māryā’ in Aramaic, or ’ādôn in Hebrew, or Kyrios in Greek. All these forms are now attested in important contemporary extrabiblical texts” (cf. also idem. 1979:115-142; 1989:200-204). D (sy^p) replaces the words ἐγένετο φωνὴ κυρίου with ὁ κύριος εἶπεν αὐτῷ λέγων.

(d) “I am the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob” (ἐγὼ ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων σου, ὁ θεὸς Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ, v. 32a). (e) “Moses trembled with fear and did not dare to look” (ἐντρομος δὲ γινόμενος Μωϋσῆς οὐκ

⁹⁸ For the original description of the OT, see Ex 3:3.

⁹⁹ For the dialogue between God and Moses in the OT, see Ex 3:4.

ἐτόλμα κατανοῆσαι, v. 32b).¹⁰⁰ Luke might drop the verb εἶμι after ἐγώ from Ex 3:6 (LXX). In the uncommon instances of this absence, Blass and Debrunner (1961:71) suggest that “[ε]ἰμί, ἐσμέν and εἶ are not often omitted, and when they are, the personal pronoun is usually present.”

It is necessary to notice that the LXX has a singular noun πατρός. Wilcox (1965:29-30) suggests that this plural noun πατέρων is from Samaritan sources. However, Kahle (1947:144-145) indicates that the plural noun is sustained by the strong OT versions: the Samaritan sources, LXX witnesses k and m, the Bohairic and Ethiopic sources, as well as affirmation from Eusebius, Cyprian, and Justin Martyr. The plural noun πατέρων, furthermore, remains in the Hebrew and all versions in Ex 3:15. Consequently, Wilcox himself must acknowledge this fact to be true.

Concerning ὁ θεός, Metzger ([1971]1975:348-349) explains, “the fluctuation of the text here ... reflects the uncertainty of scribes. ... A majority of the Committee judged that the combination of P⁷⁴ & A B Ψ 81 614 syr^{p,h} cop^{sa} was superior to the several witnesses which attest the other readings.” The adjective ἑντρομος seems to be an element of Luke’s vocabulary (cf. Barrett 1994:361). It occurs only three times in the NT (see also Ac 16:29; Heb 12:21). In spite of some scholars’ opinion (Haenchen 1971:282; Soards 1994:65; Fitzmyer 1998:378), we cannot consider this verse as an explicit quotation since there is no introductory formula.

(f) “Then the Lord said to him” (εἶπεν δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ κύριος, v. 33a). (g) “Take off your sandals” (λῦσον τὸ ὑπόδημα τῶν ποδῶν σου, v. 33b). (h) “the place where you are standing is holy ground” (ὁ γὰρ τόπος ἐφ’ ᾧ ἕστηκας γῆ ἁγία ἐστίν, v. 33c). D has

¹⁰⁰ For the original context of the OT, see Ex 3:6.

the phrase *καὶ ἐγένετο φωνὴ πρὸς αὐτόν* in v. 33a. It is important to remember that D is lacking the words *ἐγένετο φωνή* in v. 31. Luke reverses the arrangement that the narrative of Exodus gives. In the story of Ex 3:5-6, God first told Moses to take off his sandals and then revealed himself as the God of the patriarchs.

(i) “I have indeed seen the oppression of my people in Egypt” (*ἰδὼν εἶδον τὴν κάκωσιν τοῦ λαοῦ μου τοῦ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ*, v. 34a). Bruce ([1951]1976:170) remarks that the words *ἰδὼν εἶδον* are “a Semitism, representing the Heb. construction of the absolute infin. with the finite verb for emphasis, ‘I have certainly seen.’”

(j) “I have heard their groaning” (*καὶ τοῦ στεναγμοῦ αὐτῶν ἤκουσα*, v. 34b). (k) “and have come down to set them free” (*καὶ κατέβην ἐξελέσθαι αὐτούς*, v. 34c). (l) “Now come” (*καὶ νῦν δεῦρο*, v. 34d). B D have *αὐτοῦ* instead of *αὐτούς*. It is likely that this is done in order to harmonize with *λαός* in v. 34a. According to Soards (1994:65), the words *καὶ νῦν* contain a rhetorical element throughout the speeches in Acts (see Ac 3:17).

(m) “I will send you back to Egypt” (*ἀποστείλω σε εἰς Αἴγυπτον*, v. 34e). Ψ M changed the aorist subjunctive *ἀποστείλω* to the future *ἀποστελῶ* (cf. Moule [1953]1977:22). The LXX text reads *ἀποστείλω*, as I will discuss later. This must not be thought of just as a misprint, because “it is a matter of syntax, not orthography” (Moulton & Howard 1929:70). Moulton (1908:185) suggests that the futuristic application of the aorist subjunctive “reappears in the *κοινή*, where in the later papyri the subjunctive may be seen for the simple future. ... So Acts 7:34 (LXX).” On the exchangeability, Thackeray (1909:91) asserts that “the Pentateuch translators were fond of using a fut. ind. in the first clause of a sentence, followed by a deliberative conjunctive in the later clauses.” According to Blass and Debrunner (1961 §364.1), for the translation of v. 34e it is appropriate to use “let me send you” rather than “I will send you” (cf. Barrett

1994:362).

4.2 Moses is commissioned by God on holy ground and the quoted text from Ex 3:5, 7-8, 10 in Ac 7:33-34

4.2.1 Pre-Lukan occurrences of Ex 3:5, 7-8, 10 in Ac 7:33-34

Luke has skillfully coalesced several pieces from Ex 3:5, 7-8, 10 (LXX) in Stephen's speech in order to produce a compacted version. This expression λῦσον τὸ ὑπόδημα τῶν ποδῶν σου ὁ γὰρ τόπος ἐφ' ᾧ ἔστηκας γῆ ἁγία ἐστίν ἰδὼν εἶδον τὴν κάκωσιν τοῦ λαοῦ μου τοῦ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ τοῦ στεναγμοῦ αὐτῶν ἤκουσα καὶ κατέβην ἐξελέσθαι αὐτούς καὶ νῦν δεῦρο ἀποστείλω σε εἰς Αἴγυπτον is found nowhere else in the NT where a pre-Lukan combination as well as each piece from Ex is quoted. This quotation occurs for the first time in the NT. And so, it must have originated with Luke.

4.2.2 The introductory formula (Ac 7:33a)

The introductory formula is framed by the phrase: "Then the Lord said to him" (εἶπεν δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ κύριος, v. 33a), as has been revealed earlier in this thesis.

4.2.3 Establishing and describing the textual differences

NT(NA27)	LXX	MT
Ac 7:33b-34	Ex 3:5b	Ex 3:5b
^{33b} λυσον τὸ ὑπόδημα τῶν ποδῶν σου, ὁ γὰρ τόπος ἐφ' ὧ ἔστηκες γῆ ἁγία ἐστίν.	... λυσαι τὸ ὑπόδημα ἐκ τῶν ποδῶν σου ὁ γὰρ τόπος ἐν ὧ σὺ ἔστηκες γῆ ἁγία ἐστίν	שֶׁל־נְעָלַיִךְ מֵעַל הַגְּלִיף כִּי הַמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר אַתָּה עוֹמֵד עָלָיו אֲדַמְתָּ-קִרְשׁ הוּא:
	LXX	MT
	Ex 3:7b-8	Ex 3:7b-8
³⁴ ιδῶν εἶδον τὴν κάκωσιν τοῦ λαοῦ μου τοῦ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ τοῦ στεναγμοῦ αὐτῶν ἤκουσα, καὶ κατέβην ἐξελέσθαι αὐτούς	^{7b} ιδῶν εἶδον τὴν κάκωσιν τοῦ λαοῦ μου τοῦ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ τῆς κραυγῆς αὐτῶν ἀκήκοα ... ⁸ καὶ κατέβην ἐξελέσθαι αὐτούς ...	רָאָה רְאִיתִי אֶת־עַנְי עַמִּי אֲשֶׁר בְּמִצְרַיִם וְאֶת־צַעֲקָתָם שָׁמַעְתִּי וְאָרַד לְהַצִּילוֹ
	LXX	MT
	Ex 3:10	Ex 3:10
καὶ νῦν δεῦρο ἀποστείλω σε εἰς Αἴγυπτον.	καὶ νῦν δεῦρο ἀποστείλω σε πρὸς <u>Φαραῶ βασιλέα</u> <u>Αἰγύπτου</u>	וְעַתָּה לֵךְ וְאֶשְׁלַחְךָ אֶל־פַּרְעֹה

4.2.3.1 Textual differences between MT and LXX

In the instance of the quotation from Ex 3:5, 7-8, 10, the reading of the LXX has 2 minor changes, as compared with that of the MT in this section: (1) a mood

change of the imperative (לִּשְׁ) to the infinitive mood (λῦσαι); and (2) a number change of the singular suffix (לְהַצִּילֹ) to the plural pronoun (αὐτούς) in the LXX.

(a) Mood change:

[1] לִּשְׁ → λῦσαι

The imperative mood (לִּשְׁ) in the MT, as it is found in the NT, is replaced by the infinitive mood (λῦσαι) in the LXX.

(b) Number change:

[2] לְהַצִּילֹ → αὐτούς

The singular suffix (לְהַצִּילֹ) in the MT is substituted by the plural pronoun (αὐτούς) in the LXX.

4.2.3.2 Textual differences between Acts and LXX

There are six major changes to be disclosed 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.

(a) Substitutions:

[1] The substitution of λῦσον for λῦσαι (Ac 7:33)

From Ex 3:5 the verb λῦσαι (imperative infinitive) is substituted by λῦσον (simple imperative) in Ac 7:33, which occurs in the same mood in the MT as well. Acts merely has 'the sandals of your feet' (τὸ ὑπόδημα τῶν ποδῶν σου), as opposed to 'from your feet' (ἐκ τῶν ποδῶν σου) as it is in the LXX.

[2] The substitution of ἐφ' ᾧ for ἐν ᾧ (Ac 7:33)

In Ex 3:5 (LXX) ἐν ᾧ is substituted by ἐφ' ᾧ in Ac 7:33.

[3] The replacement of τοῦ στεναγμοῦ αὐτῶν ἤκουσα with τῆς κραυγῆς αὐτῶν ἀκήκοα (Ac 7:34)

Stephen has replaced τοῦ στεναγμοῦ αὐτῶν ἤκουσα, which the LXX text has taken from the Hebrew text, with τῆς κραυγῆς αὐτῶν ἀκήκοα.

[4] The replacement of εἰς Αἴγυπτον with πρὸς Φαραῶ βασιλέα Αἰγύπτου (Ac 7:34)

Luke changed εἰς Αἴγυπτον in the reading of the LXX to πρὸς Φαραῶ βασιλέα Αἰγύπτου in Ac 7:34. The LXX reads 'to Pharaoh, king of Egypt', while the NT simply reads 'to Egypt'.

(b) Omissions:

[5] The omission of ἐκ before τῶν ποδῶν σου (Ac 7:33)

The preposition ἐκ ('from') is omitted before τῶν ποδῶν σου in Ac 7:33, as shown above.

[6] The omission of σύ before ἔστηκας (Ac 7:33)

In the NT the pronoun σύ ('you') is omitted before the verb ἔστηκας.

4.3 Lukan method used for the quotation

There are 2 minor differences between the MT and the LXX. Concerning the mood, an infinitive might have an imperative (לְעֲשׂוֹת) force (Dona & Mantey 1955:216). Concerning the number change, the plural, because it is in regular use in the LXX, is to indicate עַמּוֹת here (Archer & Chirichigno 1983:15). Accordingly, the Greek version of the OT (LXX) seems to be an acceptable

translation of the Hebrew.

There are 6 changes between the LXX and the NT, as discussed earlier. When Luke relates the quoted text from Ex 3:5, 7-8, 10 (LXX) to his context, grammatical, as well as stylistic changes, were made by Luke, or another *Vorlage* was used by him as follows:

(a) Substitutions (λῦσαι → λῦσον; ἐν ᾧ → ἐφ' ᾧ; τῆς κραυγῆς αὐτῶν ἀκήκοα → τοῦ στεναγμοῦ αὐτῶν ἤκουσα; πρὸς Φαραῶ βασιλέα Αἰγύπτου → εἰς Αἴγυπτον).

[1-2] On two substitutions of λῦσον and ἐφ' ᾧ, Emerton (1968:289-290) suggests that these may have stemmed from a lapse in the writer's memory. However, Wilcox (1965:42) suggests this stems from "a Greek version other than the LXX, which has here preserved the form of the Hebrew more literally than our LXX" or perhaps a straight relation to the Hebrew text. The textual variants (72-618 b 121-527 z 55 Carl 49) show us that Luke might have used a *Textvorlage* which is different from the reconstructed LXX. Otherwise, both substitutions could merely be considered as improvements (Blass & Debrunner § 310.1).

[3] The tense of two verbs (ἀκήκοα; perfect and ἤκουσα; aorist) that change in **יְהַעֲבֹד** is not important, according to Barrett (1986:59), "and the LXX's κραυγή is as near to the Hebrew (מְקַרְעֵב) as στεναγμός." He thus thinks that it might be an alternative reading. Lastly, the two versions are not the same in wording, but have the same meaning.

[4] In the case of the replacement of εἰς Αἴγυπτον with πρὸς Φαραῶ βασιλέα Αἰγύπτου, all three versions differ. The MT has 'to Pharaoh', and the LXX has 'to Pharaoh, king of Egypt', while the NT reads 'to Egypt'. The three phrases differ in wording, but have a common meaning.

Thus, it can be suggested that two substitutions above [3-4] are attributed simply to Lukan stylistic preference.

(b) Omissions (ἐκ before τῶν ποδῶν σου; σύ before ἔστηκας).

[5-6] The omission of the preposition (ἐκ) seems to be due to the mood change of the verb (λύσον). Hence it is not necessary to insert the pronoun σύ in this sentence because of the second singular person verb ἔστηκας.

Therefore, in conclusion, Luke's omissions seem to be largely grammatical changes at this stage.

4.4 Interpretation of the quotation by Luke

The third and final forty years of Moses' life starts with God's calling in the midst of the burning bush. Luke here omits the narratives of Moses' pasturing the sheep of his father-in-law, Jethro, and his marriage with Zipporah between vv. 29-30. Luke regularly leaves out certain OT stories as irrelevant and provides only sufficient information to assist the narrative. His emphasis thus often falls somewhere else.

Luke makes use of a time formula (πληρωθέντων) once more. This is a Lukan interpretive employment that is not found in the OT. Thus, forty years had to pass once again, just as in v. 23. Moses had to undergo forty years of training in Pharaoh's household and forty years of preparing in the desert before God called him to achieve God's command. Parenthetically, many other biblical characters spent time in the desert to ready themselves for a sacred commission (e.g., David, Elijah, John the Baptist, and Jesus).

Of interest is also the fact that the forty-unit time duration evokes the period of

Jesus' appearances after his suffering (Ac 1:3) and the age of the man crippled from birth, who is healed at the temple gate called Beautiful (Ac 4:22). The time formula *πληρωθέντων* might imply the plan of God taking action at the proper moment (cf. Marshall 1980:141). It consequently underscores the hand of God that leads Moses all through his life (cf. Williams 1990:137).

Moses, who was rejected by his fellow Hebrew, is met by God in the desert near Mount Sinai. God's deliverance forms a striking contrast to human resistance in this subsection. God accomplishes his delivering effort regardless of human mistakes and opposition to God's agents. Strictly speaking, it is an angel who appears (*ἄφθνη*) to Moses and God who speaks of him. Luke continues to mentioning the angel throughout the rest of Stephen's speech (see vv. 35, 38, 53). Combrink (1979:14) explains that the repeated use of the verb *ἄφθνη* highlights the fact that God is at work through Moses (see v. 2). Furthermore it makes the connection between God's calling to Abraham and his calling to Moses.

Johnson (1992:128) states that the use of the angel as "originally probably a euphemism to avoid mention of the divine name, derived from the Hebrew *malak Yahweh* is sporadic enough to justify Luke's practice." Calvin (1965:190) regards the angel as Christ, but this is not a widely accepted view. In his commentary, Alford ([1877]1976:75) interprets that "the angel bears the authority and presence of God himself."

The sight is said to amaze Moses because the bush does not burn up though it is on fire. Watson (1996:51) observes that Moses' encounter with the burning bush has a parallel in the event of Jesus' baptism by John (Mt 3:11; Mk 1:7; Lk 3:16; Jn 1:33). "In both these experiences that foretell rescue, God appears and speaks, but only of Jesus does he declare, 'This is my Son, the Beloved with

whom I am well pleased” (Mt 3:17; Mk 1:11; Lk 3:22). It is true that Jesus is always described as a figure greater than Moses in all NT books, despite a parallelism between two characters.

As he approaches the bush to have a closer look at this strange spectacle, he hears the voice of God. God introduces himself to Moses as the God of the Israelite fathers to him there. In spite of the retention of a singular noun πατρός in both the MT and the LXX, Luke here has a plural noun πατέρων, “as if it were in apposition to ‘Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob,’ not Moses’ own father” (Wilson 1962:179).

The method of naming God is echoed in Peter’s third speech (3:13) and fifth speech (5:30) respectively. It shows that God is the God of promise, the God who appeared in the land and said that his people would go through not only oppression, but also liberation. Barrett (1994:361) says that “[t]he same God was at work through the whole of the OT tradition ... Luke will extend this thought; the Christians ... also worship the same God.”

When Jesus argues about the Resurrection with the Sadducees, he uses the same term referring to ‘the bush’, quoting explicitly from Ex 3:6 (see Mk 12:26; Mt 22:32; Lk 20:37; Ac 3:13; Heb 11:16). The rabbinic term ‘the Bush’ was the standard reference for this portion of the scroll of Moses (Daube 1985^b:53-55, 65). That is “because the Bible had not yet been divided into chapters and verses” (Keener 1993:169).

Jesus’ quotation of a text from the books of Moses, which was accepted by the Sadducees,¹⁰¹ “showed them that the idea of resurrection could be proved from

¹⁰¹ A similar response which depends on the Torah, occurs also in the rabbinic literature: “Sectarians [or heretics] asked Rabban Gamaliel: ‘When do we know that the Holy One,

the patriarchs' relationship with the living God" (Cole [1953]2000:969). Wessel (1984:736) comments that "Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob had long since died when God made the statement to Moses. Nevertheless God said, I am, not I was."¹⁰² Therefore, the regular employment of "[t]his well known and often used formula" by the NT writers (Steyn 1995:133) seems to mean that God is faithful to his promise and words.

Through this description Stephen associates himself with the shared inheritance of the Israelites, displays reverence to the God whom they confess to worship, and circuitously replies in opposition to the charge against him i.e., that he used blasphemous language against God. From this viewpoint the Stephen speech seems to be a kind of self-defence (cf. Bruce [1951]1987:160-161; Kilgallen 1976^a:107-119; Sylva 1987:263; Sterling 1992:373).¹⁰³ For this part of the Moses story, the LXE translates Ex 3:6c as follows: "Moses turned his face away, for he was afraid to gaze before God." Witherington (1998:270) states that at this point Moses "is portrayed as a pious man who knows the tradition that no one can look on God and live."

It is important to note that Luke reverses the order of Ex 3, as mentioned earlier. Kilgallen (1976^a:74) clearly shows the differences in the narratives' order between the LXX and the NT as follows:

blessed be He, will resurrect the dead?' He answered them from the Torah, the Prophets, and the Writings" (B *Sanh* 90b).

¹⁰² For Mk 12:26, Evans (2001:256) interprets that "[t]he growing eschatological speculations regarding the role of the patriarchs in protecting and comforting the elect who enjoy life in the world to come accommodate the point that Jesus makes in appealing to Exod 3:6."

¹⁰³ For the opposite position, cf. Foakes Jackson (1931:61); Haenchen (1971:288). With a somewhat median stance, Barrett (1994:335) thinks that the speech is "a qualified kind of answer" against the charges.

Exodus		Acts	
a	God calls Moses	--	
b	Moses responds	--	
c	God tells him to remove his shoes		
d	God reveals himself	God reveals himself	d
e	Moses reacts	Moses reacts	e
		God tells him to remove his shoes	c
f	God commissions Moses	God commissions Moses	f

Luke thus seems to intend that the emphasis is primarily on the fact that the God of the Israelite ancestors reveals himself to Moses. He without delay presents God's self-revelation, while in Exodus the author gradually identifies God to Moses (Kilgallen 1976^a:74). As this confessional formula functions as "[t]he starting point for the argument in substantiation of the miracle" in Ac 3:12-16 (Steyn 1995:132), so is it used here as the root for God's commissioning of Moses by Luke. Luke also connects the Moses story to the Abraham story through God's self-revelation.

When Moses trembles and does not dare to look, God instructs Moses to remove his sandals because he is standing on holy ground. The place is holy because God manifests himself there.¹⁰⁴ The presence of God serves to sanctify the ground. According to Combrink (1979:14), the term τόπος is significant throughout the Stephen discourse (see Ac 6:13; 7:7). He adds that God's promise in v. 7 that his people shall worship him 'in this place' "must be read in the light of the fact that wherever God chose to reveal Himself, is a holy

¹⁰⁴ According to Johnson (1992:128), "[h]oly ... is where the presence of God is." Cf. also Calvin (1965:194).

place.” It is thus clear that any land becomes holy when God is with his people who worship him.

Spencer (1997:75) points out that God’s self-revelation in the desert near Mount Sinai has made the place “the religiopolitical center of Israelite society, namely, Mt *Zion* in the *city* of Jerusalem.” Moses does not build a shrine or a temple there, and this has a bearing on Stephen’s argument to come (cf. Bruce 1987^b:43; Fitzmyer 1998:378).

It should be noted that the most important self-revelation of God in the OT occurs in Sinai, far removed from the promised land. The theme ‘God outside the land’ is repeated here. In Stephen’s defence Luke keeps on intermingling the motif which started from God’s calling to Abraham in v. 3, i.e., the vital episodes in Israel’s early history happened outside ‘the land’. V. 33 thus is significant for this part of the Moses story, although it is seen as a delay of God’s commission by the ostensibly worthless command to take off his sandals (Kilgallen 1976^a:75).

God’s epiphany at Sinai leads Moses into “a missionary journey” (Spencer 1997:75). God became visible to Moses not simply for his own edification, but with the object of authorizing him to revisit Egypt to release his people.

God has seen the oppression (κάκωσιν) of the Israelites and will deliver (ἐξέλσθαι) them. God will send Moses to be the agent for his deliverance of Israel from the bondage of Egypt. According to Johnson (1992:128), Luke’s use of the verb ἀποστέλλω in v. 34 regularly serves to build up the motif of prophets sent by God (see Lk 1:19; 4:18; 7:27; 9:2; 10:1; 11:49; Ac 3:20, 26). Tannehill (1990:91) shows that v. 34 aims to attain the peak of expectancy of the Stephen speech. Moreover Combrink (1979:13) suggests that in this subsection the

emphasis “falls heavily on God’s legitimation of Moses,” when it takes into consideration the motif of Moses’ rejection.

Three significant links should be observed between v. 34 and the remainder of Stephen’ speech. Firstly, God’s commissioning of Moses is seen in God’s reaction to the situation of ἐκάκωσεν in v. 19 and the promise of κακώσουσιν in v. 6, accordingly stresses the fact that God is faithful to his word. Secondly, God’s rescue (ἐξέλεσθαι) through Moses recalls God’s promise that his people shall come out (ἐξέλουσιν) of that country in v. 7. Thirdly, the fact of God’s sending of Moses back to Egypt is also understood in view of Luke’s reflection in v. 25 that Israel’s people did not realize that it was God who had used Moses to rescue them.

One thus is left with the impression that Moses is hardly in control of the events of his life (Martín-Asensio 1999:247). According to Soards (1994:65), the “story being told emphasizes God’s initiative, which produces revelation to Moses, direction to Moses, and deliverance through Moses.”

Luke shows another thrust in the parallel that he is building up between Moses and Jesus, in that, even though Moses was refused by the Hebrews, he was accepted by God. Munck (1967:221) states that throughout Stephen’s speech one finds “the highest appreciation of Moses that we meet in the New Testament” (cf. Barrett 1994:338; Martín-Asensio 1999:247). Above all, it should be noted that the key point of this subsection is an answer to the Israelite’s one question in v. 27. Is it God who sent Moses?

5. GOD'S SENDING (AC 7:35-37)¹⁰⁵

5.1 Composition

At this point, Stephen commences explaining the importance of the episode by illustrating that Moses came back to the same Israelites who forty years before had discarded him with the inquiry of “Who made you ruler and judge?”: (a) “This is the same Moses whom they had rejected with the words” (Τοῦτον τὸν Μωϋσῆν ὃν ἠρνήσαντο εἰπόντες, v. 35a). (b) “Who made you ruler and judge?” (τίς σε κατέστησεν ἄρχοντα καὶ δικαστήν; v. 35b).

In order to portray Moses the demonstrative pronoun *τοῦτον* occurs twice in v. 35. Schubert (1968^b:241) states that by means of “the exegetical, demonstrative, and relative pronouns of the section [vv. 35-40], the prophecy as quoted in Acts 3:22-23 is interpreted in great detail.” The verb *ἀρνέομαι* is used often in Lukan writings (see Lk 12:9; 22:57; Ac 3:13-14). After the phrase *ἄρχοντα καὶ δικαστήν*, \aleph C D Ψ 36 81 453 1175 *pc* co have *ἐφ’ ἡμῶν*, while E 33 945 1739 *pm* have *ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς*.

(c) “He was sent to be their ruler and deliverer by God himself, through the angel who appeared to him in the bush”¹⁰⁶ (*τοῦτον ὁ θεὸς [καὶ] ἄρχοντα καὶ λυτρωτὴν ἀπέσταλκεν σὺν χειρὶ ἀγγέλου τοῦ ὀφθέντος αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ βάτῳ*, v. 35c). The dissimilarity of the various MSS between the presence (B D) and the omission ($P^{45,74}$ \aleph^* A C) of *καὶ* lead to the conjunction being put in brackets in some

¹⁰⁵ As I mentioned earlier, I do agree here with Bihler’s division (1963:vii) for this subsection (cf. also Bacon 1901:248; Willink 1935:106; Dibelius 1956^c:167; Goulder 1964:166; Via 1979:190-207) rather than Combrink’s opinion, which includes everything up to v. 38 into this colon cluster (1979:14-15; cf. also Fitzmyer 1998:365). Vv. 38 and 39 can never be separated here because the relative pronoun ϕ clearly connects v. 39 with the preceding verse grammatically.

¹⁰⁶ For the previous appearance of the angel, see v. 30.

translations. Instead of δικαστήν, λυτρωτήν occurs in v. 35c. The word here means not a price that is paid, but deliverance or liberation. In the NT, this noun appears only at this point.¹⁰⁷ It is interesting to note that the word λυτρωτήν in the LXX is applied to the Lord in Ps 18:15 (κύριε βοηθέ μου καὶ λυτρωτά μου) and to God in Ps 77:35 (ὁ θεὸς ὁ ὑψιστος λυτρωτῆς αὐτῶν ἐστίν).

Moulton (1908:144) states,

in Acts 7:35, ἀπέσταλκεν, with the forest of aorists all round, is more plausibly conformed to them [than the perfect in James 1:24], and it happens that this word is alleged to have aoristic force elsewhere. But, after all, the abiding results of Moses' mission formed a thought never absent from a Jew's mind.

The verb ἀποστέλλω had already occurred in v. 34, and is repeated here with a Lukan emphatic intention. This idiomatic phrase σὺν χειρί is uncommon, but the meaning seems to be 'through' in comparison with ἐν χειρί or διὰ χειρός (cf. Lake & Cadbury 1933:77).

(d) "He led them out of Egypt and did wonders and miraculous signs in Egypt, at the Red Sea¹⁰⁸ and for forty years in the desert"¹⁰⁹ (οὗτος ἐξήγαγεν αὐτοὺς ποιήσας τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα ἐν γῆ Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ ἐν Ἐρυθρᾷ Θαλάσσῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἔτη τεσσαεράκοντα, v. 36). Knox (1944:70) sets the repeated pronoun οὗτος against the ἐγώ εἰμι in John and the Hellenistic aretalogies. Bruce ([1951]1976:171) asserts that ποιήσας could be taken as concurrent:

¹⁰⁷ For this group of words in the NT, see Mt 20:28; Mk 10:45; Lk 1:68; 24:21; Tt 2:14; 1 Pt 1:18; Heb 9:12.

¹⁰⁸ For the mention of the Red Sea, see Wis 10:18; 1 Macc 4:9; Heb 11:29; Philo, *VitMos* 1:165; 2:1; Clement(Rm), *1 Clem* 51:5.

¹⁰⁹ For the original context of the OT, see Nm 14:33.

making ἐξήγαγεν refer to the 40 years' leadership of Moses from the Exodus onwards; but it is better to take it with the ordinary force of an aorist participle, and suppose that the words after ἐν γῆ Αἰγύπτῳ were added without strict regard to the grammar of the preceding words.

The participle ποιήσας is thus regarded as preceding the main verb ἐξήγαγεν, limiting the wonders and signs to those which Moses did in Egypt before the exodus. This fits better with the context of the OT where the wonders and signs are to be performed with a view to hardening Pharaoh's heart.

The Sea is not named in Ex 14, but the name occurs in Ex 13:18 and 15:4. According to Fitzmyer (1998:379), the Red Sea

was the ancient name for the Persian Gulf, as is evident from 1Gap Gen 21:17-18, where yammā' šimmōqā', 'Red Sea' (the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean), is distinguished from liššān yam sūp, 'the tongue of the Reed Sea' (the tongue-shaped Gulf of Suez emerging from the body of water usually called today the Red Sea)¹¹⁰

V. 36 restructures the narrative of Moses in Exodus. According to Lake and Cadbury (1933:77-78), it resembles AsMos 3:11.¹¹¹

(e) "This is that Moses who told the Israelites" (οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Μωϋσῆς ὁ εἶπας τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραήλ, v. 37a). (f) "God will send you a prophet like me from your own people" (Προφήτην ὑμῖν ἀναστήσει ὁ θεὸς ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὑμῶν ὡς ἐμέ, v. 37b). C

¹¹⁰ Cf. also Copisarow (1962:1-13); Snaith (1965:395-398); Fitzmyer ([1966]1971:68, 153-154); Batto (1983:27-35; 1984:57-63).

¹¹¹ "Moses, who suffered many things in Egypt and at the Red Sea and in the wilderness for forty years (qui multa passus est in Aegypto et in mari rubro et in heremo annis quadraginta)," recited from Conzelmann (1987:54). See also Ex 7:3, 8-11:10; Ps 105:27; Josephus, *Ant* 2:276.

E H P have κύριος before ὁ θεός and either ὑμῶν or ἡμῶν after ὁ θεός. It is noteworthy that C D(*) 33 36 323 614 945 (1175) 1241 1739 al gig vg^{cl.wv} sy mae bo have αὐτοῦ ἀκούσεσθε after ὡς ἐμέ, corresponding to Dt 18:15 (LXX) and Ac 3:22.

5.2 Moses rejected by the Israelites and the quotation

5.2.1 The quoted text from Ex 2:14 in Ac 7:35

5.2.1.1 Pre-Lukan occurrences of Ex 2:14 in Ac 7:35

The same explicit quotation was already found once in Ac 7:27, where Luke adds to ἐφ' ἡμῶν, as shown earlier.

5.2.1.2 The introductory formula (Ac 7:35a)

The introductory formula consists of the words: “This is the same Moses whom they had rejected with the words” (Τοῦτον τὸν Μωϋσῆν ὃν ἠρνήσαντο εἰπόντες, v. 35a).

5.2.1.3 Establishing and describing the textual differences

NT(NA27)	LXX	MT
Ac 7:35b	Ex 2:14b	Ex 2:14b
τίς σε κατέστησεν	τίς σε κατέστησεν	מִי שָׂמָךְ
ἄρχοντα καὶ δικαστήν;	ἄρχοντα καὶ δικαστήν	לְאִישׁ שֶׁר וְשֹׁפֵט

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

The LXX text agrees with the MT text, and then the Acts text follows the LXX quite accurately in the instance of the quotation from Ex 2:14. Luke probably employed either the Greek or the Hebrew for this part of Stephen's speech.

5.2.2 Lukan method used for the quotation

Since the same quotation has already been discussed earlier, nothing further will be added here. Nonetheless, it is notable that the longer quoted text from the LXX reading in Ac 7:27-28 has an addition against the MT reading. Even though the quoted text from Ex 2:14 does not have textual differences here between the three versions (MT, LXX, and NT), it is likely to be a *crux interpretum*. First of all, the repeated use of the same quotation - in spite of the difference in the length of the quoted text - is to show that Luke pays special attention to these words in order to present his theological intention on the Israelite rejection theme.

Against the words "over us", the short text is that of P^{45,74} A B P 6 104 614 1241 2495 *pm* *vg*, while Ⲡ C D Ψ 1175 *pc* *co* have ἐφ' ἡμῶν, and E 33 945 1505 1739 *pm* have ἐφ' ἡμᾶς. Luke was possibly able to use either the LXX or the MT which accounts for the lack of textual discrepancy here. On the basis of the discussed fact that in Ac 7:27-28 Luke quoted it from the LXX, it would however be injudicious to say that one of two almost identical quotations could have been derived from another source.

5.2.3 Interpretation of the quotation by Luke

Luke's treatment of early Israelite history becomes much more direct at this point, and he begins to hone his theological themes more acutely. Haenchen (1971:282) observes that "the placid flow of historical narrative gives way to passionate, rhetorically heightened indictment" (cf. Marshall 1980:141; Conzelmann 1987:54). Even Dibelius (1949:168), who supposes that so far the speech had not been appropriate, accepts that it now changes its direction and starts to become quite intelligible and worthwhile. Haenchen (1971:282) thinks that Luke uses the style of the "encomium" on this point (see also Philo, *LegGai* 145-147). Moses is thus emphasized by the five-fold occurrence of οὗτος in Ac 7:35-38¹¹² as follows:

- ^{35a} Τουτου τον Μωϋσην ὃν ἠρνήσαντο εἰπόντες τίς σε κατέστησεν ἄρχοντα καὶ δικαστήν;¹¹³
- ^{35b} τουτου ὁ θεὸς [καὶ] ἄρχοντα καὶ λυτρωτὴν ἀπέσταλκεν σὺν χειρὶ ἀγγέλου τοῦ ὀφθέντος αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ βάρῃ.
- ³⁶ οὗτος ἐξήγαγεν αὐτοὺς ποιήσας τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα ἐν γῇ Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ ἐν ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάσῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα.
- ³⁷ οὗτός ἐστὶν ὁ Μωϋσῆς ὁ εἶπας τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ προφήτην ὑμῖν ἀναστήσει ὁ θεὸς ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὑμῶν ὡς ἐμέ.
- ³⁸ οὗτός ἐστὶν ὁ γενόμενος ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ μετὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου τοῦ λαλοῦντος αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ ὄρει Σινᾶ καὶ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, ὃς ἐδέξατο λόγια ζῶντα δοῦναι ἡμῖν,
- [³⁹ ᾧ οὐκ ἠθέλησαν ὑπήκοοι γενέσθαι οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ ἀπόσαντο καὶ

¹¹² It appears twice in the form of τουτου and three times in the form of οὗτος in this subsection.

¹¹³ V. 35a remains here, not separated, in order to make a comparison of the narrative in vv. 35-39, although v. 35a was again divided into two cola, viz., v. 35a and v. 35b in the composition section because v. 35a functions as the introductory formula and v. 35b as the explicit quotation there.

ἐστράφησαν ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν εἰς Αἴγυπτον]¹¹⁴

Via the reiterative uses of the pronoun, “the author both concentrates on particular details through repetition and selection and summarises the historical and thematic elements of the biblical account which he considers important” (Richard 1978:103). Furthermore the employment of the pronoun functions as an instrument of pointing to the discrepancy between what the Israelites think about Moses and who God sees him to be (cf. Bruce [1951]1976:171). Luke also replies indirectly to the accusation of Stephen’s “words of blasphemy against Moses” (Ac 6:11), by showing Stephen’s honour toward Moses (cf. Gloag 1870:247).

Moreover, this subsection reaches the peak of the promise-fulfilment motif in v. 34 as discussed earlier. Stephen, however, alters his speech suddenly by setting the divine character of Moses’ commission against the Israelites’ refusal of him. Just as the fulfilment of God’s promise is drawing near, Israel’s people are keeping the appointed deliverer at a distance. Tannehill (1990:91) says that “the story turns on a fateful decision in a moment of great opportunity. The great opportunity and the negative response combine to create dramatic and fateful events.” The suggestion of Israel’s unawareness here is related to the motif of blindness shown in speeches elsewhere in Ac 3:17; 13:27; 14:16; 17:30 (Soards 1994:65).

The quotation from Ex 2:14 reminds the audience of Stephen’s previous quotation about Israel’s denial of Moses as ruler and judge over them. This quotation is thus a repetition of v. 27, but the rejection here is attributed to all Israel, not only to a fellow Hebrew - as in the earlier context. Hence it reveals

¹¹⁴ V. 39 will be dealt with vv. 35-38 below.

the attitude of the nation towards God's deliverer.

It is also important to note that Luke employs the verb ἠρνήσαντο for his description of Moses' rejection instead of the verb ἀπώσατο in v. 27. In Ac 3:13-14 it is said by Peter that the men of Israel disowned (ἠρνήσασθε) Jesus. At Lk 22:57 Peter denied (ἠρνήσατο) that he knew Jesus. What is more, in Lk 12:9 Jesus says that "he who disowns (ἀρνησάμενός) me before men will be disowned before the angels of God." The parallelism between Moses and Jesus seems to be deliberate by means of the same verb at this point.

Luke here illustrates the importance of the event by means of the fact that Moses returns to the same Israelites who forty years before rejected him with this question, "Who made you ruler and judge?" The motif of the Israelites' refusal of Moses will be repeated again in v. 39 with the word (ἀπώσαντο) that has a similar meaning to the verb (ἠρνήσαντο) in v. 35a. Thus, by means of the contrasted description between the Israelites and Moses found in this section, vv. 35a and 39 make a bracket around vv. 35b-38, that convey dissimilar aspects of Moses' mission with Israel's people.¹¹⁵

However, the stress of this quotation lays not on God's judgement, but on God's deliverance (Spencer 1997:76). Moses is now sent by God with power and authority as a ruler and deliverer. According to Page ([1886]1918:125), "The object is to place the personality of Moses as the divinely appointed savior of Israel in marked contrast with the treatment he received." It makes clear that Moses is God's man for God's plan. God is behind all this and Moses' commission comes by way of the mediation of the angel who appeared to him

¹¹⁵ Soards (1994:65) believes that vv. 35 and 39 serve as a bracket around vv. 36-38. However, Luke already reveals the positive aspect of Moses' mission in v. 35b against his rejection of the Israelite fathers in vv. 35a and 38.

in the bush. The reappearance of the angel occurs in v. 35.

Moses is finally called ἄρχον,¹¹⁶ serving as an echoing variation of Jesus' title of ἀρχηγός in Ac 3:15¹¹⁷ and 5:31, and λυτρωτής, which is a *hapax legomenon*, being compatible with Jesus' commission to redeem (λυτροῦσθαι) Israel in Lk 24:21 (see also Lk 1:68; 2:38).¹¹⁸ The similarities between Moses and Jesus become more and more clear (cf. Haenchen 1971:282; Kistemaker 1990:260; Brown 1978:199). Fitzmyer (1998:378) here observes that two titles (ἄρχοντα καὶ δικαστήν) would not be allowed for Moses in Hebrew cultural and religious tradition, but God grants him two others (ἄρχοντα καὶ λυτρωτήν).

It is interesting to notice the various alternative descriptions concerning Moses' role in the Jewish writings. Johnson (1992:129) explains that:

Artapanus, *On the Jews*, says the voice 'bade him campaign against Egypt,' and understands Moses to be a general leading an army (frag. three). Josephus likewise has him sent as 'commander and leader' (*stratēgos kai hēgemōn*) in *Antiquities of the Jews* 2:268. Philo also designates him as 'leader' (*hēgemōn*) in *Life of Moses* 1:71.

In spite of many academic opinions (cf. Combrink 1979:14; Marshall 1980:141-142; Conzelmann 1987:54; Kilgallen 1989:186; Fitzmyer 1998:379-380), including the scholars who were mentioned above, it should be noted that the Lukan connection between Moses and Jesus is commonly regarded as parallelism (cf. Tannehill 1990:91-92; Dunn 1996:90-91, 94; Kee

¹¹⁶ Neudorfer (1998:287) here finds that "Stephen's speech is a contribution to the discussion with Jews or Judaizers."

¹¹⁷ Scobie (1978-1979:418), who follows Fuller (1965:48), asserts that the term has its origin in Moses.

¹¹⁸ Bruce (1987^b:43) argues that the phrase ἄρχοντα καὶ λυτρωτήν used to be synonymous with ἀρχηγὸν καὶ σωτήρα in Ac 5:31.

1997:99-100; Witherington 1998:271) rather than typology.

According to Hay (1990:242), the prophet Jesus does not remind us excessively of Moses in relation to some other characters such as Elijah and Elisha in Luke-Acts (cf. also Fitzmyer 1986:213-215). Moessner's argument (1986:226) is also helpful that Jesus' "death for the sinful nation and raising up from the dead ushers in the *final* salvation, promised by the prophets for the eschatological remnant of Israel. In this fulfilment, Jesus as the prophet like Moses stands unique." It thus is clear that Moses' story serves to make Jesus' story clearer and vice versa (cf. Tannehill 1990:91).

It is interesting to note Barrett's depiction (1994:362-363) in his commentary, citing Stählin's words, as follows:

At this point there begins ... a sort of Moses hymn, related to the Christ hymn of Col. 1.13-20. (1) The man rejected by the people becomes ruler and lord; (2) he becomes deliverer through signs and wonders given by God; (3) he is both prophet and prototype of the Coming One; (4) he is mediator between God and people; (5) he is the receiver and giver of words of life; (6) his people reject him. ... Questions however arise, ... Section (1) and (6) seem virtually the same. They fit the story of Moses but do not fit so well into the praise of Moses. A second question is: If this is a hymn, where did it originate, among Jews or Christians? The latter is not an impossible supposition; cf. 1 Cor. 10.2, ... If on the other hand this is originally Hellenistic Jewish material we have a further example of a post-biblical development in Jewish thought about Moses as the founder of a religion.

V. 36 tells of the exodus from Egypt by means of the verb ἐξήγαγεν, which is repeated in v. 40 (see also Ac 13:17), but in the negative sense. It also alludes

to God's miraculous signs and wonders through Moses and Aaron in Ex 7:3. However, Moses' function as God's agent is focused here, albeit slightly differently from its original context.

The phrase *τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα* clearly confirms that Moses is appointed by God (see Jub 48:4; Philo, *VitMos* 1:77, 90, 91), although he is rejected by the Israelites. The expression *τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα* is exploited in the Petrine speech (2:22) as well as the foregoing part of Acts (2:43; 4:30; 5:12; 6:8)¹¹⁹ in order to describe Jesus' and the apostles' miracles. The use of the same words seems to imply a parallel between Moses and Jesus and his followers, namely the distinctive feature of God's chosen servants.

Notwithstanding, the differences between Moses and Jesus, Stier (1869:124) states as follows: “[b]y quitting the subject of the wilderness (vs. 36), in mentioning the forty years which Israel were to pass in it for the punishment of their disobedience, Stephen forcibly calls attention to the limit of Moses' office as deliverer...” The detailed information that God brings in a verdict of forty years because of unbelief at Kadesh-Barnea is drawn from Nm 13-14, especially 14:33.

¹¹⁹ For the description of Jesus' miracles in Petrine speech, see also Conzelmann ([1954]1964:178).

5.3 Moses as a prophet like me and the quotation

5.3.1 The quoted text from Dt 18:15 in Ac 7:37

5.3.1.1 Intra-textual occurrence in Ac 3:22

A clear reference to Dt 18:15 is implicitly found in Mk 9:4, 7 (par. Mt 17:5; Lk 9:35); Lk 7:39; 24:25; and Jn 1:21; 5:46 (Steyn 1995:142). It is also noticeable that Philo points out the prophecy in *SpecLeg* 1:11, but it does not indicate the coming of the prophet (Hay 1990:241). Thus, except for the quoted text from Dt 18:15 in Ac 7:37, the only other occurrence is found once again in Ac 3:22 – this is a slightly longer quotation.

Besides, some scholars (e.g., Simon 1958:61-62) try to connect the Samaritan Taheb to this christological text, but it differs entirely from the Mosaic prophet (cf. Conzelmann 1987:54; Fitzmyer 1998:380). As I will discuss later, it is noteworthy that the idea of “a prophet like Moses” appears in 4QTest 5-8 and 1QS 9:11 as well as 1 Macc 4:46; 14:41.

5.3.1.2 The introductory formula (Ac 7:37a)

The introductory formula of the quotation from Dt 18:15 is the line: “This is that Moses who told the Israelites” (οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Μωϋσῆς ὁ εἶπας τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραήλ, v. 37a).

5.3.1.3 Establishing and describing the textual differences

NT(NA27)	LXX	MT
Ac 7:37b	Dt 18:15 ¹²⁰	Dt 18:15
προφήτην	προφήτην	נְבִיא
ὕμῃν ἀναστήσει ὁ θεός	ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν σου ὡς ἐμέ	מִקְרִבְךָ מֵאֲחֵיךָ כְּנֹנִי
ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὑμῶν ὡς ἐμέ. ἀναστήσει σοι κύριος ὁ θεός σου		יָקִים לְךָ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ

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

There is one major change in the reading of the LXX, against that of the MT. Here the NT follows exactly the LXX in relation to the omission of the phrase מִקְרִבְךָ ‘from among you’ in the MT. Both the LXX and the NT omit מִקְרִבְךָ.

5.3.1.3.2 Textual differences between Acts and LXX

There are six major changes to consider between the narrative in Ac 7:37 and Dt 18:15 (LXX): (1) Two transpositions of ὑμῃν ἀναστήσει ὁ θεός ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὑμῶν ὡς ἐμέ; (2) and ὑμῃν ἀναστήσει; (3) two number changes of the singular pronoun (σοι) to the plural pronoun (ὕμῃν); (4) and σου to ὑμῶν; and (5) two omissions of κύριος before ὁ θεός; (6) and σου after ὁ θεός in Ac 7:37.

(a) Transposition:

[1] ὑμῃν ἀναστήσει ὁ θεός and ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὑμῶν ὡς ἐμέ

This phrase is found in the LXX as well, but with the exchanged arrangement (ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν σου ὡς ἐμέ ἀναστήσει σοι [κύριος] ὁ θεός [σου]), corresponding to

¹²⁰ Unless otherwise referred to, the LXX version edited by Wevers (1977) is used for the Greek translation of Deuteronomy.

the reading of the MT.

[2] ὑμῖν ἀναστήσει

In spite of the discrepancy in the case of the pronoun, the transposition between the two words concurs with that of the longer phrase, as shown above. The discrepancy of the pronoun will be discussed below. In the LXX the order is replaced with ἀναστήσει σοι.

(b) Number change:

[3] σοι → ὑμῖν

[4] σου → ὑμῶν (Ac 7:37)

The second person singular pronouns of the LXX text (σοι-σου) are changed twice in the quoted text to the second person plural pronouns (ὑμῖν-ὑμῶν) in Ac 7:37. Similar changes are made once more in Ac 3:22. However, in Ac 3:22 there is also a change after ὁ θεός (σου → ὑμῶν).

(c) Omissions:

[5] The omission of κύριος before ὁ θεός

[6] The omission of σου after ὁ θεός

The word κύριος before ὁ θεός is omitted in Ac 7:37. Also, the NT reading omits the pronoun σου after ὁ θεός.

5.3.2 Luke's method used for the quotation

Both the LXX and the NT omit מִקִּרְבְּךָ 'from your midst' in the MT. But, this omission does not cause any damage to the meaning of the text, in view of the fact that a prophet 'from among your own brothers' (ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὑμῶν) would also be 'from your midst'.

There are six major changes between Ac 7:37 and Dt 18:15 (LXX):

(a) Transpositions (ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν σου ὡς ἐμὲ ἀναστήσει σοι [κύριος] ὁ θεός → ὑμῖν ἀναστήσει ὁ θεός ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὑμῶν ὡς ἐμέ).

[1] The word order of the LXX follows strictly that of the MT, while there are two transpositions between the LXX and the NT. In the LXX reading the phrasal placement, ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν σου ὡς ἐμέ is relocated from the beginning of the verse to the middle of the verse in the NT reading. No other NT textual witness offers any other reading.

The transposition is found in the quotations of several Church Fathers, e.g., Chr *passim*; Cyr II 596, III 33, VIII 1316, IX 888, X 980; Epiph II 136; Eus IV 17; Isid 797; Nil 137; Or III 285; Procop 1844; Tht II 545, IV 1393; Titus 1225. It is, however, not to be found in major LXX witnesses. The transposition may therefore be confidently attributed to the work of Luke. This transposition is explained by reason of the function of the stylistic change¹²¹ within the new context, and that is that the word “prophet” is placed in an emphatic position.

[2] The transposition of ὑμῖν (ἀναστήσει σοι → ὑμῖν ἀναστήσει) is assigned to Luke himself with the emphatic trend (O’Reilly 1987:115).

(b) Number changes (σοι → ὑμῖν; σου → ὑμῶν).

[3-4] In the LXX reading the second person singular pronouns (σου, σοι) are substituted by the second person plural pronouns (ὑμῶν, ὑμῖν) in Ac 7:37, as outlined above. The *first* dative plural ὑμῖν in the NT is a substitution as well as a transposition of the second dative singular σοι in the LXX. There is no other NT textual witness to support another reading. The NT change is also not found

¹²¹ For the stylistic parallel with Ac 3:21 (object, verb, subject, and prepositional phrase), see Richard (1980^p:336).

anywhere else in the LXX, except for the later modification of the reading of the NT by Origen (VI 622).

The first genitive singular σου in Dt 18:15 is exchanged by the *second* genitive plural ὑμῶν in the NT. Both first and second examples are alike in that they have no other NT textual witness. The second example also appears in some minor LXX witnesses of a later date, which could have been altered by the reading of the NT (Eus IV 100; Or VI 622 = Tar^p). The changes are however vindicated within the context of this speech itself, since Stephen's hearers are the individuals in question and not the nation of Israel as a unit.

(c) Omissions (κύριος; σου).

[5-6] Both omissions have no substantial effect on the meaning of the quoted text. According to Metzger ([1971]1975:350), “[t]he original text, ὁ θεός (P⁷⁴ & A B D 81 vg cop^{sa,bo} eth), has undergone various expansions. Since the Septuagint reads κύριος before ὁ θεός (Dt 18.15), it was natural for scribes to insert the word here (C E H P a/).”

Besides, Luke's deliberate connection between Jesus and the κύριος in Acts seems most likely to omit it (see Ac 2:14-41, especially vv. 34-36; cf. also Kerrigan 1959:296-297; Juel 1981:544; Haenchen 1971:183; Steyn 1995:122-124). The latter (1995:123) states that “[t]he Jewish Scriptures, in their Greek form, are thus used here to help in the identification and substantiation of Jesus of Nazareth as the κύριος (Lord) and the χριστός (Messiah)” (cf. also Kilgallen 1976^b:652). Furthermore O'Reilly (1987:98) says that “[t]his identification of Jesus with the name of Yahweh may have played an important role in the expression of the faith of the early Christians in Jesus' divinity.”

5.3.3 Lukan interpretation of the quotation

In the original context Moses foretold that God would raise up “a prophet like me” from among Israel. According to Allison (1993:73-75), there have been four possible interpretations of Dt 18:15, 18, they are:

(1) Driver’s interpretation ([1895]1996:229; cf. also Kraus 1966:105-112):

The “prophet” contemplated is not a simple individual, belonging to a distant future, but *Moses’ representative for the time being*, whose office it would be to supply Israel, whenever in its history occasion should arise, with needful guidance and advice: in other words... the reference is not to an individual but to a prophetic order.

(2) For Meeks (1967:189), “in some circles of Judaism there was a persistent notion of a *succession of prophetic rulers* of Israel, beginning with Moses, passed on to Joshua, continuing in Samuel and, presumably, also found in the remaining great prophets of Israel, especially Jeremiah.”¹²²

(3) According to the DSS,¹²³ especially 1QS 9:11 (cf. Braun 1966:311-312; De Waard 1966:22) and 4QTest 5-8 (cf. De Waard 1966:21-24; 1971:537-540), Allison (1993:74) states that it refers respectively to “a prophet like Moses, a Davidic Messiah, and a priestly Messiah” (see individually Dt 18:18-20; Nm 24:15-17; Dt 33:8-11).

¹²² In *PE* 9:30:1-3, Eusebius states the following: “Moses prophesied forty years; then Joshua, the son of Nun, prophesied thirty years. Joshua lived one hundred and ten years and pitched the holy tabernacle in Shiloh. After that, Samuel became a prophet. Then, by the will of God, Saul was chosen by Samuel to be king, and he died after ruling twenty one years. Then David his son ruled ... “

¹²³ For the hypothesis that the Teacher of the Righteousness was recognized as the prophet like Moses, cf. Wieder (1953:158-175); Brownlee (1956-1957:17); Vermes (1961:59-66); Fuller (1965:50-53); Leaney (1966:228); Davies (1988:313-317). Contrast Brown (1957:73-75).

(4) In the first century Christians thought the prophets like Moses had announced the coming of Christ as the Messiah in this rich prophetic tradition and lineage (see Ac 3:17-26).

This quotation seems to carry a messianic message that the people of Jesus' day eagerly expected an eschatological prophet¹²⁴ like Moses or Elijah (cf. Bruce [1951]1987:92-93; Jeremias [1967]1977:859-863; Guthrie 1981:269; Longenecker 1981:139; Hay 1990:241). It must without doubt be understood as Lukan reference to Jesus, as is obvious from Ac 3:17-26 in the third Petrine speech (cf. Marty 1984:198-199; O'Reilly 1987:119; Steyn 1995:136-153).¹²⁵ The parallelism between Moses and Jesus here reaches its climax.¹²⁶ As to the parallels Feiler (1986:111-113) states in detail as follows:¹²⁷

1. Moses and Jesus follow a figure named Joseph in Luke's historical scheme (Moses=Acts 7:9-16, 18| Jesus=Luke 1:27; 4:23).
2. Moses' career begins "as the time of the promise drew near" (Acts 7:17); Jesus' career begins "as the people were in expectation" (Luke 3:15).
3. Moses and Jesus increase in wisdom during their childhoods (Acts 7:22| Luke 2:40, 52).
4. Moses is in the wilderness for forty years (Acts 7:36); Jesus is in the wilderness for forty days (Luke 4:2).

¹²⁴ For the argument of Jesus as the eschatological prophet, compare especially two authors' opinions: Cullmann (1959:13-50) and Hahn (1969:352-406). Cf. also Dodd (1930:53-66); Filson (1956:137ff.).

¹²⁵ According to Steyn (1995:152), it is interesting that Luke continues to use quotations as prophetic material though there is not the expression of "the Prophets" as such. In the first Petrine speech, he cited from Ps, but used the quotation as it was "spoken long ago" through the mouth of David (Ac 1:16). In the second Petrine speech, he says that David was "a prophet" (Ac 2:30).

¹²⁶ However, we can also easily find Luke's comparison between other prophets and Jesus, for example, Elijah and Elisha (Lk 4:25-27; 12:49), John the Baptist (Lk 7:31-34; 12:50), and Jonah (Lk 11:29-32).

¹²⁷ Feiler (1986:111) concludes that "Luke is here paralleling Moses to Jesus (the 'Jesufication' of Moses) rather than paralleling Jesus to Moses (the 'Mosification' of Jesus)."

5. Moses and Jesus are “mighty in word and deed” (Acts 7:22| Luke 24:19).
6. God sends Moses as a deliverer (λυτρωτής, Acts 7:35) of the oppressed (Acts 7:24, 34-35); God sends Jesus at a time when the people look for deliverance (λύτρωσις, Luke 2:38). He is known as one who comes to deliver Israel (λυτρόω, Luke 24:21). Moreover, his mission is directed to the oppressed (Luke 4:18).
7. Moses is sent as a ruler and a judge (Acts 7:27; 35); Jesus comes as king (Luke 1:32-33; 19:38; 23:2-3, 37-38), appointed by God to judge the world (Acts 17:30-31; cf. Luke 12:14).
8. Moses leads the Israelites out of Egypt (ἐξάγω, Acts 7:36). On the mount of transfiguration Jesus speaks with Moses about his upcoming ἐξοδος (Luke 9:31).
9. Moses performs wonders and signs (Acts 7:36); Jesus’ ministry is attested by wonders and signs (Acts 2:22); and after the ascension, the apostles perform signs and wonders in Jesus’ name (Acts 2:43; 4:30; 5:12; 6:8; 14:3; 15:12).
10. Moses promises the coming of a prophet like him (Acts 7:37); Jesus is the prophet like Moses who must be obeyed (Acts 3:22-23).
11. Moses and Jesus are denied (ἀρνέομαι) by their own people (Acts 7:35| Acts 3:13,14).
12. The sons of Israel do not understand that God is giving deliverance through Moses (Acts 7:25). The Jews acted in ignorance when they killed Jesus (Acts 3:17).
13. When the people refuse Moses, God turns from them (Acts 7:42). Those who refuse Jesus, the prophet like Moses, will be severed from the people (Acts 3:22-23).

Finally, most scholars hold the view that Luke clearly applies v. 37 to Jesus, as is the case with Ac 3:22 (Cullmann 1959:37; Kilgallen 1976^a:82; Johnson

1977:74; Combrink 1979:15; Via 1979:190-207; Marshall 1980:142; Tannehill 1990:91-92; Witherington 1998:271). Nonetheless, Hahn (1969:373) rightly indicates that “Jesus is indeed not expressly named as the fulfiller of this promise, but without doubt this whole passage has been drafted in view of His activity.” Barrett (1994:365) also describes that “[n]either in this verse nor in the speech as a whole (until v. 52) is it claimed or implied that the prophecy was fulfilled in Jesus” (cf. also Haenchen 1971:282).

Furthermore the event at which the lame man was raised up (ἤγειρεν) by Peter in Ac 3:7, implies the fact that Christ was raised up (ἤγειρεν) in Ac 3:15 (cf. also Hamm 1984:203; Steyn 1995:135). In the end the prophecy has been fulfilled, and is validated as being the words of God. It is noteworthy that in the context of Dt 18:15-22, the Israelites are cautioned to oppose the false prophets.

Throughout the context of Ac 3, it also shows that the use of the verb ἀνίστημι makes an important case for the motif of ‘Jesus as the prophet.’ According to Steyn (1995:139-140), there are three different interpretations to the verb ἀνίστημι: “(a) It refers to the first coming of the Messiah, being Jesus of Nazareth,¹²⁸ in his ‘vocation as prophet’ or (b) it refers to the resurrection and exaltation of Christ,¹²⁹ or (c) it refers to both.”¹³⁰ However, it is important to note that the resurrection of Jesus is not described in this part of Stephen’s speech, despite the occurrence of the verb ἀναστήσει (contrast Via 1979:190-207).

Moreover, Steyn (1995:130) argues that there are some parallels between the

¹²⁸ On the interpretation of the first messianic coming, cf. Bruce ([1951]1987:86-87); Haenchen (1971:282).

¹²⁹ For an explanation of the resurrection and exaltation of Christ, cf. Kurz (1977:311-312); Marty (1984:215); O’Reilly (1987:113, 117-119). See also Mt 17:9; Mk 8:31; Lk 18:33; Jn 20:9; Ac 17:3; 1 Cor 15:4; 1 Th 4:14.

¹³⁰ On the understanding of both above, cf. Hamm (1984:213-214).

third speech of Peter (3:11-26) and Stephen's speech in Acts. "Some of the similarities between these two include the explicit reference to the covenantal God of Israel, 'the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob' (Ac 3:13; 7:32), the quoted phrase of Dt 18:15,18-19 in Ac 3:22-23 which is to be found again in a brief explicit quotation in Ac 7:37." There is also the term δίκαιος a messianic designation found in Ac 3:14 and 7:52 (cf. Schrenk [1964]1981:188-189),¹³¹ and the only two occurrences of προκαταγγέλλειν¹³² in the NT, which are used by the writer himself in Ac 3:18 and 7:52 (cf. Schniewind [1964]1981:73; Scobie 1978-1979:418). Regarding "the exegetical, demonstrative, and relative pronouns of the section [vv. 35-40]" Schubert (1968^a:241) mentions that "the prophecy as quoted in Acts 3:22-23 is interpreted in great detail."

However, according to Longenecker (1981:139-140), the difference between Peter and Stephen is also noteworthy that "[f]or Peter, his hearers are the sons of the prophets who should hear the new Moses (cf. 3:22-26); whereas for Stephen, his hearers are the sons of those who rejected Moses and killed the prophets (cf. 7:35-40, 51-53)."

There is an interesting question among the scholars as to whether the motif of 'the Mosaic eschatological prophet' is derived from a pre-Lukan concept (cf. Conzelmann 1960:166-167; Robinson 1962:150-151) or his theology (cf. Feiler 1986; Tannehill 1986:286-287; Moessner 1989:56-70, 259-284). On the one hand, in the NT Jesus is not directly given a title of a 'the prophet like Moses,' except for these instances in the Acts of the Apostles (cf. Hay 1990:242). On the

¹³¹ Once again Scobie (1978-1979:412), who follows Fuller (1965:47-48), maintains a Mosaic understanding of the term.

¹³² O'Reilly (1987:117), who follows O'Toole (1979:88), suggests that the verb "is a post-resurrection word in the Lukan vocabulary and indicates that the days which are announced refer to the time of the church."

other hand, it is true that there are lots of allusions to Moses to be found in the NT writings. More importantly, as Steyn (1995:153) indicates, it can be explained “in terms of the development in the theology which was based on concepts from the Scriptures.”

It should also be noted that the qualification for being a prophet was some likeness to Moses, especially as it related to his function as mediator. Luke is thus preparing to identify Jesus as that “prophet like me”. That is the reason why Jesus is like Moses in that he mediates a covenant and completely fulfils God’s promise (cf. Keil & Delitzsch 1959:396).

According to Marshall (1980:142), vv. 36-37 and v. 38 accentuate the significant facts which Moses spoke of and acted out. Thus, Stephen once again accentuates the fact that it was this Moses whom Israel’s people rejected, and neglected to follow (vv. 39-41). Hultgren (1976:98) indicates rightly that “it is precisely Moses and the Law which are given a positive emphasis in Stephen’s speech.” For Luke’s quotation from Dt 18:15, first of all, Teeple’s conclusion (1957:87) here is quite fitting that “[t]he theme of Stephen’s speech is not Jesus’ resurrection but the rejection of prophets ... the author cites this Scripture as proof that Jesus’ rejection is according to prophecy” (cf. also Marty 1984:215).

6. ISRAEL’S IDOLATRY AND GOD’S JUDGEMENT (AC 7:38-43)

6.1 Composition

The last of the five sections on Moses, again accentuates the Israelite rejection of Moses. Stephen points this out by saying that: (a) “He was in the assembly in the desert, with the angel who spoke to him on Mount Sinai, and with our

fathers; and he received living words to pass on to us” (οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ γενόμενος ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ μετὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου τοῦ λαλοῦντος αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ ὄρει Σινᾶ καὶ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, ὃς ἐδέξατο λόγια ζῶντα δοῦναι ἡμῖν, v. 38). The term ἐκκλησία seems to be from the LXX of the MT’s לְקָרָא. According to Barrett (1994:365), the first reference appears in Dt 23:1, which means ‘a body of people, the Lord’s people’. It does however appear in the form of a formula (e.g., τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἐκκλησίας) earlier in Dt 4:10; 9:10; 18:16.

Lake and Cadbury (1933:78) suggest that the phrase μετὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου ... καὶ τῶν πατέρων, points to Moses as the mediator between the angel and the Israelite fathers. However, this is not an entirely convincing argument. In the NT the word λόγιον occurs four times. The expression λόγια ζῶντα does refer to the whole of Torah as well as the Decalogue (see Dt 30:15-20; 32:47; Mt 19:17). At the end of v. 38, A C D E Ψ M lat sy have ἡμῖν, while ὑμῖν is read by the witnesses of P⁷⁴ Ξ B 36 453 2495 a/ p co. According to Barrett (1994:366), “[t]here would probably be a tendency on the part of copyists to differentiate Stephen from Jews and ἡμῖν should probably be accepted, though the evidence against it is strong.”

(b) “But our fathers refused to obey him” (ὧ οὐκ ἠθέλησαν ὑπήκοοι γενέσθαι οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν, v. 39a). For Newman and Nida (1972:158-159), the conjunction ‘but’ is very significant since it would emphasise the disobedience of the people to the command of God’s word. In lieu of the οὗτός in vv. 36-38, ὧ stands in the present verse. Barrett (1994:366) states that the “use of the relative to continue a narrative is characteristic of Luke’s style.” In the place of ὧ, D has ὅτι. According to Black ([1946]1967:74), it might have happened as a mistake in an Aramaic phase of the tradition. Instead of ‘our fathers’, ‘your fathers’ is read by 36 81 242 2401 cop^{G67} geo Irenaeus (Metzger [1971]1975:351).

(c) “Instead, they rejected him” (ἀλλὰ ἀπώσαντο¹³³, v. 39b). (d) “and in their hearts turned back to Egypt. They told Aaron” (καὶ ἐστράφησαν ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν εἰς Αἴγυπτον εἰπόντες τῷ Ἀαρών, vv. 39c-40a). Wendt (1913:146) points out that v. 39 is influenced by Ezk 20. This is why the word ἀπώσαντο occurs in vv. 13, 16, and 24. However, it seems that the phrase ἐστράφησαν ... εἰς Αἴγυπτον replicates Nm 14:3 (Haenchen 1971:283). It is necessary to notice that D *pc* read ἀπεστράφησαν, which is similar to Nm 14:3 (LXX). The aorist participle verb εἰπόντες means ‘follow through, or following along a preset course’. In other words, their decision to go back to Egypt concurs with their seeming disobedience, expressed in their suggestion to Aaron of making false gods.

(e) “Make us gods who will go before us” (Ποίησον ἡμῖν θεοὺς οἱ προπορεύσονται ἡμῶν, v. 40b). (f) “As for this fellow Moses who led us out of Egypt - we don’t know what has happened to him!” (ὁ γὰρ Μωϋσῆς οὗτος, ὃς ἐξήγαγεν ἡμᾶς ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου, οὐκ οἶδαμεν τί ἐγένετο αὐτῷ, v. 40c). The *nominativus pendens* αὐτῷ is not un-Greek (Moulton 1908:69).

(g) “That was the time they made an idol in the form of a calf” (καὶ ἐμοσχοποίησαν ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις, v. 41a).¹³⁴ A Greek word ἐμοσχοποίησαν, which is a *hapax legomenon*, replaces ἐποίησεν (ἐποίησαν) ... μόσχον in Ex 32:4, 8 (LXX). According to Barrett (1994:367), the reason for the substitution is not obvious. The verb does not “mean to make an idol but to form a (mental) image (e.g., Plato, Republic 605c), but could have suggested to a Jewish or Christian reader the making of an idol and thus have constituted an analogy on the basis of which a suitable new word could have been formed.” Plato’s term was probably quite commonly employed with an unusual meaning, although there is

¹³³ For more on this expression as used by Luke in Acts, see ἀπώσατο in v. 27 and ἀπωθεῖσθε in Ac 13:46.

¹³⁴ For the detailed narrative of the OT, see Ex 32:4, 8.

insufficient evidence.

Bruce ([1951]1976:173) adds that “Great as was the classical Gk facility for composition, it was even greater in later Gk.” Of interest is that according to Philo (*VitMos* 2:165) the Israelites have made an idol “in the form of a bull”, rather than with a calf (cf. Cole 1973:214-215). The phrase ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκεῖναις reminds us of Luke’s same expression in Ac 2:18.

(h) “They brought sacrifices to it” (καὶ ἀνήγαγον θυσίαν τῷ εἰδώλῳ, v. 41b). The word εἰδώλω is often associated with Gentile worship (see Gn 31:19; 1 Ki 11:2; 2 Chr 11:15; Ps 113:12; Wis 14:11 (LXX)). Barrett (1994:367) mentions that Luke uses the terms without restraint at this point, although “not uninfluenced by LXX usage”, such as ἀνήγαγον and εὐφραίνοντο.

(i) “and held a celebration in honour of what their hands had made” (καὶ εὐφραίνοντο ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις τῶν χειρῶν αὐτῶν, v. 41c).¹³⁵ The NEB and NIV translate the verb εὐφραίνοντο into ‘had (held) a feast (celebration) in honour of’, this seems like a much stronger term than the simple word ‘rejoice’. This expression ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις τῶν χειρῶν αὐτῶν often resonates with the denunciation of Israel’s idolatry (see Dt 4:28; Ps 113:12; 134:15; Wis 13:10; Jr 1:16 (LXX)). Moreover, it is also applied to the temple made by hand in v. 48.

(j) “But God turned away” (ἔστρεψεν δὲ ὁ θεός, v. 42a). The verb ἔστρεψεν could be either transitive or intransitive (Barrett 2002:104). As in the form of the omission of a direct object it can be meant that God turned Israel to the worship of the hosts of heaven (cf. Arndt & Gingrich 1957:771 s.v. στρέφω, 1a), while in this case it could also be interpreted that God turned from Israel (cf. also idem.

¹³⁵ For a detailed description of the OT, see Ex 32:6.

1957:771 s.v. στρέφω, 1b; see Ac 5:23; 15:16). The same verb ἐστράφησαν occurs again in v. 39.

(k) “and gave them over to the worship of the heavenly bodies. This agrees with what is written in the book of the prophets” (καὶ παρέδωκεν¹³⁶ αὐτοὺς λατρεύειν τῇ στρατιᾷ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καθὼς γέγραπται ἐν βίβλῳ τῶν προφητῶν, v. 42b). The words στρατιᾷ(άν) τοῦ οὐρανοῦ appear in 1 Ki 22:19; Neh 9:6; Jr 7:18; 8:2; 19:13 (LXX). According to Marshall (1980:144), they mean to “the sun, moon, and stars (Dt. 4:19) which were regarded as deities or as the dwelling places of spiritual beings.” The noun στρατιά occurs elsewhere in the NT as well. It refers to the heavenly hosts who appeared with the angel when the Christ was born in Lk 2:13.

According to Barrett (1994:368), the use of the verb λατρεύειν occasionally occurs to depict the worship of divine beings.¹³⁷ However, the word does not appear in the LXX with ‘the host of heaven’. Rather, other verbs - προσκυνέω¹³⁸ or θυμιάω¹³⁹ - are used to illustrate the Israelite apostasy. In ancient times the Twelve Minor Prophets were by and large regarded as a volume (Fitzmyer 1998:381).

(l) “Did you bring me sacrifices and offerings forty years in the desert, O house of Israel?” (Μὴ σφάγια καὶ θυσίας προσηνέγκατέ μοι ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, οἶκος Ἰσραήλ; v. 42c). (m) “You have lifted up the shrine of Molech and the star of your god Rephan, the idols you made to worship” (καὶ ἀνελάβετε τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ Μόλοχ καὶ τὸ ἄστρον τοῦ θεοῦ [ὑμῶν] Ῥαιφάν, τοὺς τύπους οὓς ἐποιήσατε προσκυνεῖν αὐτοῖς, v. 43a). In B D 453pc gig sy^p sa Ir^{lat} Or, the pronoun

¹³⁶ Paul uses the same term παρέδωκεν in Rm 1:24, 26, 28.

¹³⁷ For example, Plato, *Ap* 23c “τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ λατρείαν.”

¹³⁸ See 2 Chr 33:3 “...προσεκύνησεν πάση τῇ στρατιᾷ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.”

¹³⁹ See Jr 19:13 “...ἐθυμιάσαν ἐπὶ τῶν δωματίων αὐτῶν πάση τῇ στρατιᾷ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.”

ὑμῶν is omitted. Concerning it, Haenchen (1971:284) thinks that God can never be portrayed as the idol. P⁷⁴ א³ A C E Ψ M h v g sy^h mae bo Cyr, read ὑμῶν. For Richard (1982:40-41), these Gk verbs προσκυνεῖν / λατρεύω are commonly used LXX combinations. The use of λατρεύω in the Abraham story (see Ac 7:7) already employed the combination προσκυνεῖν / λατρεύω in vv. 42b-43a.

(n) “Therefore I will send you into exile beyond Babylon” (καὶ μετοικιῶ ὑμᾶς ἐπέκεινα Βαβυλῶνος, v. 43b). The preposition ἐπέκεινα is a *hapax legomenon*. Codex Bezae reads ἐπὶ [τὰ μέ]ρη Βαβυλῶνος “into the parts of Babylon”. Some scholars (Metzger [1971]1975:351; Barrett 1994:371; Bruce [1951]1987:140) explain that this reading brings the statement into better agreement with historical facts. The reading accords Luke’s version with that of Amos (cf. Bruce [1951]1987:156).

6.2 Israelite rejection of Moses again and the quotation

6.2.1 The quoted text from Ex 32:1, 23 in Ac 7:40

6.2.1.1 Other occasions of Ex 32:1, 23

No support is established in other areas within the NT where this passage is cited. It seems to be the first time that this quotation appears in the NT. Consequently, there is no biblical evidence to support the possibility that Luke could have pulled this citation from the tradition for this part of Stephen’s speech. Therefore, it can rightly be assigned to Luke.

6.2.1.2 The introductory formula (Ac 7:40a)

The introductory formula is made up of the words: “They told Aaron” (εἰπόντες τῷ

Ἄαρών, v. 40a).

6.2.1.3 Establishing and describing the textual differences

NT(NA27)	LXX	LXX	MT	MT
Ac 7:40b	Ex 32:1	Ex 32:23	Ex 32:1	Ex 32:23
ποίησον ἡμῖν	ποίησον ἡμῖν	Ποίησον ἡμῖν	עֲשֵׂה־לָנוּ	עֲשֵׂה־לָנוּ
θεοῦς	θεοῦς	θεοῦς	אֱלֹהִים	אֱלֹהִים
οἱ	οἱ	οἱ	אֲשֶׁר	אֲשֶׁר
προπορεύσονται	προπορεύσονται	προπορεύσονται	יֵלְכוּ	יֵלְכוּ
ἡμῶν	ἡμῶν	ἡμῶν	לְפָנֵינוּ	לְפָנֵינוּ
ὁ γὰρ	ὁ γὰρ	ὁ γὰρ	כִּי־זֶה	כִּי־זֶה
Μωϋσῆς οὗτος,	Μωυσης οὗτος	Μωυσης οὗτος	מֹשֶׁה	מֹשֶׁה
	ὁ ἄνθρωπος	ὁ ἄνθρωπος	הָאִישׁ	הָאִישׁ
ὃς	ὃς	ὃς	אֲשֶׁר	אֲשֶׁר
ἐξήγαγεν ἡμᾶς	ἐξήγαγεν ἡμᾶς	ἐξήγαγεν ἡμᾶς	הֶעֱלָנוּ	הֶעֱלָנוּ
ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου,	ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου,	ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου,	מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם	מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם
οὐκ οἶδαμεν	οὐκ οἶδαμεν	οὐκ οἶδαμεν	לֹא יָדַעְנוּ	לֹא יָדַעְנוּ
τί ἐγένετο	τί γέγονεν	τί γέγονεν	מָה־הָיָה	מָה־הָיָה
αὐτῷ.	αὐτῷ	αὐτῷ	לוֹ:	לוֹ:

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

First of all, both texts of Ex 32:1 and Ex 32:23 are the same in both MT and the LXX. Therefore, Luke could have employed here the LXX and not the MT, or *vice versa* for this part of Stephen's speech.

6.2.1.3.2 Textual differences between Acts and LXX

There are 2 major changes to be displayed between the versions of Ac 7:40 and Ex 32:1, 23 (LXX): (1) An omission of ὁ ἄνθρωπος after Μωϋσῆς οὗτος; and (2) one substitution in Acts, ἐγένετο for γέγονεν.

(a) Omission:

[1] The omission of ὁ ἄνθρωπος after Μωϋσῆς οὗτος

The words ὁ ἄνθρωπος are omitted after Μωϋσῆς οὗτος in the NT. According to Barrett (1994:367), the inclusion in the reading of the LXX makes Moses much more disdainful.

(b) Substitution:

[2] γέγονεν → ἐγένετο (Ac 7:40)

Luke replaces γίνομαι from the perfect (γέγονεν) in Ex 32:1, 23 to the aorist tense (ἐγένετο) in Ac 7:40. One interesting thing is that D E Ψ M read γέγονεν.

6.2.2 Lukan method used for the quotation

There are two changes between Acts and the LXX. As compared with Ac 7:40, the LXX qualifies Μωϋσῆς οὗτος with ὁ ἄνθρωπος. For this difference, Turpie (1868:44) suggested that within the OT context the expression ὁ ἄνθρωπος

seems to be contrasted with “the gods”, which Aaron was requested to make.

There appears to be an antithetic parallelism in the verse ... It was not necessary for Stephen to keep up the contrast, but he still retains the expression of contempt which they uttered: “for Moses, this (fellow) ...

Interestingly, Rahlfs’ text of the Septuagint (1935) has ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, it agrees with

the following textual variants: B F M O⁷⁰⁸ C⁷ d n s t Cyp Quir | 1; Arm Syh = Sixt Ra. For the substitution of ἐγένετο, it can be attributed to Luke's "frequent use of this form, no less than six times within the Stephen material" (Richard 1978:177).

In conclusion, these changes are likely to reflect the writer's stylistic preference and grammatical changes within the new context.

6.2.3 Interpretation of the quotation by Luke

In v. 38 Moses is the one who in the wilderness received living words to give to the Israelites, i.e., God's law. At that time he was in the assembly (ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ) as well. In Acts the word ἐκκλησία occurs nineteen times out of twenty three times in reference to the church. But in this case the meaning of the noun is applied to the assembly, being similar to Ac 19:32, 39-40.

The term is translated variously as: "the assembly" (NAB, NIV, NJB, NLT), "der Versammlung" (ELO), "the congregation" (ESV, NASB, NKJV, NRSV, RSV), "der Gemeinde" (LUT, SCH), "the church" (ASV, KJV). The TEV, in the end, translates it as, "the people of Israel assembled in the desert", as opposed to the translation of the PMV - "in that church in the desert" (Newman and Nida 1972:157-158).¹⁴⁰ Moreover in Dt 18:16 the Greek ἐκκλησία translates the Hebrew לְקָרְבָן, pointing out the gathering of the people to obtain the law at Horeb (see also Dt 4:10; 9:10).

Barrett (1994:365) states that "it is doubtful whether Luke wrote, or any early Christian read, this verse without thinking of the Christian ἐκκλησία, of which he

¹⁴⁰ Dunn (1996:95) thinks of it as "the congregation or church".

would see a foreshadowing in the ancient people of God.” Furthermore the term ἐκκλησία “could be that Christians would see a certain parallelism between the presence of Moses with the Israelites on their pilgrimage through the desert and the presence of Jesus with the new people of God on their earthly pilgrimage” (Marshall 1980:143).¹⁴¹ However, Marshall concludes that this is unlikely to be the main point for Stephen’s hearers. Rather, the primary message is that Moses receives the living oracles of God for Israel.

Moses would thus be the mediator between God and his people (cf. Fitzmyer 1998:380). Regarding Moses, Philo also says that: “[b]y the providence of God he became king, lawgiver, high priest, and prophet; and in each role he achieved the first mark” (*VitMos* 2:3). Notwithstanding, Stephen says that Moses was with the angel who spoke to him on Mount Sinai. According to Ex 19, Yahweh gives Moses the law directly without the appearance of the angel.

Later, the tradition that the angel (μετὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου) participated in the giving of the law became common among Jewish and Christian writers (cf. Oepke [1967]1977:617-618; see also Ac 7:53; Gl 3:19; Heb 2:2; Dt 33:2 (LXX); Philo, *VitMos* 2:166; Jub 1:27-2:1; ApMos 2:138). For instance, Josephus (*Ant* 15:136) points out that “we have learned from God the most excellent of our doctrines, and the most holy part of our law, by angels” (cf. also Davies 1954:135-140).

According to Barrett (1994:366), Luke’s mention of the angel here is because “[r]everence puts God at a further remove from earthly affairs” (cf. also Newman & Nida 1972:158). It is not clear whether the angel in v. 38 is identical with the

¹⁴¹ Similarly Bruce ([1951]1976:172) says that “[a]s Moses was with the old Ecclesia, so Christ is with the new, and it is still a pilgrim Church, ‘the Church in the desert.’” Cf. also Witherington (1998:271).

angel who appeared in the burning bush in v. 35.¹⁴² The fact should be noted that Stephen's hearers disobey the law that has been given through angels again in v. 53. It is also noticeable that the Sinai setting associates God's calling to Moses with God's delivery of the law to Moses.

Regarding the Israelite acceptance of the living oracles, Marshall (1980:143) states that "[t]his was the mark of the high privilege of Israel. The giving of the law was the sign of the covenant which God had made with them, and it was by obedience to the law that they would continue to be God's covenant people." Furthermore, in the phrase τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν ὃς ἐδέξατο λόγια ζῶντα δοῦναι ἡμῖν, Stephen shares the heritage of Israel with his audience and thus implicitly replies once more the accusation about speaking words of blasphemy against the law (Fitzmyer 1998:380).¹⁴³

According to Johnson (1992:130), the words λόγια ζῶντα are lacking in the LXX, "but the connection between the Law and life is constantly drawn" (see Dt 4:1, 33; 5:26; 16:20; 30:15; 32:45; Ps 118:25, 50, 154 (LXX)).¹⁴⁴ Alford ([1877]1976:77) warns us not to interpret that God speaks the words in a living voice or that the oracles themselves give life to people.

In the end, Luke's employment of the expression λόγια ζῶντα rather than ὁ νόμος may reflect "a degree of openness to new, updated ('living'), varied perspectives ('words') on the law in conflict with a more rigid, 'official' system of interpreting the law advocated by the chief priests and scribes" (Spencer 1997:76).

¹⁴² For the difference between the angels, cf. Barrett (1994:366).

¹⁴³ Similarly, Spencer (1997:76) says that "Stephen seems to counter this charge by affirming the supernatural origin of the law and its continuing validity for the people of Israel." Contrast Dunn's argument (1996:95): "the speaker is in closer continuity with Moses than his hearers."

¹⁴⁴ Haenchen (1971:283) notes that the words may show evidence of Dt 32:45-47.

A turning point takes place once more in v. 39, as implied earlier. The Israelites would not listen to Moses, in spite of Moses' role as the leader and law-giver for Israel so far. Stephen calls them 'our fathers' again and again. In spite of the difference between the NT witnesses, according to Johnson (1992:130), the choice of the pronoun 'our' in vv. 38 and 39 "makes the desert generation the forerunner of the present generation", which also refuses to follow the prophet (Dt 18:15-18). Luke here explains how the first receivers of the law had been unsuccessful in keeping it. It is necessarily related to the motif of 'the rejection of God's servant'.

Israel's people thrust Moses aside and wish themselves back in Egypt. Stephen here seems to remind his audience of the episode of spying out Canaan. According to the OT, after the twelve spies returned from exploring the land, they reported to the whole assembly at Kadesh in the Desert of Paran. On the one hand, the spies gave the shocking reports that the people who lived in Canaan were strong and the land was inhabited by descendants of Anak as well. On the other hand, Caleb encouraged Israel's people to occupy the land.

Finally, the ten spies so terrified them that they said to Moses and Aaron it would be better for them to go back to Egypt and make another leader. Certainly, the Israelites did not return to Egypt, but, save Caleb the son of Jephunneh and Joshua the son of Nun, all those who were twenty years old and upward, took their last breath in the wilderness.

Luke makes use of the same verb (*ἀπώσαντο*) again, as in the first denunciation of Moses (*ἀπώσατο*) in v. 27. It is likely to be a literary device, meant to accentuate the second explicit rejection of Moses. Haenchen (1971:283) interprets v. 39 as follows: "they became once more Egyptian in their hearts." He adds that three Lukan verbs – [*οὐκ*] *ἠθέλησαν* [*ὑπήκοοι*], *ἀπώσαντο*, and

ἐστράφησαν –¹⁴⁵emphasises the theme of the Israelite’s disobedience. In the end, servitude in Egypt was better for Israel than the liberty attached with the worship of God and the severe life in the wilderness (Barrett 1994:366). Fitzmyer (1998:380) states that unfortunately Egypt “had become home to them”. It should be noted again that v. 39 refers back to v. 35a.

V. 40 plays an important role between vv. 39 and 41. Firstly, the reason for the Israelite desire to return to Egypt that is stated in v. 39, is disclosed in v. 40. This shows why they did not know what had become of Moses. Secondly, as a further result of their rejection of Moses, the Israelites make gods who will go before them. Lastly, their rebellious action is concretized by them making an offering sacrifice to the calf idol with their own hands, which is described in v. 41. Their rejection of Moses, after a while, ends up in their rejection of God. The rebuff of God now leads to the failure of God’s promise to Abraham (Tannehill 1990:89). Luke also develops the theme of God’s rejection into the theme of the Israelite apostasy against their God.

However, they know that Moses has ascended to Mount Sinai to receive God’s law. The Israelites’ treachery is thus caused by their intolerance, not by Moses as they said. It is worth noticing “[t]he contrast between Moses receiving the Ten Commandments on top of Mount Sinai and Israel worshipping a golden calf at the foot of that mountain” (Kistemaker 1990:264).

Furthermore it is interesting to note the comparisons between the Israelites’ praise for the idol in Ex 32:4 (“these are your gods, O Israel, who brought you up out of Egypt”), their complaint against Moses in Ex 32:1 (“this fellow Moses who brought us up out of Egypt”), and God’s words in Ex 20:2 (“I am the Lord

¹⁴⁵ Haenchen does not exactly point them out in his commentary, but they must be the above verbs in the context of v. 39.

your God, who brought you out of Egypt”).

With the quotation from Ex 32, Luke underlines the Israelite refusal of Moses in the desert again by drawing his audience’s attention to the golden calf. According to the OT, Moses stayed on Mount Sinai with God forty days and forty nights (Ex 24:18). Moses did not come down until he had received the Decalogue and clear instructions with reference to the tabernacle and its furnishings.

During Moses’ absence the people of Israel demanded of Aaron that he should make gods to lead them because they did not know what had happened to Moses. They made an idol in the form of a calf and brought a sacrifice to the idol, and were rejoicing in the works of their hands. The expression ἐπολήσατε is often used to denounce Israel’s idolatry (see Dt 4:28; Ps 115:4; 135:15; Jr 1:16; Is 31:7). Later on, however, it is similarly applied to the temple that was made by hand (Ac 7:48).

The high point of Israel’s attitude was to turn from the worship of the true God to the golden calf since the invisible presence of God was not enough for them. The distinction between true and false worship will be examined at a later stage. In fact, God did everything for his people in the desert, for example, all the miracles performed in Egypt, the crossing of the Red Sea, the daily manna and the provision of drinking water, the cloud shielding them from the hot desert sun, the pillar of fire protecting them at night. Yet, even while Moses is on Mount Sinai receiving the law, his people are building an idol. It is necessary to note that they ask for gods, even though the only idol they make is a golden calf.

Conzelmann (1987:54) points out that Josephus skipped the event of the golden calf. According to Longenecker (1981:140), “[t]he Talmud ... views it as

Israel's first, ultimate, and most heinous sin" (see B Šabb 17a; B Meg 25b; B 'Abod Zar 5a; B Sop 35a; 'Abot R Nat 18b, 21b, 30a; Ex R 48:2; Lv R 2:15; 5:3; 9:49; 27:3; Dt R 3:10, 12). He adds that there is a difference between the standpoints of the rabbis and Luke over the story of the golden calf.

The rabbis stress Moses' successful intercession for Israel's people, whereas Luke focuses on the Israelites' repudiation of God's messenger. Kilgallen (1988:57) says that Israel turned down Moses as the intermediary between God and human beings. Bruce ([1951]1987:153) explains that through this event Stephen strongly points to the repudiation of Jesus, not just their sin of idolatry.

Conversely, according to Williams (1957:109), Luke seems to imply that if the Israelites had obeyed God's living words given to them by Moses, they would not have turned to the worship of idols, furthermore Stephen's hearers would have accepted Jesus (cf. Hanson 1967:100; Combrink 1979:15). This is presented as true because the present generation was following the precedent of the wilderness generation. Sylva (1987:269) pays attention to Stephen's mention of the law as 'living words' in 7:38. "This is a high valuation of the law, which demonstrates that Stephen has not spoken against the law" (cf. also Kistemaker 1990:262). Once again, it is also a high honour to Moses, the law's deliverer.

6.3 Israel's idolatry and the quotation

6.3.1 The quoted text from Am 5:25-27 in Ac 7:42-43

6.3.1.1 Other occurrences of Am 5:25-27

Although this quotation is not found anywhere else in the NT, it occurs in the DSS (CD 7:14-15) with the abridged form.¹⁴⁶ Some Qumran specialists rightly identify the occurrence (Bruce 1956:183; Braun 1966:156; Fitzmyer 1998:382; Albl 1999:92). So it is noteworthy to trace from where the text is quoted. According to Ådna (2000:141), “[u]nfortunately, in the Greek scroll from Naḥal Ḥever (8ḤevXIIgr [8Ḥev 1]) all columns of Amos have disappeared.”

6.3.1.2 The introductory formula (Ac 7:42b)

The introductory formula is shaped by the phrase: “as it is written in the book of the prophets” (καθὼς γέγραπται ἐν βίβλῳ τῶν προφητῶν, v. 42b). ‘Amos the prophet’ is read by cop^{G67} (Metzger [1971]1975:351). The phrase καθὼς γέγραπται as the introductory formula appears only again in Ac 15:15 within James’ speech. Therefore, it is noteworthy that the same introductory formula appears twice in Acts, since both are the only explicit quotations from Amos in Acts. According to Fitzmyer (1998:381), the introductory formula could also have been from elsewhere in the OT, such as Dn 9:13 (Theodotion) or 2 Ki 14:6 (LXX).

¹⁴⁶ According to Haenchen (1971:284), CD freely cites Am 5:25-27. Cf. also Braun (1966:319).

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

It is fascinating to notice that CD 7:14-15a is consistent with the MT on several points. There are, however, 3 differences between the two versions of CD 7:14-15a and Am 5:25-27 (MT): (1) One transposition of וְהִגְלִיתִי; (2) an omission of כּוֹכַב אֱלֹהֵיכֶם; and (3) a replacement of מְהִלָּא לְדַמְשֶׁק with מֵאֲהָלֵי דַמְשֶׁק in CD.

(a) Transposition:

[1] וְהִגְלִיתִי

In CD it appears before אֵת סִבּוֹת, while the MT reads after לְכֶם. The order of the LXX and Acts correspond to that of the MT.

(b) Omission:

[2] The omission of כּוֹכַב אֱלֹהֵיכֶם after צְלִמְיֶכֶם

CD omits the phrase of the MT reading כּוֹכַב אֱלֹהֵיכֶם after צְלִמְיֶכֶם. The reading of the LXX and Acts, however, includes the Greek words τὸ ἄστρον τοῦ θεοῦ ὑμῶν translated from the Hebrew words כּוֹכַב אֱלֹהֵיכֶם.

(c) Replacement:

[3] מֵאֲהָלֵי דַמְשֶׁק → מְהִלָּא לְדַמְשֶׁק (CD)

The phrase מְהִלָּא לְדַמְשֶׁק in the text of the MT is replaced by מֵאֲהָלֵי דַמְשֶׁק in CD.

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

There are 4 major variations to be identified between the versions of the MT

and the LXX: (1) One number change of the singular noun (מְנַחָה) to the plural noun (θυσίας); (2) one omission of בְּמִדְבָּר; and (3) two substitutions of τὴν σκηνην τοῦ Μόλοχ for מִלְכָּם סְכוּת; (4) and καὶ τὸ ἄστρον τοῦ θεοῦ ὑμῶν Ῥαιφάν τοὺς τύπους αὐτῶν for וְאֵת כִּיּוּן צִלְמֵיכֶם כּוֹכַב אֱלֹהֵיכֶם in the LXX.

(a) Number change:

[1] מְנַחָה (singular) → θυσίας (plural)

The singular word מְנַחָה after the conjunction ו in the MT is substituted by the plural word θυσίας in the LXX, while Ac 7:42 adheres to θυσίας. According to Arieti (1974:346), “מנחה is twice translated θυσία (5:22, 25 (i.e. Am 5:22, 25, *J-W Kim*)), the usual translation in the LXX.”

(b) Omission:

[2] The omission of בְּמִדְבָּר

The phrase בְּמִדְבָּר of the MT, which means ‘in the desert’, is omitted in the LXX. However, the reading of Ac 7:42 (ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ) follows the MT on this point.

(c) Substitution:

[3] מִלְכָּם סְכוּת → τὴν σκηνην τοῦ Μόλοχ

To put it more concretely, the LXX, which remains in accordance with the reading of Ac 7:43, holds a very different viewpoint from the MT, replacing ‘Sikkuth’ with ‘tent’, ‘your king’ with ‘of Molech’.

[4] וְאֵת כִּיּוּן צִלְמֵיכֶם כּוֹכַב אֱלֹהֵיכֶם → καὶ τὸ ἄστρον τοῦ θεοῦ ὑμῶν Ῥαιφάν τοὺς τύπους αὐτῶν

The reading of the LXX, which is followed again by Ac 7:43, is quite different from that of the MT, substituting ‘the star of your god Rephan’ for ‘Kiyyun your images, the star of your god’. It can be represented most clearly by use of a chart in which the coupling of the lexical items between the MT and the LXX are

illustrated (cf. Isbel 1978:98):

	LXX		MT	
a	τὸ ἄστρον	↖ ↗	כִּיּוֹן	c
b	τοῦ θεοῦ ἰμῶν	↖ ↗	צְלִמְיָכֶם	d
c	Ῥαιφάν	↖ ↗	בּוֹכֵב	a
d	τοὺς τύπους αὐτῶν	↖ ↗	אֱלֹהֵיכֶם	b

Interestingly, similar phenomena to this occur frequently in the NT.¹⁴⁸ For example, Heb 7:1-2a alludes to Gn 14:17-20 as follows (cf. Steyn 2002:213-215):¹⁴⁹

		LXX	
a Melchizedek: king of Salem and priest of God (v. 1a)	↖ ↗	The victorious return of Abraham (v. 17)	b
b The victorious return of Abraham (v. 1b)	↖ ↗	Melchizedek: king of Salem and priest of God (v. 18)	a
c Melchizedek's blessing (vv. 1c-2a)	↔	Melchizedek's blessing (vv. 19-20)	c

¹⁴⁸ See Mk 10:19 (par. Mt 19:18-19; Lk 18:20; Rm 13:9; Ja 2:11) and Ex 20:16-20 (par. Dt 5:16-20) (LXX); 1 Pt 2:2-3 and Ps 33:9 (LXX).

¹⁴⁹ Melchizedek appears only twice in the OT (see also Ps 110). It is truly strange that most commentators (e.g., Demarest 1976:10-136; Peterson 1982:106-108; Kistemaker 1984:183-186; Attridge 1989:187-195; De Silva 2000:265-267; Fitzmyer 2000:63-69) do not observe this free quotation from Gn 14:17-20. At most, some (e.g., Reid 1964:85; Lane 1991:159) regard the passage of Heb 7:1-3 as an example of a *gezerah shawa*.

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

There are 6 major variations to be highlighted between the versions of Ac 7:42-43 and Am 5:25-27 (LXX): (1) Two additions of ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ after ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα; (2) προσκυνεῖν before αὐτοῖς; (3) an omission of αὐτῶν after τύπους; (4) a transposition of ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα, with a change of the vowel α to ε; and (5) two substitutions of αὐτοῖς for ἑαυτοῖς; (6) and Βαβυλῶνος for Δαμασκού in Acts.

(a) Additions:

[1] The addition of ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ after ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα

Here Stephen adds ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ before οἶκος Ἰσραήλ in the reading of LXX.

[2] The addition of προσκυνεῖν before αὐτοῖς

The reading of the NT adds προσκυνεῖν before αὐτοῖς. Both the MT and the LXX, however, do not have this word.

(b) Omission:

[3] The omission of αὐτῶν after τύπους

The word αὐτῶν after τύπους is omitted in Ac 7:43. Both the MT and the LXX, however, have this word.

(c) Transposition with the change:

[4] τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη → ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα

In the LXX the phrase replaces this sequence with τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη, corresponding to the MT. Codex A, however, has the same order of the words, namely ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα in Ac 7:42, but with the transposition of οἶκος Ἰσραήλ, as mentioned earlier. Moreover, it has a change of the second vowel α to ε in the word τεσσαράκοντα.

(d) Substitutions:

[5] ἑαυτοῖς → αὐτοῖς

The third person plural reflexive pronoun (ἑαυτοῖς) in the LXX is replaced by the third person plural personal pronoun (αὐτοῖς) in Ac 7:43.

[6] Δαμασκου → Βαβυλῶνος

In the LXX Δαμασκου is replaced by Βαβυλῶνος in Ac 7:43. Here Luke alone has Βαβυλῶνος, others have Δαμασκου, except Codex D. However, as I will discuss later, the exile means a strong condemnation of the Israelite within the context of Amos and Luke, whereas “it is the saving deed of God to the Qumran community” within the context of CD (Steyn 2004:69).

6.3.2 Luke’s method used for the quotation

Luke’s method of quotation will be dealt with according to three points of comparison (CD, MT, LXX) and the NT. *Firstly*, there are three changes between CD 7:14-15a and Am 5:25-27 (MT). Before investigating Luke’s method here, it is necessary to take a glance at the passage of CD. CD 7:10-21 which constitutes the broader context, cites from Isaiah, Amos, and Numbers (Martínez [1994]1996:37-38):

¹⁰ when there comes the word which is written in the words of Isaiah, son of Amoz, the prophet, ¹¹ which says: *Isa 7:17* «There shall come upon you, upon your people and upon your father’s house, days such as ¹² have <not> come since the day Ephraim departed from Judah». When the two houses of Israel separated, ¹³ Ephraim detached itself from Judah, and all the renegades were delivered up to the sword; but those who remained steadfast ¹⁴ escaped to the land of the north. *Blank* As he said: *Am 5:26-27* «I will

deport the Sikkut of your King ¹⁵ and the Kiyyun of your images away from my tent to Damascus». The books of the law are the Sukkat ¹⁶ of the King, as he said *Am 9:11* «I will lift up the fallen Sukkat of David». The King ¹⁷ is the assembly; and the plinths of the images <and Kiyyun of the images> are the books of the prophets, ¹⁸ whose words Israel despised. *Blank* And the star is the Interpreter of the law, ¹⁹ who will come to Damascus, as is written: *Num 24:13* «A star moves out of Jacob, and a sceptre arises ²⁰ out of Israel». The sceptre is the prince of the whole congregation and when he rises he will destroy ²¹ all the sons of Seth. *Blank* These escaped at the time of the first one's visitation.

The transposition and omission, the verb וְהִגַּלְתִּי ('and I will deport') occurs in *Am 5:27*, while it appears at the beginning of *CD 7:14*. Then, the author of *CD* left out the mention of the star (בִּכּוֹב אֱלֹהֵיכֶם). Rather, the author connects this paragraph with a sceptre as well as the star of Jacob in *CD 7:19*. The quotation of *CD*, thus differs quite significantly from the original meaning of the *MT*.

For the replacement (מִהֶלְאָה לְדִמְשֶׁק) (*MT*) → מִזֶּמְרָה לְדִמְשֶׁק (*CD*)), Steyn (2004:62-63) explains that the reading of *CD* "was probably understood as the tent (אֹהֶל) of the Lord's presence that could have been indicated by the term אֹהֶל (Ps 15:1; 27:5; 61:5; 78:60)." According to De Waard (1966:43-44),

Among the recensions Σ shows most similarities with the *CD* text by his reading τὴν σκηνὴν (σκηνήν, sic!) and τοῦ βασιλέως ὑμῶν and transcription Χιῶν, and we may suppose that his recension is based on a Hebrew original like *CD*. The same also applies to the *LXX* in virtue of its reading τὴν σκηνὴν (σκηνήν, sic!), and on the grounds of its very remarkable translation of צְלַמֵיכֶם by τοὺς τύπους (αὐτῶν)...

Secondly, there are four changes between the MT and the LXX:

(a) Number change (מְנַחֵה (singular) → θυσίας (plural)).

[1] Barrett says (1994:368) that there is barely a discrepancy, because the Hebrew word is mostly recognized in its plural form (cf. also Archer & Chirichigno 1983:151).

(b) Omission (בְּמִדְבָּר).

[2] Steyn (2004:63) rightly points out that according to some scholars (e.g., Archer & Chirichigno 1983:151; Barrett 1994:369), “its inclusion in the LXX ... is doubtful and probably based on the non-critical LXX version of Rahlfs.”

(c) Substitutions (סִכּוּת מִלְכָּכִים → τὴν σκητὴν τοῦ Μόλοχ; כּוֹכַב אֱלֹהִיכֶם וְאֵת כִּיּוֹן צְלִמְיֶכֶם → καὶ τὸ ἄστρον τοῦ θεοῦ ὑμῶν Ῥαιφάν τοὺς τύπους αὐτῶν).

[3] Before discussing each change and method individually, the terms need to be investigated. Sikkuth or the Akkadian *Sakkut* is associated with Ninurta in Ugaritic sources and particularly with the star Saturn, that is the Assyrian god Nin-lb, enunciated with the vowels of Hebrew *shiqqutz* (cf. Bruce [1951]1987:155; Walton, Matthews & Chavalas 2000:770). For Barrett (1994:369), *Sakkut* seems to be a god of the war for the Assyrians. And Molech was the god that accepted child sacrifices (see Lv 20:1-5; 2 Ki 23:10; Jr 32:35). Steyn (2004:64) says that “Moloch was the Canaanite-Phoenecian Heaven-and-Sun-god.”

In fact, there is no suitable word for ‘booth’ or ‘tent’ in the MT. The LXX, finally, translated the Hebrew consonants סכּת as σκητὴν (see Gn 33:17; Lv 23:34, 42-43; Dt 16:13; 2 Sm 11:11; 22:12; 1 Ki 21:12; 2 Chr 8:13; Ezr 3:4; Neh 8:14-17; Job 36:30; Ps 17:11; 26:5; 30:20; 107:8; Is 1:8; Am 9:11; Jnh 4:5). Steyn (2004:64) suggests that “[a]lternatively, though, the LXX translator might not have misread the consonants, but might already have had a different

Hebrew *Vorlage* in this case, one which probably read סִכַּת מֶלֶךְ (from סִכָּה = “Hütte”), and not סִכּוֹת מֶלֶכְכֶם.” The reading of Ac 7:43 here has the same reading as that of the LXX.

Then, the Hebrew consonants מֶלֶךְ seem here to be taken not as מֶלֶךְ (‘king’), but as מֶלֶךְ (‘Molech’) (Stuart 1987:352). Archer and Chirichigno (1983:151) mention that “it is highly probable that this refers not to any human being (since Israel had no king in Mosaic times) but to a divine king, such as the מֶלֶךְ of the Canaanites.” According to Haenchen (1971:284), “LXX extracts ‘Moloch’, its rendering of מֶלֶךְ in II Kings 23.10 and Jer. 32.35.”

Secondly, the reading of the LXX σακηνην must be a misreading of the Hebrew consonants as סִכָּה which means ‘booth’ or ‘tent’ (cf. Haenchen 1971:284; Isbel 1978:98; Archer & Chirichigno 1983:151; Conzelmann 1987:55; Fitzmyer 1998:382; Moyise 2001:55; Steyn 2004:63). The reading of Ac 7:43 also follows the reading of the LXX on this point.

[4] Meinhold and Budde argue that Kiyyun is almost certainly the Akkadian *kayyamānu* that is the Assyrian name for Saturn (Anderson & Freedman 1989:533). According to Walton, Matthews, and Chavalas (2000:770-771), “[i]t has the meaning ‘the steady one,’ an apt title for the slow-moving orbit of the planet Saturn.”

However, it is hard to say where this name of a god comes from. The one feasible description, according to Archer and Chirichigno (1983:151), “is found in a careful examination of the form of the Aramaic alphabet used by the Jews of the Elephantine colony in the 5th century B.C. This shows that *kaph* was very similar to *resh* in appearance, and *pe* was much like *waw*.” Fitzmyer (1998:382), however, indicates that “[w]hether the two names, Hebrew *sikkût* and *kiyyûn* in

Amos and Sakkud and Kaywan in Akkadian, refer to the same star-god, Saturn, is debatable.”

The alternative is advocated by Stuart (1987:352): “G[LXX] ραιφάν¹⁵⁰ must surely be an inner-Greek corruption of καιφάν.” Whatever tradition Luke may have employed, it is more important that the reading of Acts is the same as that of the LXX. Ringgren (1986:234) asserts that these two substitutions prove that the source of Luke’s quotation from Am 5:25-27 is thus the LXX.

Thirdly, in comparing the readings of the LXX and NT, six changes are found:

(a) Additions (έν τῇ ἐρήμῳ; προσκυνεῖν).

[1] Three LXX variants (A, B, and Lucianic group) have the same words έν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, despite the small differences on several points regarding the whole reading of each witness (cf. Steyn 2004:65). That is to say, A has έν τῇ ἐρήμῳ οἶκος Ἰσραὴλ ἕτη τεσσαράκοντα, B V Q have έν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τεσσαράκοντα ἕτη, and the Lucianic group and Theodotion read τεσσαράκοντα ἕτη έν τῇ ἐρήμῳ. Steyn (2004:66) concludes that “[i]t is unlikely that Luke in this instance used the text as that found in the MT today. There are too many other agreements between Acts and the LXX versions.”

[2] The addition of προσκυνεῖν¹⁵¹ results in the alteration ἑαυτοῖς into αὐτοῖς. ‘Worship them’ is a natural change in the light of Israel’s purpose in making the images. In the original context the omission is trifling as well, since these modifications have little effect on the line of thought. It seems probable that it

¹⁵⁰ Ῥαιφάν is read by P⁷⁴ N^c A 453 1175 pc sy; C E Ψ 33 36 pm, Ῥεφάν, while Ῥομφάν is read by N*; Ῥομφά is read by B Or. Furthermore 323 945 1739, Ῥεμφάν; 1241 2495, Ῥεμφφάν; D has Ῥεμφάμ.

¹⁵¹ For Richard (1982:40-41), it can be described in accordance to the common LXX twosome προσκυνεῖν / λατρεύω. So the employment of λατρεύω in the Abraham story (see Ac 7:7) “anticipates the λατρεύω/προσκυνέω pair in vv. 42-43”.

should be attributed to Luke's hand later, because this word is not found anywhere else in either the MT or the LXX. According to Kilpatrick (1979:83), however, Luke alone

has the old construction of προσκυνεῖν with accusative against other New Testament writers who construe it with the dative; ... this suggests that our rephrasing does not derive from the author of Luke-Acts and on the other side the phrase is not in the LXX or the Hebrew; we may accordingly infer a middle stage between our author and the LXX.

(b) Omission (αὐτῶν).

[3] It might be a deliberate omission of Luke in relation to the addition-cum-substitution of προσκυνεῖν αὐτοῖς. For Barrett (1994:370), Luke probably considers not that "their images could mean the images of Moloch and Raiphan", but that "your images would be better". According to Steyn (2004:67), Holtz claims that "if the text critical support of the A-group and recensional reasons are considered, there might be a possibility that Luke's *Vorlage* also lacked this reading" (cf. also Holtz 1968:17).

(c) Transposition with the change (τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη → ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα; α → ε).

[4] Richard (1982:38, 40) maintains that this order 'year/cardinal' is always found in Acts and 9 times of 11 times in Luke (see Lk 8:43 = Mk 5:25; Ac 7:6 = Gn 15:13). In earlier works Ziegler does not deal with the variant in his critical apparatus for Amos and the word order as it appeared in Acts.¹⁵² However, the two latest volumes of the Göttingen LXX (*Genesis*, 1974 and *Deuteronomium*, 1977) by J. Wevers, contain numerous proofs to sustain a pervasive propensity

¹⁵² In spite of this fact, Codex A reads ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ οἶκος Ἰσραὴλ τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη.

within a huge fragment of the MSS to choose the order 'year/cardinal'. This is against the older and the more universal LXX translation - 'cardinal/year', which follows the reading of the MT.

The modification of this kind - the change of the second vowel α to ϵ in the word τεσσαεράκοντα - is fairly frequent in Hellenistic Greek (cf. Blass & Debrunner 1961 §29.1). Although it is likely that Luke's *Vorlage* had these changes, he seems most likely to follow his own preference and so has the transposition-cum-substitution.

(d) Substitutions (ἐαυτοῖς → αὐτοῖς; Δαμασκου → Βαβυλῶνος).

[5] For the substitution of αὐτοῖς for ἐαυτοῖς, no support is located within the LXX witnesses. In relation to the addition of προσκυνεῖν, it seems to be Luke's stylistic preference.

[6] First of all, CD is connected with Am 9:11. In its broader context we hear that when the two houses of Israel - Ephraim and Judah – were separated, Ephraim who detached itself from Judah were put to the sword, but those who remained steadfast escaped to the land of the north. The author of CD here quotes freely from Am 5:26 as well. In this body of literature Sikkuth means the books of the Torah, the king means the assembly, Kiyun the books of the prophets, and the star the true teacher of the Torah.

Now this adapted quotation of Amos provides for the historical origin of the Qumran community in the land of Damascus. As it were, in light of the context it refers to the neglected books of the law which were reestablished in Damascus. Thus, it is possible that the Qumran community understood Damascus as a figure for the Babylonian exile when they spoke of the new covenant made in

the land of Damascus.¹⁵³

Even though CD is seemingly similar to the LXX reading as well as the MT reading, it is clear that Acts which quotes from the same text - Am 5:26-27 - has no relationship of any kind with CD. Regarding the text of CD, Roberts (1951-1952:373) has correctly indicated as follows:

The source is Amos v. 26f., but the context of the original is wholly disregarded, and terms with offensive associations are correlated to personalities with the highest possible prestige. Thus, Torah is represented by Sikkuth, a pagan astral deity-king, and-even if this happened through ignorance and the connection with the festival par excellence of all Jews was made by false etymology and a change of vocalization-there is still greater incongruity in the subsequent correlation of obnoxious idols with the spurned prophets and their ignored oracles, and again, of an astral deity with the Messianic 'Star of Jacob'. ... The significance in each instance lies in the 'key-words': they are symbols of historical events, but these are only intimated as fulfillments of the uttered oracle, and do not of themselves offer the means of reconstructing a historical account. Such a reconstruction is rendered still more difficult by the obvious dissociation of the interpretation from the context of the original oracle.

Predicting the Assyrian exile of the northern kingdom, Amos depicted the area of Israel's imprisonment as 'beyond Damascus'. Their iterated unfaithfulness to God, however, led to a comparable sentence on the southern kingdom more than one hundred years later, in the Babylonian exile. For this part of Stephen's speech, Luke consequently substitutes 'beyond Babylon' for 'beyond

¹⁵³ For the comment of CD, see Main (1998:127), Schniedewind (1999:533-534), Davies (2000:35).

Damascus’.

Here we see Luke’s manipulation of this quotation in Ac 7:42-43, where he makes use of it in his historical summary of Israel’s faithlessness, drawing it as a model of what occurred to Israel because of her idolatry. As a consequence, he uses the passage in a manner which is much more reliable in relation to the primary context than does the author of CD (cf. Braun 1966:156; Fitzmyer 1971:41). Witherington (1998:272) concludes that “here it has been modified to suit a Judean audience for whom the Babylonian exile was a remembered experience.”¹⁵⁴

What is clear is the fact that Luke here quotes from the LXX text of Amos in order to represent his theological intention (cf. Wilson 1962:183; Lawrence 1964:40-41; Haenchen 1971:284; Marshall 1980:144; Ringgren 1986:234; Conzelmann 1987:55; Johnson 1992:131-132; Barrett 1994:368-371; Fitzmyer 1998:381-382; Witherington 1998:272).

6.3.3 Lukan interpretation of the quotation

In v. 41 Luke gives a full account of the Israelite idolatry that was stated in only a few words in the previous verse. Israel made an idol in the form of a calf to go before her, but that god to whom she brought sacrifices and in whom she rejoiced was merely a ‘thing’ made by her hands. According to Kistemaker (1990:264), scholars presume “that the Israelites made it from wood and overlaid it with gold, for Moses burned the idol with fire and ground it to powder” (see Ex 32:20). It should be noted that a chain of similar expressions occurs repeatedly in v. 40 (ποίησον ... θεούς), v. 41 (ἔμωσχοποίησαν), v. 48 (χειροποίητοις),

¹⁵⁴ For the detailed argument, cf. Steyn (2004:68-69).

and v. 50 (χείρ μου ἐποίησεν).

The golden calf is not called an idol in the context of Ex 32, but this is a proper explanation by Luke. Keener (1993:341) suggests that the offence of the golden calf was the most dishonorable episode within Israel's history, which was acknowledged as the same as the sin of Adam (cf. Kilgallen 1989:176; Dunn 1996:95). Idolatry in this form "was a persistent temptation to Israel (1 Ki. 12:28) and Stephen's condemnation of it was in line with the denunciations already made by Old Testament writers (2 Ki. 10:29; Hos. 8:4-6)" (Marshall 1980:144).

The Israelites' making of an idol in the form of a calf contrasts piercingly with the living oracles, received from angels in vv. 38, 53. Israel's people are to violate the Decalogue that declares the following: "You shall have no other gods before me; You shall not make for yourself an idol in the form of anything in heaven above or on the earth beneath or in the waters below; You shall not bow down to them or worship them" (see Ex 20:3-5; Dt 5:7-9). Furthermore the Israelite idolatry can be inextricably associated with deplorable sexual immoderation, although here Luke does not describe it in these terms (Dunn 1996:95; see also Wis 14:12-27; Rm 1:24-25; 1 Cor 10:8-8).

According to Witherington (1998:271), "[t]he issue here is not whether this object was handmade or not, but that it was a deity of human devising and therefore an idol as opposed to the true God." Luke is now drawing the sharp line between true and false worship. It is interesting that Aaron's involvement is diminished and Israel's sin is named as such by Luke (Haenchen 1971:283; Conzelmann 1987:54-55). The Greek verb εὐφραίνοντο in v. 41 suggests that Israel's celebration lasted for some time (Kistemaker 1990:264). It is also noteworthy that the term occurs continuously in the LXX for describing the Israelite rejoicings before Yahweh (see Lv 23:40; Dt 12:7, 12, 18).

In v. 42 Luke shows that God's reaction to Israel is God's turning away (ἐστρεψεν) from her, much like her turning (ἐστράφησαν) back to Egypt in her heart, which is stated in v. 39. As a result, God gives her over to the worship of the heavenly bodies. The Israelites worshipped the heavenly bodies as well as the calf. In the original context Amos rebuked Israel for her abandonment and admonished her expulsion as a consequence. Here Luke quotes from the prophet's proclamation within the OT in order to support Stephen's words. Luke's explicit quotation from Am 5:25-27 makes Israel's idolatry much clearer.

As Paul does in Rm 1:24, 26, 28, Luke describes the Israelites' indulgence in their sin (see Dt 4:16; Hs 13:2-4).¹⁵⁵ According to Johnson (1992:131), "God allowed the people to become captive to the consequences of their own evil choices" (see Ex 21:13; Lv 26:25; Nm 21:3; Dt 1:27; Ps 9:35; 26:12; 40:2; 62:10 (LXX)). The Israelite worship of the heavenly bodies itself aims to connote God's punishment as well as the outcome of their service of the golden calf.

The quotation from Amos occurs in the context of a pronouncement of exile. Amos said that God would give his verdict upon his adulterous, rebellious, covenant-breaking people. Although God chose Israel to be his people and treated her with his kindness during the exodus and conquest, and at the time of David and Solomon, the Israelites were incessantly unsuccessful in venerating and following him. There were days of idolatry, spiritual and ethical depravity, and oppression of the poor. Amos describes the shame and depravity of Israel's customs and religion within Israel's community.

Before investigating the quoted text, it is necessary to cast a glance at Am

¹⁵⁵ See also Wis 11:16 "...they might learn that one is punished by the very things by which he sins."

5:21-24:¹⁵⁶

I hate, I despise your religious feasts; I cannot stand your assemblies. Even though you bring me burnt offerings and grain offerings, I will not accept them. Though you bring choice fellowship offerings, I will have no regard for them. Away with the noise of your songs! I will not listen to the music of your harps. But let justice roll on like a river, righteousness like a never-failing stream! (NIV).

Then, Am 5:25 starts with the following rhetorical question - “Did you bring me sacrifices and offerings forty years in the desert, O house of Israel?” In the original context of Amos, various interpretations of it have been offered (Harper 1973:136):

(1) idolatrous sacrifice to Yahweh; (2) sacrifice acceptable in form, but not continuous because of lack of animals; (3) required sacrifices, but no freewill-offerings; (4) sacrifices to idols, but not to Yahweh; (5) sacrifice accompanied by idol-worship; (6) few sacrifices compared with their many rebellions; (7) no sacrifices at all; (8) sacrifices to be sure, but also something else, viz. ‘true worship of the heart and righteousness, public and private.’

Concerning the text of Am 5:25, Stuart (1987:355) explains that (cf. also Craigie 1976:218; see Ex 34:23–24; Nm 15:2; 18:24–27):

The forty years in the wilderness ... did at least provide for a true closeness between Yahweh and his people. During the desert experience, neither slaughtered sacrifices (זבחים) nor grain offerings (מנחות) were usually given.

¹⁵⁶ According to McComiskey (1993:328), Am 5:21-27 forms the section of “Indictment and Judgment of False Religiosity and Idolatry”.

The sacrificial system was essentially predesigned for a coming era of normal food production ... in a landed, settled situation.

For Fitzmyer (1998:381), it seems to imply that Amos regarded sacrifices as unnecessary things in the ideal wilderness period.

McComiskey (1985:316) asserts that Stuart's explanation "does not do justice to the continuity of vv. 25-26 called for by the Hebrew particle *waw* (untr. in NIV) that begins v. 26;¹⁵⁷ nor does it adequately explain why a statement denying the efficacy of sacrifice was placed in the judgement section of the oracle." According to Marshall (1980:145), it therefore could mean that "Amos was suggesting that the people did not offer merely sacrifices but also heart-obedience to God" (cf. also Macdonald 1899:214-215; Rowley 1946:340-342; 1946-1947:69-71, 305-307; 1950^b:79-80; Harper 1973:136-137; Bruce [1951]1987:154; Anderson & Freedman 1989:532).

For Anderson and Freedman (1989:532), it is an example of the Hebrew idiom, "not this but that' means 'that is more important than this'" (cf. also Mays 1969:110-111). Amos' declaration means that the true relationship between God and Israel in the desert is not dependent on sacrifices but on the obedient life (cf. Ryou 1999:305; see also 1 Sm 15:22).

What then does Luke intend in employing this quotation? The proper interpretation of the NT writer concerning the quotation from Amos is likely to be influenced by where the weight of the first sentence is laid on, namely 'Did' or '(to) me'. First of all, it is clear that both have been expected to answer 'No!'

¹⁵⁷ Afterwards, he adds that "[v]erse 26 begins with a *waw* that is best understood as adversative: 'But you have lifted.' Israel disobeyed God and by her neglect of sacrifice turned to idolatry."

because of the Greek word $\mu\eta$.

In spite of two opposing interpretations on the OT text, here it seems right that God had demanded sacrifices and offerings, but that Israel had turned their oblations and holiness into idolatrous aims (cf. Bruce [1951]1987:154-155; Manson 1951:30; Hanson 1967:100; Newman & Nida 1972:160; Marshall 1980:144-145; Johnson 1992:131-132; Barrett 1994:368-369).¹⁵⁸ The text itself, makes clear that sacrifices were offered in the wilderness, but to a pagan deity.

In the context of Stephen's speech, Simon (1951:127-142) says that in the desert Israel had not been expected to offer religious sacrifices. This is why the offering of a sacrifice was fundamentally an idolatry (cf. idem. 1958:49). Whilst this is an approach, it is not regarded as plausible. Teicher (1950-1951:67-99) advocated that the Qumran community became Ebionite (cf. Wright 1997:316).¹⁵⁹ Many scholars (Bammel [1964]1978:913; Daniélou 1964:63) have regarded the conversion of Essene Jews as the foundation of the Ebionites, before and after A.D. 70 (cf. also Fitzmyer 1957:208-231). However, Bruce ([1951]1987:154) criticises that the assertion "would associate Stephen more closely with the Ebionites."

Although it is not certain what Sikkuth and Kiyyun are in Amos, they seem to mean the worship of the star gods which was prevalent in the days of Amos (Anderson & Freedman 1989:533), as alluded to by the phrase, 'the worship of the heavenly bodies' in Ac 7:42a. Furthermore the reference to Molech and Rephan in Ac 7:43 directly links the veneration of the golden calf with the astral worship to which Amos and Jeremiah refer as the reason for Israel's exile after

¹⁵⁸ Conzelmann (1987:55) claims that basically the two interpretations above are not different.

¹⁵⁹ According to Ferguson (1987:492), the Ebionites were prohibited from eating meat and servicing the temple cult.

the time of Moses.

In conclusion, the quotation from Am 5:25-27 proclaims that in the wilderness the Israelites did not worship the true God, but the host of heaven¹⁶⁰ as the climax of their idolatry. Just as Israel wished to turn back to Egypt, so now God turns away from her.

The last important alteration is that Babylon replaces Damascus in v. 43. Richard (1982:42-44) suggests that it is a literary device of Luke, i.e., “the art of composing finales”.¹⁶¹ In reference to Dibelius’ thinking (1956^a:7) it could be described as “stagemanaging”. In order to prove it, he produces structural evidence (the threefold emergence of καθώς in vv. 42, 44, 48), and thematic evidence (loyalty and offering to God in v. 42b in contrast to Israel’s idolatry in vv. 40-41, and the tent of witness in v. 44 as opposed to the shrine of Molech in v. 43). Similarly, Knox (1944:14) justified the conversion on the strength of rhetorical practice.

It seems to be most appropriate that Luke adjusted these elements in order to express Israel’s history of betrayal, as is discussed in some length above. The statement of Amos was to the northern kingdom only, but Luke shows that this attitude of rejection and rebellion has been characteristic of the entire nation. Moreover Barrett (1994:371) argues that Luke may have supposed to bestow a more perfect testimony of the banishment to Assyria in B.C. 722, or of the expatriation to Babylon in B.C. 597 and 586, namely later than Amos’ time. Luke’s re-explanation is thus comprehensible at this point (Wilson 1962:183).

¹⁶⁰ The term στρατιά only occurs one other time in the NT. In Lk 2:13, στρατιά is used in reference to the angels who appeared at the announcement of the birth of Christ to the shepherds.

¹⁶¹ Richard (1980^a:272) presents that by and large Luke’s final element of a quotation acquires enormous significance functionally and thematically.

Just as Amos is talking about God's judgement on Israel because of idolatry, so also is Luke doing so via the mouth of Stephen.

The comment of Walton, Matthews, and Chavalas (2000:771) is also noteworthy:

Since the Assyrians are never directly mentioned in Amos, it is unclear that this is what he meant when he spoke of the coming exile of the people of Israel. Using such an imprecise phrase as 'beyond Damascus' is reminiscent of Jeremiah's threat 'from the north' (Jer 1:14), and both simply indicate the direction of Mesopotamia as the source of the coming destruction.

Israel was cast away to Babylon in Luke's judgement, implying a clear link to the Babylonian captivity. Luke here describes Israel's disobedience and links the prophesied sentence of the prophets to her lengthy history of disloyalty to God.

7. SUMMARY

7.1 Summary of Ac 7:17-22

The first subsection (Ac 7:17-22) mainly describes the historical background for Moses' appearance and his infancy in Pharaoh's house. To begin with, there are no explicit quotations. As with Joseph's story, Luke seems to be intent upon describing historical facts about Moses rather than entering into polemical or ideological discussion at this stage of Stephen's speech. Luke focuses chiefly on Moses' foreign birth and upbringing.

Nonetheless, Moses is illustrated as the one who would lead God's people out

of Egypt to ‘this place’, this is implied in v. 7. He is protected by God, even though he is rejected by his family. It is also noticeable that human activities are maximized while God’s activities are minimized in appearance here. However, God is still controlling the time and fulfilling his promise.

In conclusion, it is true that Luke makes his theological motifs at this point despite not having any direct quotations, just as in the Joseph narrative which precedes this one.

7.2 The quoted text from Ex 2:14 in Ac 7:27-28

In the second subsection (Ac 7:23-29), there is one explicit quotation. The highlighted phrase *τίς σε κατέστησεν ἄρχοντα καὶ δικαστὴν ἐφ’ ἡμῶν; μὴ ἀνελεῖν με σὺ θέλεις ὄν τρόπον ἀνείλες ἐχθὲς τὸν Αἰγύπτιον;* in vv. 27-28 is the explicit quotation from Ex 2:14 (LXX), that is identified by my underlined introductory formula *ὁ δὲ ἀδικῶν τὸν πλησίον ἀπώσατο αὐτὸν εἰπὼν* which I derived from Ac 7:27a. Owing to the textual agreement between the LXX reading and the NT reading, we can assume that Luke made use here of a LXX version for this quotation.

Through the verbatim quotation from Ex 2:14, Luke describes predominantly the Israelites’ unawareness of Moses’ role as their deliverer within the context of Moses’ life in Egypt. It finally results in the rejection of God’s servant even by family, but it has already been announced from the first subsection what the baby Moses’ story would be. In spite of Israel’s rejection, God’s faithfulness to his words and God’s looking after his people are the dominant themes behind this subsection.

In conclusion, the NT text follows the LXX version of Ex 2:14 accurately without

any change. Luke's use of a LXX source seems to become clear from the evidence that the two texts of the LXX and Acts insert a word (ἐχθές), against that of the MT. Luke here illustrates Israel's incomprehension and rejection of Moses, through his quotation with his theological intention for Moses' section.

7.3 The quoted text from Ex 3:5, 7-8, 10 in Ac 7:33-34

In the third subsection (Ac 7:30-34), there is also one explicit quotation. The highlighted phrase λῦσον τὸ ὑπόδημα τῶν ποδῶν σου, ὁ γὰρ τόπος ἐφ' ᾧ ἔστηκας γῆ ἁγία ἐστίν ἰδὼν εἶδον τὴν κάκωσιν τοῦ λαοῦ μου τοῦ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, καὶ τοῦ στεναγμοῦ αὐτῶν ἤκουσα, καὶ κατέβην ἐξελεῖσθαι αὐτούς, καὶ νῦν δεῦρο, ἀποστείλω σε εἰς Αἴγυπτον in vv. 33-34 is an explicit quotation from Ex 3:5, 7-8, 10 (LXX) that is identified by my underlined introductory formula εἶπεν δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ κύριος which I derived from v. 33a.

The discrepancies between the versions are largely formal, and the content is quite similar, namely that Luke made the grammatical and stylistic changes, but that the meaning was not altered by these changes, although it should not be excluded that Luke might have used another *Textvorlage*.

The quoted text from Ex 3:5 expresses God's commandment to Moses to remove his sandals because he is standing on holy ground. Another quoted text from Ex 3:7b-8 demonstrates the truth that God is faithful to his promise. The other quoted text from Ex 3:10 expresses that it was Moses who was sent by God. The next verse (v. 35) however displays the rejection of Moses by the Israelites. The implied meanings of one quotation which is composed of a combination of three quoted texts, shows the following: God's self revelation is not limited to Jewish territory, just as God's calling of Abraham took place outside of the land; God is true to his words toward his people; and, the Israelite

rejection of Moses whom God had sent.

In conclusion, Luke draws the quoted text from Ex 3:5, 7-8, 10 in order to formulate his theological motifs, for example, God's calling of Moses, God outside of the land, God's faithfulness to his promise. Through two substitutions of $\lambda\upsilon\sigma\sigma\omicron\nu$ and $\acute{\epsilon}\phi' \omega$, it could imply that another *Vorlage* was used by him, or simply that he sought to improve the expressions for his context. However, it is necessary to note that the meaning is not significantly altered by these changes.

7.4 The quoted text from Ex 2:14 in Ac 7:35

In the fourth subsection (Ac 7:35-37), there are two explicit quotations, one from Ex 2:14 and another from Dt 18:15. One explicit quotation $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma \sigma\epsilon \kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu \acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\omicron\nu\tau\alpha \kappa\alpha\iota \delta\iota\kappa\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\nu$; from Ex 2:14 (LXX) appears in v. 35, which is indicated by my underlined introductory formula Τοῦτον τὸν Μωϋσῆν ὃν ἠρνήσαντο εἰπόντες which I derived from the text. The Lukan repetitive treatment of the same quotation reveals the fact that he deliberately makes clear his hermeneutical intention, especially through the very quotation within the context of the Moses story.

The quotation upholds Luke's theme of the disbelief of Israel against Moses whom God had sent. This motif is strengthened progressively by the quotations, including a repetition of the same quotation in vv. 27-28. Stephen's statement after the quotation serves to elucidate the meaning of the quotation.

In conclusion, Luke's quotation agrees exactly with both the MT version and the LXX version of Ex 2:14. It is likely that Luke might have used either the LXX or the MT at this point. Through the repeated use of the same quotation by the writer, the theme of the Israelites' rejection of Moses is reinforced progressively

in the Moses story.

7.5 The quoted text from Dt 18:15 in Ac 7:37

Another explicit quotation Προφήτην ὑμῖν ἀναστήσει ὁ θεὸς ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὑμῶν ὡς ἐμέ from Dt 18:15 appears in v. 37. It is also indicated by my underlined introductory formula οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Μωϋσῆς ὁ εἶπας τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ which I derived from v. 37a.

It is evident that it is quoted from the LXX, though there are several changes which Luke made. According to the context of the speech, some grammatical and stylistic changes are seen to occur here. The transpositions are understandable in view of Luke's intent.

The quotation suggests clearly that Moses, who the people of Israel are rejecting, was appointed by God. It is also important that along with the quotation from Dt 18:15-16 in Ac 3:22, this quotation serves as a christological text within Acts (Scobie 1978-1979:418). However, the indication that Jesus is the prophet like Moses in this part of Stephen's speech is not given until v. 52.

In conclusion, Luke describes God's legitimation of Moses by quoting from Dt 18:15. When Luke deals with the text, the changes that were made to a LXX version by him are probably attributable to his stylistic preference and emphatic intention within the new context. In spite of the alterations, the meaning is not noticeably changed.

7.6 The quoted text from Ex 32:1, 23 in Ac 7:40

In the fifth subsection (Ac 7:38-43), there are two explicit quotations each from

Ex 32:1, 23 and Am 5:25-27. One explicit quotation Ποίησον ἡμῖν θεοὺς οἱ προπορεύονται ἡμῶν ὁ γὰρ Μωϋσῆς οὗτος, ὃς ἐξήγαγεν ἡμᾶς ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου, οὐκ οἶδαμεν τί ἐγένετο αὐτῷ from Ex 32:1, 23 (LXX) appears in v. 40, it is also indicated by my underlined introductory formula εἰπόντες τῷ Ἀαρῶν which I derived from the text. Luke's changes of the text seem to be due to his stylistic preference and grammatical changes within the new context.

This quote further strengthens the theme of Moses, God's chosen one, who is rejected by Israel. This motif is reinforced more and more within the context of Stephen's speech. It could thus mean that to refuse God's herald is to refuse God himself. The first quotation here may be connected with the second quotation which illustrates the Israelite idolatry with the golden calf in this subsection.

In conclusion, Luke's quotation agrees exactly with both the MT version and the LXX version of Ex 32:1, 23. Thus Luke could have used either the LXX or the MT for this part of Stephen's speech. The changes that were made by Luke, might be ascribed to his grammatical and stylistic preferences. Here he depicts the rejection of Moses once again.

7.7 The quoted text from Am 5:25-27 in Ac 7:42-43

Another explicit quotation from Am 5:25-27 (LXX) appears in vv. 42-43, that is also indicated by my underlined introductory formula καθὼς γέγραπται ἐν βίβλῳ τῶν προφητῶν which I derived from v. 42b: Μὴ σφάγια καὶ θυσίας προσηνέγκατέ μοι ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, οἶκος Ἰσραὴλ; καὶ ἀνελάβετε τὴν σκητὴν τοῦ Μόλοχ καὶ τὸ ἄστρον τοῦ θεοῦ [ὑμῶν] Ῥαιφάν, τοὺς τύπους οὓς ἐποιήσατε προσκυνεῖν αὐτοῖς, καὶ μετοικιῶ ὑμᾶς ἐπέκεινα Βαβυλῶνος.

Although it might have been possible that Luke used another *Textvorlage*, most of the changes that were made by Luke, show us his stylistic preference and hermeneutical intention. Especially, the substitution of Βαβυλῶνος is likely to be Luke's key textual adaptation and reflects the retrospection on the historical experience of the community.

The quotation announces at length that in the desert the Israelite worship was offered to the heavenly bodies, not to God. The motif of Israel's rejection that begins with Joseph and then moves on to the rejection of Moses, may culminate in Israel's idolatry against God. It is interesting to note that all of the quotations of this subsection – two quotations from Ex 32:1, 23 and Am 5:25-27 - seem to build up Stephen's statement of the previous verse of each quotation.

In conclusion, Luke here uses the quotation from Am 5:25-27, making his ideological and hermeneutical motifs, such as the Israelite's idolatry, clear. It is particularly noticeable that his theological point is made in the replacement of Βαβυλῶνος. In the process of Luke's employment of a LXX version, the changes that are made by him, seem to be required within the new context. However, Luke's alterations are not far from the original meaning. It should be noted that the quotation of CD differs completely from the meaning of the original context. At last, it was probably Luke who made these changes and it is unlikely here that they should be ascribed to another *Vorlage*.

CHAPTER V

THE TEMPLE (Ac 7:44-50)

1. INTRODUCTION

“The temple in Jerusalem was of central importance within early Judaism” (Chilton 1997:1159). In the light of this, Stephen is charged before the Jews with claiming that Jesus of Nazareth will destroy the temple (Ac 6:13-14). An important question to answer is thus, was Stephen really in opposition to the temple? On the contrary, Luke describes the Jews’ accusation against Stephen as false (Ac 6:13). Luke’s refutation is skilfully revealed in this part of Stephen’s speech.

In developing his argument, Luke provides a selective history of the Israelite tabernacle and temple, and then draws a quoted text from Is 66:1-2. The relationship between the movable tent and the fixed temple becomes clear within the context of the OT as well as the discourse. Throughout Stephen’s address, the theme of the true worship occurs here once again. In the end, Luke’s main points are strongly reinforced at the close of his summary of Israelite history by expounding two central points, namely, God’s transcendence and true worship of God.

2. COMPOSITION

In this section, Stephen proficiently contests one of the charges made against him: (a) “Our forefathers had the tabernacle of the Testimony with them in the desert” (Ἡ σκηνὴ τοῦ μαρτυρίου ἦν τοῖς πατράσιν ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, v. 44a). The phrase ἡ σκηνὴ τοῦ μαρτυρίου is a normal LXX translation of the Tabernacle -

both אֹהֶל עֵדוּת ‘tent of the testimony’ and אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד ‘tent of meeting’. P⁷⁴ 33 326 pc exclude the genitive pronoun ἡμῶν.

(b) “It had been made as God directed Moses, according to the pattern he had seen” (καθὼς διετάξατο ὁ λαλῶν τῷ Μωϋσῆ ποιῆσαι αὐτὴν κατὰ τὸν τύπον ὃν ἑώρακεῖ, v. 44b). The noun διαταγὰς occurs in v. 53. The phrase ὁ λαλῶν seems to point clearly to God despite the fact that there is no reference to his name. According to Barrett (1994:371), the word τύπος means “[a] model to be imitated” (see v. 43). Although Stephen refers here to God’s instructions on the building of the tabernacle in accordance with the pattern shown to Moses (see Ex 25:9, 40), Philo (*VitMos* 2:88) speaks of the tabernacle as something that is made by the hands of men: ἱερὸν χειροποίητον κατασχευάζοντας τῷ πατρὶ καὶ ἡγεμόνι τοῦ παντός.

(c) “Having received the tabernacle, our fathers under Joshua brought it with them¹⁶² when they took the land from the nations” (ἦν καὶ εἰσήγαγον διαδεξάμενοι οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν μετὰ Ἰησοῦ ἐν τῇ κατασχέσει τῶν ἐθνῶν, v. 45a). Barrett (1994:371) explains that the verb διαδεξάμενοι means “*to succeed to the possession of something* but here may have a weaker sense.”¹⁶³

The expression ‘our father(s)’ occurs 10 times in Stephen’s speech (see v. 2 ‘πατρὶ ἡμῶν’; vv. 11, 15, 39, 45 ‘πατέρες ἡμῶν’; v. 12 ‘πατέρας ἡμῶν’; v. 19 ‘πατέρας [ἡμῶν]’; vv. 38, 45 ‘πατέρων ἡμῶν’; v. 44 ‘πατράσιν ἡμῶν’; contrast vv. 51, 52 ‘πατέρες ὑμῶν’). The phrase occurs six times in the speeches in Acts outside of the Stephen speech (see Ac 3:13; 5:30; 13:17; 15:10; 22:14; 26:6). According to Fitzmyer (1998:383), “Joshua’s name may be significant here, because its

¹⁶² For the detailed narrative of the OT, see Jos 3:11-4:18.

¹⁶³ It refers to “from generation to generation” (Conzelmann 1987:56). Cf. also Haenchen (1971:285).

Hebrew form in Josh 1:1 is *Yĕhōšūă* (“Yahweh, help!” the cry of a woman in birth pangs). Later on, the name was contracted to *Yĕšūă*, which becomes in the LXX *ĭēsous*, ‘Jesus’.”

The noun *κατάσχεσις* already occurred once earlier in v. 5. It means ‘possession’ (Lake & Cadbury 1933:80-81; see also Gn 17:8; 2 Chr 11:14). According to Jos 3:10, “the living God ... will certainly drive out before you the Canaanites, Hittites, Hivites, Perizzites, Girgashites, Amorites and Jebusites.” These are the names of seven nations who stayed in Canaan.

(d) “God drove out before them. It remained in the land until the time of David” (*ὧν ἐξώσεν ὁ θεὸς ἀπὸ προσώπου τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν ἕως τῶν ἡμερῶν Δαυίδ*, v. 45b). **N* E 33 pc** have *ἐξέωσεν* instead of *ἐξώσεν*. Bruce ([1951]1976:175) regards the words *ἀπὸ προσώπου* as a Semitism (see Ac 3:20). Wilson (1962:184) says that “[t]here are no direct quotations, but the language is Septuagintal.”

According to Jos 18:1, the tabernacle was set up in Shiloh. As the Israelite history shows, it remained in Shiloh until the time of Samuel (see 1 Sm 4:3). Then the ark of God was taken to the battlefield, captured by the Philistines, and returned to the Israelites (see 1 Sm 4:4-6:21). The men of Kiriath Jearim took it to Abinadab’s house (see 1 Sm 7:1), where it stayed until the time when David became king. David, was the one who brought the ark into Jerusalem and set it in its place inside the tent that he had pitched for it (see 2 Sm 6:17; 1 Chr 16:1), while the tabernacle was placed in Gibeon (see 1 Chr 16:39).

(e) “who enjoyed God’s favour and asked that he might provide a dwelling place for the God of Jacob” (*ὃς εὐρεν χάριν ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἠτήσατο εὐρεῖν σκηνῶμα τῷ οἴκῳ Ἰακώβ*, v. 46). When David brought the ark into Jerusalem, he conveyed to the prophet Nathan his desire to build a house for God (see 2 Sm

7:1-2; 1 Chr 17:1). Fitzmyer (1998:383) explains that in 2 Sm 7:1-16, “there is a play on the word ‘house’. At first it means ‘palace’ (vv 1-2), then ‘temple’ (house of God, vv 5-7, 13), then ‘household, dynasty’ (vv 11, 16)” (see also 1 Chr 17:1-14).

Concerning the reading of οἶκω, Metzger ([1971]1975:351-352) explains:

Of the two readings, οἶκω is to be preferred on the basis of both external evidence (it is supported by a combination of Alexandrian and Western witnesses: P⁷⁴ \aleph^* B D cop^{saPt} *al*) and transcriptional probability,¹⁶⁴ for there is no good reason why scribes should have altered θεῶ to οἶκω, whereas the apparent difficulty of the expression ‘a habitation for the house of Jacob’ as well as the temptation to assimilate it to the Septuagint text of Ps 132.5 [= LXX 131.5] (ἕως οὗ εὕρω τόπον τῷ κυρίῳ, σκήνωμα τῷ θεῷ Ἰακώβ) would have influenced many to emend the text.

Besides, Hort (1882:92) indicated that κυρίῳ has been left out of the text. The phrase τῷ κυρίῳ Ἰακώβ is not found earlier in the MSS of the OT or the NT. Ropes (1926:72), furthermore, observes that:

if we have here a translation from an Aramaic source, it is easy to suppose that the Aramaic equivalent of the Hebrew phrase was first rendered by τῷ κυρίῳ Ἰακώβ, and then this unusual expression corrupted to the familiar-sounding but inappropriate phrase τῷ οἶκῳ Ἰακώβ.

Although Lachmann (1850:viii) supposed that the original text is εὐρεῖν σκήνωμα τῷ οἶκῳ τοῦ θεοῦ Ἰακώβ (cf. also Dunn 1996:97), Klijn (1957:29-30) mentions

¹⁶⁴ For the reading of οἶκω, cf. also Haenchen (1971:285); Combrink (1979:17, 27); Marshall (1980:146).

that Stephen's idea of "a house within the house of Israel as a substitute for the temple and thus as the real temple of God," is an idea that is unknown hitherto in Jewish writings. However, the idea can be found in 1QS 9:3-6. It is unlikely that Stephen already regards the house as the Jewish Christian community (cf. Witherington 1998:273), but if one accepts Klijn's statement that seems to uphold the original reading οἶκω, such a reading is possible. Knowling ([1900]1951:198) also mentions (cf. also Witherington 1998:272-273) that:

in LXX, Ps. Cxxxi.3, we have σκήνωμα οἴκου, and a similar expression *may* have been the orig. reading here; again, in Ps. Xxiv. 6, Heb., we have 'Jacob' = 'the God of Jacob' (LXX 23.6), and it has been suggested that some such abbreviation or mode of speech lies at the bottom of the difficulty here.

In the end, Lake and Cadbury (1933:81) say that "the Temple, like the Tabernacle, was a house or tent 'of meeting,' and it was to be used by the house of Jacob as well as by the Almighty." Barrett (1994:372) concludes:

The difference between the two readings is not as great as is sometimes thought: a dwelling for the God of Jacob is undoubtedly a temple for him to dwell in, and a dwelling for the house of Jacob is a place that the house of Jacob may use as a temple, that is, it means a dwelling (for God) to be used as such by the house of Jacob.

Notwithstanding, I prefer the reading 'σκήνωμα τῷ θεῷ Ἰακώβ' for the following reasons summarised by Johnson (1992:133):¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁵ For the reading of θεῷ, cf. also Bruce ([1951]1976:175); Rackham (1953:98); Wilson (1962:185); Kilgallen (1976^a:89); Richard (1978:131-132); Longenecker (1981:143); Conzelmann (1987:56); Kistemaker (1990:270); Soards (1994:67). Fitzmyer (1998:383) understands that the homoeoteleuton might occur amongst copyists.

There are three reasons for overturning the rules of textual criticism, here: a) the language clearly forms an allusion to LXX Ps 131:5, “until I find a place (*topos*) for the Lord, a dwelling for the God of Jacob (*skēnōma tō theō Iakob*)”; b) the *autō* in the next verse makes good sense if the reading here is God rather than Jacob (“Solomon built a house for him”); c) This reading makes better sense of the emphatic declaration in v. 48, “*God* does not dwell.”

(f) “But it was Solomon who built the house for him” (Σολομῶν δὲ οἰκοδόμησεν¹⁶⁶ αὐτῷ οἶκον, v. 47). The word δέ is an adversative conjunction. The word αὐτῷ evidently refers to God (θεῷ) (see 1 Ki 5:5; 6:1-2, 37-38; 8:20; 2 Chr 2:1; 3:1; 5:1; 6:10). In spite of David’s desire, God instructed Nathan to tell him that God wanted David’s son to build the house (see 2 Sm 7:13; 1 Chr 17:12). The reason was because David was a warrior and had shed blood (see 1 Chr 22:8; 28:3). In the end, the Temple was constructed by Solomon (see 1 Ki 5:1-6:38; 7:13-51).

(g) “However, the Most High does not live in houses made by men. As the prophet says” (ἀλλ’ οὐχ ὁ ὑψιστος ἐν χειροποιήτοις κατοικεῖ, καθὼς ὁ προφήτης λέγει, v. 48). Moulton (1963:287) explains that the place of the negative particle οὐχ “may be altered to achieve emphasis, and in Acts 7.48 the position of οὐχ puts *the Most High* in relief” (cf. also Blass & Debrunner 1961 §433.1).

According to Fitzmyer (1998:384), ὁ ὑψιστος is a divine name which is discovered in many Greek writings. “It is used of Zeus in the Greco-Roman world (Pindar, *Nemean Odes* 1.90; Aeschylus, *Eumenides* 28); also in inscriptions, esp. from Cyprus (PGM 4.1068; 5.46) and Cyrene, where it was

¹⁶⁶ For unaugmented verbs beginning with οἰ, see Moulton & Howard (1929:191), Blass & Debrunner (1961 §67.1).

employed even as a designation for Egyptian Isis.” In the LXX it is a general name of God (see Gn 14:18, 19, 22; Ps 46:4). In Philo’s (*Flacc* 7:46; *LegGaj* 36:278) and Josephus’ (*Ant* 16:163) works, it is also applied to God. This name for God occurs eight times in the NT (cf. Roberts, Skeat & Nock 1936:39-88; see Mk 5:7; Heb 7:1; Lk 1:32, 35, 76; 6:35; 8:28; Ac 16:17).

The word χειροποιήτοισι commonly means the idolatry which has negative connotations in the LXX (see Lv 26:1, 30; Is 2:8; 10:11; 16:12; Ps 113:12; Dn 5:4, 23; Jdt 8:18; Wis 14:8; contrast Dibelius 1956^b:41-42). In the Pauline speech (Ac 17:24) this word appears once again with the same principle (see also Mk 14:58; Heb 9:11, 24).¹⁶⁷ To employ this word for the Temple must consequently have been extremely offensive to the Jewish ears (cf. Barrett 1994:373; Dunn 1996:97).

Barrett’s words (2002:106) are noteworthy:

But at the beginning of the verse is probably strongly adversative (Solomon built a house but should have done no such thing), not slightly so (Solomon built a house, but we must not think that God is confined to it). The verse states only what the OT already knows (1 Kings 8.27); but it is to be noted that Stephen picks out not the many OT passages that glorify the Temple but some of the few that criticize it. ... It must be remembered that in Acts 1-5 Christians continue to use the Temple ... A twofold attitude to the Temple matches Luke’s attitude to Judaism in general.

However, Evans and Sanders (1993:198) correctly indicate concerning the building of the temple:

¹⁶⁷ For the similar comparison which is made regarding circumcision, see also Eph 2:11; Col 2:11.

Nothing is wrong with the temple nor with building it, but it is wrong to believe that it (and perhaps it alone) is the habitation of God. Moreover, allegiance to a temple built with human hands could place Israel in danger of repeating its earlier wilderness sin, for the golden calf had also been made by ‘their hands’ (v. 41).

(h) “Heaven is my throne” (Ὁ οὐρανός μοι θρόνος, v. 49a). P⁷⁴ D* read μου (1st person singular genitive pronoun) instead of μοι (1st person singular dative pronoun). (i) “and the earth is my footstool” (ἡ δὲ γῆ ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν μου, v. 49b). B h read καὶ ἡ instead of ἡ δέ.

(j) “What kind of house will you build for me? says the Lord” (ποῖον οἶκον οἰκοδομήσετε μοι, λέγει κύριος, v. 49c). (k) “Or where will my resting place be?” (ἢ τίς τόπος τῆς καταπαύσεώς μου; v. 49d). Instead of τίς, D h have ποῖος, corresponding to the reading of the LXX. (l) “Has not my hand made all these things?” (οὐχὶ ἡ χεὶρ μου ἐποίησεν ταῦτα πάντα; v. 50). P⁷⁴ A C D E *pm* h read πάντα ταῦτα, corresponding to the order of the LXX, but the exact reading of the LXX has πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα.

3. GOD’S TRANSCENDENCE AND THE QUOTATION

3.1 The quotation from Is 66:1-2 in Ac 7:49-50

3.1.1 Other occasions of Is 66:1-2

Although there may be a faint, or implied, reference to Is 66:1-2 in Mt 5:34, this quotation is not found as an explicit quotation anywhere else in the NT. It looks as if this is the first time that the explicit quotation appears here in NT writings. It

is interesting that this text is cited by early Christian writers (see *Barn* 16:2; Justin, *Dial* 22:11).

3.1.2 The introductory formula (Ac 7:48b)

The introductory formula is formed by the words: “As the prophet says” (καθὼς ὁ προφήτης λέγει, v. 48b). After “the prophet” cop^{G67} adds “Isaiah”.

3.1.3 Establishing and describing the textual differences

NT(NA27)	LXX	MT
Ac 7:49-50	Is 66:1-2 ¹⁶⁸	Is 66:1-2
	¹ οὕτως λέγει κύριος	כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה
⁴⁹ ὁ οὐρανός μοι θρόνος,	ὁ οὐρανός μοι θρόνος	הַשָּׁמַיִם כִּסֵּאִי
ἢ δὲ γῆ ὑποπόδιον	ἢ δὲ γῆ ὑποπόδιον	וְהָאָרֶץ הָדָם
τῶν ποδῶν μου·	τῶν ποδῶν μου	רַגְלֵי
ποιον οἶκον	ποιον οἶκον	אֵיזָה בַּיִת
οἰκοδομήσατέ μοι,	οἰκοδομήσατέ μοι	אֲשֶׁר תִּבְנוּ לִי
<u>λέγει κύριος,</u>		
ἢ τίς τόπος	ἢ <u>ποιός</u> τόπος	וְאֵיזָה מְקוֹם
τῆς καταπαύσεώς μου;	τῆς καταπαύσεώς μου	מְנוּחָתִי:
⁵⁰ <u>οὐχὶ ἡ χεὶρ μου ἐποίησεν</u>	² <u>πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα</u>	וְאֶת-כָּל-אֲלֵה
<u>ταῦτα πάντα;</u>	<u>ἐποίησεν ἡ χεὶρ μου</u>	יְדֵי עֲשָׂתָהּ

3.1.3.1 Textual differences between MT and LXX

The LXX follows the MT very closely, in spite of one minor difference. The

¹⁶⁸ Unless otherwise referred to, the LXX version edited by Ziegler ([1939]1984) is used for the Greek translation of Isaiah.

reading of the MT has “and what (is) this place” (וְאֵי-יָדָה מָקוֹם), while the reading of the LXX has “or what kind of place” (ἢ ποῖος τόπος). In relation to these representations of the phrase, the NT has “or what (is) the place” (ἢ τίς τόπος). The variations between three versions are somewhat insignificant to the meaning of the text.

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

There are 3 major changes to be displayed between the readings of Ac 7:49-50 and Is 66:1-2 (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.

(a) Transposition:

[1] λέγει κύριος (Ac 7:49)

In the LXX the phrase λέγει κύριος is found at the beginning of the verse with the adverb οὕτως, corresponding to the MT. But, in the NT it occurs at the middle of the verse, that is, before ἢ τίς τόπος.

(b) Substitution:

[2] ποῖος → τίς (Ac 7:49)

The interrogative adjective (ποῖος) in the LXX text is substituted by the interrogative adjective (τίς) in Ac 7:49.

(c) Transposition with the changes:

[3] οὐχὶ ἡ χεὶρ μου ἐποίησεν ταῦτα πάντα; (Ac 7:50)

This phrase is also found in the LXX. But, the order in the LXX reading is πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα ἐποίησεν ἡ χεὶρ μου, corresponding to the MT. It, moreover, appears in

the interrogative particle οὐχι (Ac 7:50) instead of the conjunction γάρ as in the LXX reading.

3.2 Luke's method used for the quotation

There are 3 major changes between Ac 7:49-50 and Is 66:1-2 (LXX). *First*, the transposition of λέγει κύριος shows possibly that it was placed here in an emphatic position by Luke himself. Furthermore it is more suitable to place the phrase in the middle of v. 49, since Luke already placed the introductory formula into v. 48b.

Secondly, Luke substitutes ποῖος, which is used in direct and indirect interrogative sentence, by τίς, which might be used in a rhetorical question (cf. Arndt & Gingrich 1957:691, 826; Blass & Debrunner 1961:64). By employing this rhetorical device, Luke seems to link vv. 49-50 with vv. 42-43, using these last two quotations from the prophetic texts as a powerful and influential tool for his argument.

Thirdly, by changing a declarative sentence of Isaiah “assigning the reason for the previous inquiries” (Turpie 1868:133), into a question through the transposition-cum-substitution, Luke has made it much stronger than its original meaning. As a strengthened type of οὐ, Luke's use of οὐχι in place of γάρ (LXX) implies an answer in the affirmative.

According to Thornton (1974:432-434), one needs to examine a fragment of Aramaic midrash which was discovered in *Codex Reuchlinianus* and *Codex Vaticanus Ebr. Urbin.* / .¹⁶⁹ The midrash which contains the Targum of

¹⁶⁹ Grelot (1972:511-527) edited the two codices in 1972.

Jonathan on Isaiah (cf. Stenning 1949:226-227; Sperber 1962:129-130), states:

Jerusalem Targum on 'The heavens are my throne'. A prophecy of Isaiah which he prophesied ... to the people, the house of Israel: 'Thus says the Lord: The heavens are the throne of my glory. And why are you proud before me because of this house which has been built by the hands of king Solomon for my name? The higher and lower heavens do not succeed in containing the presence of my glory, according as it was said through Solomon: ... Now I have no pleasure in it, because you provoke my anger. And so, behold, my decision goes forth to make Nebuchadrezzar come and he will destroy it, and exile you from the city of Jerusalem.' When Manasseh heard Isaiah's words of warning he was filled with anger against him. He said to his servants: 'Run after him, seize him!' ... He fled before them, and a carob-tree opened its mouth and swallowed him. They brought iron saws and cut the tree so that Isaiah's blood flowed like water.¹⁷⁰

Thornton (1974:433) affirms that if the above explanation was accepted in the days of Stephen, it would shed light on the false accusation made against Stephen concerning the temple and the shift from vv. 44-50 to v. 52 would become smoother. However, he (1974:434) himself says that unfortunately "[t]he date of this Aramaic midrash is uncertain."

According to Lake and Cadbury (1933:82), the use of this quoted text by early Christian writers (e.g. *Barn* 16:2; Justin, *Dial* 22:11), as mentioned earlier, makes us suppose that a collection of 'Testimonies' has been drawn on by the writers. Haenchen (1971:285), however, indicates that "Justin does not cite these verses in immediate succession, and he gives in each case the exact

¹⁷⁰ This translation, which originally follows the *Codex Reuchlinianus*, is here recited from Thornton (1974:432-433).

source of quotation.” Bruce ([1951]1976:176) presents the proposal that both Barnabas and Justin depended on Acts as an alternative insight. On the contrary, Cerfaux (1950:46) feels that Barnabas and Luke modified the quoted text separately.¹⁷¹

It is decisively clear that Luke quotes from the LXX text (cf. Haenchen 1971:285; Conzelmann 1987:56; Kistemaker 1990:271; Johnson 1992:133; Barrett 1994:375; Fitzmyer 1998:384). Ringgren (1986:234) states that Luke’s changes “are not rooted in any other textual traditions” except the LXX.

3.3 Lukan interpretation of the quotation

Luke now turns his attention to the tabernacle and the temple, which has been implicitly evident from the beginning of Stephen’s speech in the theme ‘God outside of the land’. Luke also disproves the accusation of Stephen’s blasphemy against the temple: “this Jesus of Nazareth will destroy this place” (i.e. temple, *J-W Kim*) (see Ac 6:14). Moving on to the temple, Luke firstly traces back to the time of Moses in order to deal with the tabernacle. Surprisingly, Israel’s people own the tabernacle of the testimony according to the heavenly prototype that God gave Moses, in spite of their disobedience and unfaithfulness in the desert (Haenchen 1971:284).

Furthermore the Israelites need not have the tent of Molech because they already had the tent of the testimony in the desert, as mentioned above. Conzelmann (1987:55) states that by means of two tents the correlation between vv. 43 and 44 is hard to follow here (cf. also Fitzmyer 1998:382). However, Barrett (1994:371) reckons that the words ἡ σκηνὴ τοῦ μαρτυρίου stand

¹⁷¹ Recited from Wilson (1962:186).

against τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ Μόλοχ in the previous verse, and thus the two verses form the ideological contrast (cf. also Haenchen 1971:284; Johnson 1992:132). Simon (1951:127-142) also portrays the two tents as signs of the line of true worship and of idol worship. Although God wishes the Israelites to adore him, they turn away from him in mistrust.

Moreover Spencer (1997:76-77) states that the idolatrous ‘images’ (τύπους) in v. 43 were in opposition to the real ‘pattern’ (τύπον) of worship shown to Moses by God in v. 44, “which included not only the sacred stipulations of the law but also the blueprints for the proper place (*topos*) of worship: the portable ‘tent (*skēnē*) of testimony in the wilderness.” It is made expressly clear that the concomitant of the law is the tent of the testimony. God provided the Israelites with the tent where they worshipped him and where he put the witness of the Ten Commandments (Kistemaker 1990:268).

Luke here describes the tent of the testimony or meeting as ἡ σκηνὴ τοῦ μαρτυρίου, corresponding to the LXX (Ex 27:21; 28:43; 33:7; Nm 1:50; 12:4; Dt 31:14). Soards (1994:66-67) says, “[t]he reference to ‘the tent of witness’ both registers the important general theme of ‘witness’ (see 1:8) and illustrates the point that people in former times were ‘not without a witness,’ a theme that occurs in 7:44; 14:17; 17:25b-28.”

According to Dunn (1996:96), v. 44 “fed directly into the apocalyptic idea that God’s plans for the future had all been already drawn up in heaven.” The proposal to make the tent stemmed from God himself not from any creature. The tabernacle thus points to God’s idea, command, and power. As mentioned earlier, the expression ‘our forefathers’ occurs repeatedly in the discourse. Luke continually calls the Israelites ‘our forefathers’ up to now in spite of their defiance of God. Finally, the key point of v. 44 seems to demonstrate the

existence of God's tent in contradiction to the tent of Molech in the previous verse.

Carried into the land under the leadership of Joshua, the portable sanctuary as the sign to Israel that God's presence was sufficient until the days of David. The transportability of the tabernacle points implicitly to the substance of temporality that is not fixed to one spot. A hint of the motif 'God outside the land' is given here once again. God's promise that the Israelites would possess (κατάσχεσιν) the land in v. 5, is now fulfilled in v. 45. By God's dispossessing the heathen before her, Israel finally possessed (κατασχέσει) the land.

However, it is true that the seven nations were not eliminated fully until the time of David. Here Luke gives God the admiration and reverence for the take-over of Canaan. The reason for this is in recognition of the reality that God was always with Israel in the transferable tent. The tabernacle was an emblem of God's continual and energetic leadership. The major actor was still God throughout the Israelite history.

As compared with the DSS and Hebrews, in relation to the tabernacle Longenecker (1981:142) states as follows (cf. also Dunn 1996:96):

Like the covenanters at Qumran (cf. 1QS 8.7-8) and the writer to the Hebrews (cf. Heb 8:2, 5; 9:1-5, 11, 24), and probably like many other nonconformist Jews of his time, Stephen seems to have viewed the epitome of Jewish worship in terms of the tabernacle, not the temple. Very likely this was because he felt the mobility of the tabernacle was a restraint on the status quo mentality that had grown up around the temple. But unlike the Qumranites, who desired a restoration of that classical ideal, Stephen, as well as the writer to the Hebrews, was attempting to lift his compatriots' vision to

something far superior to even the wilderness tabernacle--viz., to the dwelling of God with men in Jesus of Nazareth and as expressed through the new covenant.

After Moses and Joshua, David makes an appearance in v. 46 that was implied in the preceding verse. He wins God's grace and desires to offer a better dwelling place for the God of Jacob. The phrase εἶπεν χάριν ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ recurs in the OT (see Gn 6:8; 1 Sm 16:22). The expression, which can be likened to that in v. 20 where Moses is said to be 'beautiful before God', refers to God's sovereignty because it shows how a human being appears before God. It means that the human race should live in keeping with the criterion set out by God.

The reading 'a dwelling for the God of Jacob' seems to fit the flow of the thought, as discussed earlier. According to Marshall (1980:146), whether 'the dwelling place' (σκήνωμα) means the movable tent or the fixed temple is not clear. However, throughout the original context of the OT and this section as well as the following verse, it becomes clear that Luke uses the Greek word in order to describe the temple. Neudorfer's contrast (1998:290) of the dwelling place by David in v. 46 with the house by Solomon in v. 47 is, therefore, incorrect. Luke is just employing v. 46 so as to represent the shift from the tabernacle to the temple.¹⁷²

For this debate, Sylva's statement (1987:264) is appropriate as follows (cf. also Larsson 1993:391; Neagoe 2002:167):

One possible argument for interpreting *skēnōma* in 7:46 as "tent" could be the

¹⁷² Stier (1869:131) says that "[t]here are three stages of the expression – first, *tabernacle*, or tent; next, *habitation*, or dwelling (σκήνωμα; cf. John 1:14); then *house* or completed building."

similarity of this term to *skēnē*, which was just used to refer to the tent of witness in Acts 7:44. However, the evidence from Luke's use of these terms may argue just as strongly for the opinion that *skēnōma* refers to the temple. As *skēnē tou martyriou* in 7:44 is in no way related to *skēnē tou Moloch* in 7:43 but rather is simply a way of making a transition from one topic to another, so too in 7:46 ... may simply be a way of making the transition from writing about the ark and the tent to writing about the temple.

He adds that the term *σκήνωμα* in the LXX text is employed to point both to the tabernacle and to the temple. For instance, the term is employed to point to the tent in 1 Ki 2:28; 8:4 (LXX), while it is used to point to the temple in Ps 14:1; 45:5; 73:7 (LXX).

V. 47 is the only mention of "Solomon as a historical figure in the speeches, but from 3:11 and 5:12 the reader should already associate Solomon with the Temple" (Soards 1994:67). God turns down David's bid, but he carries on declaring that David's son would build him the house, and so God promises to establish the kingdom (pedigree) of David forever. According to Beale (2004:217), this verse is "the conclusion and climax of Stephen's historical narration."

Although Longenecker (1981:142) forms a comparison between the tabernacle and the temple in vv. 44-50 (cf. Marshall 1980:146),¹⁷³ on the contrary the analogy occurs between the two structures. God himself showed clear directions for the temple as well (see 1 Chr 28:12, 19), in the same way as he did for the tabernacle in v. 44. It is evident that God approved of building both structures.

¹⁷³ Cf. also Conzelmann (1987:56), though he acknowledges the parallel between the tent and the temple in the OT.

The conjunction $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ has an antithetical meaning, as stated previously. According to Simon (1951:129), the word $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ implies that Solomon built a house which was opposed to God's will. Rather, Luke here uses the conjunction so as to depict the fact that Solomon achieved what David had hoped. Witherington's statement (1998:273) is right: "the contrast comes not between vv. 46 and 47, but between v. 48 and what precedes it" (cf. also Blackburn 1997:1124). The conjunction $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}$ which means clearly 'but' also gives rise to the contrast.

On the one hand, according to some scholars (Jones 1917:167; Tasker 1946:65; Simon 1951:127-131; Cadbury 1955:105; Stagg 1955:98; Barnard 1960-1961:31-45; Scharlemann 1968:77; Haenchen 1971:285; Bruce 1979:53; Longenecker 1981:346; Conzelmann 1987:56; Willimon 1988:62; Koester 1989:97-98; Neudorfer 1998:289-290), Stephen supposed that Solomon erred in building the temple which served to confine God. For instance, Simon (1958:51) maintains that Stephen understands "the building of the temple ... to be on a par with the making of the golden calf and a consequence of it" (cf. also Simon 1951:127).¹⁷⁴

On the other hand, others (Shedd 1899:98; Grieve 1919:614-615; Manson 1951:34; Heather 1959:238; McKelvey [1962]2000:1159; Munck 1967:66; Bell 1970:25; Kistemaker 1990:272) assert that Stephen was arguing against the contemporary viewpoint of the temple and its function rather than the existence of the temple itself. The temple itself is beyond the reproach. That is why the making of the tabernacle and its entry in the land naturally directed David's attention to build the permanent dwelling place for God. Franklin (1975:105) says that Stephen delivers an attack against "an attitude which assigned

¹⁷⁴ Cullmann (1957:28) also considers the building of the temple as "an act of the worst unfaithfulness."

permanence and finality to it.”

He adds that although the temple was also made by human hands (χειροποίητος) just like the golden calf in the desert,¹⁷⁵ “the question here is not one of worship, and so of idolatrous activity, but rather of a man-made institution which, by seeking to express some claim upon God, limits the divine freedom and so impairs the divine transcendence.” It would seem that labelling the temple as ‘hand-made’ (χειροποίητος) in this context, lends support to Franklin’s view that despite its common negative usage as discussed earlier, it relativizes the significance of the temple among the Jews, and thus seems purposefully intended to weaken the authority of the Sanhedrin, rather than the temple itself (Spencer 1997:79).

Of course, Kistemaker’s statement (1990:270) is probable: “God’s denial against David’s offer to build the temple, in a sense, points out that the worship of God can take place without a permanent temple. If this building were essential, God would not have delayed its construction.” Conclusively, according to Tannehill (1990:93), the criticism is not laid on either David’s proposal to build the temple or Solomon’s building it. No rejection of the temple itself is apparent. Rather, the promise to Abraham is fulfilled through the temple: “they will ... worship me in this place” (v. 7). Kilgallen (1976^a:94) says that

worship of God in the Temple was the final reason why Abraham (and through him the Israelite nation) was ever called at all. In short, this worship was to be the fundamental reason for, and the essential quality of, the very nation itself.

¹⁷⁵ In contrast, Dunn (1996:97) states that “[t]he history of Israel’s own idolatry is thereby shown to extend from the golden calf, ‘the works of their hands’ in v. 41, not only to the worship of the planetary powers in vv. 42-43, but also to their devotion to the temple itself!” Cf. also Dunn (1991:67).

However, Luke abruptly proclaims through v. 48 that God does not dwell in the temple, before quoting from Is 66:1-2 (LXX). Isaiah's prophecy is then used to support this warning. "While Stephen's high-priestly auditors would no doubt regard Solomon's magnificent temple-house as a crowning achievement in Israel's history" (Spencer 1997:78), Stephen harshly argues against their assessment in v. 48. In the course of the dedication of the temple by Solomon, however, the thought of v. 48 is already present in the following text (see also 1 Ki 8: 27, 30):

But will God really dwell on earth? The heavens, even the highest heaven, cannot contain you. How much less this temple I have built! ... Hear the supplication of your servant and of your people Israel when they pray toward this place. Hear from heaven, your dwelling place, and when you hear, forgive (NIV).

De Vaux (1961:330) says that "[t]he question asked in 1 Kings 8.27 here receives a different answer from the one in Deuteronomy: Yahweh has no need of any Temple." Accordingly, some scholars (cf. Marshall 1980:146; Dunn 1996:97) view that in the Bible there has mainly been a negative stance directed against the temple.

In fact, the biblical prophets in the OT cautioned Israel to avoid her hypocritical temple worship but did not censure the temple itself (see Is 1:10-17; Jr 7; Hs 6:6; Mi 6:6-8). According to Barrett (1994:375), "[m]ost OT scholars are now agreed that the prophecy did not originally constitute an attack on the Temple." Furthermore Moyise (2001:55) says that "[i]t would appear that the early Church saw no contradiction between having its own meeting and attendance at the temple."

Luke finally quotes from Is 66:1-2, which is the last quotation in the discourse.¹⁷⁶ Chapter 66 of Isaiah is actually a summary of the book. The opening verses of the chapter deal with the Jews who are vainly proud of their temple and sacrifices (cf. Calvin 1853:400). Therefore, the context of the OT is one of rebuke because of an idolatrous attitude toward the temple ritual. It is not the external act of offering sacrifices and oblations that pleases God, but the man who trembles at his word (see Is 66:2-3).

Like Isaiah, Luke desired that the Jews should realize through the following verses (Is 66:2b-4) that (cf. Longenecker 1981:142; Dunn 1996:97):

This is the one I esteem: he who is humble and contrite in spirit, and trembles at my word. But whoever sacrifices a bull is like one who kills a man, ..., and whoever burns memorial incense, like one who worships an idol. They have chosen their own ways, ... so I also will ... bring upon them what they dread ... (NIV).

The quotation is used as a proof-text to support the principle stated in v. 48 and to reject the erroneous feelings regarding the temple which existed in Stephen's day.

The temple was originally intended as a house for Israel to worship in, not a place where Israel sought to restrict their God and manipulate him according to their own concerns. At the time of exile, Solomon's temple was in ruins. Yet the people continued to worship God in Babylon and other places of exile. Moreover the Most Holy Place in the temple Herod built was empty because the

¹⁷⁶ According to Sanders (1982:144), Isaiah appears in the NT more than any other OT book (cf. Songer 1968:459-470; Flammig 1968:89-103).

ark of the covenant and its contents were either destroyed or lost (Jr 3:16). Luke, as well as a long line of prophets, have warned Israel of their tendency to substitute man-made institutions and rituals for a living relationship with the Almighty God. Luke's quotation is not a rejection of the temple but a condemnation of a wrong attitude toward worship and sacrifice within it.

As regards this quotation, Spencer (1997:78-79) states that

Firstly, a simple, declarative couplet sketches a universal-cosmic image of God's (omni-) presence ... Next, a rhetorical, interrogative couplet challenges human attempts to delimit God's presence ... Finally, a single rhetorical question logically links God's pervasive presence to creative omnipotence.

Ps 11:4's assertion that God governs in heaven is a general idea in the OT. It never means that he is not active on earth. In contrast, God is so mighty a sovereign that he is capable of doing whatever he desires. The second line of the Greek text is to join earth to heaven with the concept of God's omnipresence.

Thus, Longenecker's statement (1981:142) is not correct, i.e., that as stated by the Jews, God himself does not remain present in the temple rather only God's name is present in it (cf. Haenchen 1971:285). Bietenhard (1976:650) asserts that God's name denotes his attendance, which is assured in the temple. Simply, it is true that God himself transcends all creation, as is stated in the fifth line. In a word, there is a God-beyond-the-temple theology against "a God-in-the-box theology"¹⁷⁷ through the third and fourth line. Just as Luke refers to Abraham, Jacob, and Moses, he illustrates from first to last that God is unlimited and

¹⁷⁷ Witherington (1998:273) employs the term.

transcendent.

As mentioned earlier, this passage from Isaiah is used in *Barn* 16:2 in order to express the same sentiment. Barnabas introduces the quotation with the following statement of v. 1: “Moreover I will tell you likewise concerning the temple, how these wretched men being led astray set their hope on the building, and not on their God that made them, as being a house of God.”¹⁷⁸ Barnabas consents to Stephen’s insinuation: In the end, they crafted a god by means of the temple.

From a different viewpoint, Stephen’s words are of a customary form typical of pious Jews who were outspoken against pagan shrines and the theology of God’s dwelling that was involved in pagan ideas (Hill 1992:74). It should also be noted that the word *χειροποίητον* is found at Jesus’ trial (Mk 14:58), implying the inter-relationship between Jesus and the new temple. Beale (2004:218) states that “Christ is the one who began to build the true temple composed of himself and his people” (cf. Bruce [1951]1987:158-159; Dunn 1996:97). Ironically, “[a]lthough Jesus does not destroy the temple, the temple is destroyed because of the blindness of those who reject Jesus and his witnesses. ... people who are zealous for the temple manifest the blindness that brings its destruction” (Tannehill 1990:94).

Luke here comes to answer the charge brought against Stephen in Ac 6:13-14. Throughout the discourse, the temple is in reality substantially significant. Tannehill (1990:85) explains that “[e]arly in the speech Luke acknowledges God’s promise that Abraham’s offering would ‘worship me in this place’ (7:7), and he returns to the topic of Israel’s sanctuaries, including the temple, near the

¹⁷⁸ For the recited translation, cf. Lightfoot (1956:152).

end of the speech (7:44-50).”

What is more, is that here Luke prepares the transition for the gentile mission which will virtually appear in the next chapter of his book. According to Koet (2005:90), “[i]mplicitly, Luke’s interpretation gives rise to a certain openness as an ultimate consequence of the relative importance of the temple. This openness is not alien to Isaiah 66, because in 66:23, a counterpart of Isa. 66:1-2,” it is written that “all mankind will come and bow down before me” (i.e. God, *J-W Kim*) (see also Is 66:20; cf. 40:5). It is also necessary to note Jesus’ saying that the temple is a house of prayer for all nations (see Mk 11:17; Is 56:7).

One can illustrate this section briefly as follows:

vv. 44-45	σκηνή	Made as God directed Moses	Sanction
v. 46	σκήνωμα	Desired by David after he won God’s favour	Sanction
v. 47	οἶκος	Built for God by Solomon	Sanction [implicitly]
vv. 48-50	οἶκος & τόπος	Made by human hands	Condemnation

The tabernacle was not bound to any one place. In fact, it was carried into the promised land from outside. In contrast to this, the temple was fixed to one place. Nonetheless, there is a similarity between the two constructions. Both of them were made according to God’s directions. Indeed, for the temple, it is not clear in v. 47, but the truth can be easily proved by the context of this section, and also by the OT context. It finally means that God sanctions the building of the temple as well as the tabernacle. Whereas Israel had a tabernacle then and has a temple now, the worship of God is not limited to a tabernacle or a temple.

The object of God's condemnation is the Jewish thought that God can be confined to the temple, or any single place for that matter.

Therefore, the problem of this section is not with what the temple "was", but with what it "has been" (Neagoe 2002:167), and thus Stephen now does "not challenge the *legitimacy* of the temple but only its *necessity*" (Blackburn 1997:1124). Besides, the *crux* of vv. 48-50 convincingly "is not that God's presence can't be found in the temple (clearly Acts 2-4 shows it can), but that God's presence can't be confined there, nor can God be controlled or manipulated by the building of a temple and by the rituals of the temple cultus or the power moves of the temple hierarchy" (Witherington 1998:273).

4. SUMMARY

The highlighted phrase 'Ο οὐρανός μοι θρόνος, ἡ δὲ γῆ ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν μου, ποῖον οἶκον οἰκοδομήσετέ μοι, λέγει κύριος, ἢ τίς τόπος τῆς καταπαύσεώς μου; οὐχὶ ἡ χεὶρ μου ἐποίησεν ταῦτα πάντα; in vv. 49-50 is an explicit quotation from Is 66:1-2 (LXX) that is indicated by my underlined introductory formula καθὼς ὁ προφήτης λέγει which I derived from v. 48. Luke's changes are likely to be attributed to his literary and stylistic preference within the new context.

This quotation is used to uphold the idea that God does not live in houses made by men. Here the idea might be that God cannot be confined to any place. It is worth noticing that this quotation works as proof to sustain Stephen's statement (v. 47) before the quotation. Coming to the conclusion of Stephen's discourse, in the end, Luke summarises his theological motif that the worship of God is not limited to one particular place.

In conclusion, Luke draws on the quoted text from Is 66:1-2 to depict the theme

of the true worship of God that is not confined to the temple. When Luke relates the quotation from a LXX version to his new context, these changes might be due to his stylistic preference. However, the meaning between the original and new context is not considerably different.

CHAPTER VI

STEPHEN'S INDICTMENT (Ac 7:51-53)

1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this section is “to bring the audience to an awareness of their personal responsibility in these matters and move them to take remedial action” (White 1992:218; cf. also Dupont 1985:154). Stephen eventually reaches the conclusion of his speech where he condemns his hearers. Just like their fathers, they reject God’s agent by persecuting and killing the one whom God had sent, namely Jesus Christ, although he does not mention Jesus’ name explicitly.

The Jews are not the people of God’s covenant any more, according to Stephen, and they – not Stephen - have violated the law in spite of being the recipients of the law. In the last three verses no quotation is found, but in the Septuagintal language Luke clearly illustrates that the Jews are really antagonists against God.

2. COMPOSITION¹⁷⁹

Witherington (1998:274) says, finally Stephen’s

indictment in the *peroratio* involves the charges that the audience is: (1) stiff-necked (i.e., stubborn, unwilling to bend or rethink things); (2) uncircumcised in heart and ears (spiritually dead and unwilling to listen to the

¹⁷⁹ Combrink (1979:18) asserts that this section consists of a chiasmic structure with the pronoun ὑμεῖς.

truth); and thus in general (3) always opposing the Holy Spirit.¹⁸⁰

(a) “You stiff-necked people, with uncircumcised hearts and ears!” (Σκληροτράχηλοι καὶ ἀπερίτμητοι καρδίας καὶ τοῖς ὠσίν, v. 51a). It appears likely that Luke uses Septuagintal language here to depict Israelite sinfulness and disobedience (cf. Wilson 1962:186). The adjective σκληροτράχηλοι is a *hapax legomenon* in the NT, but seems to be drawn from Ex 33:3, 5; 34:9; Dt 9:6, 13 (LXX).¹⁸¹ According to Kistemaker (1990:273), the word “stiff-necked originates in the agricultural world of that day, in which oxen or horses refuse to yield to the yoke the farmers try to put around their necks.”

Ⲭ (Ψ) 945 1175 1739 1891 *pc* read ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν, B reads καρδίας, and E M it vg^{mss} sy^p Lcf GrNy Cyr^{dt} have τῇ καρδίᾳ. The expressions ἀπερίτμητοι καρδίας and ἀπερίτμητοι τοῖς ὠσίν appear in Lv 26:41; Jr 9:25; Ezk 44:7, 9 and Jr 6:10 (LXX) respectively (see also Dt 10:16; Cf. Jr 4:4; Jub 1:7, 23), but the word ἀπερίτμητοι is a *hapax legomenon* in the NT. It also occurs in 1QpHab 11:13 (“He did not circumcise the foreskin of his heart.”) and 1QS 5:5 (“They shall circumcise the foreskin of the inclination.”). However, Braun (1966:157-158) indicates that here it does not reveal the dualistic thought of the Qumran community.

(b) “You are just like your fathers: You always resist the Holy Spirit!” (ὕμεις ἀεὶ τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ ἀντιπίπτετε ὡς οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν καὶ ὑμεῖς, v. 51b). The 2nd personal plural pronoun here appears once in the genitive (ὑμῶν) and twice in the nominative (ὕμεις), implying Luke’s emphatic intention. Once again it seems to employ the ideas of Isaiah to depict the Israelite rebellion against God’s Holy

¹⁸⁰ Malina & Neyrey (1991:97-122) add the following elements: prophet-killers and law-breakers.

¹⁸¹ According to Fitzmyer (1998:384), one can find its Hebrew counterpart in Ex 32:9 (see Neh 9:29-30).

Spirit (see Is 63:10). The verb ἀντιπίπτετε is found nowhere else in the NT, but seems to occur in Ex 26:5, 17; Nm 27:14; Job 23:13 (LXX). According to Wilson (1962:187), the thought of the phrase ὡς οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν καὶ ὑμεῖς might be drawn from the OT:

Both we and our fathers have sinned; we have committed iniquity, we have done wickedly (Psalm 106:6)... yea, I will repay into their bosom their iniquities and their fathers' iniquities together, says the Lord (Isaiah 65:6c-7ab)... for we have sinned against the Lord our God, we and our fathers (Jeremiah 3:25b)... because for our sins, and for the iniquities of our fathers, Jerusalem and thy people have become a byword among all who are round about us (Daniel 9:16b).

(c) “Was there ever a prophet your fathers did not persecute?” (τίνα τῶν προφητῶν οὐκ ἐδίωξαν οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν; v. 52a). Fitzmyer (1998:385) states that

The murder of the prophets was a Jewish motif, even though most OT books do not speak of it. It began to surface in 1 Kgs 18:4, 13; 19:10, 14 (Elijah's complaint to God) and is continued in Jer 2:30; 26:20-24 (Uriah of Kirjath-jearim, who prophesied against Jerusalem and Judah); 2 Chr 24:20-21 (Zechariah, son of Jehoiada); the apocryphal *Martyrdom of Isaiah*¹⁸² ... Stories about martyrs who were considered prophets continued in the rabbinic tradition.¹⁸³

(d) “They even killed those who predicted the coming of the Righteous One” (καὶ ἀπέκτειναν τοὺς προκαταγγείλαντας περὶ τῆς ἐλεύσεως τοῦ δικαίου, v. 52b). D

¹⁸² For the martyrdom of Isaiah, cf. *Sanh* 103b; *Yebam* 49b; Ascens; Justin, *Dial* 120; Tertullian, *Pat* 14. For the martyrdom of Jeremiah, cf. also Tertullian, *Scorp* 8; Jerome, *Jov* 2:37.

¹⁸³ Cf. Lake & Cadbury 1933:82; Bruce [1951]1987:162; Amaru 1983:153-180; see also Mt 23:31; Lk 13:34; 1 Th 2:15; Heb 11:32, 36-37.

has αὐτούς before τοὺς προκαταγγείλαντας. Black ([1946]1967:71) and Wilcox (1965:128, 130) assert that the pronoun αὐτούς seems to be a Semitism. According to O'Reilly (1987:117), the word κατάγγελεῖν "is a post-resurrection word in the Lukan vocabulary and indicates that the days which are announced refer to the time of the church" (cf. also O'Toole 1979:88).

Kilpatrick (1945:142) advocates that "the original of the phrase (i.e. τῆς ἐλεύσεως τοῦ δικαίου, *J-W Kim*) ... is to be found in the Greek form of the cycle of Jewish pseudepigrapha ascribed to the prophets." He thinks the word ἔλευσις to be a messianic term (1945:136-137; cf. also Lake & Cadbury 1933:83). It occurs only once in the NT. The term δικαίου also seems to be a messianic title (cf. Marshall 1980:147; Kistemaker 1990:275; Barrett 1994:196; contrast O'Neill [1961]1970:140-142).¹⁸⁴ Fitzmyer (1998:286) asserts that the term is from Gn 6:9; Sir 44:17. Haenchen (1971:206) refers to 1 En 38:2;¹⁸⁵ 53:6¹⁸⁶ (47:1, 4 are uncertain), where the messiah is called 'the righteous' as he emerges before the last judgement of the ungodly and the justification of the pious.

(e) "And now you have betrayed and murdered him - you who have received the law that was put into effect through angels but have not obeyed it" (οὐδὲ νῦν ὑμεῖς προδότες καὶ φονεῖς ἐγένεσθε, οἵτινες ἐλάβετε τὸν νόμον εἰς διαταγὰς ἀγγέλων καὶ οὐκ ἐφύλαξατε, vv. 52c-53). The noun προδότες appears in 2 Tm 3:4 and with the singular form προδότης in Lk 6:16.

The preposition εἰς is possibly equivalent to ἐν in the instrumental meaning (cf.

¹⁸⁴ Steyn (1995:134) notes Judas' τῆς ἀδικίας in Ac 1:18.

¹⁸⁵ "... and when the Righteous One shall appear before the face of the righteous, those elect ones, their deeds are hung upon the Lord of the Spirits, he shall reveal light to the righteous and the elect who dwell upon the earth, where will the dwelling of the sinners be, and where the resting place of those who denied the name of the Lord of the Spirits? It would have been better for them not to have been born."

¹⁸⁶ "After this, the Righteous and Elect One will reveal the house of his congregation. From that time, they shall not be hindered in the name of the Lord of the Spirits."

Blass & Debrunner § 206.1; Zerwick § 101). A contemporary Jewish belief seems probable that the law was given to Moses by angels (see Dt 33:2 (LXX)). It is also supported by NT writers (see Ac 7:38; Gl 3:19; Heb 2:2) as well as Christian writers, but is also debated by some (see Jub 1:27-29; Josephus, *Ant* 15:136; contrast Barrett 1994:378). TDan 6:2 and CD 5:18 are doubtful (cf. Braun 1966:166). The verb φυλάσσω is used with the meaning of obedient observance by Luke (see Lk 11:28; 18:21; Ac 16:4; 21:24).

3. LUKAN INTERPRETATION OF THE SECTION

Beyond the narration of Israel's obstinate resistance to God within her history, Luke now directs attention to the members of the Sanhedrin. At this point Stephen seems to know that his hearers will not allow him anymore time to speak (cf. Bruce 1942:22; Klijn 1957:30; Haenchen 1971:286; Neil 1987:114; Kistemaker 1990:59). Similarly, some allege that the abruptness and crudity of the condemnation were induced by a furious outbreak before the Sanhedrin (cf. Longenecker 1981:143). Strictly speaking, however, the hearers' enraged response which is described in 7:54, (that is, just after Stephen finishes his discourse), does not allow him to carry on (Tannehill 1990:86).

According to Barrett (1994:378), "Luke does not indicate whether Stephen had finished his speech or was interrupted. It seems probable ... that the reference to Jesus was added as a new climax for a Hellenistic Jewish sermon intended to expose the errors of the people and summon them to repentance." It is thus clear that Stephen's address has led unsurprisingly to the extent of the tirade (Longenecker 1981:143). As Johnson (1977:76) indicates, "the speech functions as a prophecy for the narrative."

Although Luke does not quote explicitly from the OT at this point, he repeatedly

chooses the Septuagintal wordings that God used to describe the rebellious Israel, as discussed earlier. In picturesque language, Luke describes Israel's obstinacy against the Holy Spirit as resulting from her stiff neck, uncircumcised hearts and ears. Marshall (1980:147) explains that "[c]ircumcision was understood metaphorically as the cutting away of pride and sinfulness from the heart."

The word ἀπερίτμητοι means all gentiles who are outside the Abrahamic covenant. Luke's use of this term is equivalent to calling Stephen's listeners gentiles, though every male among them who is eight days old must be circumcised. Finally, Luke states that they are not in the covenant since they have neglected to heed God's words. Here "the charge takes on force from the 'covenant of circumcision'" in v. 8 (Johnson 1992:134). As Kistemaker (1990:274) states, the Jews "have the external sign on their physical bodies, but they lack the internal sign---an obedient heart regenerated by the Holy Spirit."

The mention of the Holy Spirit in connection with the Israelites' disobedience occurs often in Luke's two volumes. Johnson (1992:134) says:

The reader is reminded in particular of Peter's statement about the Holy Spirit given to those who obey God (Acts 5:32), and how those who 'falsified' or 'tested' the Holy Spirit have been 'cut off from the people' (Acts 5:1-11; 3:23), and Jesus' words concerning the unforgivability of blasphemy against the Holy Spirit (Luke 12:10).

Whereas Stephen is speaking here under the power of the Holy Spirit (Ac 6:10), the Israelites oppose the Holy Spirit all the time. In the long run, as discussed earlier, Stephen shifts from 'our fathers' to 'your fathers'. He now differentiates himself from his audience, initiating a straight "condemnation of his

condemners” (Malina & Neyrey 1991:119).¹⁸⁷ According to Soards (1994:68), Luke depicts the fault of the audience in a frank manner through the assertion of the speeches in Acts (see Ac 2:36).

Stephen now accuses the Israelite fathers of being persecutors of the prophets and murderers of those who foretold the coming of Christ, the Righteous One. The Israelites’ behavior against God’s will, repeated throughout their history keeps on in the days of Jesus, and then is exclusively related to the oppressing and killing of God’s prophets, Jesus, and Stephen. When Stephen here criticises the Israelite infidelity, he does it in the manner of the OT. According to Tannehill (1990:87), “[t]o this pattern, found in 2 Ki 17:7-20, a reference is added in Neh 9:26 to the prophets being killed, and 2 Chr 36:14-16 indicates that they were scoffed at.”

The verb *προκαταγγέλλω* occurs only twice in the NT (see Ac 3:18). Both occurrences refer to a prediction about the passion of Christ (Conzelmann 1960:220). Hays (1997:119) says that “Jesus died in accordance with the Scriptures, as the Righteous One prefigured in Isaiah, the lament psalms, and Wisdom of Solomon.”¹⁸⁸ His suffering and death corroborate that the authentic prophet has to be discarded. His passion also foreshadows an example for his followers, of which Stephen’s own martyrdom would be a first witness to the truth (cf. also Foakes-Jackson 1931:58; Hays 1989^b:194-198). According to Kilgallen (1976^a:94), “as *Moses* was rejected and the people’s *worship* became

¹⁸⁷ Longenecker (1981:144) explains that “[p]erhaps he (i.e. Stephen, *J-W Kim*) jabbed with a finger at his accusers—though even a blind man would have felt his verbal blows.”

¹⁸⁸ See Wis 2:12-13, 17-20: “Let us lie in wait for the righteous man, because he is inconvenient to us and opposes our actions; he reproaches us for sins against the law, and accuses us of sins against our training. He professes to have knowledge of God, and calls himself a child of the Lord. ... Let us see if his words are true, and let us test what will happen at the end of his life; for if the righteous man is God's child, he will help him, and will deliver him from the hand of his adversaries. Let us test him with insult and torture, so that we may find out how gentle he is, and make trial of his forbearance. Let us condemn him to a shameful death, for, according to what he says, he will be protected” (RSV).

blasphemous thereby, so with *Christ* rejected ... It represents the most antagonistic of all claims by Stephen.”

The motif of killing the prophets is also found in several passages in Luke’s Gospel (see Lk 6:22-23; 11:47-51; 13:33-34). Kimball (1994:147-163) indicates that the backdrop of the theme seems to be the parable of the Wicked Tenants (see Lk 20:9-19 and par.; cf. also Koet 2005:98). Furthermore, some places in the NT signify a tradition close to Luke’s (see Mt 5:12; 23:31-37; 1 Th 2:14-15; Heb 11:36-38).

As mentioned earlier, Luke uses the title *δίκαιος* in order to apply to Jesus in Ac 3:14, and it recurs again in 22:14. Three orators in Acts - Peter, Stephen, and Paul - regard the Righteous One as Jesus, and also refer to Jesus’ death (see Ac 2:14-41; 3:11-26; 4:8-12; 5:29-33; 10:34-43; 13:16-48; cf. also Tyson 1986:118). Interestingly, the Israelite sustained insubordination “is the linchpin of cohesion” among these figures (Moessner 1986:227). Buckwalter (1996:257) states that “[δ]ίκαιο probably links up here to some degree with the *δικαιῶσαι δίκαιον* of Isa. 53:11,¹⁸⁹ rather than only with the more general righteous sufferer of Judaism.”¹⁹⁰ He (1996:256) adds that Luke “features Jesus’ obedient service and his humiliation-exaltation” even in Stephen’s message.

Spencer (1997:80) explains that “[i]ronically, the Israelites were also put to shame by the affirmation of a Roman centurion”: “Surely this was a righteous man” (Lk 23:47). As Soards (1994:69) indicates, Bihler’s suggestion of an analogy between Stephen’s speech and Paul’s speech in Athens (Ac 17:22-33) is present “in their lack of standard kerygma.”

¹⁸⁹ Some (Cullmann 1959:72; Franklin 1975:62-63; Seccombe 1981:257; Marty 1984:186; Green 1990:19-21) take notice of Is 53:11 (LXX).

¹⁹⁰ For the latter opinion, cf. Karris (1990:68-78).

Lastly, Stephen charges that Israel has broken the law that was given through the angels. It also seems to censure a contemporary Jewish faith through the law, which was given rather by angels than by God. As Witherington (1998:275) states, Stephen's discourse is "*not* Law or temple critical, it is people critical on the basis of the Law and the Prophets."

In this section it is evident that the concentration is not on the idea of prophets' martyrdom, but on the Israelite wrongdoing. Barrett (1994:376) states that Luke "is less concerned here to bring out the positive significance of Moses and of Jesus than to accuse the Jews." Simon (1958:41) also describes this part as "[t]he unworthiness and perpetual rebelliousness of the Jews who ... exhaust the immense riches of God's mercy."

In conclusion, the Israelite desire to destroy Stephen in v. 54 is the highest pitch of hostility as in 5:33, along with Luke's employment of the same unusual verb *διεπρίοντο* (cf. Tannehill 1990:96; contrast Ac 2:36-37). Stephen is finally put to death by the Jews without any of the customary legal formalities. Nonetheless, his last word in v. 60 reminds us of Jesus who forgave those killing him (see Lk 23:34). Jesus' action serves "as an example for Luke's depiction of the first Christian martyr" (Breytenbach 2005:93). After Stephen's death, a great persecution breaks out and Christians are scattered throughout Judea and Samaria.

4. SUMMARY

In this section, no explicit quotation is found. This section is somewhat different from the previous (sub)sections without explicit quotations within Stephen's speech. In spite of not having an explicit quotation, this point still adds a seminal

contribution to the author's overall theological intention, which is developed through previous sections of Stephen's speech. This section seems to culminate in the Israelite rejection of God's messengers. In Stephen's speech, the focus on past and present rejection of God's chosen servants fits the speech's setting. Throughout the past, and even in the present, Israel has resisted the will of God.

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 ἔντρομος 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 (αὐτοῦ) 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 (*לְיָיִל*) 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 וְהִגַּלְתִּי; (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 צְלַמֵיכֶם 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” (וְהַיְשֵׁבֵהּ מַה הַמָּקוֹם), 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.

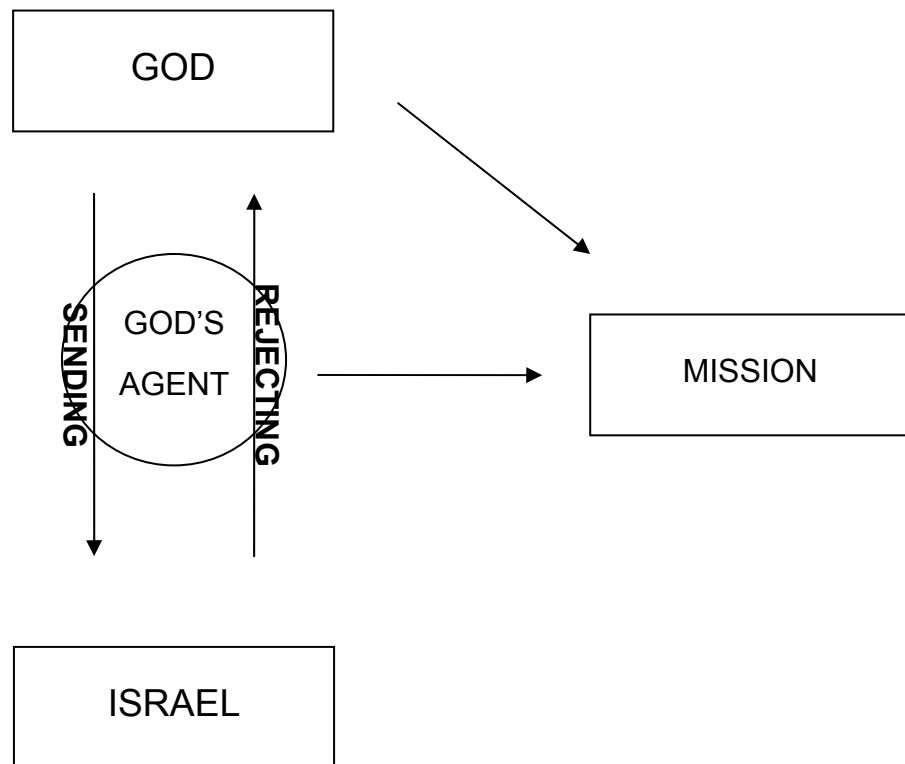
Lukan interpretation of the 9th quotation

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 ὠμολόγησεν 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.

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