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

by
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I. DUODECIM PROPHETAE ..................................................................................................................... 233
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According to Luke, Jesus of Nazareth once said:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Die hermeneutiese aspek van die probleem het dit duidelik gemaak dat Lukas se verstaan van sy Skrifte geplaas behoort te word binne die breër raamwerk van sy aanbieding van die heilsgeskiedenis. Dit word gedoen vanuit die perspektief van 'n Teo-sentriese benadering, waarin God altyd die Subjek bly, terwyl dit bemiddel word op 'n pneumatologies-profetiese wyse deur die profete en vaders van destyds, en die apostels (hier Petrus en Paulus) in die huidige tyd. Hulle is waardige autoritêre getwies wat die Skrifte kan interpreteer. Die inhoud van die profesie self word aangebied in 'n kerugmatiese vorm. Dit handel oor spesifieke temas wat kom uit die reële konteks en dan verbind word met God se universele heilsplan deur middel van die naam van die "kurios". Die aanhalings funksioneer dus binne die aspekte van die Lukaanse eskatologie, christologie en soteriologie.
CHAPTER 1

RESEARCH HISTORY

1. INTRODUCTION

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

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

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


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

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

2. THE FOCUS OF THIS STUDY

The debate on the use (Verwendung) and interpretation (Verständnis) of the Jewish Scriptures by early Christianity (traditionally known as “the use of the OT in the NT”), is as old as Christianity itself. This comparative, or intertextual, field of inquiry has been studied from several different angles through the centuries. The use of "OT" material by the writers of the NT was studied mainly on three different levels in the past: (a) the influence on the language (grammar, style, etc. = exclusively linguistically orientated); (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). Although almost always latently present in the past (from the viewpoint of canon-criticism), it is only during the last three decades that studies have begun paying direct attention to the third level, i.e. that of implicit influences.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3. RESEARCH HISTORY

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

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

3.1 Identification of quotations

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

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20. J. DRUSIUS, Parallel Sacra, Franeker 1588.
parallels there developed, over time, the independent study of explicit quotations from "the OT" in "the NT". Also later, during the 17th century, L. Capellus (1650) included an addendum on NT quotations in his work, and identified parallels between the OT and the NT.21

Two centuries later, a stream of independent studies appeared, focusing on quotations in the NT. They were no longer dealt with in the NT text editions, but independently in monographs. Of these, the work of F.A.G. Tholuck (1849/68),22 H. Gough (1855)23 and E. Böhl (1878)24 are but three examples. Apart from paying attention to the use of OT quotations by the Jewish writers, Tholuck also discussed the OT quotations in the Jesus speeches, by Paul, the Gospel writers and in the Epistle to the Hebrews. In the meantime the emphasis was moving away from the fact that quotations were used, to attempts to identify the number of quotations. C. Toy (1884),25 for instance, counted 613 quotations and references, while W. Dittmar (1899) of Walldorf (Hessen)26 found 1640, and E. Hünn (1900)27 as many as 4105!

One assumes that any word or phrase in the NT which looked in any way comparable with LXX variants was identified by Hünn as a quotation or a reference. All 27 books of the NT are discussed in the first part of his book. It forms a brief reference work in which each possible reference to the OT is itemized; in the end it is no more than a collection of text references. It further follows the typical trend of the linguistics of that time where a single word could dominate the argument, with little attention being paid to the context in which it stands. Words which seem to be similar between the LXX and the NT, are dealt with on an ad hoc basis. These are presented with a division on each page between the parallels with regard to messianic use, on the one hand, and other (non-messianic) parallels, on the other hand. Hünn also delineates the specific way in which the NT typifies the OT — as a whole, and also under the categories of Torah, Prophets and Book of the Pss. With his identification of the OT quotations and references in the NT, Hünn thus relies on form criticism, as it was in use in the system of the historico-critical method of this time.28

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

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23. H. GOUGH, NT Quotations.
28. This was explicitly stated in the title of his book, that the "Messianischen Weissagungen..." will be "historisch-kritisch untersucht und erklärt" (E. HÜHN, Citate, title page).
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"Introduction" to the independent field of LXX studies, and is viewed by many scholars, even today, as being a good starting point for LXX studies. Faithful to his time, he also included lists of where the quotations are to be found in Scripture. In terms of Ac, probably his most relevant and important contribution is his conclusion that all these quotations in Ac (except 8:32) are found in the speeches, and that these OT quotations are taken from the LXX.

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.2 Introductory formulae

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

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

3.3 The origin and Textvorlage of the quotations

3.3.1 The character of the Textvorlage which was used

As early as 1650, L. Capellus had concluded that the apostles quoted from the Greek, and not from the Hebrew — as was generally accepted during his time. More than a century later, T. Randolph (1782) found that although the NT writers are generally in accordance with the Hebrew, they do sometimes quote the LXX,

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35. W.C. KAISER, Uses of the OT.
36. Ibid., 2.
37. Ibid., 3.
38. E. HÜHN, Citate, title page. It was done within the broader scope of a study on "Die messianischen Weissagungen des israelitisch-jüdischen Volkes bis zu den Targumim".
40. H.M. SHIRES, Finding the OT, 66.
41. W.C. KAISER, Uses of the OT, 2.
42. Cf. also M. RESE, Motive, 26f.
43. L. CAPELLUS, Quaestio, 53-67.
and even sometimes other translations or paraphrases. He found that 120 quotations are traceable back to the Hebrew, while 119 follow the LXX.

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

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

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

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

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45. H. OWEN, Modes of Quotation Used by the Evangelical writers explained and vindicated, London 1789.
46. Oxford stood out prominently during this time as a learning centre for LXX studies, with the existence of the Grinfield chair for LXX studies, — which exists still today.
49. H. VOLLMER, Die alttestamentlichen Citate bei Paulus, Freiburg 1895.
50. There is no doubt for H.B. SWETE that "the LXX is the principal source from which the writers of the N.T. derived their O.T. quotations" (Introduction, 392). But "not the Old Testament only, but the Alexandrian version of the Old Testament, has left its mark on every point of the New Testament, even in chapters and books where it is not directly cited. It is not too much to say that in its literary form and expression the New Testament would have been a widely different book had it been written by authors who knew the Old Testament only in the original, or who knew it in a Greek version other than that of the LXX (Introduction, 404).
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witnesses on which Staerk relied, could have been influenced by the NT itself, Swete has defended the issue on the basis of the fact that a similar tendency is also to be found by Josephus, and also to a lesser degree by Philo. Swete reckons that there are also closer similarities with the Theodotion recension, against that of the LXX.52

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

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

53. According to P.A. de Lagarde (1827-1891), all the existing Greek texts of the OT could be traced back to a so-called proto-LXX, or Urtext, which would have been the "mothertext" from which the others evolved. This text theory has influenced especially the Septuaginta Unternehmens at Göttingen, of which the work of Dittmar is probably the first evidence.
54. A. SPERBER, NT and Septuagint, 193-293.
56. The textcritical edition of Nestlé.
57. Without hiding his viewpoint on H.B. SWETE, he said: "I hope that on the basis of my preceding expositions I may say that Swete was far from realizing the problem as such, and that all his remarks are consequently to be put into the discard" (Introduction, 204).
With regard to the NT writers’ use of LXX material, B.F.C. Atkinson (1947)\textsuperscript{58} has reckoned that the NT writers would not correct the LXX on the basis of the “original” Hebrew. Differences between the MT and the LXX would be either the result of another Hebrew Textvorlage than that known today, or the result of an incorrect translation. Regarding the text of the quotations, C. Smits (1952-63) deals with the question about the differences of the NT quotations in comparison with the known and existing LXX editions. He states that the quotations show differences with the LXX, that is, they differ from the LXX as we read it. The outstanding question is then: In which textform did the NT writers have the Greek Bible before them?\textsuperscript{59} According to Smits, there are no indications of explicit quotations (i.e. quotations introduced by introductory formulae) from the memory of the NT writers. The NT writers must have had an open written text in front of them. Although he realized the complexity of this issue,\textsuperscript{60} he is clearly convinced that we should not talk too easily about quoting from memory. Minor differences with our known text editions do not prove this and even major differences might go back to another text tradition.

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

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

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

\textsuperscript{58} B.F.C. ATKINSON, \textit{Textual Background}, 39-69.
\textsuperscript{59} C. SMITS, \textit{Citaten I}, 9.
\textsuperscript{60} Ibid., 14.
\textsuperscript{61} M. KARMETZKY, Die altestamentlichen Zitate in der synoptischen Tradition, Tübingen 1955.
\textsuperscript{62} C. SMITS, \textit{Citaten IV}, 597.
there are also some major differences, sometimes with regard to both the LXX and Hebrew readings. Earlier it was suggested that these cases were an indication of ad hoc translation by the NT writer. According to Smits, however, there is no proof for this. This does not mean that he himself has a complete solution, but he is convinced that certain indications for a solution are nonetheless present. Issues which should be taken thoroughly into account then, are the following: (a) each instance must be investigated individually and on its own, and (b) apart from the personal characteristics of the writer, there is also a Jewish influence present in the method or general rules which the NT writer has applied.

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

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

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

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64. "...ob und in welchem Umfang ihr Text direkt einer der Formen des Alten Testaments entnommen ist oder ob er dem behandelten Schriftsteller durch die Tradition, sei es die mündliche oder die schriftliche, zugekommen ist (T. HOLTZ, Untersuchungen, 1).
65. T. HOLTZ, Untersuchungen, 1.
66. He said: "Nirgends hat sich ein Anhaltspunkt dafür ergeben, dass Lukas eine andere Textform des Alten Testaments bekannt gewesen ist" (Untersuchungen, 166).
67. On this point, T. HOLTZ thus agrees with W. STAERK, H. VOLLMER and H.B. SWETE.
68. He continues to say that, "No problem was raised for the Christian writers in citing O.T. passages from the translated Greek version rather than from the original Hebrew. Thus, an overwhelming majority of the O.T. citations are drawn from the LXX (Finding the OT, 82).
the author's memory letting him down, this viewpoint attracts less attention now than it has done in the past.\textsuperscript{70}

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

### 3.3.2 Text-theories about the availability of OT material

Several theories were developed to answer the question about the practical availability of OT material for the writers of the NT. This was done after it became clear that there are several places in the NT where the readings of explicit material differ, in both minor and major detail, from its supposed source material. Although some of these differences could be explained by way of reference to the diversity of existing text material, or by reference to the specific (exegetical) method used by a certain NT writer, there still seem to be some remaining instances for which scholars believe these explanations are inadequate. Further possible explanations have therefore been developed. These theories fall into either of two basic categories: either the differences are explained in terms of a written source (testimonies, florilegia, etc.), or in terms of an oral source (including quotation from memory).

\textbf{(a) Testimonies and/or florilegia}\textsuperscript{74} (E. Hatch, J.R. Harris)

Some of the most important supporters or representatives of this hypothesis, are the following: E. Hatch\textsuperscript{75} who, as early as 1889, argued, on scientific grounds, in favour of the existence of florilegia. According to this hypothesis, the writers of the NT made use of already existing collections of OT text material. In 1895 this hypothesis was tested by...
by Vollmer\textsuperscript{76} on the quotations of Paul. He concluded in favour of the hypothesis on the basis that the quotations differ so much from the LXX witnesses, that they could not have been taken from the LXX.

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

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

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

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

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

\textsuperscript{76} H. Vollmer, Citate.

\textsuperscript{77} J.R. Harris, Testimonia I-III, Cambridge 1916-1920.

\textsuperscript{78} N.J. Hommes, Het Testimonieboek. Studiën over O.T. citaten in het N.T. en bij de Patres, met critische beschouwingen over de theorieën van J. Reuel Harris en D. Plooy, Amsterdam 1935.

\textsuperscript{79} C. Smits said: "dat in het vroe-g-christelijk milieu uit de paranese, uit polemiel en propaganda, ook schriftelijk vastgelegde collecties vroegtijdig zijn gevormd in de vorm van afzonderlijke tractaten over diverse onderwerpen, die mogelijkerwijze voortkomen uit oudere collecties, en naar omstandigheden vrij werden gebruikt. Tekstcombinaties worden reeds gevonden in sommige jongere boeken van het Oude Testament" (Citate 1, 20).

\textsuperscript{80} O. Michel, Paulus, 213-221.
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probable that the early Christians availed themselves of already existing Jewish catenae of Messianic texts and, following the Jewish example, compiled their own. Second, it is impossible to determine which quotations might have belonged to testimony traditions. Third, the heavy Semitic element throughout synoptic quotations, outside Marcan formal quotations, means that a Semitic textform does not imply testimony origin. Many of these Semitic quotations are not of the testimony kind. Fourth, the Testimony Book is not to be equated with Τὰ λόγια which Papias said Mt wrote in the Hebrew dialect. Thus, the Testimony Book is a partially confirmed hypothesis which disappointingly explains little or nothing.81

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

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

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

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

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

83. A. SPERBER has said: "By the term 'Bible of the Apostles' we don't mean to imply that the OT in Greek, which the respective authors or compilers of the entire NT used either as a basis for their narratives of events, or while expounding their theology, was a uniform textual type, so that all OT references therein could be made use of in our endeavors to reconstruct this Bible" (NT and Septuagint, 204-5).
be found probably some of the most acceptable arguments to date for explaining a reasonable amount of Semitisms in the NT. He has postulated, for example, against G. Dalman (1898) that Targumim Onkelos and Jonathan were influenced on their own by Hebrew and Babylonian Aramaic, and that they could therefore not be faithful witnesses. The work of A.J. Wensinck (1948) plays an important role for Black. Wensinck has reckoned that the old Palestinian Targum of the Pentateuch (which was found among the Cairo Geniza), was used with related haggadaic parts, which were preserved in the so-called pseudo-Jonathan and fragmentary targumim.86

P. Kahle87 (1947) has reckoned that the quotations and the readings in the NT which have no similarities with the LXX, represent the textforms of written Greek targumim. These targumim were in general use before Christianity adopted the LXX as the standard version of "the OT". This opinion of Kahle relates with his text-theory with regard to the origin of the Old Greek Version. He believed that it originated from the compilation of a group of Greek targumim, which in turn, had evolved naturally in the synagogues. There are supporters of this theory even today, although time has shown that it does not hold water. In addition to the several arguments against his hypothesis, one could also argue against the fact that the writers of the NT, who were responsible for quotations which could not be traced back to the existing LXX traditions, were not limited to the Greek only.

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

G.D. Kilpatrick88 (1946) suggested that the documentary source material of Mt, Mk, Q and M were read liturgically and expanded homiletically until it gained a certain stereotyped form. It was eventually written down as, for example, Matthew’s gospel, which was meant for further liturgical use. However, Kilpatrick never explains the textform of the Matthean quotations. In particular, he has no criterion by which to consider if a LXX quotation is coming from the gospel writer himself, or from the liturgic homiletic tradition.

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

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

Some of the first most prominent works in this direction, were those of G.E. Lessing (1729-1781), who has proposed a primitive Aramaic gospel as being the origin for the three synoptic gospels,95 as well as those of G. Dalman (1898)96 and J. Wellhausen (1905).97 This trend, to find Aramaic sources (orally or written), would continue to attract scholars. C.F. Burney (1909-1925) and C.C. Torrey would contribute the most in this direction. C.F. Burney has focused upon John's Gospel, and tried to indicate that it was to be traced back to an Aramaic origin.98 According to C.C. Torrey, the quotations to be found in Mt and Mk were written in metrical Hebrew in an Aramaic book. The Greek translator of Mt then took those quotations which are similar in both Mt and Mk, from the Greek gospel of Mk. The remaining quotations in Mt were translated independently and accurately from the Hebrew.99 He reckoned even that the gospels were done in their totality in Aramaic. It is therefore no wonder that, on the basis of his own reconstructions, he later found it necessary to publish new translations of the gospels! Torrey's contribution 100 was so far-reaching that it was later said to be an overstated case for actual Aramaic sources.101 Probably one of the most comprehensive criticisms of the work of Torrey came from J. de Zwaan who has proved that several of Torrey's conclusions were false.102

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

96. G. DALMAN, Die Worte Jesu. Mit Berücksichtigung des nachkanonischen jüdischen Schriftums und der aramäischen Sprache. Vol. I, Leipzig 1898. According to C.F.D. MOULE, Dalman has tried to reconstruct 'the actual words used by Jesus in speaking of the leading ideas of his message. He distinguished between Judean and Galilean Aramaic, and conjectured that Jesus might have used both. To reconstruct the former, Dalman used mainly the Targum of Onkelos to the Pentateuch and that of Jonathan to the Prophets. For Galilean, he used mainly Talmudic sources' (Idiom-Book, 189).
98. C.F. BURNEY's most important works in this area included: The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel, Oxford 1922; The Poetry of our Lord: An Examination of the Formal Elements of Hebrew Poetry in the Discourses of Jesus Christ, Oxford 1923.
99. R.H. GUNDRY shows, however, that "...wholesale revision of the LXX toward the NT is very improbable, especially in allusive quotations, which would hardly come to the mind of LXX-copyists" (Use of the OT, 153).
100. Cf. for instance: The Translations made from the Original Aramaic Gospels, New York 1912; The Composition and Date of Acts (HTHS 1), Cambridge 1916; The Aramaic Origin of the Gospel of John, in: HTTR 16 (1923), 305-344; and others.
knowledge of, OT traditions, not Greek but Semitic; (b) words and phrases, Semitic in nature, possibly traceable to some kind of influence of the LXX; and (c) other words and phrases, Semitic in nature, not explicable in terms of LXX influence.

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

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

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

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104. The fact that many more references to the "OT" are to be found in the first half of Ac, was also later pointed out by W.K.L. CLARKE (The Use of the Septuagint in Acts, in: F.J. FOAKES-JACKSON & K. LAKE (eds), The Beginnings of Christianity, Part I: The Acts of the Apostles, London 1922, 66-105; here 98); and was later agreed to by M. WILCOX (Semitisms, 60); as well as by E. PLÜMACHER (Lukas als hellenistischer Schriftsteller, Studien zur Apostelgeschichte, Göttingen 1972, 39).
105. M. WILCOX, Semitisms, 181.
106. M. WILCOX said of these: 'These little 'knots' of Semitic material surviving unrevised, although affording a rather strong indication of the general authenticity of the stories in which they are embedded, nevertheless do not permit us to argue in favour of translation of Aramaic or Hebrew sources by Luke' (Semitisms, 181).
107. So also in the same direction, E. PLÜMACHER, Lukas, 39-40; and A. WEISER: 'Die angeblichen 'Aramaismen' erklären sich fast ausschließlich durch Sprachstil der Septuaginta. Ihr hat Lukas ja auch seine Zitate entnommen' (Apg I, 37).
109. R. MARTIN, Semitic Traditions, 295-335. However, according to him "...the question arises whether it is possible to distinguish between those Semitisms which indicate underlying sources and traditions, rather than merely being features of the writer's natural or consciously-artificial Semitic style" (295).
familiarity with the LXX which has resulted in a 'Biblical Greek' vernacular; and
(iv) conscious imitation of the language and style of the LXX.

(f) Quotation from memory

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

3.4 Categorization, classification and modes of quotation

One of the earliest writings on the different modes of quotation was written by H.
Owen (1789).112 About a century later (1896), F. Johnson113 not only identified and
numbered the quotations in the NT, but also paid attention to the modes of
quotation. These categories could best be described as a conflation between the
methods (modes) of quotation, on the one hand, and the exegetical hermeneutical
method of the NT writer, on the other hand. He distinguished between: (a)
quotation from memory, (b) fragmentary quotations, (c) combined quotations, (d)
quotations where the main issue is stated, (e) changed meaning in quotations to suit
their purpose, and (f) quotations with double references in the Bible. He attempted
to explain, organize and classify the unqualified use of quotations in the NT.
Important is that he constantly used the LXX as source and said that: (i) The writers
of the NT, instead of translating their quotations directly from the Hebrew, and thus
presenting us with exact transcriptions of the original text, have taken them,
generally, from the LXX version, which is not free of faults; (ii) Their quotations
from the LXX are often verbally inexact, and their variations from this version are
seldom of the nature of corrections, since they seem usually to have quoted from
memory.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{114} H.M. SHIRES, \textit{Finding the OT}.
\item \textsuperscript{115} W.C. KAISER, \textit{Uses of the OT}, 6.
\end{itemize}
3.5 Function and interpretation of the quotations

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

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

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

117. A. VIS wrote: “In this Word of God they expected, as a matter of course, a confirmation of their belief that in Jesus the expected Messiah had appeared”. “...like the Jewish scribes, in giving a Messianic turn to the OT words, they ignored and distorted the meaning and intention of the original writers”. “From the text available for them (in most cases this was the LXX) they drew out the hidden significance which they believed to underlie the words of the Scripture” (Messianic Psalm Quotations, 82).
118. C. SMITS summarizes the situation as follows: “In talrijke korte gezegden druk Jesus zijn gedachten uit in aanhalingen uit het Oude Testament. Door de omstandigheden, waarin ze worden uitgesproken, of door de context waarin ze worden gezet, krijgen deze uitspraken een zeer reële en diepe betekenis, die niet altijd volledig beantwoord aan die oorspronkelijke zijn, maar gewoonlijk wel ligt in die lijn der oud-testamentische teksten. Elk geval moet op zichzelf in de context gezien worden” (Citaten I, 108-9).
In the last volume of *Smit* (1963), he states explicitly that the discoveries at the Dead Sea have brought interesting parallels to the fore, which have confirmed previous presuppositions about texts and Jewish exegesis of them.\(^{120}\)

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

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

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

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

\(^{120}\) Cf. C. SMITS, *Citation IV*, 598.

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


\(^{123}\) D.M. Smith, *Use of the OT*, 3-65.

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

\(^{125}\) H.M. Shires, *Finding the OT*, 35.
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During 1975 an extensive study by R. Longenecker was published on "Biblical Exegesis in the Apostolic Period".126 Although it is a study which discusses the exegetical methods exclusively from the perspective of the OT quotations in the NT, these insights have implications for the rest of the OT material in the NT. Longenecker is of the opinion that the early Christian writings should be compared with Jewish interpretative documents from the same period, in order to understand first century exegetical procedures. It is of great importance to him that in such a determining study of these exegetical procedures, the LXX documents must remain at the background. Due to the fact that it might be seen as a "theological commentary", and as a "primary source for a knowledge of the hermeneutical procedures of the day", he is convinced that the importance of the LXX has been over-emphasized,"...therefore, the LXX will not be considered of major significance in determining the exegetical practices of first century Judaism".127 The basic idea behind this is that Longenecker realizes that the LXX is a translation, and that any translation is in itself already an interpretation. With the targumim, however, he is of the opinion that this is a different issue, as "...their purpose in rendering the Hebrew into Aramaic was not just to give a vernacular translation of the Bible, but...to give the sense and make the people understand the meaning".128 In addition to the targumim, also the Mishna, midrashim, Jewish apocalyptic works, Dead Sea scrolls and Philo of Alexandria are used as witnesses for the study of early Jewish exegesis. Longenecker identifies these the following exegetical methods: (a) literal interpretation, (b) midrash, (c) pesher, and (d) allegory. With these as a frame, he then discusses Jesus' and Paul's use of the OT on the basis of their quotations. With regard to the hermeneutics of the NT writers, he showed that they have interpreted these Scriptures christologically. Paul, for instance, understood the OT (as the early Jewish Christians) christologically.129

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

128 Ibid.
129 "And he worked from the same two fixed points: (1) the Messiahship and Lordship of Jesus, as validated by the resurrection and as witnessed to by the Spirit; and (2) the revelation of God in the Scriptures of the Old Testament" (R. LONGENECKER, Biblical Exegesis, 104).
130 W.C. KAISER, Uses of the OT.
131 "It is in those texts more than in any other that we would expect the meaning of the OT text to be the same as the NT meaning" (W.C. KAISER, Uses of the OT, 17).
132 He here moves within the stream that believes "The amazing feature of OT prophecy is that there is a unity and a single plan throughout the testament - not diverse, separate, and scattered predications. Each new word is invariably added to the ongoing and continuous promise-plan of God..." (Uses of the OT, 63).
"typological use" deals with an exegetical method already known and accepted at the time. When Kaiser arrives at his discussion of the "theological use", he believes that he has pushed through to the heart of the problem of the relation OT-NT. At the end, one deals here with the "centre" of both testaments, i.e. God. His dealing with the "practical use", includes the NT writers' handling of wisdom literature and legal parts, in order to establish a practical and ethical lifestyle for their readers. It is clear that Kaiser uses a strong theological-hermeneutical basis as his point of departure, when establishing the exegetical hermeneutical methods of the NT writers. One could ask if his work is, in the end, perhaps nothing more than a compilation of existing viewpoints on OT theology and the relation OT-NT, and therefore the formation of his own hermeneutics, rather than the scientific result of historical research of the exegetical methods of the early Christians.

The 1982 doctoral study of D.L. Bock was published in 1987. The particular focus of the study is P. Schubert's "proof from prophecy"-thesis, formulated in 1954, on the basis of Lk 24. According to Bock, this thesis was later contradicted by M. Rese, who tried to establish the influence of the OT on Luke, and its re-interpretation within the context of Luke’s handling of the christology. The question that Bock then poses, is: Who is right? Rese or Schubert? He therefore once again pays attention to Luke's handling of the OT. What is important here is Bock's description of how researchers in the past have evaluated the "proof from prophecy"-motif in Lk-Ac. It has come increasingly under fire. This has led to increased efforts towards a clear understanding of Luke's purpose in his use of the OT. Where it was said in the past that Luke's purpose was to show that the Christ should suffer, be raised from death, and offer forgiveness of sins, E. Franklin has seen it differently, i.e. that the use of the OT indicates that Jesus is the Lord. All this again brought the question concerning Luke's hermeneutical method prominently to the foreground. According to Bock, this is then to be found in Luke's use of the OT for his christology. The christology thus forms the hermeneutical key to Luke’s use of the OT. An important point of departure for Bock's work is to be found in the fact that he uses a far more thematic and contextual approach than most previous studies, which tended to a more fragmentary and ad hoc approach. Having selected a specific set of NT documents (Lk-Ac), Bock takes account of the context of the passages he discusses, as well as the hermeneutics of the NT writer with regard to his OT material.

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

133. D.L. BOCK, Proclamation. (It was originally submitted in 1982 as a Ph.D-thesis at the University of Aberdeen).
135. "The OT texts are not used for apologia but merely to interpret or explain theologically the meaning of the events of Jesus' career" (D.L. BOCK, Proclamation, 37).
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reached a climax. This is a study in which careful and conscious attention is paid to methodological accuracy. The author takes full account of the problematics surrounding the text which Paul could have had in front of him, the exegetical methods which Paul could have shared with his Jewish and Hellenistic contemporaries, the testimonia hypothesis, as well as the hermeneutical use of Scripture in the individual Pauline letters. The first two issues centre on Paul's use of Scripture ("Schriftverwendung") and the last two on Paul's understanding of Scripture ("Schriftverständnis"). In contrast with earlier studies, Koch points out that Paul's handling of introductory formulae is proof that his exegetical procedures did not follow those of the rabbinics as found in Alexandrian Judaism and at Qumran, but rather those of the diaspora Jews. According to Koch, Paul made primary use of material from Is, the Pss, Dt and Gn. Instead of following the hypothesis of testimonia, Koch is of the opinion that Paul rather used a LXX text, but one which was changed to be closer to the Hebrew. He admits that this does not explain all the differences between Paul's OT material and that of existing textual witnesses. The remaining differences could, on the other hand, also not be explained away as being the result of Paul quoting from memory. In his investigation into this category, he found that 52 of the 93 texts which are to be found in the 7 letters of Paul, were changed. These changes vary from minor differences (such as changes from singular to plural, or first-, second- and third-person changes to fit the context in which the quotation is presented) to major differences (in which omissions and additions are made, in order to give a new meaning to the OT material used by Paul).

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

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

A collective work under the editorship of M.J. Mulder and H. Sysling was published in 1988. One of these essays deals with "Biblical Interpretation in the NT Church", written by E.E. Ellis. This is a continuation and elaboration of the insights of Ellis' previous works of 1957 and 1977 specifically, with regard to the exegetical and hermeneutical methods of the NT writers. A usable overview is given on the introductory formulae, other exegetical terminology, the seven rules of Hillel, and on midrash exegesis. Regarding the NT writers' perspective on their Scriptures, Ellis is of the opinion that they had certain presuppositions in mind in at least four areas: (a) eschatology, (b) typology, (c) a corporate understanding of humanity and the Messiah, and (d) a concept of the Scriptures as the hidden Word of God. This is

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137. It is therefore no wonder that R.B. HAYS also, in his recension on D.-A. KOCH's work, typified it as "...the most comprehensive book ever written on Paul's use of Scripture, and probably also the best" (in: JBL 107 (1988), 331-333).
139. M.J. MULDER & H. SYSLING (eds), Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity (CRINT II 1), Philadelphia 1988.
140. E.E. ELLIS, Biblical Interpretation.
a kind of redivision, to a certain extent, of the previous "traditional" division of exegetical methods. With regard to the exegetical methods themselves, Ellis deals primarily with the explicit quotations which are introduced by introductory formulae, as well as the use of the rabbinc rules of Hillel and the midrash method. Typology is rather seen as a hermeneutical point of departure than a specific exegetical method. His "new covenant" concept of 1957 still underlies his work as a "prophecy-fulfillment" schema. It is clear that for Ellis, it centres on a messianic focus — just as was the case with E. Hühn (1900), A. Vis (1936), C. Smits (1952) and R.H. Gundry (1975).

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

142. E.E. ELLIS said: "Biblical interpretation in the NT church...followed (the) exegetical methods common to Judaism and drew its perspective and presuppositions from Jewish backgrounds. However, in one fundamental respect it differed from other religious parties and theologies in Judaism, that is, in the christological exposition of the OT totally focused upon Jesus as the Messiah" (Biblical Interpretation, 724) (my own cursivation: GJS).
CHAPTER 2
IDENTIFICATION AND DISTRIBUTION OF EXPLICIT QUOTATIONS

In any investigation the question which is asked determines both the approach, or method, which will be employed, as well as the a priori which underlies the investigation. The following remarks are necessary in order to place this investigation within its broader framework of Lukan studies. They will reflect the fact that this investigation is historically orientated, and will give an indication of the presuppositions which will function during the course of the study. What should be kept in mind constantly is that these remarks are simply a reflection on the result of other Lukan studies. It is not at all the intention to discuss them, but only to use them as a frame of reference in which this investigation could be placed.

1. LUKE'S USE OF SOURCES

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

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

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4. Probably used for Ac 9:1-19. The sources for 9:19b-30 cannot be reconstructed, i.e. the flight from Damascus. Some suggest that Ac 22:5-16 and 26:12-26 are based on it. Ac 22:2-21 is, however, a Pauline speech.
6. Also known in other circles as "Q".
“SLk”. This material is peculiar to Luke, with no clear evidence of its being found in other written sources. Interesting is his knowledge and usage of "the" LXX in this “SLk” material. It demonstrates both a very thorough knowledge of these Jewish documents in their Greek form, as well as close textual similarities between their readings and Luke’s own re-use of them. When reading Lk, it seems as if he had at his disposal collections of scriptural material already arranged in three groups under the headings — Moses, the Prophets and the Pss. This becomes especially clear when attention is paid to the following passages:

* Lk 24:25-27 = καὶ ἐφάνετο ὁ Μωϋσῆς ἐκ τῶν προφητῶν διαμνήμην αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς τὰ περὶ ἑαυτῶν.

* Lk 24:44-45 = Ἐπέλευσεν δέ πρὸς αὐτούς· αὐτοὶ οἱ λόγοι μου σὺς ἔλαβεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔτι ὄν σὺν ὑμῖν, ὅτι δὲ πληρώθησαν πάντα τὰ γεγομένα ἐν τῷ νόμῳ Μωϋσέως καὶ τοῖς προφηταῖς καὶ παλαιοῖς περὶ ἑμοῖς, τότε διήνυσεν αὐτῶν τὸν νόμον τοῦ συνισταόμενος τοῖς γραφόν.

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

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

2. THE SPEECHES

The use of speeches in ancient literature was a widely accepted literary technique. It can be found both in the oldest Jewish, as well as in the Greek literature. Normally the idea was not to give a verbatim report of speeches delivered by ancient authorities, but rather to place specific important information in the mouths of...
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Authoritative people. This meant that this was far more than the simple communication of historical information; the importance attached to the strong rhetorical flavour of such speeches gives them the character of an appeal, or exhortation. Students were even trained in the Graeco-Roman societies to imitate the rhetorical discourses of their masters. 14

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

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

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

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

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

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15. M. DIBELIUS was thus right in saying that "Lukas hat ‘aus Geschichten Geschichte’ gemacht" (Aufsatze, 113).
16. This aspect should, however, first be investigated thoroughly before this hypothesis could be accepted as a statement, but it does not fall within the scope of this study.
17. In the same way as Luke understood it in Ac 1:16, where "the Holy Spirit said through the mouth of David" and then quoting two passages from the Pss. (Cf. the discussion on this later in the study)
18. This does not deny the most popular differentiation between the normal speeches and the missionary speeches in Ac. "Die Gemeinsamkeiten zeigen sich vor allem im Zweck des Einfügens von Reden in größere Erzählzusammenhänge, in der Technik der Mimesis literarischer Vorbilder (in der Apg: LXX-Mimesis) und im Stilmittel der Archaisierung" (A. WEISER, Apg I, 99). Also E. PLÜMACHER, Lukas, 32-79.
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5 = 5:29-33 = Sanhedrin [None]
6 = 10:34-43 = Baptism of Cornelius [None]
7 = 15:6-11 = Apostolic Council [None]

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

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

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

3. IDENTIFICATION OF EXPLICIT LXX QUOTATIONS IN ACTS

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

19. Cf. M. RESE who made this observation just over a decade ago, saying: "Leider hat die Frage nach der Funktion der alt. Zitate und Anspielungen in den Reden der Apg kaum je so viel Interesse gefunden wie die Frage nach der Authentizität der Reden oder die nach in ihnen erhaltenen Traditionen" (Die Funktion altertestamentlichen Zitate und Anspielungen in den Reden der Apostelgeschichte, in: J. KREMER (ed), Les Actes des Apôtres - Traditions, rédaction, théologie (ETHL 68), Leuven 1979, 61-79, here 69. Although some ad hoc studies have been published since this trend is still to be found today.
20. The following are largely based on the division as found in D.A. KOCH, Schrift als Zeuge, 11f.
21. C. SMITS and H.M. SHIRES called these "free quotations". (See Ch.1).
22. Categories c,d and e are all taken as "Anspielungen" by M. RESE, Motive, 36.
"motifs"; that is, the imitation\textsuperscript{23} of larger structural patterns, tellings and traditions which are based on similar versions in the source texts.

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

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

3.1 Identification

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

3.1.1 Introductory formulae

The following introductory formulae introduce explicit quotations in Ac:

(a) From the Scroll of the 12 Prophets:

\begin{itemize}
  \item Ac 2:16 = ἀλλὰ τούτῳ ἐστιν τὸ εἴρημένον διὰ τοῦ προφήτου 'Ιωάν
  \[ 	ext{[Jr 2:28-32 (3:1-5)]} \]
  \item Ac 7:42 = καθὼς γέγραπται ἐν βιβλίω τῶν προφητῶν [Am 5:25-6]
  \item Ac 13:40 = βλέπετε σοῦ μὴ ἐπέλθῃ τὸ εἴρημένον ἐν τοῖς προφηταῖς
  \[ 	ext{[Hab 1:5]} \]
  \item Ac 15:15 = καὶ τούτω συμφωνοῦσιν οἱ λόγοι τῶν προφητῶν καθὼς
  γέγραπται [Am 9:11-12]
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{23} Cf. E. PLUMACHER: "... daß es sich hier offenbar nicht um unbewuβte sprachliche Abhängigkeit, ein 'Nicht-anders-können', sondern vielmehr um ganz bewuβte Anlehnung an diese bestimmte Sprachform, also um einen Stil, handelt" (Lukas, 39-40).

\textsuperscript{24} Cf. also M. RESE who finds such a distinction between quotations introduced by introductory formulae, and those without them, very important (Motive, 36).
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(b) From the Scroll of Is:
Ac 7:48 = καθώς ὁ προφήτης λέγει [Is 66:1-2]
Ac 8:32 = ή δὲ περιοχῇ τῆς γραφῆς ἦν ἀνεγίνωσκέν ἡν αὕτη [Is 53:7-8]
Ac 13:34 = οὕτως εἶρηκεν ὅτι [Is 55:3]
Ac 13:47 = οὕτως γὰρ ἐντετάλθαι ἦμιν ὁ κύριος [Is 49:6]
Ac 28:25 = οὕτως καλὸς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἁγίον ἔλαλησεν διὰ Ἡσαίου τοῦ
προφήτου πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ὑμῶν λέγων [Is 6:9-10]

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

(d) From the Torah:
Ac 3:21 = ὃν ἔλαλησεν ὁ θεὸς διὰ στόματος τῶν ἁγίων ἀπ' αἰῶνος
ἀυτῶν προφητῶν. Μωσῆς μὲν εἶπεν ὅτι [Dt 18:15-20 and
[Lv 22:18-20(21)]
Ac 3:25 = λέγων πρὸς Ἀβραὰμ [Gn 22:18]
Ac 7:3 = καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν [Gn 12:1]
Ac 7:6 = ἔλαλησεν δὲ οὕτως ὁ θεὸς ὅτι [Gn 15:13]
Ac 7:27 = ὁ δὲ ἁδεικνύων τὸν πληγηθὸν ἀπόσατο αὐτῶν εἰπὼν [Ex 2:14]
Ac 7:33 = εἶπεν δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ κύριος [Ex 3:5,7-10]
Ac 7:35 = Τούτου τὸν Μωυσῆν ἔδωκεν τοῖς ἐπόντες [Ex 2:14]
Ac 7:37 = οὕτως ἐστὶν ὁ Μωυσῆς ὁ εἶπας τοῖς ἱοίς Ἰσραήλ [Dt 18:15]
Ac 7:40 = εἶπόντες τῷ Ἀαρὼν [Ex 32:1,4,8,23]
Ac 23:5 = γέγραπται γὰρ ὅτι [Ex 22:27]

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

introduce 19 of the 26 explicit quotations.
quoted.
28. So in Ac 2:16. Cf. also the discussion on this later in the study.
either from the (βιβλία) φολιάμοι, or from Δαυις. This too is, in one instance, even more finely qualified by the explicit statement that the quotation comes from the δευτέρου Ps. And (c) those which were taken from the Torah, are often indicated as being from מִשְׁכָּרֶה. That the real origin of the quoted texts is rooted in the announcement of God himself, is stated by way of parenthetic phrases such as λέγει ὁ θεός, ό κύριος, τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον.

3.1.2 Explicit quotations

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

(a) 4 Quotations from the Minor Prophets:

(b) 5 Quotations from Is:

(c) 6 Quotations from the Pss:
[1] Ps 68(69):26; Ps 108(109):8 = Ac 1:20 (One combined quotation)
[3] Ps 109(110):1 = Ac 2:34
[4] Ps 2:1 = Ac 4:25

(d) 10 Quotations from the Torah:
[3] Gn 12:1 = Ac 7:3

30. Cf. Ac 1:20 (introducing two Ps-quotations) and 13:33. Totalling 3 times (1:20 counted 2 times) from the 7 times when the Pss are quoted.
31. Cf. Ac 2:25,34; 4:25. Totalling 3 times from the 7 times when the Pss are quoted.
32. So in Ac 13:33. See the discussion on this later in the study.
33. Cf. Ac 3:22 (Dt); 7:35 (Ex); 7:37 (Dt). Totalling 3 times from the 10 times when the Torah is quoted.
34. Cf. Ac 2:17 (see the discussion on this later in the study); 3:21; 7:6.
37. Scholars differ slightly about the number of quotations to be found in Ac. This is due, as M. RESE has already pointed out, to the manner in which a quotation is defined by the specific scholar; this becomes especially evident in Stephen’s speech (Ac 7), where it is not always easy to determine the difference between an explicit quotation and a direct phrase ("Ansierung") (cf. M. RESE, Funktion, 69). E.E. ELLIS therefore counts 23 quotations (OT in Early Christianity, 53), while M. RESE (Funktion, 69) and H.B. SWETE (Introduction, 388) count 24 quotations. But even when scholars agree on the same number (as the latter three above), they still differ on the identification of individual quotations. Others, as J. DUPONT, also includes the direct phrases, and ends, therefore with a higher number than the others (L’utilisation apologetique de l’Ancien Testament dans les discours des Apôtres, in: idem., Études sur les Actes des Apôtres, Paris 1967, 247-282).
38. References are according to the division in the LXX.
4. OCCURRENCES AND DISTRIBUTION OF EXPLICIT LXX QUOTATIONS IN ACTS

These quotations (quoted texts) are distributed in Ac from the beginning of the work until its very end, but with a concentration especially on the first 15 chapters, i.e. they are (almost?) exclusively used where the hearers consist primarily, though not always exclusively, of Jews. All of these explicit quotations are to be found in direct speeches — except that of Ac 8:32-33.

Their manifesting frequency is as follows:

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

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40. Not counted as explicit quotation by M. RESE (Funktion, 69).
41. H.B. SWETE also saw this as explicit quotation (Introduction, 388). Not counted as quotation by M. RESE (Funktion, 69).
42. Also seen as explicit quotation by M. RESE (Funktion, 69). H.B. SWETE, however, did not want to include this as a quotation (Introduction, 388).
43. With the exception of only two quoted texts: Ac 23:5 (Ex 22:27) and Ac 28:26-27 (Is 69:10).
44. So also M. RESE: "Bis auf eine Ausnahme (Apg 8,32f.) finden sich alle atl. Zitate in Reden oder redenartigen Stücken der Apg..." (Funktion, 69).
5. DIRECT PHRASES WITHOUT INTRODUCTORY FORMULAEE

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

(a) 3 Similar phrases from the Ps:
- Ps 89:21 = Ac 13:2246
- Ps 146:6 = Ac 4:24
- Ps 146:6 (again) = Ac 14:15

(b) 6 Similar phrases from the Torah
- Gn 48:4 = Ac 7:5
- Ex 1:8 = Ac 7:18
- Ex 3:6 = Ac 3:1347
- Ex 3:6,15 = Ac 7:32
- Ex 20:11 = Ac 14:15
- Ex 21:4 = Ac 7:27,3548

6. THE PROBLEM, THESES AND PURPOSE OF THIS INVESTIGATION

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

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

45. Cf. J. DUPONT, L'utilisation, 281f who did not make this distinction in his list of quotations.
46. Taken by M. RESE as explicit quotation, in combination with 2 Ki(Sm) 13:14 (Funktion, 69).
47. Taken as explicit quotation by M. RESE (Funktion, 69), but not by H.B. SWETE (Introduction, 388).
48. This occurrence is counted as an explicit quotation by H.B. SWETE, Introduction, 388.
50. Cf. also M. RESE who asks the question: "Was wird zitiert?" (Motive, 35).
(ii) *The second deals with the question of his usage of Scripture (more specifically his method of application).* How did he apply the quotations within their new context? What changes does he make? Here it is important to establish the way in which he quotes.51

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

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

### 6.1 The text-historical aspect of the problem

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

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

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51. Cf. also M. RESE who asks the question: "Wie wird zitiert?" This deals with the "Form des Zitats". (*Motive*, 35).
52. So taken to be important by M. RESE, who asks the question: "Worum wird zitiert?" The issue is then that of the "Bedeutung des Zitats" (*Motive*, 35).
data and all the alternative readings which exist, it becomes clear that at least some of the (so-called interpretive) changes between the readings of Ac and LXX might disappear if one were to reconstruct "the" reading of the quoted text in Ac. But each reconstruction brings its own problems. When bearing in mind that the early Christian church (and also the church of the following centuries) modified their texts in order to correlate them with their known OT text readings, the situation even become more complicated. For the purposes of this investigation, those reconstructed and printed critical editions of NA26 and the Göttingen editions are used as a basis in identifying the differences between Ac and the LXX. In discussing each of the differences between the texts of NA26 and the reconstructed Göttingen-LXX, attention will be paid to some of the most important and problematical textcritical problems.

**Codex D (Bezae Cantabrigiensis)**

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

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

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

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

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

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

\textit{b. Other prominent characteristics}\footnote{66}

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

\footnote{59} Cf. G.J. STEYN on a hypothetical reconstruction of the history of the origin of the "Old Greek Version(s)"; (Die ou Griekse vertaling (Septuagint) Deel I: 'n Kort oorsig oor die moonlike ontstaansgeskiedenis, in: ThEv 22 (1989), 9-18).
\footnote{60} Cf. G.J. STEYN, Die ou Griekse vertaling (Septuagint) Deel 2: 'n Kort oorsig oor die ontwikkelingsgeskiedenis en bestaande tekststorieë, in: ThEv 22-3 (1989), 2-13).
\footnote{61} Cf. the work of P.E. KAHLE: Cairo Geniza.
\footnote{64} E. TOV, Text-critical use, 41.
\footnote{65} So E. TOV, \textit{Text-critical use}, 42.
Another important issue is the fact that several translators were involved, and we therefore find some books to be translated more literally (e.g. Gn) than others that are much more paraphrased in character (e.g. Pr).

6.2 The methodological aspect of the problem

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

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

6.3 The hermeneutical aspect of the problem

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

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

However, the problem of one-sidedness remains. The pendulum has only moved away from the one side to the other. There has developed a drastic need in
biblical interpretation for something that could accommodate both the diachronical and synchronical approaches; some analysis where the relationship author-text on the one hand, as well as the relationship text-reader on the other hand, receives the necessary attention.

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

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

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

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69. So suggested in the different studies of M. RESE, Motive (1965/69); D.L. BOCK, Proclamation (1987), 276-279; and D. JUEL, Messianic Exegesis (1988).
SECTION II: ANALYSIS. THE PETRINE SPEECHES

CHAPTER 3

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

1. THE BROADER CONTEXT AND BACKGROUND

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

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

3. According to A. WEISER, "läßt die Art der Verarbeitung durch Lukas...vermuten, daß es sich bereits um schriftliche Überlieferung handelt" (Nachwahl des Matthäus, 99).
4. Cf. A. WEISER for an overview of the different tradition historical models which try to present a reconstruction of the pre-Lukan version (Apg 1, 64-66). Also E. NELLESSEN, Tradition und Schrift in der Perikope von der Erwählung des Matthias (Apg 1,15-26), in: BZ 19 (1975), 205-218; here 207-211. The best way to see the whole matter, is probably as H. CONZELMANN has formulated it: "Die Legende vom Tod des Judas ist erzählerisch nicht ausgebildet; sie ist nicht ein zersagtes Spästudium einer stilgemäßen Personalklavendie, sondern nur eine etwas ausgestaltete und von Lk geformte Fassung eines bekannten Motifs." (Die Apostelgeschichte (HNT 7), Tübingen 1972, 29). In the same direction: J. ROLOFF, Apg, 30-31. M. WILCOX is thus right when he said that "...it seems plain that this speech of Peter is not simply an invention of Luke, but incorporates traditional material of some kind" (The Judas-Tradition in Acts 1,15-26, in: NTS 19 (1972/73), 438-452, here 438). So also G. LÜDEMANN, Das frühe Christentum nach den Traditionen der Apostelgeschichte. Ein Kommentar, Göttingen 1987, 40.
5. So also J. SICKENBERGER, Judas als Stifter des Blutackers; Apg 1,18f., in: BZ 18 (1929), 69-71, here 69; C. SMITS, Citaten II, 200; T. HOLTZ, Untersuchungen, 46; J. ROLOFF, Apg, 31; A. WEISER, Apg I, 69. For a brief but good summary on the similarities and differences between the accounts of Mt and Ac, see R.H. FULLER, The Choice of Matthias, in: E.A. LIVINGSTONE (ed), Studia Evangelica VI (=TU 112), Berlin 1973, 140-146, here 143; and G. LÜDEMANN, Christentum, 40.
regarding the use of Scripture, is the fact that Luke's quotation from Ps 68(69):26 is not to be found in the version of Mt, while Mt's quotation from Zch 11:12-13/Jr 39(32):6-9 is not to be found in the version of Ac. It is, however, noteworthy to see that both included a quotation from Scripture which is combined with the piece of land.

(b) The version is also to be found later in the second century in a fragment (III) of Papias, bishop of Hierapolis, quoted by Apollinaris of Laodicea.7 Both Ac and this fragment agree that Judas had bought himself a piece of land with the money which he received from his corrupt deed, and that he had died there in some horrible way.8 Papias' version also shows probable influences from Nm 5:21f,27 and also from Ps 68(69):24.9 There might thus be a possibility that the linking of Ps 68(69) with the death of Judas, could have existed already before Luke's time from this evidence in the Papias fragment,10 which is accepted as being independent from Ac.11 Especially then the etiology about the name of the piece of land, contributes to the fact that there was a well known tradition about the death of Judas.12 Although the existing evidence does not agree on the version itself, there are definite traces to be found of similarities of elements in this tradition.

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

6. There are also possible influences from Jr 18:2f.; 19:1f. according to the following: P. BENOIT, Der Tod des Judas, in: idem., Exegese und Theologie, Düsseldorf 1965, 167-181; E. HAENCHEN, Die Apostelgeschichte (KEK III), Göttingen 1956 (1968), 125; and J. ROLOFF, Apg, 30.
7. It was probably written in the mid-second century (J. ROLOFF, Apg, 30) or nearer: between 120-130 AD (A. WEISER, Apg I, 69).
8. According to G. LÜDEMMANN, the gruesome swelling of Judas' body according to the Papias-fragment, resembles Ps 108(109):18: "Er liebt den Fluch — so mag er über ihn kommen... Er zog den Fluch an wie ein Gewand, und er kam wie Wasser in seine Eingeweide.' Dieses Anschwellen seines Körpers, auch seiner Augenlidar war so schlimm, daß Judas völlig erblindete. Die Aussage von der Blindheit des Gottlosen ist wiederum zu lesen in Ps 69, 23/68, 23 (LXX)" (Christentum, 40).
10. So also H. CONZELMANN, Apg, 29; and G. LÜDEMMANN, Christentum, 40.
12. Supplementary to this, A. WEISER means that also "...sprachliche Indizien weisen auf Überlieferungsstoff hin, und die Art der Verarbeitung durch Lukas läßt vermuten, daß es sich bereits um schriftliche...Überlieferung handelte" (Apg I, 64). So also E. SCHWEIZER, Zu Apg, 46; W. WIATER, Komposition als Mittel der Interpretation im lukanischen Doppelwerk (Unpublished Diss.), Bonn 1972, 77; and G. LÜDEMMANN, Christentum, 40.
Chapter 3: First Petrine Speech

Lk 6:12-16

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

Ac 1:15-26

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

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

2. OVERVIEW OF THE TEXT OF THE SPEECH

15 Καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέρας ταύταις ἀπόστολος Πέτρος ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν εἶπεν: ἢν τε ὀχλος ὀνυμάτων ἐπὶ τό αὐτό ὅσει ἕκαστον εἶχον:

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

16 ἀνδρεῖς ἀδελφοί,

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

ἐξείτο πληρωθήσαι τὴν γραφήν

ὃν προεύηκεν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ὁγιαν

διὰ στόματος Δαμιάν

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

περὶ 'Ιουδα

τοῦ γενομένου ὀδηγοῦ τοῖς συλλαβοῖσιν Ἡσαύ,

17 ὅτι καταργηθηκέναι ἦν ἐν ἡμῖν

καὶ ἔλοθρον τῶν κληρον τῆς διακοινίας ταύτης.

18 αὕτως μὲν εὖ ἐκτῆσαν χαρίαν ἐκ μισθοῦ τῆς ἁλαξίας

καὶ προφητεύσας γενομένου ἐλάχιστον καὶ ἔξεχθη πάντα τὰ σπλάγχνα αὐτοῦ.

19 καὶ γυμνότοπο εὗρεν πάντα τοῖς κατακόμβου Ἡροδιάβολῳ,

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16. Compare also the proposed translation of VV.15-22 by R.L. OMANSON in which he has tried to accommodate the implicit meaning of this section (How does it all fit together? Thoughts on translating Acts 1:15-22 and 15:19-21, in: BitJr 41 (1990), 416-421, here 417).
Chapter 3: First Petrine Speech

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

20a γέγραπται γάρ ἐν βυβλίῳ φαλάμῳ
   b γεννηθήτω ἡ ἐπαλαί αὐτοῦ ἔρημος
   c καὶ μὴ ἔστω ὁ κατοικῶν ἐν αὐτῇ.

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

d καὶ τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν αὐτοῦ λαβέτω ἄτρα.

21 δέι οὖν τῶν συνελθόντων ἡμῖν ἀνδρῶν
   ἐν παντὶ χρόνῳ
   ὃς ἐξηθήκεται καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἐφ᾽ ἡμῶς ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς.
22 οἵτινες ἀπὸ τοῦ βαπτίσματος Ἰωάνου
   ἐκ τῆς ἡμέρας τῆς ἀνελήμφθη ἕφ᾽ ἡμῖν,
   μάρτυρα τῆς ἀναστάσεως αὐτοῦ
   σύν ἡμῖν γενέσθαι ἕνα τούτων.

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

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

17. It is strange that scholars have often omitted this first Petrine speech in their discussions on the speeches in Ac. Cf. for example, E. SCHWEIZER, Zu den Reden der Apostelgeschichte, in: ThZ 13 (1957), 1-11.
18. Compare the similar beginnings of Peter’s second speech with the words ἀνδρέας Ἰωάνου (Ac 2:14); Peter’s third speech with ἀνδρέας Ἰσραήλ (Ac 3:12); Peter’s seventh speech with ἀνδρέας ἀδελφοί (Ac 15:7); Paul’s first speech with ἀνδρέας Ἰσραήλ (Ac 13:16); Paul’s second speech with ἄνδρες (Ac 14:15); Paul’s third speech with ἄνδρες Ἀθηναίοι (Ac 17:22); Paul’s fifth speech with ἀνδρέας ἀδελφοί (Ac 22:1); Paul’s sixth speech with ἀνδρέας ἀδελφοί (Ac 23:1); Stephen’s speech with ἀνδρέας ἀδελφοί (Ac 7:2); James’ speech with ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί (Ac 15:13). See also the other occurrences in Ac 2:29;37; 13:15;26;38; 23:6; 28:17 and 4Mac 8:19. Cf. also to the general discussion of the speeches in Ch 2 of this study.
19. So also A. WEISER: "eine geschlossene Erzählheit" (Nachwahl des Mattias, 98).
20. So also L. CERFAUX, Citations, 48; H. CONZELMANN, Apg, 28-29; E. HAENCHEN, Schriftenzitate, 163; and E. HAENCHEN, Apg, 124. They have convincingly argued here that "γράφονται die einzelne Schriftstelle", The latter also stressed: "die Schrift' = αἱ γραφαί. Die beiden Psalmverse 69,26 (der Tod des Judas) und 109,8 (die Ersatzwahl) werden als eine einzige Stelle behandelt" (124,n.6). Cf. also B.M. NEWMAN & E.A. NIDA, A Translator’s Handbook on the Acts of the Apciltes (HeTr), New York/Stuttgart 1972, 25: "The scripture refers to a passage or a text of Scripture rather
with the rest of the speech context around it, and in order to understand its relation better within these immediate preceding and following contexts, the unit is divided into two sections on the basis of the two different themes. The first part (Ac 1:16-20c) deals with the death of Judas as a fulfillment of Scripture, concluding climactically with Ps 68(69):26, while the latter part (Ac 1:20d-21) deals with the obligation to find another faithful witness who could replace Judas as an apostle, and starts with a quoted text from Ps 108(109):8. The first part, with its quotation, forms the substantiation or reason (ouv, V.21) for the second part, i.e. that another witness must (Oe, V.21) be chosen — with the necessity on a par with the first part where it was stated that the Scripture had to be (EOt!, V.16) fulfilled with regard to the life of Judas.

The combination of the two themes — the death of Judas and the election of Matthias — (which were probably already individually well known when Ac was written), could have been the work of Luke himself, by way of using this combined
quotation. That he has also linked each theme with its quoted text is, however, not so obvious. Concerning the first theme, and its combination with Ps 68(69), it may be possible that there already existed at least a pre-Lukan combination of Ps 68(69) with the theme of Judas' death.  

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

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

3.1 The composition of the section

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

3.1.1 Subsection 1: The Scripture had to be fulfilled

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

In this section great emphasis is laid on the fulfillment of the Scripture and therefore on the things that were already being foretold "by the Spirit". This is done by way of five prominent markers which emphasize that the things which have happened were already foretold in the past: (a) V.16: 1) πληρωθησαι την γραφην = The Scripture had to be fulfilled; (b) V.16: ἂν προείπεν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἁγιον = It (Scripture) was already foretold by the Spirit; (c) V.16: διὰ στόματος Δαυίδ = David was used as an instrument (by the Spirit) to verbalise this message; (d) V.20a: γέγραπται γὰρ ἐν βιβλίῳ ψαλμῶν = It is written in the

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27. So also L. CERFAUX, Citations, 48; E. HAENCHEN, Schrifzeichnisse, 163; T. HOLTZ, Untersuchungen, 45; H. CONZELMANN, Apg, 29; A. WEISER, Apg I, 64-65; J. ROLOFF, Apg, 30-31; G. SCHRAMBERGER, Apg I, 214; R. PESCH, Apg I, 86; M. WILCOX, Judas-Tradition, 438-452; and E. NELLESSEN, Tradition und Schrift, 211-217. See A. WEISER, Apg I, for an overview of the supporting arguments. Contrary to P-H. MENOU, Les additions au groupe des douze apôtres d’après le livre des Actes, in: RPh 57 (1957), 71-80; E. SCHWEIZER, Zu Apg, 46; W. WIATER, Komposition, 75; R.H. FULLER, Choice of Matthias, 141.

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


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

31. See 2 Pt 1:21: ὑπὸ πνεύματος ἁγίου φέρεσιν ἔλαβεσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ διώκοντος. See also Aristides 1,67 and 48,26 (F.W. VAN DER HORST, Hellenistic Parallels, Ac I, 24).

32. For David being "used by the Spirit" to verbalise the message and thereafter explicitly quoting from the Ps, see Ac 4:25 (ὁ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου στόματος Δαυίδ παιδός σου εἶπον + Ps 2:1); Mk 12:36 (Δαυίδ εἶπεν ἐν τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ + Ps 109(110):1); Mt 22:43 (Δαυίδ εἶπεν πνεύματι. λέγειν + Ps 109(110):1); Heb 3:7 (Δαυίδ, καθὼς λέγει τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἁγιον + Ps 94(95):7-11). There is a close resemblance between this motif and that found in the contents of 2 Ki(5M) 23:1-2. See also Ac 28:25 where it is said again that it is the Holy Spirit who has spoken "through" the prophet Isaiah (διὰ καθὼς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἁγιον ἐδόθην διὰ Ἰσαία τοῦ προφήτου), and then linking a quotation from Is 6:9f. G. LÜDEMANN draws attention to Ps 41:10 (Christentum, 38).
Chapter 3: First Petrine Speech

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

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

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

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

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

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33. P.W. VAN DER HORST mentions the following references: Hdt IV 205; Parv IX 36,2-3; LucAlx 59; DioSic XXXVI 13,2-3 (a priest of Cybele); PlutVitParSte 36,2; Appolod, Bibl III 5,1-2; and the following examples from Jewish literature: Haman in Es 7; Holophernes in Jdth 13; Antiochus IV in 2Mac 9; Apion in JosAp II 143 (Hellenistic Parallels, Ac I, 24).
34. Cf. E. BAASSLAND, Die περί-Formel und die Argumentation(situation) des Paulus, in: StTh 42 (1988), 69-87. He draws attention to this feature in the Pauline literature and refers also to the same tendency in Sir. According to him, these are examples of the influence of the hellenistic-rhetorical tradition (71).
35. E. TROCMÉ, Le "Livre des Actes" et l'Histoire, Paris 1957, 199; E. NELLESSEN, Tradition und Schrift, 212, and R.H. FULLER, Choice of Matthias, 141, are but some of the scholars who agree that Ac 1:16(17) links up with V.20.
36. G. SCHNEIDER reckons that the ὅτι expresses here the idea that these things happened to Judas "...weil er einer von der Zwölf gewesen war" (Apg I, 217).
37. See here E. NELLESSEN (Tradition und Schrift, 212) who lists several reasons why he thinks that V.17 was part of the election tradition. R.H. FULLER reckons that "The description of the function of the Twelve as a διακονία reflects Lucan theology about the apostolate. The word was current in the Hellenistic churches to denote the activity of wandering preachers and was taken up by Paul from his opponents to describe his own apostolate. The two words διακονία and ἀποστολή are used by Luke almost synonymously" (Choice of Matthias, 142-3).
38. See Lk 22:47 where it is stated that Judas led the group, although there the verb προέρχομαι is used. This is not mentioned by Mt, Mk or Lk. Cf. also G. LÜDEMANN, Christentum, 38.
39. See J. SICKENBERGER, who argues that we probably have iacacism here, and that instead of ἐκτίσατο it should read ἐκτίσσατο, "Dann ergibt sich der mit Mt völlig übereinstimmende Sinn, daß Judas das Geld für den Kauf eines Ackers hergegeben hat, also...der Stifter des berühmtesten Blutackers geworden ist" (Judas als Stifter, 71).
corrupt deed, (b) falling and bursting open, (c) all his intestines pouring out, and (d) the incident becoming known to "all the inhabitants of Jerusalem" (πάσι τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν Ἱερουσαλήμ). The notoriety of the place is reflected in the name given to it in the mother tongue: Ἀκελδάμαχ (V.19), "field of blood". Two basic elements in this negative part are thus the piece of land (χωρίον, V.18,19) and the "curse" associated with it (Ἀκελδάμαχ, χωρίον αἵματος, V.19).

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

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

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

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

3.2.1 **Other occurrences of Ps 68(69)**

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


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

52. Cf. the argumentation above concerning this matter.
Chapter 3: First Petrine Speech

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

3.2.2 The introductory formula (Ac 1:20a)

This quotation is indicated as an explicit citation by way of a clearly formulated introductory formula: γέγραπται. The quotation


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

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

56. So T. HOLTZ, Untersuchungen, 44-45; G. SCHNEIDER, Apq I, 214; and A. WEISER, Nachwahl des Mattiöns, 100; ibid., Apq I, 64-65. The latter substantiates it as follows: "Ps 68(69),26 dürfte schon vorluk mit der Judas-Tod-Tradition verbunden gewesen sein, weil Ps 68(69) als Lied vom Leiden des unschuldigen Gottesleichtes schon früh auf das Wirken und Leiden Jesu bezogen worden ist (vgl. Mk 15,36; Joh 2,17; 15,25), weil auch bei Mt 27,9f. ein Schrifzitat begegnet, welches beispielsweise als substanzierung für die vorherigen Gedanken; der Gedanken, daß der Tod des Judas nicht vergeblich sein soll, sondern als ein Bild der Erlösung Jesu gesehen werden solle (vgl. Ps 68:10,25).

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

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

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

60. Cf. also the other NT locations where it is explicitly stated that the author is quoting from the Ps: Lk 20:42 (ὡς δαυίδ λέγει ἐν βιβλίῳ ψαλμων + Ps 109(10):1); Ac 2:34 (ὡς δαυίδ λέγει ἐν τούς υἱοὺς τοῦ σωτῆρος, λέγει δὲ αὐτός + Ps 109(10):1); Ac 4:25 (ὁ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου στόματος δαυίδ παῖς σοι εἴη + Ps 2:1); Ac 13:33 (ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ ψαλμῷ γέγραπται τῷ διονυσίῳ + Ps 2:7); Mt 22:43 (πῶς καὶ ἐν τῷ ψαλμῷ εἴη + Ps 2:7); Rm 11:9 (καὶ δαυίδ λέγει + Ps 68(69):23f); Heb 4:7 (ἐν δαυίδ λέγεται μετὰ τοσοῦτον χρόνου, καθὼς προείρητο + Ps 94(95):7f). When comparing Lk 20:42 above — which refers only to one quoted text — it could not be agreed with R. PESCH when he said: "Lukas hat die Zitationsformel "denn es steht geschrieben" vermutlich um 'im Psalmbuch' (vgl. Lk 20:42) erweitert, zumal er so leichter beide Psalzmzitate unterbringen kann" (Apq I, 88-89).
itself consists, however, of a combination of two quoted texts and the introductory formula thus serves as an introduction to both quoted texts and as a pointer to both as one explicit quotation.61

3.2.3 Determining and explaining the textual differences

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<th>NT (NA26)</th>
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<tr>
<td>Ac 1:20b-c</td>
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There are no major differences between the readings of the MT and the LXX at this point.62 The LXX reading thus represents here a relatively exact or literal translation of the Hebrew. According to this, it has to be said that there is no evidence here that the author of Ac (and/or his tradition) has used the LXX and not the MT, or vice versa. He could have used here either the Greek or the Hebrew.63

Textual differences between Ac and LXX

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

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62. Cf. G.L. ARCHER & G. CHIRICHIGNO, Quotations, 75. They want to see a minor difference between the singular Ἴν of the MT on the one hand, and the ὁ κατοικῶν of the LXX and Ac on the other hand.
63. Cf. also T. HOLTZ, Untersuchungen, 47. R.H. FULLER even has said that 'the use of the word ἐσταιας in Acts 1:20 makes it fairly clear that Acts is citing the LXX, not translating independently from the Hebrew' (Choice of Matthias, 141).
Chapter 3: First Petrine Speech

(a) Addition: ἐν αὐτῇ (Ac 1:20c)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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64 ἐν αὐτῇ refers here implicitly to ἡ ἐπαυλίς, which is paralleled by the synonym τὸ σκηνώμα (i.e. the Lukan omission) in the reading of the LXX.
65 So also W.K.L. CLARKE, Use of the Septuagint, 94; E. HAENCHEN, Apg, 126; T. HOLTZ, Untersuchungen, 47; G.L. ARCHER & G. CHIRICHIGNO, Quotations, 75; R. PESCH, Apg I, 89; and D.-A. KOCH, Überlieferung und Verwendung, 214.
66 So also W.K.L. CLARKE, Use of the Septuagint, 94; E. HAENCHEN, Apg, 126; T. HOLTZ, Untersuchungen, 47; B.M. NEWMAN & E.A. NIDA, Translator’s Handbook, 28; J. ROLOFF, Apg, 33; G.L. ARCHER and G. CHIRICHIGNO, Quotations, 75; R. PESCH, Apg I, 89; and E. NELLESSEN, Tradition und Schrift, 215.
(d) Participle changed to an adjective:

\[ \text{τῆρημα\,μένη} \quad (\text{LXX}) \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{ερήμος} \quad (\text{Ac 1:20b}) \]

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

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

3.2.4 Method of quotation

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

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67. Also in Lk 13:35 (par. Mt 23:38) is ἐρήμως chosen, to represent the same motif about desertedness (although there applied to Jerusalem): ὅσοι ἔθετον ὃτι ὁ ἅπας ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐρήμως. This reminds of the reading in Jr 22:5: ὅτι εἰς ἐρήμωσιν ἐποίησεν ὁ ὁμοίως ἄδειος. The dilemma with this argument is that there exist in both NT instances problematic textcritical readings, so that they cannot be taken as supporting evidence.

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

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

70. See BL-DBR § 243.

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

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

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

74. Cf. also T. HOLTZ, Untersuchungen, 48.
compilation of traditions and his own redactory work) forced Luke to make these changes himself when relating a passage from Scripture to this context, or his personal linguistic and stylistic preferences came to the foreground when adapting and editing the quotation? Or (c) does it simply represent a mixture of both?

There are some reasons why the latter (c) might be preferred: Firstly, as will become clearer during the course of this study, there seems to be a tendency to substitute omissions by way of reformulated additions within the quotations. This might be a peculiar stylistic feature of Luke himself. Secondly, the stylistic preference of the predicate adjective, instead of the passive participle, which is to be found almost exclusively in Lk-Ac, could point to another peculiar stylistic feature of Luke. Thirdly, there might also be some vague evidence that the verb-adjective-change could have been the result of another Vorlage, i.e. tradition. Fourthly, the pronoun change is the result of adaptation to the new context with which it is linked and (if it is agreed that the quoted text was already found by Luke in combination with the theme of Judas' death), might be ascribed to the pre-Lukan tradition.

3.2.5 Interpretation of the quoted text by Luke

The divine message, its notification by elected and authorized prophets in the Scriptures, as well as its revelation and/or fulfillment through elected persons later in history, are all very closely linked with the prominent role of the Holy Spirit in Lk-Ac. This first Petrine speech is one such culminating point (cf. V.16). David (as prophet)\(^75\) has verbalised the divine message in the form of Scripture\(^76\) — a message which he has received from the Holy Spirit. This message was to be fulfilled later in history.\(^77\) Judas, although elected as apostle and reckoned as one of them, has then, by his own will,\(^78\) fulfilled Jesus' proclamation, and has borne the full consequences of his choice: he has died in a horrible way, and the land he bought with the money from his corrupt deed has been left empty and deserted, with a stigma attached to it.

By changing the \(\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\upsilon\) from Ps 68(69):26 to \(\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\omicron\), the quoted text is reinterpreted as referring to Judas.\(^79\) The \(\epsilon\nu\pi\omega\lambda\iota\varsigma\) which became empty (and to which the quotation from Ps 68(69):26 refers), refers here (Ac 1:20b) to the piece of

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

\(^76\) Note here the interesting construction: \(\tau\omicron\upsilon\nu\gamma\omicron\upsilon\alpha\omicron\omicron\upsilon\pi\omicron\varepsilon\nu\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\) ... \(\delta\alpha\omicron\upsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\omega\tau\omicron\). Luke thus has seen Scripture here as the written form of the pronounced divine words.


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

\(^79\) This adaptation made the connection with the following quoted text (from Ps 108:8) also more obvious. The \(\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\) which is to be found there, links with this changed form here to refer to Judas. G. LÜDEMANN draws attention to the temptation narrative where Satan has left Jesus "until a certain time" (\(\gamma\omicron\upsilon\alpha\omicron\nu\rho\omicron\delta\omicron\), Lk 4:13). That time came when Satan got into Judas (Lk 22:3) and used him as an instrument against Jesus. "Die prädestinatorische Auslegung von Ps 69,26 steht dazu nicht in Widerspruch". He refers then to the occurrence of \(\delta\alpha\iota\) (Christentum, 38).
land that Judas had bought for himself — the τὸ χωρίον ἔκει (V.19). Luke (and/or his tradition) might also have linked the negative stigma attached to Judas' "land of blood" (χωρίον ζύμωτος, V.19) with the desertedness (ἐρημωθείσας, V.20b) of the dwelling place mentioned in the quotation. This desertedness is stressed by the second part of the same quoted text by way of the phrase, καὶ μὴ ἔστω ὁ κατοικῶν ἐν σάτῳ (V.20e). If the quotation from Ps 68(69):26 was meant to refer more closely to the following context than to the preceding context, Luke would have omitted at least this second phrase. The fact that nobody must be allowed to live in this dwelling place (V.20e), contrasts with the demand that another witness be elected in Judas' place (V.20d). It must therefore be presumed that Luke (as well as his tradition) has related the quotation from Ps 68(69):26 only to the death of Judas, emphasizing the horrible consequences of such godless deeds.

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

An interesting feature with regard to this motif in Ps 68(69):26, is that it is to be found also in Is 6:11: ἐὼς ἐν ἐρημωθείσαι πόλεις παρὰ τῷ μὴ κατοικήσαται, καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἐν αὐτῷ ἐν καταλείψει ἐρημωθείσαι. These are "God's words" to Isaiah.

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

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80. So seen also by C. SMITS, Citaten II, 200; T. HOLTZ, Untersuchungen, 45-46; H. CONZELMANN, Ap. 29; E. HAENCHEN, Ap. 125-6; J. ROLOFF, Ap. 30; G. SCHNEIDER, Ap. 1, 216-217, n.34; and R. PESCH, Ap. 88. Probably forced too much by the last six when (HAENCHEN, for example) took "kleines Landgut" (125,n.7) as translation equivalent for χωρίον, and "Gehöft" for ἐρημωθείσας (126), thereafter concluding that the first part of V.20 ...sett voraus, daß Judas ein Gehöft besaß, nicht ein Feld". GNB (1982) translates "ein Feld", and so does the RSV (1988): "field". Cf. W. BAUER, s.v. χωρίον: "Grundstück, Stück Land, Landgut" (Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der übrigen urchristlichen Literatur, Berlin/New York 1971). With B.M. NEWMAN & E.A. NIDA there must be warned against the tendency to presume that Judas would have been able to purchase a farm or an estate. They, quite rightly, draw attention to the fact that the word "field" is also used elsewhere in Ac (4:34; 5:3,8; 28:7) (Translator's Handbook, 27). Cf. also Lk 21:21 = ὅλον τὸ χώριον μὴ εἰσερχόμεθαν εἰς σάτῃ.

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

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


84. See also the other arguments above for preferring to connect the quoted text of Ps 68(69):26 with the first part of the unit.
proof\textsuperscript{85} of what has happened.

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

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

(a) The reference to the prophecy as coming "through the mouth of David" (διὸ στόματος Δαώδ, Ac 1:16) indicates a probability that Luke knew of the heading to this Ps already during his time as "a Ps of David" (τῷ Δαώδ, Ps 68(69):1).\textsuperscript{86}

(b) Also striking are the similarities between the themes of the Ps (the godless haters of David and the Lord) on the one hand, and the version of Judas' life (being a traitor) on the other hand.\textsuperscript{87}

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

Command to choose another witness in the place of Judas

4.1 The composition of the section

The second part of this Petrine speech deals with the demand to choose another faithful witness in Judas' place. It starts with the second part of the quotation, i.e. the second quoted text from the Ps (Ps 108(109):8). With the emphatic function of οὖν, the preceding quoted text is indicated as being the reason why another faithful witness of Jesus' resurrection (μάρτυρας\textsuperscript{88} τῆς άναστάσεως, V.22) had to be (δε\textsuperscript{89} V.21) elected.\textsuperscript{90} In its turn, this second part of the quotation with its following


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

\textsuperscript{87} Cf. here the οὖν of Ac 1:18 and the οὖν of Ps 68(69):5.

\textsuperscript{88} R.H. FULLER has pointed out that "The word μάρτυρας includes witness both of what is conceived to be historical fact, and its salvation-historical significance. This usage is unknown to Paul and Mark, and was first introduced into New Testament usage by Luke" (\textit{Choice of Matthias}, 144). According to H. BRAUN, the totality of the apostles as μάρτυρες, is central here, with a close relationship between μάρτυρας and the resurrection of Jesus. Of the 13 μάρτυρας-loci in Ac, 8 of them are connected with Jesus: 1:8,22; 2:32; 3:15; 5:32; 10:39,41; 13:31 (Zur Terminologie der Acta von der Auferstehung Jesu, in: \textit{ThrLZ} 9 (1952), 553-556, here 554). See also C. SCHNEIDER, s.v. μάρτυρας, in: \textit{TDNT IV}, 492.

\textsuperscript{89} δε is to be found 101 times in the NT, thereof 18x in Lk and 22x in Ac. Cf. also Barn 5:13. Cf. W. GRUNDMANN: "The word δε expresses the necessity of the eschatological event, and thus an eschatological term in the NT. It is well adapted for this role, since the eschatological event is one which is hidden from man, which can be known only by special revelation and which sets man before an inconceivable necessity of historical occurrence grounded in the divine will." "Not a blind belief in destiny, but faith in God's eternal plans formulates this δε" (s.v. δε, in: \textit{TDNT II}, 23). 90 R.H. FULLER said: "It is Luke who restricted the apostles to the \textit{numerus clausus} of Twelve, and who insists that they are witnesses of a series of historical facts, the earthly ministry of Jesus from John the Baptist to the ascension" (\textit{Choice of Matthias}, 144). C. SMITS suggests that there might be a connection between this need to fill the number of apostles and the promise of Jesus to them that they would judge the twelve tribes of Israel (referring to Lk 22:30) (\textit{Citaten II}, 201). H. CONZELMANN has said: "Nicht jeder Apostel soll ersetzt werden, sondern nur diese eine Verlorene, damit die notwendige Zwölfzahl wieder voll ist. Die Apostel gelten als die Repräsentanten des eschatologischen Israel" (\textit{Apg}, 29). In this direction, cf. A. WEISER who refers to the pre-Lukan emphasis on the
context, are the results of the things that has happened in the preceding part.

The group from which somebody (ἦν τοῦτον, V.22) is to be selected, is that small gathered group addressed by Peter in his speech as ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί (V.16), the "crowd of the Name" (ὄχλος οὐνομάτων, V.15), the "approximate 120" (ὡσεὶ ἐκατον εἴκοσι, V.15), "the gathered brothers (τῶν συνελθόντων... ἀνδρῶν, V.21). But the requirement, or qualification, explicitly stated in VV.21-22 is that this new witness must be chosen from among those who have been the whole time (ἐν πάντι χρόνῳ) with the Lord Jesus (ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς), from his coming and going from them (ὁ εἰσήλθεν καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς),92 beginning with his baptism by John (ἀρξόμενοι ἀπὸ τοῦ βαπτισματος Ἰωάννου)93 up and until the day of his ascension (ἐως τῆς ἡμέρας τῆς ἀνελήμφθη ἄφ’ ἡμῶν), a person who was a witness to Jesus' resurrection95 with the other eleven disciples (μάρτυς τῆς ἀναστάσεως αὐτοῦ σὺν ἡμίῳ γενέσθαι).

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


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

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

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

94. References to John the Baptist in Ac are also to be found in 10:37 and 13:34f. G. LÜDEMANN reckons that "Beide Male werden das Auftreten Johannes des Täufers und das Jesu voneinander abgesetzt, so daß der Eindruck entsteht, es handele sich um zwei verschiedene Epochen" (Christentum, 38).

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

96. So also G. LOHFI NK who has drawn attention to the similarities in structure and terminology between Ac 1:1f and Ac 1:21f, pointing out that it seems as if this is "...von größer Bedeutung für die Himmelfahrtslehre des Lukas" (Himmelfahrt Jesu, 218-223).
4.2 The quoted text from *Ps 108(109)*:8 in Ac 1:20d

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

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

4.2.2 The introductory formula (Ac 1:20a)

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

4.2.3 Determining and explaining the textual differences

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


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

101. Cf. the remarks on this introductory formula above at the discussion on *Ps 68(69)*:26.
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As was the case with the first quoted text, this one also could have been taken either directly from a text similar to the known MT, or one similar to the reconstructed LXX. There are no major differences between the MT and the LXX.102

(a) Textual differences between Ac and LXX

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

\[\text{a.1 Time of the verb changed: λάβοι (Ps 108:8)} \rightarrow \lambda λάβετω (Ac 1:20d)\]

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

4.2.4 Method of quotation

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

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102. R.H. FULLER, however, argues that the use of the word ἐπισκοποῦν both in LXX and in Ac 1:20 "...makes it fairly certain that Acts is quoting from the LXX rather than translating independently from Hebrew" (Choice of Matthias, 141).
103. So also H. CONZELMANN, Apoc, 29; E. HAENCHEN, Apoc, 126; T. HOLTZ, Untersuchungen, 47; J. ROLOFF, Apoc, 33; and R. PESCH, Apoc I, 69. E. HAENCHEN says: "Aus diesem menschlichen Wunsch wird...eine göttliche Anweisung" (Apoc, 126). So also G. SCHNEIDER, Apoc I, 218. The change is overlooked by G.L. ARCHER & G. CHIRICHIGNO in the comments of their synopsis (Quotations, 75), as well as by H. RINGGREN, Luke's Use, 233.
105. So also G. SCHNEIDER, Apoc I, 218 n.52; and R. PESCH, Apoc I, 89.
106. So thought to be by G.D. KILPATRICK, Some Quotations, 87.
107. For a similar method of combining texts quoted (almost exclusively) from the Ps, see also: Lk 4:10-11 (= Ps 90(91):11 + Ps 90(91):12); Mt 4:6 (= Ps 90(91):11f + Dt 6:16); Rm 3:10-18 (= Ps 13(14):1-3 + Ps 5:10 + Ps 138(139):4 + Ps 9:28(10:7) + Is 59:7 + Ps 34(35):2); Rm 10:18-21 (= Ps 17(18):5 + Dt 32:21 + Is 65:1 + Is 65:2); Rm 15:9-12 (= Ps 16(17):50 + Dt 32:43 + Ps 116(117):1 + Is 11:10); J Cor 3:19-20 (= Job 5:12f + Ps 92(93):11); Heb 1:5-13 (= Ps 2:7 + 2 Krl(Sm) 7:14/1 Chr 17:13 + Dt 32:43 + Ps 95(96):7 + Ps 102(103):4 + Ps 43(44):7 + Ps 100(101):26-28 + Ps 108(109):1); Heb 2:12-13 (= Ps 20(21):23 + Is 8:17 + Is 8:18); Heb 5:5-6 (= Ps 2:7 + Ps 109(110):4).
comparison with the καί between Ac 1:20b and V.20c the two quoted texts are
syntactically presented as if they are three lines or phrases from one single
quotation. (b) The two quotations are further combined by οὖς (Ac 1:20b with
V.20d). The first of these was changed by Luke so that both refer to Judas. Also (c)
the imperative forms of the verbs are used here to combine the two quotations
(γεννηθησονται and ἔστω = V.20b-c, with λαβέτω = V.20d). The last was changed from
the optative form to the imperative in order to support the connection. (d) The fact
that both explicitly quoted texts were taken from the Ps contributcs to their
connection with each other, as does the fact (e) that they share a single introductory
formula. (f) The wider contexts of both quoted texts deal with the same theme, i.e.
that of the godless being cursed.

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

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

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

Prophetic words of
David (Ac 1:16) |
<--- | Ac 1:20b --- > fulfillment (Ac 1:21-22) |
| (Ps 108(109):8) |

4.2.5 Interpretation of the quoted text by Luke

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

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

110. Ibid., 87.
111. Cf. T. HOLTZ, Untersuchungen, 46; and A. WEISER, Apg 1, 65.
112. These have been pointed out several times above.
the LXX (εἰς τὸ τέλος), which differs from that in the MT (תְּלֹא). The same trend is to be found widely represented in the rest of the Pss and there is no text-critical evidence to cast doubt on the reading of the LXX. This difference between the readings of the headings in the LXX and the MT is probably due to the (conscious or unconscious) positioning of the final vowel of the same Hebrew word by the translator(s) of the Pss. Another interesting notion is the occurrence of γεννηθήτω (συν) in Ps 108(109). This Leitwort might have been used as a connecting link between Ps 68(69) and Ps 108(109).

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

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114. This is not the same as some of the other Pss where the same change is to be found. Cf. the text-critical remarks concerning LXX Pss 29-30, 40-41, 43-44, 46, 50, 53, 87, 138-139. However, most of these are later omissions, made to be probably in accordance with the reading of the MT.
115. D-A. KOCH in his discussion of Is 25:8 in 1 Cor 15:24, draws attention to the fact that the same trend is to be found in Symmachus. He refers to: Is 13:20, 33:20, 57:16, Ps 67:17, 88:47 (Schrift als Zeuge, 63). Note that the scope is wider than in the LXX, where it is limited to the Ps. This is probably due to the influence of (the later dated) Symmachus (ca. 170 AD), who was influenced by the theology of his time.
116. Cf. VV.8, 12, 13, 15, 19.
118. Cf. BL-DBR § 384: "The optative proper used to denote an attainable wish...is still in use in the NT... There is, however, a strong tendency to use the imperative instead of the optative..." (Greek Grammar, 194). They are referring here to this occurrence as an example of this tendency. Also § 387: "The imperative...is by no means confined to commands, but also expresses a request or a concession...". (195). Supporting this view is T. HOLTZ, Untersuchungen, 47.
120. Compare Lk 21:22 which states that when God implements his punishment, it is the fulfillment of all that has been written: δὲ γὰρ ἐκτέτακτον ἡμῖν ὁ κύριος.
122. Cf. also Ac 13:47 where the same trend is to be found, i.e. the divine demand that the Scripture had to be fulfilled: οὗτος γὰρ έκτέτακται ἡμῖν ὁ κύριος.
way of (a) beginning this next theme with the words of the given authoritative Scripture that prescribed it (emphatic position); (b) also with the introduction of ἐπὶ ὑμῶν (Ac 1:21) immediately thereafter, indicating that they must therefore elect another person; (c) and probably also by consciously changing the optative (wish) form of the LXX reading (λαβεῖν), to a more demanding imperative form (λαβέω). This could easily be done with the support of the immediate contexts of both, the preceding quoted text in Ac 1:20b-c,123 as well as the immediate context of Ps 108(109) from which Luke takes this part of his quotation (V.20d).124

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

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

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

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

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

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

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123. The verbs are presented here in their imperative form: γενηθήσατε and (μὴ) ἔστω.
124. Almost all of the verbs in Ps 108(109):6-19 are found in their imperative form — in keeping with the cursing character of this section. The part of text which is quoted (Ps 108(109):8b), is also to be found encircled by γενηθήσατε (Ps 108(109):8a and 108(109):9a), i.e. by an imperative form.
125. C.H. COSGROVE, Divine ΔΕΙ, 174. Contra R.H. FULLER who suggests that the two LXX citations are used in "passion apologistic" (Choice of Matthias, 146).
126. Cf. to the discussion above.
Chapter 3: First Petrine Speech

tο πνεῦμα το άγιον, V.16) through the mouth of (the prophet) David (διὰ στόματος Δαυίδ, V.16). Striking is the implied resemblance with 2 Ki(Sm) 23:1-2, which are "the last words of David" (οὕτω οἱ λόγοι Δαυίδ οἱ ἔσχατοι): πνεῦμα κυρίου ἔλαθεν ἐν ἐμοί, καὶ ο λόγος αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ γλώσσας μου. Being therefore a prophecy and part of God's divine plan, this meant that the Scripture had to be fulfilled (εἴδει πληρωθήσατο τὸν γραφήν, V.16).

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

6. SUMMARY

(a) Two different texts from the Psalms are explicitly quoted in the first Petrine speech. It might be possible that Luke got the first quoted text (Ps 68(69):26) from tradition. This seems, however, not to be the same case with the second quoted text (Ps 108(109):8), which he probably found on his own.
(b) Luke and/or his tradition has made changes to the first quoted text, partly so as to apply the text to the context of Ac. The known LXX textual witnesses do not support these changes. The single stylistic change in the second quoted text can probably be ascribed to Luke's hand, due to the adaptation of the text within the immediate context.\textsuperscript{128}
(c) The two quoted texts are linked together with a καὶ. Both are then presented as one single explicit quotation, and so indicated and introduced by way of a clearly formulated single introductory formula.
(d) Although both quoted texts are taken from the Psalms, they are treated on the same level as material which could have come from the prophets: thus in a prophetic manner. This is not strange, because David is here seen as a prophet, and as a mouthpiece of the Holy Spirit.
(e) Luke (and/or his tradition) might have been aware of the original LXX contextual themes (i.e. that of the godless being cursed), but reinterpreted his quoted texts by applying them as authoritative scriptural emphases\textsuperscript{129} (proofs) for both the consequences resulting from Judas' criminal deed(s) (the land and the curse attached to it), as well as for substantiating the need to elect another faithful witness.\textsuperscript{130}

\textsuperscript{128} See App. A for a survey of the changes.
\textsuperscript{129} Their positions in the contexts of the two themes contribute to their emphatic use: the first is placed at the end of the first part and the second is placed at the beginning of the second part.
\textsuperscript{130} B.M. NEWMAN & E.A. NIDA said: "The primary meanings of the Scripture passages to which Peter has reference...are to be found in their original Old Testament setting. But because the character and actions of Judas are similar to those reflected in these passages from the Psalms, Peter can say that these Scriptures apply to Judas. This is quite typical of the manner in which the first Christians interpreted the Old Testament; they read it in light of the things which had taken place in connection with the life and ministry of Jesus" (Translator's Handbook, 25).
(f) The first quoted text had to be fulfilled (εἰς ἔτος), and has been fulfilled (past) with the death of Judas (his place of residence is empty). The second must be (δεῖ) fulfilled (present) with the election of another witness in his place.\textsuperscript{131} The latter is thus taken as a divine instruction for the early Christian church.\textsuperscript{132} This could be supported by the change of the LXX optative to the imperative in Ac — to function as an "ante eventum imperative".\textsuperscript{133}

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

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

\textsuperscript{133} C.H. COSGROVE, Divine ΔΕΙ, 174.
CHAPTER 4
PETER’S SECOND SPEECH
(Acts 2:14-41)

1. THE BROADER CONTEXT AND BACKGROUND

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

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

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

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

3. R.F. O'TOOLE points to the following similarities: (a) the structure, common to all the missionary speeches in Ac; (b) the issue of salvation (Ac 2:21,40,47; 13:23,26,38-39,47); (c) the quoting of Ps 15(16) (Ac 2:25-32; 13:34-37); (d) the forgiveness of sins (Ac 2:38; 13:38); (e) the promises to David (Ac 2:24-36; 13:22-23,32-37); (f) kerygma about Jesus (Ac 2:21-38; 13:23-39,46-48); (g) the possibility that 2 Ki(Sm) 7:12-16 might form the background of Luke's resurrectional assertion in each passage where Luke also makes reference to Ps 88 (Ac 2:30; 13:22) (Acts 2:30 and the Davidic Covenant of Pentecost, in: JBL 102 (1983), 245-258, here, 253). Compare this with G. SCHNEIDER, Apg I, 264,n.6.
Chapter 4: Second Petrine Speech

existing source material. 7

2. OVERVIEW OF THE TEXT OF THE SPEECH

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

Section I: Beginning of the last days and the J-quotations

διδασκοντες ἵνα τοις συντροφοις ἰερουσαλήμ πάντες,
τοῦτο ἔρχεται γινόμενον ἐστώ
καὶ ἐνυπήκολα τὰ ἡμεράς μου.
15 οὐ γὰρ ὡς ὁμοίως ὑπολογίζεται υἱοί μεθύοντες,
ἔστω γὰρ ὡρα τρίτη τῆς ἡμέρας,
16 ἄλλα τοῦτο ἐστώ το εἰρήμενος διὰ τοῦ προφήτου Ἰωάν
17 καὶ ἔσται
ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις, λέγει ὁ θεός,
ἐκεῖνοι ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος μου ἐπὶ πᾶσαν σέρηκα,
καὶ προφητεύσουσιν οἱ υἱοί ὑμῶν καὶ οἱ θυγατέρες ὑμῶν
καὶ οἱ νεανίσκοι ὑμῶν ὀράσεις ὑάτειοὶ
καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ὑμῶν ἐνυπνίαος ἐνυπνιασθένται

7 More than three decades ago, E. SCHWEIZER has already said about the speeches in Ac that "Ever since Martin Dibelius' essay about this subject, it has been more and more widely recognized that the speeches are basically compositions by the author of Acts who, to be sure, utilized different kinds of material for particular passages" (Speeches, 208). Cf. M. DIBELIUS, The Speeches in Acts and Ancient Historiography, in: H. GREEVEN (hrsg), Studies in the Acts of the Apostles, London 1956, 138-185. Followed also by E. HAENCHEN, Jp 38-39; R.F. ZEHNLE, Pentecost Discourse, 136; and U. WILCKENS, Missionsreden, 59. According to D.L. TIEDE, "The speech is a carefully crafted literary exemplar of early Christian mission preaching... with the substance of the repeated appeals to the audience being "...consistently scriptural, further suggesting very careful work with literary resources which have been thoroughly integrated in the composition" (Acts 2, 64). So also G. LÜDEMANN, Christentum, 53.
Chapter 4: Second Petrine Speech

18 kai ge eti taio duoios mou
kai eti tois duoios mou
en taio hemerais ekeinais
ekcheio apó tou pneumatosth mou,
kai profeiteússonw.

19 kai dóso téreta en tis hýmatai dun w kai smeia eti tis yps káto,
aíma kai pur kai álmya kathf.

20 ó ñluxis metastrafheítai eis skotoc
kai ñ seînhs eis áima,
priw eltheiwn hemerai kuryioi tinh megálih kai epifanê.

21 kai estha
pós de ã en epikalesthai to÷ duo mou kuryioi sunthetai.

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

22 ñAndres ñIsraeiôtai,
ékousate taio lgous teutous:
Ýnousin ton ñNoairodoi,
nündra pododeugemoun apo tou theou
eis ýmous dunamessi kai téresi kai smeiwsis
sitz espoisuen di auton ñ theoc en meous ýmous
kathk autno iðate,

23 toitou tis ñrismemn mou h kai progonwcoi tis theou ekdotou
dim ñkerfous ánýmon prosophneustec
anélate,

24 di ñ theoc anésthasen
léous tás ýbínoas tou thalatou,
kaththn oík xwri dunasth katerolabai autnon up auton.

25 ñDavid gar légei eis auton:
proorómen ton kuryiou enoimôn mou dia pastoc,
dti êk dezhw mou ãstwn õka mé sanelh.

26 díaz toitou
neîfriaíthe h karðia mou
kai ñgallassato h glwsoi mou,
eti de h autoc sou koustaglwcoi entê elébhi,

dti oûk ñkataxaleïfeis tis thfyn mou eis õhn
oude dôsisei ton boiwn sou idewn diaphorw.

28 ñgnoromos mou ñdoûs ñmhs,
pliwarisei me eufrasiai metà ton prosoipo mou.

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

29 ñAndres ñdelefoi,
êzou eînei metà narhois proû ymou
peri tου patriárchou ñDavid
30 προφήτης οὖν ὑπάρχων καὶ εἰδὼς

31 προδώμων ἐλάλησεν

32 τούτων τῶν Ἰησοῦν ἀνέστησεν ὁ θεὸς,

33 τῇ δεξίᾳ οὖν τοῦ θεοῦ ὑψωθεὶς,

34 οὐ γὰρ Δαυὶδ ἀνέβη εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς,

35 έσκι θώ τοις ἔχθροις σου ὑποποίησιν τῶν ποιῶν σου.

36 ἀσφαλῶς οὖν γνωσκέτω πάσας σικός Ἰσραήλ

37 'Ακούσαντες δὲ

38 Πέτρος δὲ πρὸς αὐτούς·

39 'ΕΤΕΡΟΙΣ ΤΕ ΛΟΓΙΟΙΣ ΠΛΕΙΟΝΟΙΣ ΔΙΕΜΑΧΤΟΡΑΤΟ
2.1 Division of the First Petrine Speech

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

His hearers are addressed in this manner several times during the speech, indicating hereby simultaneously the change between the ending of the explicit quotations used in the different units, as well as the continuation of Peter's words.10 These phrases then also indicate the borders of the most prominent structural units of which the speech consists.11 According to this feature, the speech can be divided into four main units:12 (a) section I (Ac 2:14b-21) which deals with the eschatological (re-)interpretation of the quotation from Jl 2:28-32 (3:1-5); (b) section II (Ac 2:22-28) which deals with the resurrection of Jesus and the interpretation of Ps 15(16):8-11; (c) section III (Ac 2:29-36) which deals with Jesus’ exaltation and the interpretation of a quotation from Ps 109(110):1 in this context; (d) section IV (Ac 2:37-41)13 refers to the reaction of the hearers and records the appeal to them to be converted, by way of reference to Jl 2:32 (3:5). Sections I and IV thus have some connection with each

8. Compare E. SCHWEIZER for an overview of the elements in the structure of the whole speech (Zu den Reden, 2.6-8).
9. This verb is taken up from V.4. It is to be found only once more in Ac 26:25 (G. LÜDEMANN, Christentum, 50).
10. See VV.22, 29 and 36.
11. Cf. V.22 ("Ἀνδρὲς Ἰουδαίοι"); V.29 ("Ἀνδρὲς ἄδελφοι"); V.36 (πᾶς ὁικὸς Ἰσραήλ"). Also the response of his hearers is indicated in this manner: V.37 (ἀδελφοὶ ἄδελφοι).
12. Compare also L. O’REILLY who has arrived at the same conclusion (Word and Sign in the Acts of the Apostles. A Study in Lucan Theology (AnGr 82), Rome 1987, 66. G. SCHNEIDER (Apg I, 263-264); G. LÜDEMANN, Christentum, 50; and H. VAN DE SANDT (The Fate of the Gentiles in Joel and Acts 2. An Intertextual Study, in: ETbL 66 (1990), 56-77, here 56) divides it in roughly the same way. W. DIETRICH has indicated that each one of the first three sections ends with a quotation from Scripture (Pensbild, 200-210).
13. The speech ends at V.40 and not at V.36 as seen by D. MINGUEZ, Pentecostés. Ensayo de Semiótica narrativa en Hch 2 (AnnBib 75), Rome 1976, 64. Compare this with L. O’REILLY'S legitimate criticism (Word and Sign, 64-66). See also A. WEISER, Apg I, 92-95.
other on the basis of their common reference to JI,\(^{14}\) while sections II and III are dealing exclusively with the resurrection and exaltation of Jesus (the christology) by way of reference to the Pss. The four main sections can now be examined individually.

3. SECTION I. ACTS 2:14b-21
Beginning of the last days & the quotation from JI 2:28-32 (3:1-5)

3.1 Composition of the section

Knowing that his hearers have assumed the disciples to be drunk, Peter uses a strong antithesis to emphasise the opposite.\(^{15}\) His construction is build up by a negation (οὐ γὰρ...οὐκ ἐπιθύμουσιν) and a statement of the contrary as the positive (οὐλα̂ δὲ τῶτο ἐστιν τὸ εἰρημένον). This τὸ εἰρημένον is described closer as being that, coming διὰ τοῦ προφήτου Ἰακώβ, and even more closer by way of a parenthesis, as words coming directly from God (λέγει Θεός). Presented in this manner, the indication is clear: something that was already foretold by the prophet (τὸ εἰρημένον διὰ τοῦ προφήτου), presented as the divine words of God, is happening at this moment (τὸ τῶτο ἐστιν), i.e. an old prophecy is being fulfilled here.\(^{16}\) This implied moment is then seen here as "the last days" (ἐν ταῖς ἔσχαταις ἡμέραις, V.17), or "those days" (ἐν ταῖς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας, V.18). The "great and glorious day of the κυρίως" (ἡμέρας κυρίου τὴν μεγάλην καὶ ἐπιφανή, V.20), probably refers here not to the same moment in time. It seems as if the "last days/those days" would have preceded this "great and glorious day of the kudos" on the basis of the ἐπιθυμᾶν ἐλθεῖν in V.20.

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

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\(^{14}\) There is some kind of parallelism, according to G. SCHNEIDER, between the first (2:14b-21) and the fourth units (2:38-40); "Möglicherweise sind also 2:14b-21.38-40 ebenso wie 2,1-13 als lukanische Komposition zu bewerten. Es fragt sich, ob die Traditionsgrundlage der beiden 'inneren' Rede-Teile 2:22-28,29-36 anders zu beurteilen ist. Abgesehen von den situationsbezogenen Versen 32b,33, könnte der Schriftbeweis der beiden 'christologischen' Teile traditionell sein" (ApG I, 264).


\(^{16}\) A. WEISER says: 'Petrus weist den Vorwurf der Trunkenheit zurück und erklärt, daß das, was die Menge gesehen und gehört hat (vgl. Vers 33), die Erfüllung einer alten Prophetic ist' (ApG I, 91).
follows — that "their sons, and their daughters and their young men will see visions", and that "their elders will dream dreams". When καὶ προφητεύουσιν is taken with the πᾶσαν σάρκα, it is thus still implied that the sons and daughters would prophesy — being part of "all 'flesh'!" The second alternative would divide between the οἱ υἱοὶ υμῶν καὶ οἱ θυγατέρες υμῶν on the one hand, and the καὶ οἱ νεανίσκοι υμῶν on the other hand. The meaning of this would then be that when (from) the Spirit is "poured out" on all "flesh", "their sons and their daughters will prophesy" and that "their young men will see visions".

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

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

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

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

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

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

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17. The place of καὶ προφητεύουσιν after ἐπὶ πᾶσαν σάρκα in V.17, is due to the syntax of the sentence. Ἐντ refers here to the objects of the ἐκχέω.
18. Cf. the phrases (a) ὁ λόγος καὶ πάντος καὶ ἀρχιμα καθοῦ and (b) ὁ Ἰησοῦς μεταστραφής εἰς σκότος. The latter especially correlates by presenting the two parallelistic units of ὁ Ἰησοῦς...καὶ ἡ σελήνη in this combination, and not with an additional καὶ at its beginning — so also then here: οἱ υἱοὶ...καὶ οἱ θυγατέρες.
Chapter 4: Second Petrine Speech

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

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

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

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

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20. The beginning of the words "Ἀνδρείς Ἰορθολίτας, marks the end of this quotation (G. SCHNEIDER, Apg 1, 270).
22. Although this question will be answered later in this study, attention can be drawn here to the remark of O. BAUERNFEIND that this long citation from Jl was already used before Luke in connection with the warding off of accusations of drunkenness (Apg. 34). Against this view, E. HAENCHEN (Apg. 141) and M. RESE (Motive, 45-6) have already shown convincingly that this argument does not have any solid basis.
23. M. RESE thought that the long form of this quotation could be understood within the purpose of the speech itself: "Das Zitat erklärt nicht nur die Erscheinung des Geistes, sondern es enthält die wesentlichen Aussagen, die in der Petrusrede enthalten und dargelegt werden" (Motive, 46). RESE therefore includes it in his choice of citations for his christological study.
they the result of his (or the redactor's) own interpretation, or do they represent both? In other words: Why did Luke choose this quotation specifically here, in this specific textual form and this specific length?

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

— οὐδὲ εἰπαν ἑπικολέστηται τῷ δυνάμει κυρίου σωθήσεται —

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

3.2.2 The introductory formula (Ac 2:16)

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

161; U. WILCKENS, Missionsreden, 32; and H. RINGGREN, Luke's Use, 233. Although the text of Ac 2:17-21 might seem to be nearer to the LXX, it must be said clearly that it also definitely differs from the LXX on several points. A more qualified statement is to be found by B. REICKE, Glaube und Leben, 43; F. MUSSNER, "In den letzten Tagen" (Apg. 217a), in: BZ 5 (1961), 263-265, here 263; M. RESE, Motive, 46; B.M. NEWMAN & E.A. NIDA, Translator's Handbook, 42; and G. LÜDEMANN, Christentum, 50. Even nearer to the truth seems to be G.D. KILPATRICK when he typified this quotation from JI as "anonymous" (Some Quotations, 82). He adds that this is also "true of the other quotations from the prophets listed above". These are Hab 1:5; Am 5:25-27; 9:1ff and Is 66:1f.

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

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

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

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

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

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


32. Cf. here the discussion by G.D. KILPATRICK, Some quotations, 94-5. But textual grounds for its omission here are too limited. So also B.M. METZGER, Textual Commentary, 294. This "Genauigkeit der Stellenangabe" can thus not be used as an argument in favour of Luke's use of Scripture, as is done by K. KLIESCH, Credo, 127.
Chapter 4: Second Petrine Speech

3.2.3 Determining and explaining the textual differences

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NT (NA26)</th>
<th>LXX</th>
<th>CODEX W</th>
<th>MT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17 Καὶ ἐσται</td>
<td>28 Καὶ ἐσται</td>
<td>28 Καὶ ἐσται</td>
<td>ἦττον 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἐν τοῖς ἑσόχτοις ἡμέρας, λέγει ο θεός, ἐκχέω ἀπό τοῦ πνεύματός μου ἐπὶ πᾶσαν σάρκα, καὶ προφητεύονσιν οἴοι υἱοὶ θεόν καὶ οἱ θυγατέρες ὑμῶν, καὶ οἱ νεανίσκοι υἱῶν ὁμοίας καὶ αἱ προσβύτεροι</td>
<td>μετὰ ταῦτα</td>
<td>μετὰ ταῦτα</td>
<td>ἦττον 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>δοῦναι</td>
<td>ἤνυπνίοις ἤνυπνισθήσονται</td>
<td>ἦττον 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 καὶ γε</td>
<td>29 καὶ</td>
<td>29 καὶ</td>
<td>ἦττον 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἐπὶ τοῖς δοῦλοις μου καὶ ἐπὶ τάς δοῦλας μου</td>
<td>ἐν τοῖς ἐν τοῖς ἐν τοῖς</td>
<td>ἦττον 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

34. This then has the same authority as the first hand (author), because this hand (first corrector) has corrected the readings on the basis of the same Textvorlage. This καὶγε also appears prominently later in the text of JI (3:4) of this codex W.
### NT Textual Variants

Codex D (Bezae Cantabrigiensis) reads (a) πάσας σάρκας and not πάσσαν σάρκα, and (b) changes the pronoun ὅμοιον to ὁμοίων, while (c) omitting the last two occurrences of the pronoun completely (Ac 2:17). It also omits the phrases (d) εἰς τοῖς ἡμεραῖς ἐκείνων, (e) καὶ προσδέμενοι. (f) αἵμα καὶ πῦρ καὶ ὀμίλια κατανεύον (Ac 2:19), and (g) καὶ ἐφανέρωσεν (Ac 2:20), supported by Codex Σ P74 (Papyrus Bodmer XVII) reads (a) εἰς τοῖς ἡμεραῖς and not εἰς τοῖς ἡμεραῖς (Ac 2:18); (b) ἐλθὼν τὴν ἡμέραν and not ἐλθὼν ἡμέρας (Ac 2:20); and (c) πᾶς ἐκαίνει and not πᾶς ἐκαίσει (Ac 2:21).

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

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


37. One extreme explanation was presented by W.K.L. CLARKE in his comparison of the quotations in Ac with the LXX. He has simply typified the L quotation under the heading: "Free Versions of the LXX. in Acts" (Use of the Septuagint, 88). (So also the Hab-quotations of Ac 13:41). This was probably due to the trend of the day to talk too easily and categorically of 'the LXX' without qualifying which textual traditions or recensions they are dealing with. The textual changes that CLARKE found between Ac and the LXX (TISCHENDORF's edition; Use of the Septuagint, 85,n.4) are thus seen by him to be the result primarily of a free quotation of the source text by Luke. As yet, unfortunately, insufficient work has been done attempting to trace at least some of the changes to variants in other textual traditions. But in support of the argument against a so-called "free quotation", cf. T. HOLTZ, Untersuchungen, 13.
statement that this quotation is preserved in two forms, represented by codex B and by codex D.\textsuperscript{38} Some attempts have been made to choose one or the other as representative of the authoritative tradition,\textsuperscript{39} while others have thought such a choice to be impossible.\textsuperscript{40} Comparing the two forms today, the best choice seems to be to prefer the text as found in the Alexandrian tradition (of which codex B is one representative), above the formerly wrongly called "western" text\textsuperscript{41} (represented here by codex D).\textsuperscript{42} However, despite such developments, major studies still fall short of a clear identification of the differences,\textsuperscript{43} or they overlook the possibility of ascribing some of the changes to the hand of the Ac writer, and/or to the macro context from which the quoted texts were taken.\textsuperscript{44} They even overlook all the alternatives supplied by the existing textual witnesses which could contribute to a better understanding on some of these changes.\textsuperscript{45}

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

\textsuperscript{38} Cf. J.H. ROPES, Detached Note on xiii.27-29, in: F.I. FOAKES JACKSON & K. LAKE (eds), The Beginnings of Christianitv, Part 1: The Text of Acts, Vol. III, London 1926, 261-265; L. CERFAUX, Citations, 47; E. HAENCHEN, Schriftheologie, 161; M. RESE, Motive, 47; H. CONZELMANN, Apg, 33; B.M. METZGER, Textual Commentary, 295. The latter sums it up as follows: codex B "agrees almost exactly with the text of the Septuagint", while codex D "embodies a series of changes from the Septuagint, most of which make the quotation more suitable for the occasion". He suggests that there are two possibilities here: (a) the adaptation as represented in codex D could have been the work of the original author, while the agreement of the B text with the LXX "might have been produced by an editor, or (b) the author could have "copied exactly, or nearly so, from his Septuagint", and the "Western reviser" (sic) of codex D was responsible for the modifications. In comparison with the general trend and characteristics of codex D, it seems more probably that the latter is to be preferred (B.M. METZGER, Textual Commentary, 295).

\textsuperscript{39} Cf. J.H. ROPES, Note, 16; L. CERFAUX, Citations, 47; and E. HAENCHEN, Schriftheologie, 161.


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

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

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

\textsuperscript{44} Cf. here for example the discussion below on λέγει ο θεός, which was probably inserted due to Luke's knowledge of the broader context of J1, differently explained by M. RESE, Motive, 49; and E. HAENCHEN, Apg, 142.

\textsuperscript{45} Cf. here for example the discussion below on the occurrence of κάτω in Ac 2:19, which is also to be found in codex W.
(a) Textual differences between MT and LXX

The NT follows the reading of the LXX, against that of the MT, on two points:
(i) The insertion of ἀπὸ before τοῦ πνεύματος.47
(ii) The “great and terrible day of the Lord” in the MT becomes “the great and manifest day” of the Lord in the LXX and Ac, because of a possible mistaken translation of Χρίσμα ("terrible") which the LXX derives from Χρίσμα in stead of Χρίσμα.48

(b) Textual differences between Ac and LXX

The following 11 textual differences between the readings of Ac 2:17-21 and Ji 2:28-32 (3:1-5) have been identified: 8 additions: (J) λέγει, ὁ θεός appears after ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις in Ac 2:17; (2) γε between καὶ and ἐπὶ in Ac 2:18; (3) and (4) μου occurs two times in Ac 2:18 — after δαολους and after δοῦλος; (5) καὶ προφητευόμουν is added after κινεῖ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος μου at the end of Ac 2:18; (6) ἄνω appears after στόμῳ in Ac 2:19; (7) κότω appears after τῆς γῆς in Ac 2:19; (8) σμείεια is added between καὶ and ἐπὶ in Ac 2:19. Only 1 substitution: (9) μετὰ ταύτα (LXX) is changed to ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις in Ac 2:17. Also 1 transposition: (10) the phrase, καὶ οἱ νεονίκηκοι ὑμῶν ὀράσεις ἰδοντα, was moved forwards from its position in the LXX at the end of the “list” (i.e., after the sons, daughters and old men), to its current position in Ac 2:17 between the sons and daughters on the one hand, and the old men on the other hand. There is also a single change of the case (11) when ἐνυπνία is changed in Ac 2:17 to ἐνυπνίας. Although no omissions are to be found, the question must be answered why the quotation ended at this specific point.

b.1 Additions:

[1] λέγει, ὁ θεός49 (Ac 2:17)

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

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47. According to D.-A. KOCH (in personal discussion), the remark of G.L. ARCHER and G. CHIRICHIGNO that this is perhaps done in order to avoid the false impression that all of the third Person of the Trinitiy would be poured out into believers (Quotations, 149), is intolerable, because the Trinitarian dogma was not yet known and developed in the LXX.
49. Some texts prefer the reading: λέγει κύριος (cf. for example Codex D). According to M. RESE this might be due to a resemblance to the other places in the NT where the insertion λέγει κύριος is found (Moivke, 48). Another possibility, mentioned by G.D. KILPATRICK, is that the reading was later changed to ὁ θεός because it was ambiguous (meaning either God or Christ) and could have been easily misunderstood (An eclectic Study of the Text of Acts, in: J.N. BIRDSALL and R.W. THOMSON (eds), Biblical and Patristic Studies in Memory of Robert Pierre Casey, Freiburg 1963, 65-66). R.P. MENZIES agrees with this, noting that “it is also possible that D has modified the original text to bring it into conformity with 2.43”. He, nonetheless, finds that “the external evidence strongly favours ὁ θεός” (Early Christian Pneumatology, 213). There is, however, no basis for this argument as B.M. METZGER has convincingly pointed out (Textual Commentary, 296). So also D.L. BOCK, Proclamation, 158, 342.
problem on its own). But turning to the OT, these words are not to be found at the relevant place in Jl 2:28 (3:1). It is also absent in the readings of codex W and of the MT at this specific point, and could therefore be seen as an addition by the hand of the author of Ac. Presented as a parenthesis, it was meant to be read at the very beginning of this long quotation. It could therefore also be seen as still being part of Luke’s introduction (i.e. introductory formula) to his quotation.

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

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

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

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50. Ac 7:49; Rm 12:19 (= Heb 10:30f); 1 Cor 14:21; 2 Cor 6:11f. Except for cases where it indeed forms part of the OT reading, for example: Ac 15:17; Rm 14:11; Hcb 8:12-16; 10:16; Rv 1:8. Cf. also D.-A. KOCH, Schrifl als Zeuge, 246.
51. Cf. M. RESE who also thinks that the answer to the question about why this formula was included in the quotations, is to be found in the fact that “auf diese Weise Gott selbst als Sprecher bezeichnet werden soll” (Motiv, 48-49). T. HOLTZ, too, says that “Diese Zufügung soll deutlich machen, daß es sich bei dem Zitat um Gottesrede handelt” (Untersuchungen, 6) and G.D. KILPATRICK typifies it as “divine authentication” (Some Quotations, 82), while D.L. BOCK too thinks in this direction when saying that “the point of the insertion serves to remind the reader of the divine origin of the text, and therefore, when applied to this event as its fulfillment, a note of divine sanction is added to the discussion” (Proposition, 158). Compare also K. KLIESCH, Credo, 127; and R.P. MENZIES, Early Christian Pneumatology, 217.
53. Cf. E. HAENCHEN who has seen it to be “gegenüber der LXX” (4pg, 142).
54. With M. RESE, Motiv, 48.
55. Cf. for example Jl 21:7 where a similar situation appears: καί μετὰ ταῦτα — οὕτως λέγει κύριος — δόσω τὸν Χεδεκίαν...
seems as if Luke has inserted a ye here between the και and the εν. But if Schneider is right in saying that Luke "hat das steigernde ye kaum selbst eingefügt", — and it is indeed generally accepted to be the case — this might be the result of Luke's Textvorlage which could have already read it at the point in time when Luke used this section for his long quotation. It may also be significant that Luke used here a version which resembles (at least this specific shared characteristic of) the so-called καιγε version of the LXX. In fact, codex W has shown textual proof of the existence of this reading at a relatively early stage among the rest of the textual witnesses. This leaves room for the possibility that the "addition" of ye could be seen as an "insertion" which the author of Ac might have found already in his

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

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

59. G. Schneider, Apg 1, 268.
60. See, for example, T. HOLTZ, Untersuchungen, 10.

1. The Ac reading is supported by the following textual witnesses of the LXX: W5 NR [A(106,26)-
Q(544)-9(744)-16(710,410)-55(710,410)-5541136-1(764)-198(710,410)-LH(46,86,711)]. (Cf. the table in App. A). This provides strong support by the Alexandrian text-tradition. It is also on this evidence that W.K.L. Clarke attributed this change of the Ac text to recensional causes (i.e. the fifth group of H.B. Swete, Use of the Septuagint, 92-93). According to H.A. Sanders this insertion of ye between και and εν is found elsewhere (among the witnesses of codex W) only in the hand of the first corrector as represented in MS 40, as well as in the Complutensian edition. This might explain that it was "derived from Aquila or Theodotion on the evidence of Syro-Hex, but also from the original Hebrew. A different connective is reported for Symmachus' (Minor Prophets, 27). Sanders reckons, however, that if one considers the place which Theodotion's revision had held among the Christians, it would be "wiser to assume no indebtedness on the part of W than to refer these two or three cases, all doubtful, to his influence." He also considers that there is clear proof of the direct influence of the original Hebrew on W as well as of a sparing use of the translations of Symmachus and Aquila; these sources would then be sufficient to account for all of the peculiarities of W without having recourse to Theodotion as a source. Sanders' view is opposed by W. Grossouw (The Coptic Versions of the Minor Prophets. A contribution to the study of the Septuagint (MBE 3), Rome 1938, 113) and J. Ziegler, Duodecim Prophetae, 33-34). The last draws attention to the remarks of Grossouw, namely that "it is perhaps best expressed by stating that numerous 'Hebrew corrections' in Ach-SA, unlike those of the Greek MSS, in which they are derived (in substance) from Theodotion via the Hexapla, were mainly via the translations of Aquila and Symmachus and from one or more other translations of which we have hardly any knowledge (quinta, sexta, septima?); similar cases are found in the closely allied Egyptian papyrus W. Direct dependence from the Hebrew remains very unlikely".

62. D. Barthélémy has identified the possible existence of a "Kaige"-version which seems to be on a par with Theodotion and proto-Theodotion. His results were based on the evidence of the Dead Sea scrolls which were found from 1947 onwards (Les Devanciers d'Aquila (VT.S 10), Leiden 1963). Unfortunately for the debate on this quotation, no preserved text from JI exists in the "Roll of the Minor Prophets" (8[HevXIIgr]) on which Barthélémy based his theory. If the rest of this quotation had shown a closer resemblance to the Hebrew, there would be a stronger basis for supposing that this kaige-text might have been used here. This is not the case. The quotation in general could, on the contrary, even been typified as being nearer to the LXX than to the Hebrew. On this one point, however, και ye is nearer to the Hebrew.

63. G.D. Kilpatrick also thought that this could have been the case (Some Quotations, 82), although the quotation "as a whole...still remains remote from the M.T. at several points" (97).
source text, and thus as part of the Textvorlage. Any attempt to pinpoint that text today would be speculative.


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

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

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

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64 So also K. KLIESCH, Credo, 127. For the contra argument see R.P. MENZIES, Early Christian Pneumatology, 200-221.
65 Contra D.L. BOCK, Proclamation, 159; as well as R.P. MENZIES, who states that "...D omits μου after δοῦλος and δοῦλος..." (Early Christian Pneumatology, 213 n.2).
66 Contrary to K. KLIESCH, Credo, 127.
67 Cf. J. ZIEGLER: δοῦλος W B-X* V AchSaP = MJ + μου rel. According to him, the omission must be preferred: "Eine Reihe wichtiger Lesarten, die vielfach als ursprünglich in den Text aufgenommen werden können, wird nur von W B-X, manchmal auch von V und einigen abhängigen Minuskeln und sonstigen Zeugen überliefert" (Duodecim Prophetar, 30). This omission of μου in the reading of the LXX is then one of them. Also H.A. SANDERS has said that there are only a few agreements between codex W on the one hand, and the few fragments of the true Old Latin text and citations from the earlier Church Fathers on the other hand. However, one of these agreements which is however noteworthy, is the support in favour of the omission of μου in JI 2:29. This reading is thus supported by W V W Compl Ach OText (Minor Prophets, 40). See also the work of D.-A. KOCH in connection with the occurrence of μου in Hab 2:4 and the relevant places where it is quoted in the NT. He has found that μου was scratched here in Hab 2:4b by the hand of the second corrector (third hand) in codex W.

The second corrector has used another Vorlage than that which was used by the first hand and also by the first corrector (second hand) for his corrections. These readings of the second corrector (third hand) are therefore not as authoritative as the first two hands (Der Text von Hab 2,4b in der Septuaginta und im Neuen Testament, in: ZNW 76 (1985), 68-85). Here in JI 2:29 μου is omitted by all the hands of codex W.

68 Cf. the LXX textcritical witnesses in favour of this inclusion: B (only at δοῦλος) N* [A(106,26)-Q(54)]-198-233(710,410)-5341[L(22,36,48,51,231,719,763)-LII(62,147)-LII(46,86,711)]. (See also the table in App. A). On the basis of the support of the Alexandrian group here again, W.K.L. CLARKE sees the inclusion of μου as being due to recensional causes (H.B. SWETE’s fifth group) (Use of the Septuagint, 93-95). Also G. SCHNEIDER states that it could not be excluded, "daß das μου schon im LXX-Text des Lukas stand" (Apg 1, 268). D.L. BOCK seems to indicate agreement when saying that although "Haenchen suggests that these additions of μου make the servant's relationship to God clearer", "this relationship seems implied already in the OT texts" (Proclamation, 159).
69 So also G. SCHNEIDER, Apg 1, 268; and R.P. MENZIES, Early Christian Pneumatology, 218.
70 T. HOLTZ, Untersuchungen, 10.
71 H. CONZELMANN, Apg, 34. Against the viewpoint of E. HAENCHEN that we are not dealing here with a new group (Apg, 142).
72 Cf. also J. ROLOFF, Apg, 53; and G. LÜDEMANN, Christentum, 50.
73 So also D.L. BOCK, Proclamation, 162.
Luke used the LXX, the assumption must be that he added μου as part of his interpretation of the text.


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

74. The problem is that it is indeed difficult to determine if this was the result of a pre-Lukan change or the work of the compiler of Ac (G. SCHNEIDER, Apg I, 268-9). E. HAENCHEN (Apg, 142) and T. HOLTZ (Untersuchungen, 11) have even thought it to be a 'Schreibfehler'.
75. Cf. P.R. RODGERS (Acts 2:18. καὶ προφητεύουσαν, in: JHS 38 (1987), 95-97, here 95). His argument develops in the following way: 'The addition is supported by the vast majority of manuscripts (P74 X A B C E etc.) and the omission is attested in only a few witnesses (D itd P Tertullian, Rebaptism, Priscillian). The fact that Priscillian, Bishop of Avila from 351-5, omitted this phrase in his quotation of Ac 2:18 (Tract 1:39, CSEL 18.32) attests, according to Rodgers, 'to its absence at least in the manuscript tradition known to him, a tradition which includes elements of both B and D types, but also displays independence from both types of text' (Acts 2, 96-7). His conclusion is that 'these considerations...suggest that the original text of Acts is not presented by either B or D, but by an earlier form of text of which these two types represent revision or corruption' (Acts 2, 97). Contrary to this viewpoint, T. HOLTZ (following G.D. KILPATRICK, Eclectic Study, 66), had already argued two decades earlier that the omission this phrase in D it. etc. "...ist nachträgliche Angleichung an die LXX" (Untersuchungen, 11).
76. Also according to A.F.J. KLJUN, these words must be rejected (In Search, 103-110). He rejects them on the grounds that, in his view, D agrees with the LXX (G.D. KILPATRICK, Some Quotations, 96). Against this, G.D. KILPATRICK has argued that "...there is no reason for thinking that D and the LXX are right automatically when they agree, howe,er rarely this happens. Other things being equal, the text which diverges from the LXX seems more likely to be right" (97).
77. So also J.J. KILGALLEN, The Unity of Peter's Pentecost Speech, in: BToD S2 (1976), 650-656, here 652.
78. Its inclusion among the witnesses of the LXX is limited to a section of the Lucian group: 36-LII(46,86,711)-49(613). Cf. also the table at App. A.
79. Cf. also R.P. MENZIES, Early Christian Pneumatology, 221; and K. KLIESCH, Credo, 127. The latter uses Ac 19:6 as support for his argument, but admits that this is controversial. T. HOLTZ, for instance, does not regard this as possible, but opts for dittoigraphy, "...als ein Verschen...". (Untersuchungen, 12). And even before him, already E. HAENCHEN, Apg, 142. This makes sense, but will remain difficult, however, to determine if it was Luke or an earlier writer.
80. According to W.K.L. CLARKE, the repetition of these words here "makes the prophecy more appropriate to the events". He prefers then to see the addition as being due to "a desire to adapt a prophetic context to the circumstances under which it was thought to have been fulfilled" (Use of the Septuagint, 93-94), i.e. H.B. SWETE's third group. G. SCHNEIDER says that its repetition here gives "Jedenfalls...dem προφητεύων als Geistwirkung ein sachliches Schwergewicht" (Apg I, 269).
81. So W. DIETRICH, Pentzbild, 202 — although he wanted to limit it still only to Jews. Cf. also D.L. BOCK: "The insertion serves to underscore that these Spirit-anointed people, as well as Peter himself, speak the Word of God. As such the insertion is a theological addition..." (Proclamation, 162).
Chapter 4: Second Petrine Speech

[6] and [7] ἀνω ... (κάτω) (Ac 2:19)
Codex D, as well as all the main textual witnesses, support the inclusion of these words in the Ac text. It seems, however, as if they are lacking in "the" LXX. Although the single word, κάτω, was thought to be a "conscious addition" by Luke, it is found in codex W as part of the text! Some reading(s) which include this word, might then have already existed in one or more of the several versions of the LXX that were circulating during this time. The possibility is then by no means excluded that this could have been part of the source text that Luke might have had at his disposal. When looking to the rest of the parallelistic phrase, it is noteworthy that it is only here in the NT that the combination of ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κάτω is to be found with ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἀνω. When one compares the occurrences of the phrase ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἀνω καὶ ... ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κάτω in Is, and bearing in mind that Is was one of the prophets best known by Luke, the possibility cannot be excluded that he consciously changed the reading of his source text at this point to correlate with an already known phraseological combination from the OT — in its Greek form. Another possibility might be traced to Luke's preference for strong contrasts. That this could have been the manner in which it found its way is, however, not so important. Significant is the fact that this is not found in either the LXX or the Hebrew texts of Is, and therefore could be treated as a conscious addition by Luke.

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

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82. So G. SCHNEIDER, Apg I, 269. Also M. RESE, Motive, 52-53; and D.L. BOCK, Proclamation, 162.
83. As well as with an accompanying minuscule, 407, and support from the Lucianic group: 22c-36-LIII(46,360E,711)-49(764,613). See table in App. A. According to T. HOLTZ, the occurrence of κάτω in W-407 is probably a sign therefore, that the text, which is read in our LXX editions, "...erst das Produkt einer Angleichung an den MT ist und ursprünglich anders aussah..." (Untersuchungen, 13).
84. H.A. SANDERS states that "in so old a manuscript as this papyrus one may safely assume freedom from the influence of Origen as well as from the later editions, and this assumption is supported by the examination of the text" (Minor Prophets, 23). This seems also to be true about influence from the text of Ac.
85. Cf. for example Is 8:21 and 37:31 which are exact parallels. ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἀνω alone is also to be found in Is 7:3; 7:11(Th) — here in connection with στρεμμα; 34:10; 36:2. (About κάτω also in the OT: Ex 20:4; D 4:39; 5:8; Job 2:11; 15:19; 3 Ki(1 Ki) 8:23; Ez 3:21; 5:1; Is 5:30; 8:22; 51:6; Jr 38(31):37). L. O'REILLY disagrees on probable influence from Is (Word and Sign, 165).
86. Cf. also G. SCHNEIDER, Apg I, 269.
87. Being part of Ex 20(4.4), it was indeed a well known phrase.
88. So L. O'REILLY, Word and Sign, 165. He points to the following passages: Lk 2:14; 10:15,18,19; 12:55; 21:25; Ac 4:24; 10:11,12; etc. According to R. MORGENTHALER, Luke has then found this stylistic feature in the LXX and has used it here to accentuate the existing contrast (Die lukansische Geschichtsschreibung als Zeugnis, Bd. I (ATHANT 14), Zürich 1949, 30-32).  
89. Cf. T. HOLTZ: "Lukas wird in den Text eingegriffen haben, aber es ist nicht ausgemacht, daß der LXX-Text so ohne Aufforderung dazu war, wie er heute erscheint" (Untersuchungen, 13).
90. Supported among the LXX textual witnesses only by Ν and a section of the Lucianic group: 22c-36-LIII(46,360E,711)-49(764,613)-407. Cf. also the table at App. A.
91. This does not mean at all that this quotation has to be typified as "free citation" (as W.K.L. CLARKE has seen it and categorized it within the first group of possible causes mentioned by SWETE) (Use of the Septuagint, 93).
The inclusion of σημεῖα in the text of Ac, against that of the LXX, is supported by the main textual witnesses, including codex D. This NT inclusion has already, quite rightly, been identified as a conscious addition by Luke. Less clear is Luke's reason for making the addition: was it because of the context of what follows immediately hereafter in the speech (V.22), or did it arise from Luke's knowledge of the LXX or any other tradition (oral or written).

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

92. Cf. K. LAKE & H.J. CADBURY, Beginnings 1IV, 23; E. HAENCHEN, Apg, 142.149; U. WILCKENS, Missionsreden, 134; T. HOLTZ, Untersuchungen, 12; D.L. BOCK, Proclamation, 162-163; G. SCHNEIDER, Apg I, 269; K.H. RENGFORD, s.v. σημεῖον, κ.τ.λ., in: TDNT VII, 240-241. With regard to the latter, L. O'REILLY finds the theological motivation for the distinction between σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα and τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα in Ac "...less than convincing" (Word and Sign, 165). Its inclusion among the witnesses of the LXX, does not convince: N°V 225,36-LII(46,88,711)-49(764,613). Compare also the table in App. A.

93. So seen by T. HOLTZ, Untersuchungen, 13; M. RESE (Motive, 49). According to the latter, this first occurrence (here within the quotation), was inserted as a link with the second occurrence later in the speech. C. SMITS also sees it in this way. He says: "Petrus geeft na het citaat een beschrijving van Jesus' daden die gehoord is op de 'woorden van Joël over wondertekenen" (Citation II, 180). Cf. also U. WILCKENS, Missionsreden, 33; O. BAUERNFEIND, Apg, 45; K. KLEISCH, Credo, 127. But here it probably refers not (as Ac 2.22) to those done by the historical Jesus. So also F. MUSSNER, Letzen Tagen, 264; B. REICKE, Glaube und Leben, 45; and L. O'REILLY, Word and Sign, 164.

94. Cf. however, L. O'REILLY who points to the fact that it is here in Ac 2.19 "...something of an exception to the general rule..." (Word and Sign, 163-164).

95. Cf. Ex 7:3 and Ps 104(165):27 and also the following in the LXX = Dt 13:1-2; 28:46; 34:11; 2 Ez 19(3ch 9):10; Ps 134(135):9; Wisd 8:8; 10:16; Is 8:18; 20:3; Jr 39(32):20,21; Dn 6:28(Th). Note, however, that it is always used in the combination order σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα, except in Wisd 10:16. It is also re-used from the LXX in the NT in texts such as Ac 7:36, for example. See also the comments of C. BREYENBACH on this expression in his discussion on Mk 13:22. He typifies it as "im Neuen Testament fast cine feste Formel" and as "ein Bibelismus", referring also (except the instances above) to Ac 4:43; 7:36; [15:2 - which ought to be 15:12]; Jn 4:48; 2 Th 2:9 and Heb 2:4 (Nachfolge und Zukunftserwartung nach Markus. Eine methodenkritische Studie (ATHANT 71), Zürich 1984, 295-296).

96. So, for example, G. STAHLIN, Apg, 42-45; U. WILCKENS, Missionsreden, 33; G. LUDEMANN, Christentum, 51.

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

becomes clear that there was already at that time a living idiom that the apostles did not yet use, and which is attested in the LXX (Ecclus. 42:30:99 V.43 refers to those of the apostles. In the quotation itself, however, reference is made to the cosmic signs of Jesus' parousia. Jesus' very own prophecy as spelled out in Lk 21:25-28 may be at the back of Luke's mind at this point. When this whole quotation is interpreted in an eschatological manner, indicating here the beginning of "the last days", the "signs and wonders" referred to may be those which are to follow later during the time of the apostles, just before the coming of Christ. Another explanation for the addition of σημεῖα might thus be that it could have been the result of this living idiom, and serving as an eschatological pointer to the things which would follow in the era of the apostles. Luke might thus be introducing these future cosmic events as events of the eschaton. Both occurrences in this second speech of Peter (Vv. 19, 22), as well as the one in V.43, would then be better explained from this perspective, i.e. that this phrase was already part of the tradition, and that it points here to the future. This is more satisfactory than to try to explain the first occurrence (V.19) as being dependent on the second occurrence in V.22. Thus, the "signs and wonders" referred to in V.19 are apocalyptic, those in V.12 are those performed by Jesus, and those in V.43 are those of the disciples.

\[ \text{metà taüta (LXX)} \rightarrow \text{en tais ëσχάταις ἡμέραις,} \]

\[ \text{(Ac 2:17)} \]

99. Compare the following: Ac 2:43; 4:30; 5:12; 6:8; 12:12; 15:12; 16:15-17 with Ac. The risen Jesus sent the eleven disciples "into all the world" (παρεστήσατε εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἡμετα, V.15; cf. Ac 1:8; 28:26-28) to "preach the gospel" (κοινωνεῖ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, V.15; cf. Ac 2:40; 8:5; 9:20; 10:37, 42; 18:9; 19:12, 20; 20:25; 28:31) so that "he who believes and is baptized will be saved" (ὁ πιστεύως καὶ βαπτιζόμενος σώθηται, V.16; cf. Ac 1:5; 2:38, 41; 5:12, 16, 36, 38, 9:18; 10:47, 48; 11:16; 16:15, 33; 18:8; 19:3-5; 20:21; 22:16). A list of signs is then presented which "will accompany those who believe" (σημεῖα δὲ πιστεύων ταύτα παρασκευάσθησι, V.17; cf. Ac 2:43; 4:16, 22, 30; 5:12; 6:8; 8:6, 13; 14:3; 15:12), and which will be manifested "in Jesus' name" (ἐν τῷ ὄνοματί μου, V.17; cf. Ac 2:21, 38; 3:6; 3:16; 4:7, 10, 12-17, 18-20; 5:28, 40-41; 8:12, 16; 9:14-16, 21-27-28; 10:43, 48; 15:14, 17, 26; 16:18; 19:5, 13, 17; 21:13; 22:16; 26:9). These signs in Mk are: the casting out of demons (cf. Ac 19:11), "speaking in new tongues" (cf. Ac 2:3-4, 11; 10:46; 19:6), picking up serpents (cf. Ac 28:3-6), they will not die when drinking poison, ill persons will be healed (cf. Ac 3:1-10; 14:8-11; 19:11; 28:8-9). Comparison with the context of the rest of Ac., reveals many similarities. When comparing the reconstructed text readings of Ac and LXX, they seem to be the nearest to codex A — which also included this, normally accepted to be a later dated, unit in Mk.

100. See Lk 21:25: καὶ σημεῖα ἐν τῇ ἁλίῳ καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ ἀστρών, καὶ ἐπὶ τής γῆς...

101. In favour of this substitution in Ac are: X A D E I P S 462 vg syr Iren Hil Mac Chrys Aug al. Against it: B 076 copa Cyr (Jer). Scholars as E. HAENCHEN (Schriften, 162.166; Aug. 142); E. SCHWEIZER, (s.v. σημεία, in: TDNT VI, 352-451) and T. HOLTZ (Untersuchungen, 7-8) choose the reading of B here (which reads μετά τάστατε) because it suits the Lukan understanding of the church much better — that it does not have any eschatological quality: "keine Naherwartung". Others, as I.H. MARSHALL, Luke, 161; H. CONZELMANN, Aug. 34; (contrary to his viewpoint in Die Mitte der Zeit. Studien zur Theologie des Lukas, 87); M. RESE, Motiv, 51-52; F. MUSSNER, Letzten Tagen, 265-5; B.M. METZGER, Textual Commentary, 295; and K. KLIESCH, Credo, 251,n.18, have argued convincingly for the contrary view. According to B.M. METZGER, the...
Luke has changed the μετὰ ταῦτα, which the LXX has taken from the Hebrew, to ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις. It seems likely that this change was not due to Luke's Vorlage, but was a conscious substitution by the NT author, possibly an intentional adoption of an existing traditional formula.

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

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

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


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

105. Cf. also in the NT: Jn 6:39, 40, 44-45; 7:37; 11:24; 12:48; 2 Tm 3:1; Heb 1:2; Jas 5:3; 2 Pt 3:3. And in the LXX: Gn 49:1; Nm 24:14; Dt 4:30; 8:16; 31:29; 32:20; Jos 24:27; Neh 8:18; Pr 31:25; Is 35:1; Mi 4:1; Is 22:2; Jr 23:20; 25:18(49:39); 37(30):24; Ezk 8:8; Dtn 2:28, 45; 10:14; 11:20; Dn 2:25(Th); 10:14(Th).

106. So also implied by I.H. MARSHALL: "Peter regards Joel's prophecy as applying to the last days, and claims that his hearers are now living in the last days. God's final act of salvation has begun to take place" (Acts, 73). E. HAENCHEN's viewpoint (Schrifteüe, 162), that this phrase is a secondary emendation, cannot be supported. HAENCHEN's view subsequently received support from T. HOLTZ, with his categorical statement that this cannot be seen as Lukan eschatology, as the time of the outpouring of the Spirit is not yet the endtime (Untersuchungen, 7). A re-evaluation and more careful formulation of the issue is needed. Except for scholars such as F. MUSSNER (Letzten Tagen, 263-265); J. KREMER (Pfingstbericht, 171); and R.P. MENZIES (Early Christian Pneumatology, 215) who have rejected the above viewpoint of E. HAENCHEN, also A. KERRIGAN has said long ago for instance that "in the New Testament the expression ἐσχάτας is rarely used to describe time". According to him, (for Peter) the Last Times constitute here "a wide period extending from the appearance of Jesus to the moment when salvation will be definitely revealed" (Sensus Plenior, 299-300). An even more useful formulation of Lukan eschatology is to be found in the summary of G. SCHNEIDER'S viewpoint of the "Parusierwartung" by Luke: "...an der Parusierwartung hält Lk vielmehr "energisch" fest (lediglich die Terminfrage leiht er ab) und empfiehlt eine "Stetsbereitschaft im Blick auf das Ende" (142), zumal mit der Zeit der Kirche 'die Endzeit angebrochen ist' (137); mit Hinweis auf die gegen LXX und hebräischen Text erfolgte Änderung des Joelzitats in Apg 2,17" (summarized by E. PLUMACHER, Acta-Forschung I, 11). E. PLUMACHER himself, however, wants to see the ἐσχάτας
possibility is that it might have been used by Luke from the "eschatological introduction" of Is. 107. Problematic to explain when this alternative is chosen, is the rest of the quotation which follows directly hereafter. It might therefore be taken as some kind of a "combined quotation". But syntactically the καὶ ἐσται of Ac 2:17 is nearer to the reading of Jl than to that of Isaiah (ὅτι ἐσται). A third possibility is that μετὰ τὰ τάτα was simply seen as some kind of synonym to ἐσχάτος itself. 108 The whole inserted phrase could then be an explanatory substitution by Luke for that found in his Vorlage.

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

To conclude: This phrase might have been deliberately changed by Luke. There is no such reading to be found in either the LXX or the MT. He has changed this to provide for his interpretation of the quoted section in terms of his understanding of eschatology. 109

b.3 Transposition:

[10] καὶ οἱ νεανίσκοι ύμῶν ὡράσεις ὄψονται (Ac 2:17)
This phrase is found in the LXX after the πρεσβύτεροι. The order in the LXX is thus: υἱοὶ - θυγατέρες - πρεσβύτεροι - νεανίσκοι. This order is changed in Ac to: υἱοὶ - θυγατέρες - νεανίσκοι - πρεσβύτεροι. While there is no textcritical support to be found among the LXX witnesses for the order as it is in Ac, it might be assumed here that it was probably moved by Luke himself 110 in order to place the young men directly after the sons and daughters and before the elders, presenting a better (logical) hierarchical structure. 111

107. Compare Is 2:2 ('Ὅτι ἐσται ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις....) with Ac 2:17 (καὶ ἐσται ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις....). This was already suggested by W.K.L. CLARKE who thought that it might have come from Is 2:2, and saw it as an example of "the fusing together of passages drawn from different contexts" — according to H.B. SWETE's fourth group (Use of the Septuagint, 93-94), as well as by C. SMITS who has said: "De beginwoorden van het uitgebreide citaat zijn wel door Lucas overgenomen uit een eschatologische inleiding van Isaias (2.2)" (Citation, II, 180). Cf. also F.F. BRUCE, Acts, 61, n.62.

108. Cf. Is 44:6: 'Εγώ πρῶτος καὶ έγώ μετὰ τάτα, πλὴν ἔμου οὐκ ἐστι θεός. Also Hs 3:5: καὶ μετὰ τάτα...ἐπὶ ἐσχάτοις τῶν ἡμερῶν. Cf. further Dn 2:29(Th); 2:45(Th).

109. So also D.L. BOCK: "...the alteration suggests that a turning point has taken place in salvation history. This alteration has a clear theological motive. With the pouring out of the Spirit the movement towards the eschatological Day of the Lord is declared to have begun" (Proclamation, 161).

110. So also G. SCHNEIDER, Apr I, 268; R.P. MENZIES, Early Christian Pneumatology, 218; and others. Even codex D supports the transposition in Ac. But there is no single textcritical witness of the LXX that supports this transposition. Cf. to the table in App. A.

111. So also G. SCHNEIDER, Apr I, 268; R.P. MENZIES, Early Christian Pneumatology, 218; D.L. BOCK, Proclamation, 162; and G. LÜDEMANN who calls it "eine sachliche Verbesserung" (Christentum, 50). H. RINGGREN jumps too easily to the conclusion that this reversed order in Ac is "an indication of quoting from memory" (Luke's Use, 233). To prove that Luke has quoted here from memory is about as impossible as it is to prove that he has actually cited here directly from a written source. T. HOLTZ suggests that this could have been the result of "Versehen"; "...es ist
b.4 Case change:


One finds in Ac the dative ἐνυπνίον — a *hapax legomenon* 112 instead of the accusative ἐνυπνία of the LXX, of which the latter seems to be a better translation of the Hebrew, beside the fact that ἐνυπναζωμαί normally takes the accusative. 113 This does not lead to any change in meaning, however. It also contributes to a better parallel structure, agreeing with the ending of ὁ ράους of the previous unit. There exists some possibility that this reading could have been due to Luke’s Vorlage. 114

b.5 Quotation-ending:

Although there are no omissions to be found within the quoted section itself, it must be asked why the quotation was ended at this specific point, and why the material following directly afterwards was excluded. 115 Some scholars suggest that this was done so that the salvation would be seen as applying *not* exclusively to the Jews. 116 The specific sentence would then be excluded here in order to modify, reinterpret, and to relate the quotation with the new given context. The rest of it is, however, not left out. In V.39 we find the remaining elements woven implicitly into the discourse. 117 It seems then as if Luke found it important to interrupt his quotation here in order to avoid any misunderstanding that it was meant for the Jews alone. The portion of the quotation thus interrupted is then represented, in a modified form, later in the discourse. In addition, it must be said that the christological kerygma forms the centre of the speech itself. Luke thus quotes this section up to
the point where he could link this κύριος (V.21) with Jesus of Nazareth who was made both κύριος and χριστός (V.36).

3.2.4 Method of quotation

A similarity to the way in which the quotation (quoted texts) was used in the context of the first Petrine speech, can be detected here. In the first Petrine speech, (a) the theme of Judas’ death is discussed (1:16-20a); (b) the discussion ends with the first part of an explicit quotation (first quoted text, 1:20b-c) which is connected with this theme, thus indicating that the Scripture here quoted has been fulfilled. Luke exploits the change of theme which occurs in the quotation; the need for the election of a new witness is a consequence of the death of Judas. (c) Thus Luke uses the second part of the same quotation (second quoted text, 1:20d) to point forwards to something which now needs to be fulfilled, i.e. the election of another faithful witness in the place of Judas. (d) This election is then discussed as the next theme (1:21-22).

In this second Petrine speech, a similar pattern appears: (a) the theme of the happenings surrounding the “coming” of the Spirit and the reaction of the apostles (2:1-13) is taken up (2:14-17) and (b) explained by way of the connection with the first part of the quotation (2:17-18); this part of the quotation rounds off the theme, and implies that the Scripture here quoted has now been fulfilled. (c) The second part of the same quotation (2:19-20) is used to point forwards, to those things which have yet to be fulfilled, i.e. the wonders and signs, the cosmic events involving the sun and the moon, and the coming of the great and glorious day of the Lord.118 Also, of course, that everybody who calls on the Name of the κύριος during this time, would be saved (2:21). (d) The κύριος (Jesus of Nazareth), his death, resurrection and exaltation (with the use of additional quotations), as well as salvation in his Name, is explained in the rest of the speech (2:22-40).

This can be presented schematically as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Petrine speech</th>
<th>Second Petrine speech</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) Theme: Judas (1:16-20a)</td>
<td>(a) Theme: Spirit, reaction (2:14-17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Quoted text [1] (1:20b-c)</td>
<td>(b) Quoted section [1] (2:17-18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= Fulfilled</td>
<td>= Now beginning to be fulfilled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Quoted text [2] (1:20d)</td>
<td>(c) Quoted section [2] (2:19-20/21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= Yet unfulfilled</td>
<td>= Yet unfulfilled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) Theme: elect witness (1:21-2)</td>
<td>(d) Theme (κύριος, salvation) (2:22-40)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the section of the prophetic speech of Jesus, as recorded in Lk 21:25-27 (par. Mk 13:21-27; Mt 24:23-31), Luke has omitted the explicit quotations from Is 13:10 (Mk 13:24; Mt 24:29a) and Is 34:4 (Mk 13:25; Mt 24:29b) situated between the σημεία καὶ τέρατα (Mk 13:22; Mt 24:24) and the quotation from Dn 7:13 (Mk 13:26; Mt 24:30). The reference to σημεία καὶ τέρατα is not to be found in Luke’s gospel, but the quotation from Dn 7:13 is, however, included. Does Luke, in Ac 2, replace the

118 Cf. also H. CONZELMANN, Apg. 34, and G. LÜDEMANN: "Auf die Charakterisierung der Kirche als durch den Geist bestimmt (V.17-18) folgt V.19-20 der Übergang von der Gegenwart 'zur apokalyptischen Zukunft, was der Darstellung von Lk 21 entspricht' (Christentum, 51).
3.2.5 Interpretation of the quotation by Luke

The second Petrine speech with its quotations, is presented not only as an explanation of the incorrect interpretation of what has happened (2:1-13), but also as an opportunity for apostolic kerygma.

[1] The fact that Luke has inserted the phrase, λέγει ὁ θεὸς, in a parenthesis at the beginning of his quotation, clearly emphasizes the divine authority with which he means to invest this quotation: these are the direct words of God! Peter and the others are authoritative witnesses to this, and therefore the δόξα τοῦ Θεοῦ of God, who are experiencing the miracle of the “outpouring” of the (power of) the Holy Spirit.

[2] Although this long Jl-quotation has tended, in the past, to be interpreted by scholars in a christological way, the question must now be asked whether Luke did not tend, in fact, towards a more eschatological understanding of this text. His

119 Cf. for instance F.F. BRUCE who suggests on a similar issue that it seems to be "...a practice attested several times in Luke-Acts: Luke will omit altogether, or pass over lightly, a Synoptic theme from the appropriate context of his Gospel in order to introduce it later, in an appropriate context in Acts" (Paul's Use, 77).
121 U. WILCKENS has formulated it: "Rein formal gesehen, erweist sich also das Joel-Zitat als bewußt gesetzte und geschickt gewählte Klammer zwischen Situation und Predigt, besonders zwischen Situation und Jesuskerygma, das nun unmittelbar eingeführt werden kann (2,22-24)" (Missionsreden, 34).
123 C. SMITS was thinking in this direction when he drew attention to the "strengthening of the eschatological trend of this quotation here by way of the change in the introductory words. He hereby understands it as that the apostles seen themselves here as the new Israel of the last days" (Citen II, 180). So also J.T. CARROLL, The Uses of Scripture in Acts, in: SBL Sem Papers 126/29 (1990), 512-528, here 520; and B. REICKE, who held this viewpoint, the latter by typifying the Jl-quotation as an "eschatologische Weissagung" (Glaube und Leben, 42). F. MUSSNER has agreed with B. REICKE and divided this quotation into four sections: (a) the outpouring of the Spirit upon all flesh during the last days, of which the major result is the prophetic speech of those who have received the Spirit, (b) cosmic signs proclaim the "day of the Lord", (c) then comes the "day of the Lord" itself, (d) the person who calls in due time on the Name of the Lord, could be saved. F. MUSSNER goes on to say: "Von der Verheißung des Propheten haben sich nach der Pfingstpredigt des Petrus die ersten beiden Punkte (a und b) schon erfüllt und zwar im Pfingstzeichen selbst und in der Glossolalie der Apostel. Was noch aussteht, ist der groß und offenebare Tag des Herrn" „christlich gesprochen: die Parusie Jesu". He therefore does not agree with others on this point, as U. WILCKENS who does not accept the eschatological character of the outpouring of the Spirit, while he has linked the cosmic signs for "the day of the Lord", with the "mighty deeds, wonders and signs" of the historical Jesus (Ac 2:22) (Letzten Tagen, 264). G. LUDEMANN has followed U. WILCKENS in his interpretation: 'Man sollte nicht bestreiten, daß der 'apokalyptische Teil' des Joel-Zitats bereits auf den christologisch-kerugmatischen Teil (V.22b-24) überleitet. Die Ausdrücke semeia (dem LXX-Text hinzugefügt) und etera (24) werden ja
conscious change of μετὰ τάύτα το ἑν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις must be seen here as an important indicator in this direction. The conscious presentation and inclusion of the second part of the quotation — and its climax in the phrase: πρὶν ἐλθεῖν ἡμέραν κυρίου τῆς μεγάλης και ἐπίφανή — also strengthens the case for this eschatological understanding. In this second part of the quotation, the remaining two events (the wonders and signs, and the salvation in the Name of the κύριος via the work of the apostles), have not yet taken place at this moment when Peter describes them in his speech. These are events which must follow the coming of the Spirit at Pentecost. Therefore, for Luke, the second part of the quotation points to the (immediate?) future, while the first part is seen as having been fulfilled by recent events.

124 So also C. SMITS, Citaten II, 180; and J.H.E. HULL who reckoned that "after these things," which to a Hellenist, or certainly to a Hellenist unfamiliar with the Jewish Scriptures, would have a less 'final' ring” (Holy Spirit, 73). Also R.P. MENZIES, Early Christian Pneumatology, 216; and G. SCHNEIDER, who says: "It is true of the first part (event) of the quotation, i.e. that they would receive the Holy Spirit and prophecy (prophecy from the Holy Spirit?)." Cf. also A. KERRIGAN: "...the outpouring of the Spirit and the cosmic cataclysms could be regarded as events which precede the coming of Yahweh's day" (Sensus Plenior, 508).

125 Compare this with the eschatological "day of Yahweh" in the OT prophetic literature (e.g. Is 13:9-10, 24:21-23 and the darkening of the sun and moon). If this is the case, then one cannot agree with J.W. BOWKER (Speeches, 96-111) nor with E.E. ELLIS (Midrashic Zagre in den Reden der Apostelgeschichte, in: ZNW 62 (1971), 94-104) that we are dealing here with "midrashic Auslegung" nor with A. Weiser (Apf I, 91) who agrees with them when saying that "Diesen Teil des Joelzitates betrachtet Lukas...auf das vorausgangene Geschehen und deutet es". This would be true only of the first part (event) of the quotation, i.e. that they would receive the Holy Spirit and prophecy (prophecy from the Holy Spirit?). Cf. also A. KERRIGAN: "...the outpouring of the Spirit and the cosmic cataclysms could be regarded as events which precede the coming of Yahweh's day" (Sensus Plenior, 508).

126 Cf. the remark of A. Weiser: "Lukas will mit seiner Anderung des Joel-Textes aber nicht etwa sagen, daß nun das Ende eintrete; sondern für ihn ist die ganze Zeit seit Jesu Wirken bereits 'Endzeit' deren Ende aber unerheblich bleibt" (Apf I, 92). This is true in general of Luke's understanding of the endtime. When he quotes this section from Jo, he understands it in terms of further stages which follow after the coming of Christ, in this same eschation. So also R.P. MENZIES, Early Christian Pneumatology, 216; and A.J. MATTILL: "In Acts the eschaton was thought of as one great divine event, consisting of the advent of the Messiah, his works and teaching, his death, resurrection, exaltation, the gift of the Spirit, and the parousia" (Luke and the Last Things. A perspective for the understanding of Lukan thought, Dillsboro 1979, 49).


128 This aspect has caused scholars such as J.T. CARROLL to see this second Petrine speech as "a programmatic passage that sets the agenda for the rest of the story" (Uses of Scripture, 520). He is following R.F. ZEHNLE, Pentecost Discourse. So also A. KERRIGAN, Sensus Plenior, 298; W. DIETRICH, Petrisblad, 197; H. VAN DE SANDT, Fate of the Gentiles, 57. The latter says: "Joel 3,1-5 is in fact significant for the whole of Acts. It is the guiding text of the book and outlines the programme that is realized in the next chapters of the narrative".

129 So also perceived by J.T. CARROLL when he says: "This passage from the prophet not only interprets the signs of the Holy Spirit's activity at Pentecost (2:1-13), but also prophetically depicts the Spirit-impelled mission..." (Uses of Scripture, 522). Cf. also F. MUSSNER, Letzten Tagen, 264. Contrary to L. O'REILLY, who reckons that "The Joel prophecy as Luke found it suited his purpose remarkably well but not perfectly", (163); he goes on to say that the addition of σοματά..."was a deliberate modification by Luke in order to dilute the apocalyptic imagery and inject a reference to salvation history into the context." Once this was done the transition to the story of Jesus and his salvific miracles...
Chapter 4: Second Petrine Speech

[3] Strong emphasis is laid on "prophecy" with Luke's addition of καὶ προφητεύουσαν in V.18. The addition of this καὶ προφητεύουσαν after ἐκῆχεν ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος μου in Ac 2:18 resembles the occurrence of this same phrase in V.17. With this addition, the combination of πνεύματος with προφητεύουσαν in this context, becomes emphatically clear. It must also be remembered that in the preceding part of Ac, attention was already drawn implicitly to this combination through the mentioning of the following: (a) The disciples would receive power (δύναμις) when the Holy Spirit came unto them, and they would be witnesses (Ac 1:8); (b) They received "tongues" which looked like fire in Ac 2:3 and after the Holy Spirit had "filled" them all (καὶ ἐπλήσθησαν πάντες πνεύματος ἁγίου), they started to talk in different "tongues" (γυμνοὶ λαλεῖν ἑτεραῖς γλῶσσαξ) in Ac 2:4.

was smoothed out and a perfect link established between the scripture quotation and the rest of the speech" (Word and Sign, 166). Also against E. HAENCHEN who has said: "Die kosmischen Zeichen des Endes konnte Lukas mit der Predigt situation freilich nicht unmittelbar verbinden..." (Apg, 149). The distinction between the first half of the quoted text which points to the past events, and the second half which points to the events to follow, should be clearly noted.

130. Cf. also E. HAENCHEN: "Die Joelstelle hat freilich nicht von diesem", (that is the 'Erscheinung des ekstatischen Geistes'). GJS "sondern von der Prophettie gesprochen" (Apg, 149). So also I.H. MARSHALL: "What was happening was to be seen as the fullfilment of a prophecy by Joel, and here Peter proceeded to cite the relevant passage..." (Acts, 73); and R.P. MENZIES: "The corollary is that the disciples, as recipients of the gift, are not inebriated men — they are eschatological prophets proclaiming the word of God" (Early Christians Pneumatology, 221). Also G. SCHNEIDER, Apg f., 268.

131. For a combination of "spirit" and "prophecy" in the OT, compare: Nm 11:29; 12:6-8; 2 Ki 23:2 (LXX); Is 11:2; 10:13-14; 42:1; 59:19; 21:61:1; 63:10,11,14; Jl 2:28-32 = 3:1-5LXX; Hs 9:7; (Hg 2:5). See also Rv 1:4; 4:5; 56.

132. A. KERRIGAN (following E. SCHWEIZER, s.v. πνεῦμα, in: TDNT VI, 532-451), has said: "...for Luke the Spirit is essentially the Spirit of prophecy" (Sensus Plenior, 304). Cf. also U. WILCKENS: "Im Zusammenhang der Predigt wird diese Weissagung als jetzt und hier erfüllt, — das Wort propheteω also sicherlich dem verbreiteten urchristlichen Sprachgebrauch entsprechend als Weise pneumatologischer Verkündigung verstanden" (Missionsreden, 32).


134. This refers back to Lk 24:49.

135. It is extremely important here to notice that it was not 'fire-tongues' (flames), or fire which looked like tongues — as it is formulated for example by C.A. EVANS, Prophetic Setting, 148; also L. O'REILLY, Word and Sign, 28-29; as well as in some Bible translations: NEB (1979); TEV (1981); GNB (1982); NAB (1985); DLB (1985). When this was meant, the Greek would have had φάλας (as in other places in the NT where fire-tongues (flames) were meant: Ac 7:30; 2 Th 1:8; Rv 1:14; 2:18; 19:12) and not γλῶσσα (as here in Ac 2:3 and Ja 3:6). It is explicitly stated that it was "tongues" which looked like fire (γλῶσσας ὡς ἐκ δρόμου). So rightly translated by the KJV (1977); RSV (1988); OAB (1971). Cf. also A. KERRIGAN: Luke "is at pains to tell us that the Spirit manifested himself in the form of γλῶσσας which were in the act of being distributed (διερχόμενα) to each person present in the cenacle" (Ac 2:3) (Sensus Plenior, 302); and so also correctly described by J.J. KILGALLEN as 'visible tongues as of flame' (Pentecost Speech, 653).

This combination is a motif which is found frequently in Lk-Ac.\(^{137}\) The fact that it is stated here in the quotation that "from the Spirit" would be "poured out", could not be overlooked — although this change (against the Hebrew) was made already in the translation of the LXX. It could have been understood by Luke to be "something else", another object (other than the Spirit himself) that would be poured out from the Spirit. If he has understood it that it would be the Spirit himself,\(^{138}\) he would have changed the reading also here, as he has changed it at other places, to suit his purpose. He must have accepted it with the inclusion of ἀνόητο at this point, because he has understood it in a certain sense without it being strange or unusual to him. This object ("power", Ac 1:8) with which the Spirit "filled" them, was probably understood by Luke in this quotation as being the "gift" (δώρειαν)\(^{139}\) of prophecy (Ac 2:17,18).\(^{140}\) A new dispensation has come, where all will share in this gift, not only prophets, kings and priests (as during OT times),\(^{141}\) and "without distinction of age, sex, or social standing",\(^{142}\) The ιωάκιμ and the θυγατέρες will prophesy (both sexes);\(^{143}\) also the γυναῖκαι and the πρεσβύτεροι are involved (old and young, all ages); and even the slaves (from the lowest social standing). But at this point Luke brings in a new meaning with his addition of μου: It is now not meant to be a social class, but those who belong to God.\(^{144}\)

[4] More difficult to determine is the question about what Luke might have understood by the "wonders in heaven above" and the "signs on earth below".\(^{145}\) Some have thought the former to be the coming of the Holy Spirit, and the latter to

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\(^{138}\) Cf. B.M. NEWMAN and E.A. NIDA "what Peter means by the use of this phrase is obvious: God will let all people share in his Spirit" (Translator's Handbook, 43). This is an unsatisfactory explanation for the existence of ἀνόητο in this connection.


\(^{140}\) G.W. HAWTHORNE then finds a link between "early Christian prophets" and their interpretation of OT Scripture: ‘Perhaps the Old Testament was a key catalyst for their prophetic insight and utterances (cf. Ac chaps. 2 and 15)” (The Role of Christian Prophets in the Gospel Tradition, in: G.F. HAWTHORNE & O. BETZ (eds), Tradition and Interpretation in the New Testament, Grand Rapids 1987, 119-133, here 126). Compare this with A. KERRIGAN: “In the Old Testament the Spirit, generally speaking, is regarded as extraordinary divine power that enables one to do unwonted things” (Sensus Plenior, 203). Also R.P. MENZIES draws attention to the fact that “…this emphasis on the gift of the Spirit as the source of prophetic inspiration is characteristic of Luke” (Early Christian Pneumatology, 221).

\(^{141}\) So also I.H. MARSHALL, Acts, 73.

\(^{142}\) A. KERRIGAN, Sensus Plenior, 295; also 305-306.

\(^{143}\) Cf. Ac 21:9 about the four daughters of Philip, who have the gift of prophecy.

\(^{144}\) According to A. KERRIGAN, "the members of the church at Jerusalem, who, as we know, had been given the Spirit, style themselves οἱ δοῦλοι θαύματος when addressing God in prayer" (Ac 4:29). He also refers to the fact that the pythons described Paul and his companions as δοῦλοι τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ θαύματος (Ac 16:17) (Sensus Plenior, 306). R.P. MENZIES says that "The motive for such redactional activity was undoubtedly a desire to emphasize that the disciples of Jesus, as recipients of the Spirit of prophecy, are indeed members of this community", i.e. "the eschatological community of salvation" (Early Christian Pneumatology, 619).

\(^{145}\) Wrongly translated here in Ac 2:19 in the NAB (1985) as "wonders bo in die lug en wonders onder op die aarde" ("signs in heaven" and "wonders on earth"), but correctly translated in Ac 2:22. The TEV (1981) has also wrongly translated "wonders on earth" (Ac 2:19).
be the speaking in different languages; others suggest that the former might refer to the darkening of the sun, and the latter to the tearing of the curtain in the temple during Jesus' crucifixion. Others again have interpreted the first as cosmic happenings which would characterize the end of the world, while the second would be the gift of tongues and the healing miracles in the rest of Ac. When interpreting this quotation in an eschatological manner, however, and bearing in mind the difference between the ἑσαχάταις ημέραις (2:17) and the ημέραις κυρίου τῆς μεγάλης καὶ ἐπιφάνειας (2:20), we must differentiate between the two moments in time. Within the first moment (in the ἑσαχάταις ημέραις) would follow the ability to prophesy through the gift of power given by the Spirit, which marks the beginning of these last days. According to Luke, this had just taken place at Pentecost. This would then be followed by the "wonders and signs". If the disciples have now received power from the Holy Spirit to prophesy, it can be expected that signs and wonders would follow. The darkening of the sun, and the moon becoming like blood, might be events that were expected later in this eschaton. The principal purpose of ἀνω and κάτω is "thus not to distinguish between two spheres of divine intervention (heaven and earth), but rather to emphasize the universal character of the 'signs and wonders' — they are portents that cannot be overlooked".

[5] The only part of the quotation that may have christological (soteriological) significance, is the last sentence (καὶ ἐσταὶ πᾶς ὁ ἄνευ ἐπικαλέσται τῷ δύναμις κυρίου σωθεσθαι). This is the same unit already used by Paul in Rm 10:13. It forms the third major event to take place in these last days". In Jl, κύριος referred to Yahweh. This is now reinterpreted via the existing Greek translation (LXX) to mean Jesus (and not Yahweh).

146. So J. ROLOFF, Apg, 53. Also J.J. KILGALLEN argued in the same direction: "Though the exact signs and wonders of Joel are not found in the description of the Christian Pentecost, the generic idea of disruptions in nature seems to provide a link between the two descriptions; Luke presents us with such signs as a sound as of a violent wind, visible tongues as of flame, a noise which attracts so many Jews from all over the city. Thus the Joel quotation continues to describe the Pentecost event..." (Unity of Pentecost Speech, 652-3). This explanation cannot be accepted, as this is clearly apocalyptic language. So also A. KERRIGAN, Sensus Plenior, 307.

147. So M. RESE who finds a possible parallel between the darkening of the sun in Lk (who is the only evangelist who adds τοῦ ἄνω ζαλοπτικοῦ; Lk 23:45), and the quotation from Jl in Ac (Motive, 54). Against this viewpoint: J.H. MARSHALL, Acts, 74.


149. F. STOLZ has drawn attention to the relation between δύναμις and σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα. According to him, the phrase σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα is sometimes complemented by δύναμις: "... in Rom 15:19 sind die Begriffe ἁπάντητα, πνεῦμα, σημεῖα und τέρατα einander zugeordnet; in 2Kor 12,12 sowie Heb 2,4 stehen σημεῖα, τέρατα und δύναμις vollig parallel": He continues by saying that the normal expression for the experience of a wonder was δύναμις; which was interpreted in "OT language" (sic) by σημεῖα und τέρατα (Zeichen und Wunder, 145).

150. In the same direction also B. REICKE, Glaube und Leben, 43; and J.H. MARSHALL, Acts, 73. Compare here the striking parallels between Ac and Rv (especially Rv 8-9) in terms of references to blood, fire, smoke, and the darkening of the sun and the moon. L. O'REILLY is therefore right in saying that "...the immediate reference here is to apocalyptic signs rather than to miracles or events of salvation history" (Word and Sign, 163).


152. Cf. also J.H. MARSHALL: "...if Peter were citing the text in Hebrew, the reference would be clearly to Yahweh, and therefore an application to Jesus would be clear only to readers or hearers of the text in Greek" (Acts, 74). So also H. CONZELMANN, Apg, 35; and D.L. BOCK, Proclamation, 164. See also the interesting contribution of J.A. FITZMYER, The Semitic Background of the New Testament Ἰερός-Title, in: idem., A Wandering Aramean. Collected Essays (SBLMS 25), Missoula 1979,
To summarise: Luke has used this quotation from Jl in an eschatological way in order to emphasise three major points, i.e. (a) that they would receive (power from) the Spirit and prophesy (prophetism from the Spirit), — that which has just taken place, and therefore pointing backwards — (b) that wonders and signs would follow, and (c) that those who call on the Name of the Κύριος, would be saved. These things would follow in "the last days", but before "the great and glorious day of the Κύριος". The last point thus incorporates the christological kerygma within the eschatology.

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

There exist some indicators in the speech which probably point to a wider knowledge of Jl by the quoter, than the section which he quoted. To determine if these were indeed the result of conscious imitation of "the LXX", is very difficult. These indicators might especially be traced to the influence of certain well known phrases, motifs, or formulations of belief which were current during Luke's time. The parallels are nonetheless interesting, and attention could be paid to the following:

[i] The phrase, "Αυτής ἡ Ιουδαίοι καὶ οἱ κατοικούντες Ἰερουσαλήμ πάντες" (Ac 2:14), might resemble Jl 1:2 (...οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ πάντες οἱ κατοικούντες τὴν γῆν). This type of expression is, however, not unknown to the prophetic literature in general. Is the usage in Ac then some kind of imitation of the style of the prophetic literature? The fact that the vocative-forms are used heavily in Ac, and that the double salutations are not found elsewhere in the NT, might support this suggestion.

[ii] The words, καὶ ἐνώπιος ὁ θεός (Ac 2:14), of which the last is a hapax legomenon,
can both be found also in Jl 1:2, as well as abundantly in the rest of the LXX.\footnote{Cf. Job 32:11 = [ἐνώτιονοθέε] τὰ ρήματα μου. (See also Barn 9:3 in the combination with τὰ ρήματα). In the rest of the LXX, also: Gn 4:23; Nm 23:18; Jdg 5:3; 34:16; 37:14; Ps 5:2; Jl 1:2; 28:25; Jr 8:6; et al. C. SMITS especially draws attention to the occurrence of ἐνώτιονοθέε at the beginning of Is (1:1), on which he also bases his argument that Is 1:2 and Jl 2:28-32 (3:1-5) are combined (Citaten II, 180). See also BL-DBR §123(2), 67; E. HAENCHEN, Apg, 141; E. PLUMACHER, Lukas, 42; and G. SCHNEIDER, Apg I, 267. Compare this ἐνώτιονοθέε with the general trend in the prophetic literature: Is 41:1; 42:18; 43:1; 44:1; 46:12; 47:8; 48:1,12(x2); 49:1; 50:4,5,10; 51:1,4,7,21,66:5; also Is 1:2; Jr 8:6 and Gn 4:23; Jdg 5:3; 9:7; Job 32:11 and Jdth 14:1. So also B. REICKE: "Es dürfte sich dennoch hier um eine bewusste Anpassung an das Alte Testament handeln" (Glaube und Leben, 41-42).}

The words, ["Ἀνδρές Ἰσραήλην] ἀκούσατε τοὺς λόγους τοῦτούς (Ac 2:22), are reminiscent of those at the beginning of Jl: Ἀκούσατε ταῦτα (Jl 1:2). But again, these are commonly used in the prophetic literature.\footnote{The ἐν μεσῳ-phrase is also used in Lk 22:32; Ac 17:22 and 27:21.} The expression is also used several times more in this second Petrine speech: 2:14; 2:22; [2:37]; 2:33. The fact that this expression is typical of OT style, but less typical of Jewish-hellenistic literature, might support the suggestion that it could have found its way into Ac via the author's knowledge of the OT literature (in its Greek form).\footnote{So, for example, E. PLUMACHER, Lukas, 41.}

There seems to be a similarity in content between the words of Ac 2:22 (... οὐκ ἐποίησαν δι' αὐτοῦ θεὸς ἐν μέσῳ ὃμων, καθὼς αὐτοί ἤδοντο) and those of Jl 2:27 (καὶ ἐπαινεύσασθε ὅτι ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ Ἰσραήλ ἐγώ εἰμι). However, it is quite probable that this was a faith formula, a common expression\footnote{Cf. Jdg 2:4; 9:7; Ruth 1:9,14; 2 Ki 13:36(LXX); Ps 92:3. Cf. also Lk 11:27; Ac 14:11; 22:22.} at the time of Luke, and therefore not necessarily derived from Jl or the prophetic literature.

Except for these parallels, things are even more difficult with the following expressions. They are normally typified by scholars as "Septuagintisms", but can also be found represented to a certain extent in other ancient literature around these times. Examples are the following: (a) ἐπανειλημμένον τῷ φωνή (Ac 2:14);\footnote{Cf. Oem 18:29 (ca. 4th cent. BC); Philo, tr. (ca. 3rd cent. AD).} Although seen as being a 'Septuagintism',\footnote{So, for example.} it could also have been a fixed expression from these ancient times;\footnote{So E. HAENCHEN, Apg, 143; and E. PLUMACHER, Lukas, 42.} (b) [τοῖς ὑμῖν] γνωστὸν ἐστώ (Ac 2:14);\footnote{Cf. also Lk 11:27; Apg, 141; E. PLUMACHER, Lukas, 41; and R. PESCH, Apg I, 119.} Also seen as known via the LXX;\footnote{Cf. also Dem 18:291 (ca. 4th cent BC); ApolRkh 5:33 (ca. 3rd cent. BC); Char 5:7:10 (ca. 1st-2nd cent. AD); Philostr vi (ca. 3rd cent. AD).} (c) προσγυναί (Ac 2:23);\footnote{Cf. also Barn 9:3 in the combination with Til πράσσειν.} (d) διὰ χερσά (Ac 2:23);\footnote{So E. HAENCHEN, Apg, 141; and E. PLUMACHER, Lukas, 42.} Thought to be a "Septuagintism",\footnote{Cf. for example: Barn 16:7, DionHal 4; PlutMor FomRom 318; Am 767; An 813.} it is however also to be found several times in this exact form in the hellenistic Greek around the 1st century BC to the 1st century AD.\footnote{Cf. for example: Barn 16:7, DionHal 4; PlutMor FomRom 318; Am 767; An 813.}

3.4 Conclusions

1. That (at least one phrase of) the quotation might already have been known in the tradition of the early church at the time when Luke wrote Ac, is possible. The fact...
that it had been used, in a shorter form, by Paul in Rm 10:12f strengthens this possibility.\(^\text{173}\) There has been a tendency to use evidence such as this in support of the theory of a *testimonium* which could have been the source of such quotations. There is not enough evidence, specifically here in Ac, to support this theory.\(^\text{174}\)

2. It also seems possible that Luke himself has used a version of the 12P which was known to him. The length of the quotation supports this supposition.\(^\text{175}\) He appears to quote from this written source, which seems to have differed in minor details from the readings which are known today. It was probably a LXX text (as becomes clear from the similarities between the LXX and NT, against the Hebrew), but it seems, on some points, to be nearer still to the Hebrew.

3. In addition, Luke has consciously changed his source text in several places to accommodate for his own understanding and interpretation\(^\text{176}\) of the text. In general, these changes were made on theological rather than stylistic grounds, and probably in order to emphasize an eschatological viewpoint.\(^\text{177}\)

4. The quoted section ends strategically and emphatically with the soteriological statement of salvation in the name of the κύριος.\(^\text{178}\) The difference between the

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\(^{\text{173}}\) Against D.L. BOCK who cites the "mixture of changes" as evidence for the rooting of the quotation in the tradition (*Proclamation*, 163). He explains "the incongruity of the LXX version with the Acts 2 context" by way of "the possible presence of an older tradition" (160) and says later that "nowhere does Luke present a quotation from the OT with so many changes from the LXX" and the "mixture of changes suggests that Luke is not responsible for this quotation as a whole unit" (163).

\(^{\text{174}}\) The matter was already referred to at the beginning of this study; it will suffice here to quote D.-A. KOCH who argues in particular against C.H. DODD's "bible of the early church" in his discussion of this passage in Rm 10:13: "...daß Paulus Joel 3:5a nur deswegen zitieren konnte, weil ihm Joel 2-4 insgesamt als Teil einer 'bibel of the early church' bereits in besonderer Weise vorgegeben war, ist eine willkürliche Hypothese, die zusätzlich neue Fragen aufwirft. Denn wenn Joel 2-4 ein Text war, den die frühe Kirche sich bereits z.Zt. des Paulus bewußt angeeignet hatte (und zwar in seinem gesamten Umfang), dann bleibt es unverständlich, warum erst in Act 2,17-21 die Ankündigung des Geistes aus Joel 3,1ff aufgegriffen wird, während bei Paulus — auch in 1 Kor 12,10ff und Gal 3,1ff — dieser Text überhaupt keine Rolle spielt" (*Schrift als Zeuge*, 225).

\(^{\text{175}}\) B. REICKE holds the quotation to be part of a long "exordium" within an early Christian homily (42), which he saw fundamentally as a "Missions- oder Bekehrungspredigt" (*Glaube und Leben*, 44). Although this hypothesis cannot easily be proved, his observation deserves attention, namely that this quotation is not explained later in the context, and has thus to speak for itself - substantiating therefore the differences between Ac and LXX. The latter was also suggested by D.-A. KOCH in personal discussion, i.e. that long quotations seem to be meant self-explanatory.

\(^{\text{176}}\) M. RESE is right when he typifies this quotation as "henneneutischer Schriftverwendung": "...denn die Schrift ist hier nicht Mittel des Beweises, sondern Mittel der Interpretation" (*Motive*, 38). The same trend is also to be found in the other citations from the minor prophets (Hab 1:5; Am 5:25-29 and 9:11f).

\(^{\text{177}}\) So also B. REICKE (*Glaube und Leben*, 42). One must disagree with C. SMITS (and others) that these changes that were made by Luke are not important at all: "Het eigenlijke citaat is volgens de Septuagint, ofschoon er veranderingen zijn aangebracht: weglatingen, toevoegingen, omwisselingen van verzen. Zakelijk zijn deze van weinig belang" (*Citaten II*, 180).

\(^{\text{178}}\) G. SCHNEIDER has said: "Lukas hat den Joeltext bis zu den Stichworten σωτηρεῖν zitiert, weil ihm — im Anschluß an diese göttliche Zusage — an der Bedingung für die einzige Rettung gedacht ist, dem Anrufen des Namens des Herren" (*Apg I*, 270). And D.L. TIEDE states: "...the author does not stop with a pneumatological or christological discourse... Just when the sweeping christological conclusions are reached (2:22-23,33,36), the soteriological goal of the chapter is disclosed..." (*Acts 2*, 64).
meaning of this unit in Ji itself, and its reinterpretation in Ac, is obvious. This is in line with Luke's understanding of the continuity of the salvation history.

5. An implied note of universalism is also to be found in the quotation. It cannot be assumed that Ac 2 as a whole was addressed exclusively to Jews, or that a conflict exists between the list in Ac 2 and the beginning of the speech. The universalistic character is valid and typical for the whole speech.

4. SECTION II: ACTS 2:22-28

Jesus' resurrection & the quotation from Ps 15(16):8-11

In Ac, the most comprehensive link between the resurrection of Jesus and the Scripture comes in Ac 2:24-31 and Ac 13:34-37. The theme of Jesus' resurrection from death, mentioned in Lk 20:27-40, was already linked with the theme of the Son of David (Lk 20:41-44) which follows immediately thereafter.

4.1 Composition of the section

This next section starts in approximately the same way as the first. After the hearers are addressed ("Ἀνδρεῖς Ἰσραήλιται, V.22), their attention is drawn to the importance of the words which will follow (ἀκούσατε τοὺς λόγους τούτους, V.23).
(b) Scripture was read aloud and being heard, and (c) during the Schema ('Hear, O Israel'), as a daily confession (s.v. ἱερομνήμων, in TDNT I, 215-219).

185 According to C.H. COSGROVE, Ac 2:23-4 'the Lukan kerygmatic history, in its narrow sense, is expressed in a nutshell: Jesus of Nazareth - attested - delivered up - crucified and killed - raised' (Divine ΑΙ, 184).

186 So popularly called by some scholars: cf. for example J.J. KILGallen, Pentecost Speech, 650-656; and L. O'REILLY, Word and Sign, 91.

187 Cf. also E.E. ELLIS, Misstrachtige Züge, 99-101; and H. VAN DE SANDT, Fate of the Gentiles, 56. The latter talks about the JI quotation "...as starting point for extensive commentary" (Ac 2:22-40).

188 B. REICKE reckons that in the section of Ac 2:22-23 within this second Petrine speech, three basic elements are to be found: (a) thesis, (b) arguments, and (c) conclusion. He identifies these elements in all the so-called 'missionary' speeches (Glaube und Leben, 44). This seems to be somewhat forced and one could ask, for instance, why Ac 2:14-21 is not also taken into account here.

189 So also U. WILCKENS, Missionsreden, 34; and O. GLOMBITZA, Der Schluß der Petrusrede Acta 2 36-40, in: ZNW 52 (1961), 115-118, here 116-117. This was also emphasized in the JI quotation with Luke's insertion of the words: ἔγειρεν ὁ θεός (Ac 2:17). Cf. also W. DIETRICH: 'Jede der im zweiten Abschnitt aufgezählten Phasen nennt Gott als Handelnden; in V.22-24 wird θεός viermal als Subjekt des Geschehens erwähnt. Diese Häufung läßt deutlich werden, daß die christologischen Aussagen theologisch orientiert sind' (Petrusbild, 203). It is interesting that U. BUSSE has indicated that the theocentric priority is also an amazing phenomenon in the Lukan interpretation of Jesus' wonders as encountered in Luke's gospel (Die Wunder des Propheten Jesus (Jd 24), Stuttgart 1977, 475).

189 Cf. G. LÜDEMANN: 'Die Nennung der dynamis, tētra und semeia bezieht sich auf das Evangelium zurück. Dort sind die Wunderbeweise des Propheten Jesus konstitutiv für die Christologie' (Christostom, 51). Also H. CONZELMANN: 'Es sind in der Darstellung Lc 4,16ff. wie in der weiteren Erzählung die Taten, welche die Erfüllung der Schrift demonstrieren' (Mitte der Zeit, 178). See also U. BUSSE, Wunder, 475.

190 F. STOLZ is therefore right in saying: 'Nicht die Fähigkeit, außerordentliche Wunder zu tun, legitimiert also Jesus, sondern die Verankerung dieser Wunder in der von Gott veranstalteten, bereits im Alten Testament angebahnten und vorausbestimmten Heilsgeschichte' (Zeichen und Wunder, 143).

191 Compare also Lk 7:30; Ac 4:28; 5:38-39; 13:36 and 20:27 where Luke speaks of God's βουλή. F.J. MATERA, suggests Luke has made "it clear that the Jerusalemites paradoxically fulfilled God's definite plan (ὁρμημένον βουλή) and foreknowledge" (Responsibility for the death of Jesus according to the Acts of the Apostles, in: JNSNT 39, 77-93, here 79). According to G. SCHRENK, βουλή is mostly used of the divine counsel. This counsel is predetermined and inflexible. Both phrases emphasize the resolute and inviolate determinateness of the source" (s.v. βουλή, in: TDNT I, 655). J.R. WILCH says: "Lukas verbündet das Leiden des Christus immer mit dem göttlich veranlaßten 'Muβ' oder mit einem Schicksal, um diese übertragende Tatsache herauszustellen". He refers to Ac 3:18; 17:3; 26:23; Lk 17:25; 24:7, 26f, 44, 46 (Jüdische Schuld am Tode Jesu — Antijudaismus in der Apostelgeschichte?, in:
Chapter 4: Second Petrine Speech

ἐκδότον, V.23), and God himself has resurrected Jesus from death (ὁ θεὸς ἀνέστησεν) in V.24.193 There may be some implied antithetic parallelisms between V.23 and V.24: V.23a = God has handed V.24a = God has resurrected Jesus V.23b = Jesus was crucified by the hand(s) of the lawless V.24b = Jesus was released from the "bands" of death V.23c = Jesus was killed194 by these lawless people V.24c = Death does not have power over him

Interesting in the next unit, which consists of the quoted text (Ac 2:25-28), is the emphatic role of praise here (V.26-27): "My heart is glad" (πονηράωθη ἡ καρδία μου) and "my tongue is extremely joyful" (γυλαλίσεστε ἡ γλῶσσα μου), and "my 'flesh' dwells in hope" (ἡ σάρξ μου κατασκευάσετε ἐπ' ἐλπίδι) — all because (ὅτι) "neither my spirit would be left behind in hades" (οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψεις τὴν ψυχήν μου εἰς βαθύν), "nor would your pious one be given over to see decay" (οὐδὲ δώσεις τὸν δούλον σου ἰδεῖν διαφθοράν). He therefore now knows "the ways of life" (ἐγνώρισός μοι ὅδοις ζωῆς). All this is the result of the fact that the person (David) always sees "the κύριος in front of him" (προσώπῳ τοῦ κύριου ἐνώπιον μου, V.25), because he is "at his right hand so that he will not shiver" (ὅτι ἐκ δεξιῶν μου ἐστιν ἵνα μὴ σαλεύσῃ, V.25). The whole situation is summarised by way of the concluding sentence, which at the same time forms an inclusio with the first sentence of the quotation, i.e. he is "filled with joy" before the presence of the κύριος: πληρώσεις με εὐφροσύνης μετὰ τοῦ προσώπου σου (V.28). The whole quotation is thus taken here as an announcement made by David about him (εἰς αὐτὸν, V.25), about this Jesus of Nazareth (V.22).

4.2 The quoted text from Ps 15(16):8-11 (Ac 2:25-28)

After focusing on Jesus' resurrection from death and the fact that death does not have any hold on him, Luke refers to this next quotation. The same pattern occurs in Ac 13:33-35, where the same quotation appears again, although in a shorter form.

4.2.1 Intra-textual occurrence in Ac 13:35

οὐδὲ δώσεις τὸν δούλον σου ἰδεῖν διαφθοράν: This quotation is used in exactly the same context, namely that of Jesus being resurrected from death, such that death no
longer has any hold on him. It will be discussed in more detail as part of the exposition of the quotations in Ac 13.

4.2.2 The introductory formula (Ac 2:25)

Although the words, Δαυίδ γὰρ λέγει εἰς αὐτὸν (V.25), form the introductory formula for this explicit quotation, the connecting role of V.24 (ὅν ὁ θεός ἀνέστησεν λύσας τὰς ὀδίνας τοῦ θανάτου, καθότι οὐκ ἦν δυνατὸν κρατεῖσθαι αὐτῶν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν) should not be ignored. The substantiating role of γὰρ should also be noted — functioning as a link between the introductory formula and its quoted text on the one hand, and the immediately preceding context on the other hand.

4.2.3 Determining and explaining the textual differences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NT (NA26)</th>
<th>LXX</th>
<th>MT</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ac 2:25-28</td>
<td>Ps 15:8-11</td>
<td>Ps 16:8-11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

25 Προορώμενον τὸν κύριον | 8 Προορώμενον τὸν κύριον | γνώσις τὸ ἱερόν
| ἐνυπάντων μου διὰ παντός, | ἐνυπάντων μου διὰ παντός, | νοτὰρος τὴν σκληρότητα
| ὅτι ἐκ δεξιῶν μου ἔστων | ὅτι ἐκ δεξιῶν μου ἔστων | ἐνα γυναικεῖον
| οὐκ ἦν σαλευθῆναι. | ἦν μὴ σαλευθῆναι. | μὴ ἔλθη

26 διὰ τοῦτο ηὐρίσκετη | 9 διὰ τοῦτο ηὐρίσκετη | Λέον τὸν ὅσπιν
| ἡ καρδία μου, | ἡ καρδία μου, | κρησσεί
| καὶ ἑγαλλάσσετο | καὶ ἑγαλλάσσετο | ἐγαλλίασσε
| ἡ γλῶσσα μου, ἔτι δὲ καὶ | ἡ γλῶσσα μου, ἔτι δὲ καὶ | ἐστὶν τὸ ἔλεγχον
| ἡ σάρξ μου κατασκηνώσει | ἡ σάρξ μου κατασκηνώσει | ἐστὶν τῷ ἐλπίδι
| ἐπ᾽ ἔλπιδι, | ἐπ᾽ ἔλπιδι, | λέγει: ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῷ ἐλπίδι,

27 ὅτι οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψεις | 10 ὅτι οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψεις | Βίον λατρεύον
| τὴν ψυχήν μου εἰς ὅλην | τὴν ψυχὴν μου εἰς ὅλην | ἐλαττάρθη, ὅτι ἐμὴν τὴν σκληρότητα
| σοῦ διδάσκεις τὸν δοῦν | σοῦ διδάσκεις τὸν δοῦν | τῶν τῆς σκληρότητα
| σου ἰδεῖς διαφθοράν. | σου ἰδεῖς διαφθοράν. | τῷ τοῦ ἐλπίδις αὐτῶν

28 ἐγνώρισάς μοι ὁδὸς | 11 ἐγνώρισάς μοι ὁδὸς | θαύμα γίνοντας
c | θαύμα γίνοντας | μετὰ τοῦ
| ζωῆς, πληρώσεις με | εὐφροσύνης μετά τοῦ | προσώπου σου,

195 R.F. OTTOOLE says that "Luke was convinced that David wrote all the psalms" (Davidic Covenant, 245). Cf. also Ac 13:33-37 and Lk 20:42f which refer to David as author of the Pss (C.K. BARRETT, Luke/Acts, 238). According to W.C. KAISER, the actual title of Ps 15:16 "designates David either as the author ('from David') or the one praised in the psalm ('to David')" (223). KAISER chooses the second alternative: "David says with reference to (εἰς) him; rather than 'concerning (περὶ) him' (which would have meant that the total reference was of the Messiah alone)" (The Promise to David in Psalm 16 and Its Application in Acts 2:25-33 and 13:32-37, in: JETS 23 (1980), 219-229, here 228).

196 Compare also Ps 17(18):6; Ps 114(116):3; 2 Ki(2 Sm) 22:6.

197 Cf. M. RESE: 'Irgendwie begründet (γὰρ; V.25) das Zitat irgendwas aus dem vorangehenden Text, und offensichtlich wird die Zitierung in den anschließenden Versen 29-31 gerechtfertigt'
In V.26 of the NT reading we find the alternative reading μου ἡ καρδία (N* B Clem)198 instead of ἡ καρδία μου (P74 N* A C D E P 0123 M) as accepted here in NA26.199 The alternative reading is probably to be understood as "a more artificial order which may have been introduced by Alexandrian scribes in order to provide a chiastic contrast with the following ἡ γλῶσσα μου".200 Codex D differs on three minor points: It reads (a) ἐφ' ἐλπίδα instead of ἐν' ἐλπίδα (Ac 2:26); (b) ἐνεπαλείψεις and not ἐγκαταλείψεις (Ac 2:27); (c) γνώσεις and not γνώρισες (Ac 2:28) — all of which might have been the result of hearing-errors during the rewriting process of the manuscript at later stages.

(a) Textual differences between MT and LXX201

The following are the most important changes which appear in a comparison between the translation of the LXX, on the one hand, and the MT on the other hand. These changes in the reading of the LXX, resemble the reading followed by Luke, and could be taken as evidence that Luke has used here a version of the LXX, rather than a version based on the known MT. The points of difference are:

[1] The LXX (Ps 15:8) reads προορίζων instead of τοῦτον of the MT (Ps 16:8). This results in a minor difference: According to the MT, "Yahweh is always ‘kept before’" David. But according to the LXX (and Ac 2:25), David "always ‘sees’ the Lord before him".202 Attention has already been drawn to the fact that this translation stands out because nowhere else is the phrase translated in this way.203

The following are four possible explanations for προορίζων in V.8a:204 (a) It has the same meaning as in the Hebrew text; (b) it could have been caused by the frequent expressions "the face of God seen" or


198 In the old text editions of B.F. WESTCOTT and F.J.A. HORT (The New Testament in the Original Greek, Cambridge/London 1890), A. MERK (Novum Testamentum Graece et Latina, 8. Editio, Roma 1957) and E. NESTLE (Novum Testamentum Graece, 25. Auflage, Stuttgart 1963) this was thought to be the most acceptable reading.

199 Also thought to be the best reading by L. CERFAUX, Citations, 44; and E. HAECHEN, Schriftdtate, 154, although they have used reconstructed NT text editions which have read and accepted μου ἡ καρδία. T. HOLTZ (Untersuchungen, 48) and J. DUPONT (L’interprétation, 361) on the other hand, have agreed with this and taken it as an additional difference between the readings of Ac and the LXX.

200 B.M. METZGER, Textual Commentary, 299.

201 It is not the purpose to try and give possible solutions to each of these instances where the LXX differs from the MT, as the main focus of the thesis is on the differences between the LXX and Ac. Only those instances (if any) where Ac disagrees with the LXX and agrees with the MT, will be discussed more comprehensively.

202 Cf. also D.L. BOCK who thinks this to be "natural stylistic strengthening of the Semitic language" (Proclamation, 172).

203 The only other occurrence in 1Ezr 5:6 (ὁ προφητεύσας τῶν...δικαίων) is found exclusively in the reading of codex A. Codex B translates it as ἑσπεροκότας. It was thus found to be "...sicher sekundär und daher zu Recht in der Handausgabe von Rahlfs in den Apparat verwiesen" (A. SCHMITT, Ps 16,8-11 als Zeugnis der Auferstehung in der Apok., in: BZ 17 (1973), 229-248, here 233). The other loci
“God seen” in the OT literature: (c) an interpretation with a Graeco-Hellenistic spirit might have been present; according to the Greeks, in a religious situation “seeing” has absolute priority over “believing” or “hearing”; (d) the most probable explanation, however, might still be found in the context. Vv.9-11 of the LXX talks about the belief in resurrection and immortality. These futuristic perspectives are stressed by

[2] The διάξος ("I will not stumble") of the MT (Ps 16:8), is changed or translated by the LXX (Ps 15:8) to ιπα μη σαλευω ("so that I will not tremble") — which is again followed by the reading of Ac 2:25.

[3] "My glory" ( hannup) in Ps 16:9 (MT) is translated as "my tongue" (η γλασσα μου) in Ps 15:9 (LXX), followed by Ac.

[4] According to Ps 15:9b (LXX) "my body will also dwell in hope". This translation already permits the meaning of V.10b ("you will also not let your holy one see decay") to be connected with the bodily resurrection from death. At the time when the LXX came into being, the belief in the resurrection was thriving. It is thus not surprising to find traces of it here. The LXX then, appears at this point the better candidate for adoption by Luke in Ac.

It is a different case with the MT. Here, the last verse is not connected with the hope of resurrection; rather, the person who was praying hoped for Yahweh’s help mentioned by SCHMITT where it is translated by other equivalents, are the following: Ps 20(21):6 (έμπαθεσαι); Ps 88(89):20 (τοποθεσα); Ps 115(119):50 (σου ἐπισταθεσας).

Although this might be true about the semantic fields of these words, one must be careful not to read too much into these words here. Both σαρξ and φωσρή probably already had their parallels in the Hebrew source text, and it might be that the translator simply used known translation equivalents of the LXX at this point.

207. See also Jdg 18:7; Ps 4:9; Pr 1:33; Ezk 28:26; 54:28; Hs 2:20(18); Zph 2:15 (3:1). These are also translated in the same manner: by ετε/ετε λεπησιμ.

208. According to R. PESCH, "die Wiedergabe von 'Grube' mit 'Verderben' = 'Verweisen' (LXX) erfolgt im Horizont solcher Neudeutung...des hebr. Textes, der im Sinne der gewachsenen Auferstehungshofnung gelesen wurde" (Apoc 1, 122). PESCH thinks it is also important that Ps 15(16):8b supplied a "Stichwortverbindung" with Ps 109(110):1.

209. So also A. SCHMITT (Ps 16, 237-8). Cf. also Is 26:19; Dn 12:2; 2Mac 7:9-14; 12:45f; 14:46; PsSol 3:11f.

210. So A. SCHMITT: "Mit der Wendung ετε δε κα το σαρξ μου κατασκυλαι ειν εληλυτων wird eine neue Dimension in diesem Psalm durch die griechische Übersetzung eröffnet. "Somit kann aus V.9b gefolger werden, daß hier eine eschatologische Perspektive erkennbar wird, indem sich der Glaube an die Auferstehung ausspricht" (Ps 16, 237).
against the acute danger of death. The Hebrew would thus be translated: "my flesh also dwells in security...you do not let your pious one see sheol." The rendering of נְפִיָּה ("pit") (Ps 16:10 MT), probably from נָפִי ("grave"), as διάφωσορά ("decay, deterioration, corruption") in the LXX raises the question of whether the נְפִיָּה was read by the LXX (Ps 15:10) as if it were נָפִי, (from נָפִי, "decay"). and therefore rendered διάφωσορά. However, as became clear from the occurrences in the LXX, both Hebrew words (נָפִי and נְפִיָּה) were translated as διάφωσορά. Also it seems that נָפִי is almost exclusively translated as διάφωσορά in the Pss, while in the prophetic literature διάφωσορά is the characteristic translation of נְפִיָּה. This may support the argument, when one bears in mind that different books were probably translated by different translators; this would also explain the trend in the rest of the Pss.

What is significant is that Ac 2:27 follows the LXX reading at this point and (changed consciously or unconsciously by the LXX translator(s) of the Pss), Luke made it "... central to Peter's application of the verse to Christ's body, which did not decay in the grave" — therefore emphasizing his physical resurrection. This connection with the bodily raising from death was thus only possible from the existing Greek translation(s), while in the Hebrew it is clearly excluded.

The translation of sheol as גְּזֶרֶךְ must be seen on the one hand as nothing more than a mere translation equivalent, but on the other hand one also has to take cognizance of the semantic significance behind this term. In the post-exilic era sheol

211. So also G. SCHNEIDER. Apg 1, 273.
213. Also translated in the same way in Job 33:28,31; Ps 9:15 LXX; Ps 29(30):9; Ps 34(35):7; Ps 54(55):22; Ezek 19:4-8. Συνθεσμός seems to be a well known word, used already by Aesch. Hdt (cf. W. BAUER, s.v. Συνθεσμός); the LXX; Philo. Mig. Abr 17; L.A. 3:62-8); Josap 1125, and also later by Chrys. Or. XIV 152-153).
214. So E. HAENCHE. Apg. 3., M. RESE, Motive, 57; G.L. ARCHER and G. CHIRICHIGNO, Quotations, 63. Translated in this way in Hs 13:9; Zph 3:6; Jr 13:14; 15:3. According to D.L. BOCK, referring to the work of R.E. MURPHY, ("Shachat" in the Qumran Literature, in: Bib 39 (1958), 60-66) "...the meaning corruption seems to have turned up at Qumran in Semitic texts of the first century, though it is to be questioned whether a different root origin is to be sought for the word". Texts cited by MURPHY are: 1QM 3:9,26-7; 1QS 9:16-17; 10:19-20; 11:13; and especially 1QS 4:11-14. According to these texts, it "would be possible that a Semitic reader would have understood נְפִי in terms of physical corruption in association with Gehenna. He maintained this understanding would be independent of the LXX." If Murphy is correct, no mistranslation has occurred and no alteration of the MT has taken place; but instead the word conceptually has been concretized as time passed" (Proclamation, 175).
215. Another possibility was presented by A. SCHMITT — building on the work of J. ZIEGLER (Der textkritische Wert der Septuaginta des Buches Job (MiscBib 2), Rome 1934, 280) — namely that one has to bear in mind that the LXX frequently translates "Konkret" as "Abstrakta". 'Ein solcher Fall könnte nun auch hier vorliegen, indem nämlich für das Konkretum sahat ('Grab') das Abstraktum διαφωσορά ('Vernichtung') in die griechische Version eingebracht wurde" (Ps 16, 28). See also the comments on this word in the discussion of the quotation from Ps 2:7 in Ac 13.
216. Cf. also M. RESE: "Hier scheint die griechische Übersetzung ganz eindeutig Voraussetzung für ein christologisches Verständnis von Ps 16,10 zu sein; es sei denn, man könnte zeigen, daß auch schon im Hebräischen oder Aramäischen nicht vom Grab, sondern von der Verwesung gesprochen wird" (Motive, 57).
was understood in its Jewish concept, as a place of punishment where the dead were kept for a time. It was now in this post-exilic era no longer the eternal lot of all who died, but the souls of the righteous were thought to go immediately to heaven.\textsuperscript{218} It would be speculative to assume here another source for the second reference to this Ps (Ac 2:31) purely on the scanty evidence of the alternative reading (ἵδος = A C D E Y M) in the second reference.\textsuperscript{219} Not only is there authoritative support for the ἵδος-reading, but this second reference has to be seen within the broader context as part of the commentary on the long quotation which preceded it. Even when it is assumed that the ἵδος-reading is to be preferred, one must bear in mind that V.31 forms part of the commentary. It does not have to be a direct quotation, it could be a reference to what was said previously!

[7] "The life well pleasing to God" (MT) to "the way of life" ὑποστῆσις ζωῆς (LXX). According to the MT, it is a life to which God responds, while the LXX translation sees it as "a good life which ends in eternal life".\textsuperscript{220}

(b) Textual differences between Ac and LXX

Ac 2:25-28 consists of an explicit quotation, taken from Ps 15(16):8-11,\textsuperscript{221} and which seems to be almost identical in both the current reconstructed readings of the NT and LXX texts.\textsuperscript{222} The reading of Ac 2:25-28 agrees exactly with that of Ps 15:8-11 (LXX), except for προσώπων\textsuperscript{223} instead of προσώπωμου.\textsuperscript{224} It is otherwise identical and no additions, omissions, substitutions, transpositions or any other changes of Ac, in comparison with the text of the LXX, are to be found. The only other issue that deserves a remark here, is the question of why Luke has ended his quotation at this...
specific point. This might have been due either to the adjustment to the context, or to shortening it due to theological apriori. The latter seems to be a better choice.

4.2.4 Method of quotation

Although some scholars have identified a "Pescher-Technik" here, the opposite case has been satisfactorily proved.

The combination of the themes of Jesus' resurrection and being the son of David, was already found in Lk 20:27-44. That is now continued here in this second Petrine speech. How Luke came to this quoted text, is unclear, but there seems to be no doubt that it is to be traced back to the hand of Luke himself, especially with regard to the fact that it is to be found nowhere else than in Ac. It is also clear that this text is quoted from a LXX version, rather than from those of the Hebrew. The substantial differences between the readings of the MT and that of the LXX makes this clear. The bridging function of the LXX between the Hebrew Jewish Scriptures and early Christianity, is evident here.

The headings of the two previous quoted Pss in Ac 1 have read εἰς τὸ τέλος. Interesting is that Ps 15(16) ends with this Leitmotiv: εἰς τέλος. The citing of the quotation itself, as well as this eschatological dimension, serve the goal of being explanatory to the fact of Jesus' resurrection (by God) from death. This interpretation was only possible by way of the LXX-reading of the quotation.

4.2.5 Interpretation of the quotation by Luke

Attention has already been drawn to the fact that Luke has made use of several presuppositions (which he did not explicitly state) when taking this quotation from the Pss and reinterpreting it in his text. After explicitly quoting the text, he

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225 Cf. M. RESE: "...so ist es etwas merkwürdig, daß Ps 16(15),11c τετυπηται ἐν τῇ δεξαμενῇ εἰς τὸ τέλος nicht mitzitiert wird" (Funktion, 73).
226 So M. RESE: "Um den Fehlschluß zu vermeiden, daß der Geist für immer in der 'Rechten Gottes' ist, streicht er Ps 16,11c und bringt in v 33 die nach seiner Meinung richtige Darstellung des Sachverhaltes: Jesus ist zur Rechten Gottes, und er gibt dem Geist aus" (Motive, 55-56).
227 So, for example, E.E. ELLIS, Midschamische Züge, 97. He draws attention to the repetitions of διάκονος (Vv.25,33); δόκει (Vv.27,31); σάρξ (Vv.26,31) and ἱδεῖν διαθήκην (Vv.27,31).
228 According to M. RESE, a formal reference to repetitions is not a valid argument for a "Pescher-Technik" (Funktion, 73-74).
229 Cf. A. SCHMITT: 'Berücksichtige der LXX-Version von Ps 16,8-11 ergibt sich, daß die LXX eine eschatologische Interpretation vorgenommen hat. Es kann nicht nachprüfbar genug festgestellt werden, daß dieses Ergebnis nur aufgrund des Kontextes gewonnen wurde.' Erst durch den Kontext wird das Glaubensverständnis der letzten Jahrhunderte v. Chr. erkennbar, das darin kulminiert, daß Auferstehung und ewiges Leben in den Mittelpunkt religiösen Denkens rücken' (Ps 16, 242-243)
230 So also G. SCHNEIDER: 'Die vier Doppelverse des Zitats konnten in der LXX-Fassung auf Jesu Auferstehung bezogen werden...weil diese den ursprünglichen Sinn des Psalms bereits umgedeutet hatte, und zwar in Richtung auf eine 'eschatologische Interpretation" (Agg 1, 272-273).
231 See W.C. KAISER for a possible interpretation of Ps 15(16) itself (Promise to David, 222-227).
presentes an explanation or exposition of this quoted text. He made it vividly clear that these words were only "prophesied" (προφητεύειν ὑπὸ δαχτύλων)\(^{233}\) by David (πατρὶ πάρος)\(^{274}\) David, who had died long before, and could not therefore be the subject of the prophecy himself.\(^{235}\) Instead, it was the resurrection of Christ (ἀναστάσεως του Χριστοῦ)\(^{236}\) which was seen in advance (προϊδύνα) by David.\(^{237}\) Although the words are quoted as the words of David, they are reinterpreted in terms of Christ — thus christological.\(^{238}\) The κύριος which to John 1:3 has referred (and by whose name will be saved all those who call on it), is interpreted by Luke as the same κύριος in Ps 15:8 (LXX) — which was the LXX translation of " Yahweh" in Ps 16:8 (MT). Here in Ac 2:25 this translation also helps conveniently to make the

\(^{233}\) Cf. Ac 1:16; Heb 11:32 and Barn 12:10, which take a similar approach, also seeing David as a prophet. See also U. WIlCKENS, Missionsreden, 35. According to B.M. NEWMAN and E.A. NIDA "prophet" is to be understood in this context as "one who sees and foretells the future" (Translator's Handbook, 54). "Der Psalm müsse also prophetisch gemeint sein" (B. REICKE, Glaube und Leben, 48).

\(^{234}\) In the NT to be found only here, as well as in Ac 7:8.9 and Heb 7:4. According to G. SCHNEIDER, "handelt (es) sich um einen LXX-Ausdruck, der verschiedene hebräische Äquivalente wiedergibt: 1 Chr 24:31; 27:22; 2 Chr 19:8; 23:20; 26:12; 4 Makk 7.19; 16:25 (stets pluralisch), s. auch TestAbr A 20; ApkEsr 30.25. David wird Apg 2.29 offensichtlich wegen seiner messianischen Stammschaft (V 30) "Patriarch" genannt" (Apg 1, 274). B.M. NEWMAN and E.A. NIDA see it as "an honorary title applied to David, the king of Israel" (Translator's Handbook, 53).

\(^{235}\) Cf. 3 Ki(1 Ki) 2:10; JosAn 392-394; 239; JosBJ 1:61. J. ROLOFF says: "Dies läßt nur die Wahl zwischen zwei Möglichkeiten: Entweder hat David unwahr geredet, oder er hat nicht von sich selbst gesprochen!" (Apg 58).

\(^{236}\) So also M. RESE, Funktion, 74.

\(^{237}\) So also M. RESE. Funktion, 74.

\(^{238}\) So also M. RESE. Funktion, 74.
switch to the person under discussion, Jesus (of Nazareth, V.22), who was made both κυρίος and Χριστός (V.36). But V.25 (Ps 15(16):8) also implies that God is always with Jesus -- even on the cross. It is therefore no wonder that the call of Mk 15:34 was omitted by Lk! The role of God thus remains prominent. Everything that has happened to Jesus, was the result of God's plan and due to his will -- up to the point where God could resurrect Jesus from death and exalt him to his right hand.

The content of the previously mentioned V.27 is repeated in V.31. This verse seems to be of prominent importance for Luke when he refers to Christ's resurrection, as it is found again in Paul's first speech, in Ac 13:35. To end his discussion on this matter, Luke refers again to Jesus being resurrected from death by God (V.32), and thus encircles this citation in the form of an inclusio, combined with V.24.

It is important to note that if Luke has used a Hebrew text here (or a parallel Aramaic version), it would be impossible for him to link his quotation with Jesus' resurrection and to interpret it in this way. He has used the LXX version, which contained material which could be interpreted in connection with Jesus' resurrection. Such possibilities were not to be found in the Hebrew.

The LXX quotation from Ps 15(16):8-11 in Ac 2:25-28, thus substantiates and interprets the remarks which are made in Ac 2:22-24; David formulates the words of the Messiah before the Messiah is even born. The function of this quoted text at this specific place, is to provide Scriptural authority for the events of Jesus' life, his death and resurrection. Proof and interpretation are thus taking place simultaneously, but this is not proof from prophecy, within the scheme of promise and fulfillment. It would be better to talk here of a typological use of Scripture.

4.3 Possible broader knowledge of Ps 15(16) in the rest of the section (Language, Style and OT-motifs)

The following might be possible pointers to a broader knowledge by Luke of Ps 15(16) and the LXX in general: (a) Στηλογραφία τῳ Δαυιδ: The heading of Ps 15(16). Luke knew that this Ps is ascribed to David; (b) καιστί (Ac 2:24); (c) [λύσας] τὰς ὁδίνας τοῦ θανάτου (Ac 2:24).

239. Cf. also M. RESE who has said that "...das Zitat dient als Beweis für V.23f. wahr­scheinlich auch für V.22" (Funktion, 74).
240. According to L. O'REILLY, "the title kyrios carries in itself the nuance of divinity because of its use in the LXX as the name of Yahweh" and it therefore 'tends to identify Christ with God' (Word and Sign, 98).
241. See also E. HAENCHEN, Apk. 144; and M. RESE, Funktion, 74.
243. So also G. LÜDEMANN, Christentum, 52.
244. In the same direction: H. CONZELMANN, Apk, 35; and M. RESE, Motive, 56. Contrary to the viewpoint of J.W. DOEVE, Jewish Henneneutics, Assen 1954, 168.
245. Cf. M. RESE, Funktion, 76; and W. DIETRICH, Petrausblis, 203.
246. καθότι is found in the NT only in Lk-Ac: Lk 1:7; 19:9; Ac 2:24,45; 4:35; 17:31. G. SCHNEIDER said about its occurrence here, that it "...zeigt an, daß das Auferstehungsgerade der Erwartung des Psalms (V.27) entspricht und ihm gemäß erfolgte" (Apk I, 272).
Regarding the latter, one has to take cognizance here of the problem about the differences between the readings of the LXX and the MT. The problem itself has already been clearly formulated: "Pains of death is a phrase which comes from the Greek text of the Old Testament and which literally means 'birth pangs of death'; so the meaning of the phrase is that of 'bringing the pangs to an end' or 'doing away with the pain'. The Hebrew text has 'bonds of death', but Luke quotes the Greek...".²⁴⁷ Several explanations to the problem have, in the past, been suggested:

According to Plümacher, [άνοιξις] τοῦ ἀνοιχτοῦ,²⁴⁸ is the result of unconscious influence, i.e. via other sources — possibly from the liturgical language in this speech.²⁴⁹

[1] Clarke's explanation, i.e. that we are dealing here with a conflation of both ἀνοιχτοῦ and the reading of Job 39:2 (πρίθηκας δὲ μηδὲν πλήρεις τοκετοῦ αὐτῶν, ἀνοιχτοῦ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀνοιχτοῦ)²⁵⁰ does not fit into the thesis assumed in this study, namely that Luke had at his disposal only the books of the Torah, the Prophets and the Ps. The only comparison that might exist between these two texts, is that this phrase was probably already a fixed expression at his time. Although Wilcox was against this (traditional) solution on the basis of the eschatological context of both Ac and the Qumran passage 1QH 3:28 (which is in fact a quotation of Ps 17(18):5),²⁵¹ Richard has convincingly argued for the contrary.²⁵²

[2] The viewpoint of Boers,²⁵³ following that of Lindars,²⁵⁴ that Ac 2:24 is a comment on Ps 15(16):6, is irrelevant when one deals here with the LXX version. Boers has stated clearly that "this can be recognized only in the Hebrew versions of the Psalms, because it is the same Hebrew word דָּלָכָה that was translated in the LXX with ἀνοιχτόνος = 'pangs' in Ps 18(17):5, and with σχολία = 'ropes, lines' in Ps 16(15):6". Agreeing with Schmitt against this view of Boers, it must be said that "Die Behauptung, daß in V.24 durch die Vorschaltung des Partizips ἀνοιχτοῦ eine Bezugsnahme auf Ps 16,6 erfolgt, läßt sich nicht erweisen. Ps 16,6 kann daher nicht als ein Kommentar bezeichnet werden, der die 'Wehen des Todes' unter ein positives Vorzeichen stellt".²⁵⁵

[3] Another possibility was presented by Haenchener,²⁵⁶ Conzelmann,²⁵⁷ Weiser,²⁵⁸ Schneider,²⁵⁹ and Roloff,²⁶⁰ namely that this might be a wrong translation made by the translators of the LXX in 2 Ki(Sm) 22:6, Ps 17(18):5f and 114(116):3 which read בְּֽלָכָה "Geburtsweise"(pains of birth), instead

²⁴⁷ So B.M. NEWMAN and E.A. NIDA, Translator's Handbook, 49. Note also their remarks in connection with translating these phrases.
²⁴⁸ This exact phrase is also to be found in PolEp 1:2.
²⁴⁹ Cf. E. PLUMACHER, Lukas.
²⁵⁰ W.K.L. CLARKE, Use of the Septuagint, 97.
²⁵² He reckons that the passages of Ps 17(18):5; Job 39:2 and Ps 114(116):3 "...and other texts concerned with the image of a woman giving birth, were commonly employed in the eschatological and apocalyptic literature of the late OT and NT periods" (E. RICHARD, OT in Acts, 339).
²⁵³ H.W. BOERS, Psalm 16, 108.
²⁵⁴ B. LINDARS, NT Apologetics, 39.
²⁵⁵ A. SCHMITT, Ps 16, 245.
²⁵⁶ E. HAENCHEN, Apg, 143.
²⁵⁷ H. CONZELMANN, Apg, 35.
²⁵⁸ A. WEISER, Apg 1, 92.
²⁵⁹ G. SCHNEIDER, Apg 1, 272.
²⁶⁰ J. ROLOFF, Apg, 56.
of ἐον "Strick". Bock agrees with the passages, but thought it to be due to wordplay on these texts.

[4] Schneider, however, also asks the rhetorical question about this change: "...oder handelt es sich nicht eher um eine bewusste Änderung zum Abstrakten?" Schmitt thought this indeed to be the case. This seems to be the most convincing explanation.

5. SECTION III. ACTS 2:29-36
Jesus' exaltation & the quotation from Ps 109(110):1

5.1 Composition of the section

What follows here in this section, is nothing else than an exposition of the preceding information. As with the beginning of the first two sections, also this section begins with Peter addressing the hearers directly (ἀποκάλυψις τοῦ θεοῦ), and thereafter focusing on the role of the words which are to follow (ἐξόντα μετὰ παρρησίας πρὸς υἱὸν). The issue at stake here, is one "about David" (περὶ...Δαυὶδ), "the patriarch". What follows, is Luke's interpretation of the quoted Ps text. The words of the quotation from Ps 15(16):8-11 are explained in terms of the role that David has played. David is used here as a contrasting example with regard to the resurrection of Jesus. The attention of the hearers is drawn to the contrast between the words of David, and what actually happened to him; the appropriateness of these words becomes clear only when they are applied to Jesus. This then indicates that these words which were spoken by David, did not refer to himself, but to this Jesus (τὸ τοῦ Ἰσραήλ, V.32,36), whom God has made Christ (χριστὸν ἐποίησεν ὁ θεός, V.36), and then specifically to the issue "about the resurrection of Christ" (περὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ);

(a) David had died (ἐξελεύνη), was buried (ἐκατερίζεται), and his grave still stood as a memorial (τὸ μνήμα αὐτοῦ ἔστιν ἐν ἡμῖν ἀχι τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης) (V.29). Christ, however, was resurrected (ἀναστάσεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ), not left behind in hades (οὔτε ἐγκατελείψει εἰς ὀθόνην), and his flesh did not see decay (οὔτε η

261. "Der hebr. Text stellt in den zwei zitierten Fällen die Unterwelt bzw. den Tod als Jäger dar, der mit Fangstricken dem Menschen nachstellt. Die LXX umging durch ihre Version diese bildhafte Konkretisierung" (A. SCHMITT, Ps 16, 244-5).
263. G. SCHNEIDER, Apg I, 272.
264. "Man kann nämlich häufig in der LXX beobachten, daß anstelle eines Konkretums ein Abstrakturn gesetzt wird" (A. SCHMITT, Ps 16, 244).
265. ἐξόντα = ἐκείστων (BL-DBR §353,5; E. HAENCHEN, Apg, 145).
266. Cf. to Ac 1:16 where the theme was 'about Judas' (περὶ Ἰουδαίος).
267. R.F. OTTOLE refers to Ac 7:8-9 and suggests that David was seen as a patriarch on the same level as the twelve patriarchs (Davidic Covenant, 252).
268. Note the similarity in structure between V.36 and V.22: τὸ τοῦ Ἰσραῆλ...οὐ. So also noticed by U. WILCKENS, Missionsreden, 36.
269. "David ist doch nicht in den Himmel aufgestiegen; also muß sich dieses Wort auf den Messias beziehen" (A. WEISER, Apg I, 93-4). So also G. SCHNEIDER, Apg I, 276.
270. Or "corruption" (RSV).


Chapter 4: Second Petrine Speech

σόρξ αὐτοῦ εἶδεν διαφθοράν) (V.31) — referring thus back to the words of Ps 15(16):10 which were quoted in the section above (V.22-28).

(b) David did not ascend into heaven (οὗ γὰρ Δαῦδ ἀνέβη εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς) (V.34),²⁷¹ in contrast to Jesus who was resurrected by God (τοῦτον τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀνέστησεν θεός, V.32), and exalted to the right hand of God himself (τῇ δεξιᾷ σοῦ ὑψωθεὶς, V.33)²⁷² — from where he received the ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἅγιον ("the promise of the Holy Spirit") from the Father (λαμβάνει πάρα τοῦ πατρός),²⁷⁴ which he has "poured out" (ἐξέχεσεν τοῦτο).²⁷⁵ This idea was probably well known during Luke's time.²⁷⁶ The fact and position of the exalted Christ is substantiated in the words of David himself, referring here to Ps 109(110):1, i.e. that "the Lord has said to his lord" that he must sit at his right hand, until he has surrendered his enemies under his feet.²⁷⁷

David could therefore be typified as "being a prophet"²⁷⁸ (προφήτης σόν, V.30) who had foreknowledge of these things (καὶ εἶδες ὅτι, V.30),²⁷⁹ and who, foreseeing it (προφέτησα), speaks in advance of the resurrection of Christ²⁸⁰ (ἐλάλησεν περὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ, V.31).

²⁷¹. Cf. H. CONZELMANN who says that this is "...ein jüdischer Topos...der von den Christen zur Apologetik benutzt wird" (Apg. 35). He refers to Rm 10:6ff.
²⁷². E. HAENCHEN points out that the transition from the resurrection to the exaluation, is made here "unvermerklich" with this σῶ (Apg. 145).
²⁷³. The term ὑψωθεὶς is only used here with regard to Jesus' ascension (H. BRAUN, Zur Terminologie, 553). Note the clear differentiation between Jesus' resurrection, ascension and exaluation. So also G. SCHNEIDER, Apg f. 75.
²⁷⁴. Compare here Lk 24:49 where Jesus says to his disciples: καὶ ἐδώ ἐποιεῖτα πάντα τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ πατρός μου ἐφ’ ὑμῖν.
²⁷⁵. There are two clear references in Ac 2:33 to the Jl quotation (Ac 2:17,18): ἔχεω (pour out) and τοῦ πνεύματος (Spirit). So also R.F. O'TOOLE, Davidic Covenant, 256; H.J. CADBURY, Speeches, 409; B. LINDARS, NT Apologetis, 43,54; G. LOHFINK, Himmelfahrt Jesu, 229. A. KERRIGAN has pointed out that "...the action which is predicted of Yahweh in the oracle of Joel (ἔχεω in the LXX, Joel, III,1a) is predicted here of Jesus (ἐξέχεσεν, V.33)" (Sensus Plenior, 297). So also U. WILCKENS (Missi onserden, 35) and H. CONZELMANN (Apg, 35), who said that the dative should be understood here as locative: as well as H. VAN DE SANDT, Fate of the Gentiles, 56. Compare also these instances in Ac with Is 57:16: μνεύμα γὰρ πάντα ἐμοὶ ἔξερεν τοις ἁγιοίς μου. Compare this, with the eschatological (apocalyptic) section in the Jl quotation. However, I do not share KERRIGAN's view that this implies "...the struggle against Satan and his allies in which Jesus was engaged" (308: my emphasis, GIS).
²⁷⁷. In der Schriftauslegung, die Petrus vorträgt, ist der 'Sohn Davids' also als 'Sohn Gottes' und 'Menschenson' begriffen, dem der Platz auf Gottes Thron...zugedacht ist" (R. FESCH, Apg I, 123). See also A. KERRIGAN: 'Peter, quoting Ps CX,1, implies that Christ's exaltation at God's right hand includes the defeat of his enemies (Act., II,33-34), who, as Acts 1,38 indicates, are the Devil and his minions' (Sensus Plenior, 308). Compare this with the eschatological (apocalyptic) section in the Jl quotation. However, I do not share KERRIGAN's view that this implies "...the struggle against Satan and his allies in which Jesus was engaged" (308: my emphasis, GIS).
²⁷⁸. Compare Lk 20:42: Ac 1:16; 2:30; 4:25. Cf. also Barn 12:10 where Ps 109(110) is also quoted: αὐτὸς προφήτηται Δαοπέδ. According to J.A. FITZMYER, the 'identification of David as a prophet naturally continues later in the Christian tradition and becomes a standard epithet, being inspired no doubt, in part at least, by Acts 2:30. It is not unknown in later Jewish tradition as well' (David, "Being therefore a Prophet..." (Acts 2:30), in: CBQ 34 (1972), 332-339, here 333).
²⁷⁹. E. HAENCHEN said: "dem Propheten gibt Gott den Blick in die Zukunft" (Apg, 145).
²⁸⁰. According to Luke, David could only have known that the "one of his descendents which will sit upon his throne", is the Messiah (the Christ, in Greek). The reference is therefore to 'the resurrection of the Christ' (V.31) and not to that of Jesus, which could not have been known by David. (Compare this with God who has resurrected Jesus in V.32).
It is important that it is still God who remains the Subject of all that is happening: It is God who has promised ("had sworn with an oath", ὁτι ἐκκαθάρισεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς) that one of David’s descendants would sit upon his throne (V.30), it is God who has resurrected Jesus (τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀνέστησεν ὁ θεὸς, V.32), it is God who has promised ("had sworn with an oath", οὐκ ἀνέστησεν ὁ θεὸς ἐκκαθάρισεν αὐτῷ) and is therefore God who has made Jesus both King and Saviour (V.36). The message is thus clear: God has done all these things with Jesus and made him, this Jesus whom they have crucified (καὶ ἐκκαθάρισεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς, V.36), a ruler (κύριος) and a saviour (χριστός). And this must be noted well by the whole of Israel (ὃς ἐκκαθάρισεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς, V.36).

The message itself is thus also divine, and could have been known only through God who has revealed it himself. The promise of the Holy Spirit (τὴν ἑλάντιν ζητεῖν τὰς δόγματα τοῦ θεοῦ) was now received by the exalted Jesus at the right hand of God, transferred from the Father himself.

5.2 The quotation from Ps 109(110):1 (Ac 2:34-35)

Just as the reference to Jesus’ resurrection from death has triggered Luke to quote from the Pss, so also here, the reference to Jesus’ exaltation leads him to quote again from the Pss (109:1).287

Ps 109(110) is probably the text most used in early Christianity in connection with Jesus’ exaltation288 — though other texts were also used.289 It is no wonder that this quotation is found so often in the NT literature. Of all the quotations

281. Cf. also M. RESE, Motive, 107-108; and R.F. O’TOOLE, Davidic Covenant, 249.
282. Cf. C.A. KILLIPEL: "From the beginning, in the apostolic experience, witness and composition, there is a clear interpretation of the meaning of the resurrection event as a living mystery. The core of this mystery is that God has intervened decisively in history to raise up Jesus of Nazareth as Christ and Lord" (The Two Aspects of the Resurrection, in: E.A. LIVINGSTONE (ed), Studia Evangelica VI (TU 112), Berlin 1973, 417-428, here 424).
283. About the relation here between V.36b and V.23, cf. to U. WILCKENS: "...die Formulierung des Satzes (erweckt), besonders durch seine Einleitung, den Eindruck, daß die Aussage zugleich als theologische Zusammenfassung der ganzen Predigt gemeint ist, welches Verständnis sich auch durch den ausdrücklichen Rückbezug in 2.36b auf 2.23 nahelegt" (Schluß der Petrusrede, 116).
284. Of interest here is the suggestion of O. GLOMBITZA that the first "Credo-Formel" (Ἰησοῦς ἐκκαθάρισεν αὐτῷ) could be found here in the exact reversed order! "Offenbar sollte V.36 als Höhepunkt und Ziel der Ausführungen angesehen werden" (Schluß der Petrusrede, 116).
285. According to E. HAENCHEN, ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραήλ is a "LXX-Wendung" (Apg, 146).
286. An exegetical genitive, with the meaning: "das im Geist bestehende Verheißungsgut" (G. SCHNEIDER, Apg I, 275 n.113).
288. J. ROLOFF talks about "den klassischen Schriftbeweis für die Erhöhung Jesu" (Apg, 59).
290. Compare Mt 22:44; Mk 12:36; Lk 20:42-43; Ac 2:31-35; 1 Cor 15:25; Heb 1:13. Cf. also the context of Mt 26:64; Mk 14:62; 16:19; Lk 22:69; Ac 5:31; 7:55,56; Rm 8:34; Eph 1:20; Col 3:1; Heb 1:3; 8:1; 10:12; 12:2; 1 Pt 3:22. It was on the basis of this quotation that Jesus was crucified. He was seen as a blasphemer when he claimed for himself the place of judge at the right hand of God. Interestingly is also
and references used in the NT, this one from Ps 109(110) is then one of those used most frequently. 291

5.2.1 Other occurrences

This Ps was already used by Jesus himself in a combined quotation in Mk 14:62 (Ps 109(110):1 and Dn 7:13), with its parallels in Lk 22:69 and Mt 26:64.

Apart from its occurrence in Lk 20:42-43 and here in Ac 2:34-35, this explicit quotation is also to be found in Mt 22:44; Mc 12:36; 1 Cor 15:25 and Heb 1:13 (in addition to numerous other references to it in the rest of the NT). In all places where it is explicitly quoted, it agrees with the LXX, except that some read ὄποιόδειον, and others who read ὑποκάτω. The ὄποιόδειον-reading of the LXX is to be found in Lk 2:43 and as well as in Ac 2:35 and in Heb 1:13.

Mt 12:36 and Mt 22:44 follow the ὑποκάτω-reading. But the connection between Mt-Mk + Ps 8:7 on the one hand, and 1 Cor 15:25, Eph 1:20-22, Heb 1:13/2:8 + Ps 8:7 on the other hand, should also be noted clearly. 297

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292. P.G.R. DE VILLIERS has indicated that Mk 14:62 is a prophecy of Jesus during his trial, in which Jesus connects the Son of Man title and the Kurios title, knowing its messianic meaning from apocalypticism (Dn 7:130) (166). The most important aspect of this expression in Mk 14:62 is that it indicates explicitly how Jesus used Ps 109(110) in order to describe his future glorification by God after his earthly life. It is thus understandable why this Ps (and especially the σεβομαι motif), occupies such an important place in the NT. The apostles have taken over in their kerygma of Jesus, the fulfillment of Ps 109(110), which was previously predicted by Jesus himself (Jesus, 168). See also M. HENGEL, Ps 110, 59-61.
293. For a discussion on this, see D.-A. KOCH, Schrift als Zeuge, 197-244 and M. HENGEL, Ps 110, 51f.
294. Codex D, supported by the majority of old Latin witnesses, reads here ὑποκάτω. Codex D probably changed the reading in Lk to be on a par with those of Mt and Mk. So also T. HOLTZ, Untersuchungen, 51. Although this quotation in Lk is not part of his Lk, he has probably changed it here due to his knowledge of the LXX, or a tradition which was nearer to the LXX (Compare also G.J. STEYN, LXX-invoked, 124).
295. The ὑποκάτω reading is supported by B D W 28 syh, and against it the ὄποιόδειον reading is supported by K A L Q 0192 b fr. M lat syh. T. HOLTZ considers K. STENDAHL’s suggestion (The School of St Matthew and Its Use of the Old Testament, Philadelphia 1968, 78), i.e. that the ὑποκάτω may have found its way via Ps 8:7 in Mt and Mk, to be a possible solution to this problem (Untersuchungen, 5). So also D.M. HAY, Glory, 52, and D.-A. KOCH. The latter has argued: "Von Mk 12,36 an ist zwar eine Beeinflussung von ὐ 109,1 durch ὐ 8,7 festzustellen (ὑποκάτω anstelle von ὄποιόδειον; ebenso Mt 22,44), doch wird auch in ὐ 109,1 an keiner Stelle bloßes ὑποκάτω verwendet" (Schrift als Zeuge, 140).
296. The ὑποκάτω reading is here supported by K B D L Z 1 G 0138 Q 892 al it sa ὑο. Against this, the ὄποιόδειον reading is supported by W 0138 0161 11 M lat mae.
297. D.-A. KOCH says: "Zwar wird besonders für ὐ 8,7 (und zwar in Verbindung mit ὐ 109,1) häufig eine bereits traditionelle christologische Interpretation angenommen, für die neben 1 Kor 15,25,27 auf Eph 1,20,22 und Hebr 1,13; 2,6-8 verwiesen wird" (Schrift als Zeuge, 244). See also C. BREYENBACH, Grundzüge markanischer Gottessohn-Christologie, in: C. BREYENBACH & H. PAULSEN (hrsg), Anfänge der Christologie, Göttingen 1991, 167-184, here 181-182.
Interesting is the fact that he quoted it (Ps 109(110):1-3) “within the series of quotations devoted to Christ’s career” directly from LXX manuscripts.\(^{298}\) This might be an indication that the early Christians probably knew the quotations, but when they used it in their documents, they quote it directly from their written LXX documents.

5.2.2 *The introductory formula (Ac 2:34)*

The following words serve as an introductory formula: οὗ γὰρ Δαυίδ ἀνέβη εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, λέγει δὲ αὐτός.\(^{299}\) Attention has already been drawn to the fact that the explanatory γὰρ demonstrates that Luke uses V.34 and its citation from Ps 109(110) to explain Ac 2:33.\(^{300}\)

### 5.2.3 *Determining and explaining the textual differences*

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\(^{299}\) Cf Jewish topos of not climbing down, also found in Rm 10:6.

\(^{300}\) See R.F. O’TROOLE, *Davidic Covenant*, 256; and also G. SCHNEIDER, *Apg I*, 275, n.117.
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(a) Textual differences between the MT and LXX

Although there are no major differences between the readings of the LXX and the MT,\(^{301}\) it should be noted that the LXX version was in Luke's mind. Without it, the difference between κύριος (Yahweh) and κύριος μου (Christ) in the interpretation of the quotation would not have been possible.\(^{302}\)

(b) Textual differences between Ac and the LXX

There are no additions, omissions, substitutions or transpositions in Ac in comparison with the LXX. One minor instance of uncertainty in determining the Ac reading is however to be found in the question about the inclusion or exclusion of the article οι before κύριος in Ac 2:34.\(^{303}\) Lk-Ac follows the reading of the LXX which reads ὑποποδίου instead of ὑποκάτω.

5.2.4 Method of quotation

This quoted text is used as substantiation for the ascension of Christ, which was long ago already foreseen by David.\(^{305}\) The quotation was probably already well known during Luke's time in combination with Jesus' ascension. The chances may therefore be good that Luke might have got this quotation from the tradition. The ὑποποδίου-reading confirmed that the same text tradition was used in both Lk and Heb. This is in agreement with earlier observations that Luke followed a text tradition which was the closest to that as found in the Alexandrian type.\(^{306}\)

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301 M. HENGEL has recently pointed out that "Die LXX bringt eine wörtliche Übersetzung des hebräischen Textes" (Ps 110, 44). D.M. HAY (Glory, 35), and M. RESE (Funktion, 59-61), have indicated that there might be two minor divergences from the LXX: (a) εἶναι κύριος (supported only by R) against εἶναι οι κύριοι. According to T. HOLTZ, the occurrence of the article οι in the majority of manuscripts, a secondary influence from the circulating LXX text, not known to the totality of NT literature at this specific point (Untersuchungen, 53). The issue of articles is, however, extremely complicated, and articles were used inconsistently. According to K. ALAND (in personal discussion, Münster, Aug 1991), it would be almost impossible to determine if that article is really authentic at a specific instance or not. The second (b): while all the quotations of Ps 110:1b agree with the LXX in reading τὸ ὑποποδίου, 'a large proportion of the allusions to it have constructions with δεξιά' (D.M. HAY, Glory, 35). These divergences are, nonetheless, not directly relevant for our purposes here.

302 So also H. CONZELMANN, Apg, 35-36; and G. SCHNEIDER, Apg, 1, 276.

303 The article is omitted by \(\text{ε} \quad \text{B} \quad \text{D} \quad \text{NA25}\) and included by \(\text{ε}^{\prime} \quad \text{B}^{\prime} \quad \text{D}^{\prime} \quad \text{NA25}\). In the LXX manuscripts it is only omitted by the main witness 'R' of the formerly so-called 'Western text'. According to T. HOLTZ this omission could be due to the influence of the NT text, and if so, it is possible that we are dealing here with the authoritative reading. 'In jedem Falle aber dürfte die Annahme wohl begründet sein, daß im 1./2. Jahrhundert ein Text der LXX existiert hat, der das ο nicht kannte' (Untersuchungen, 52-53). According to C. BREYDENBACH, on the parallel passage in Mk, B and D ('die besten Zeugen') have κύριος without the article, which might be a pointer to the literal translation of 'Yahweh' which occurs without an article in the Hebrew (Grundzüge, 181).

304 Cf. also the other places in the LXX where ὑποποδίου is to be found: Ps 98:5, Is 66:1 and La 2:1 — all of which are translations of the Hebrew דָּמֶּר, as is the case here in Ps 109(110):1.

305 According to E. HAENCHEN, this quotation proved indirectly the expression "exalted to the right hand of God" (Apg, 146).

306 Cf. Ch 1, as well as 5.2.1 of this study.
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It should also be noted that if Luke did get this quotation from the tradition, he knew it to be a "Ps of David". This is clear from his argumentation that David had not ascended into heaven, but that he said (οὐ γάρ Δαυίδ ἀνέβη εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, λέγει δὲ αὐτῷ, V.34). The other alternative may be that Luke knew this from the broader context from which the quoted text is drawn.

It is clear that this quoted text (Ps 109(110):1) should be taken together with the previous one from Ps 15(16):8-11. Both of them confirm that the words which were "prophesied" by David, were fulfilled in what had happened to Jesus after his death, i.e. his resurrection and exaltation. The κύριος-motif plays an important role in combining these quoted texts.

5.2.5 Interpretation of the quoted text by Luke

There seems to be sufficient evidence that Luke is arguing here from the Davidic promise (2 Ki(Sm) 7:12-16).308 Alternatively, some scholars suggest, however, that Ac 2:33 should be understood in the light of Ps 67(68):19a.309 According to this latter viewpoint, Jesus is understood here as "the new Moses", Just as Moses received the Law, so Jesus ascended to his Father to receive the Spirit, which he now gives to this group as a "new Law".310 This is, however, doubtful and "...even an allusion of the Psalm is in doubt". A better choice seems to be Ps 88(89). It explicitly reports God's covenant with David, fits best the context of the second Petrine speech as a whole, and is employed elsewhere in Lk-Ac.312

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307. C. SMITS has already drawn attention to the exegetes' recognition of the difficulties of "Peter's interpretation" of this quotation in the past. But this has led them also to apply "...alle spitsvondige distincties over de zin van de heilige Schrift op dit geval..." (Citation H, 182).
308. G. SCHNEIDER (App l, 274); and R.F. O'TOOLE (Davidic Covenant, 245-258) have convincingly argued in this direction.
309. Cf. for example: H.J. CADBURY, Speeches, 408-9; J. DUPONT, L'Interpretation, 368-9; ibid., Ascension, 222-228, here 226-227; idem., La Nouvelle Pentecôte (Ac 2.1-11), in: Nouvelles études sur les Actes des Apôtres (LeDiv 118), Paris 1984, 130f; W.L. KNOX, The Acts of the Apostles, Cambridge 1948, 84-86; G. KRETSCHELMAR, Himmelfahrt und Pfingsten, ZKG 66 (1954-55), 209-253; B. LINDARS, NT Apologetic, 43-44,50-59,73,253,284; O. BETZ, Kerugma, 144; L. O'REILLY, Word and Sign, 26. The latter not only cites specifically the Targum's rendering of Ps 67(68):19, but even talks about a "...growing consensus" in recent years that Ac 2:33 should be explained as alluding to Ps 67(68):19. [Including references from R.F. O'TOOLE, Davidic Covenant, 247; and L. O'REILLY, Word and Sign, 26].
310. For a more extensive summary of this viewpoint (especially as represented in B. LINDARS, NT Apologetic, 43-44), see D.L. BOCK, Proclamation, 181-183. See also L. O'REILLY, Word and Sign, 26-27. According to the latter: "The Jewish feast of Pentecost was understood, at least in some circles in N.T. times, as commemorating the giving of the Law at Sinai. This understanding of the feast is the background to the Christian Pentecost and it suggests that the latter is to be interpreted as the outpouring of the Spirit and the word of God. The community of the early chapters of Ac resembles in many respects the eschatological assembly of Israel at Sinai of the Jewish expectation. This new people is constituted by the outpouring of the Spirit which creates out of the assembled disciples a community of prophets. The source of the Spirit is Jesus, the new Moses of the last times" (Word and Sign, 27-28).
311. So with D.L. BOCK, Proclamation, 183. The value of the argument is to be found in its possible links with Eph 4:8, rather than with Ac 2:33.
312. So R.F. O'TOOLE (Davidic Covenant, 249). Compare the following references (verses in brackets refer to Ps 88(89)): Lk 1:50 (V.2); 1:51 (V.11); 2:26 (V.49); 21:25 (V.10); Ac 2:30 (V.4); Ac 13:22 (V.21).
of Jesus was then probably seen as the realization of the Davidic promise.\textsuperscript{313} David is thus, for Luke, the primary recipient of God's promise.\textsuperscript{314}

With regard to the content of the quoted text itself, three motifs stand out here: Jesus at the right hand of God, the submission of the enemy, and the κύριος title. (a) The motif of Jesus in the honoured position at God's right hand, was already implicitly mentioned in the previous quoted text (Ps 15(16):8) at Ac 2:25,\textsuperscript{315} and again in V.33, before being substantiated by the next quoted text itself (VV.34-35). This image is the dominant theme which stands out when Ps 109(110) is quoted.\textsuperscript{316} The other two also receive some emphasis, but never function independently.\textsuperscript{317}

(b) The motif of the submission of the enemy should be seen in combination with the fact that God made Jesus χριστός (V.36). He was given the status of a conqueror and a saviour by God. It was promised, at the beginning of Luke's first work, to Mary that Jesus will get the "throne of David", that he will be "great" and will be called "the son of the Most High" (Lk 1:32; οὗτος ἐστιν μέγας καὶ νῖκος ὑψίστου κληθήσεται καὶ δώσει οὗτῳ κύριος ὁ θεός τὸν θρόνον Δαυίδ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ). Jesus reigns now, seated directly next to God himself, over all that exists, including all his enemies. They are (literally in the world concept of the first century) \textit{under} his feet. The same motif can also be found later in Ac (10:38).

(c) The section ends on a climactic note with the reference to Jesus being made κύριος (V.36),\textsuperscript{318} thus picking up again the motif of the κύριος title which has threaded its way through the second Petrine speech. In VV.20,21,25 and V.34 (2x) references to κύριος are to be found, and all of them are part of the quoted texts! The JI quotation ends with the "great and manifest day of the κύριος" (V.20), adding that "whoever calls on the name of the κύριος will be saved" (V.21).\textsuperscript{319} The first Ps quotation in this speech (Ps 15(16)), indicates that "the κύριος is seen always before him, for he is at his right hand" (V.25), thus pointing out that he (οὗτος, V.25), Jesus

\textsuperscript{313} So R.F. O'TOOLE: "The amount of space that Luke dedicates to this Davidic promise leaves no doubt that he views it as the promise which best accounts for the central Christian belief, Jesus' resurrection" (Davidic Covenant, 253-254).

\textsuperscript{314} So R.F. O'TOOLE, Davidic Covenant, 257.

\textsuperscript{315} Although D. JUEL (Use of Ps 16, 546) is of the opinion that there might be a possibility that Luke introduced Ps 109(110) here specifically on the basis of the last line of Ps 15(16) ("in thy presence there is fulness of joy, in thy right hand are pleasures for everyone"), one could ask why it should have been the last line, when the quoted section itself provides sufficient evidence for a possible link? Compare the έξ δεξιῶν σου in V.25 (Ps 15(16):8) and V.34 (Ps 109(110):1).

\textsuperscript{316} According to R.F. O'TOOLE, "elevated" should be interpreted in terms of David (Ps 88), and, consequently, Luke continues his image of the king sitting on the Davidic throne. Luke's use of 'at the right hand (τῆς δεξιᾶς) confirms this interpretation..."The throne image continues, and δεξιῶς should be understood as locative" (not instrumental) (Davidic Covenant, 256). So also G. SCHNEIDER, Apg I, 275-276.

\textsuperscript{317} So P.G.R. DE VILLIERS, Jesus, 142.

\textsuperscript{318} Cf. Ac 7:35. See also W. DIETRICH: "Die wesentlichen sachlichen Punkte der Petrusrede — der christologische Aspekt, die theologische Seite und der Bezug auf die jüdische Volk — werden im Schlussvers (36) zusammengefaßt" (Petrausbild, 209).

\textsuperscript{319} Cf. also A. KERRIGAN who says about the connection between Ac 2:21 (Jl 2:32(3:5)) and Ac 2:36, that "...the Lord whose name must be invoked is none other than Jesus of Nazareth" (Sebastian Pleißen, 296-297).
of Nazareth ('Ἰησοῦν τοῦ Ναζαρηνοῦ, V.22), was resurrected by God (ὡς ὁ θεὸς ἀνέστησεν, V.24), because it was impossible for death to hold him (οὐκ ἔν δυνατόν κρατεῖθαι αὐτὸν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ, V.24), in contrast with David who has died (V.29). This is the first explicit link between Jesus of Nazareth and the κύριος of Luke's quoted text. The second Ps quotation in this speech (Ps 110(110)), indicates that "the κύριος" (God) "has said to his" (David's) "κύριος" (now identified with Jesus), "to sit at his" (God's) "right hand" (V.34). This can only be understood after the δεξιά of the first Ps quotation is picked up (V.25), and read with the δεξιά in Luke's commentary on this quotation (V.33), that it was again God who had also exalted (Θεοῦ ὑψωθείς, V.33) this Jesus whom he had resurrected (τούτου τοῦ Ἰησοῦν ἀνέστησεν ὁ θεὸς, V.33). The final result is now made explicitly clear by Luke, indicating that 'Ἰησοῦν τοῦ Ναζαρηνοῦ (V.22), was made κύριος by God himself (ὁ θεὸς, V.36). The Jewish Scriptures, in their Greek form, are thus used here to help in the identification and substantiation of Jesus of Nazareth as the Lord and the κύριος (Messiah). In this then, the LXX has played a major role, as κύριος was not only the translation for "master", but of the tetragram itself, the very holy and respectful name of Yahweh, which was even protected by one of the ten commandments. This is the name that the LXX translates as κύριος, making it easy, when Luke proclaims that God has made Jesus κύριος, to identify both Yahweh and Jesus of Nazareth with this same name. The implication is that, in sharing the name, Jesus shares also the divinity of Yahweh.

The messianic interpretation of the Ps 110(110) seems to be controversial, as the rabbinic literature of the NT era explains it in a non messianic manner. On the other hand, the contemporaries of Jesus were probably aware of the messianic

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320. L. O'REILLY says: "If the risen Jesus is identified with the κυριος of Joel 3,5 it indicates that in him this prophecy finds its perfect fulfillment" (Word and Sign, 98).
322. Cf. D. JUEL: "The speech demonstrates that there is more than one κυριος. Jesus is shown to be the second κυριος, referred to in Ps 110:1" (Use of Ps 16, 544). According to E. HAENCHEN, this could only refer to the "Messiah" (Apoc. 146).
323. Cf. J. KILGALLEN, "Verse 36, then, is only the logical conclusion to the argument begun in verse 22" (Pentecost Speech, 651).
325. According to L. O'REILLY, "The essential point about the name of Yahweh or of any other name for that matter was that it was understood as somehow representing the person. It contained the essential secret of a person's identity and therefore one knew the person only when one knew his name. The name of Yahweh was a special case however because it was the means by which Israel was able to make contact with its transcendent and invisible God" (94). "In the context of Acts the function of the name of Yahweh fulfilled by Jesus as Lord is especially that of eschatological saviour (2,21-36)" (Word and Sign, 98).
326. L. O'REILLY is therefore right in saying that, "This identification of Jesus with the name of Yahweh may have played an important role in the expression of the faith of the early Christians in Jesus' divinity" (Word and Sign, 98). So also A.M. BESNARD, Le Mystère du Nom. Quiconque invoquera le nom du Seigneur sera sauvé. Joel 3,5 (LeDiv 35), Paris 1962, 154.
meaning of the Ps.,\textsuperscript{328} as might be detected in the discussion between Jesus and his opponents about the son of David.\textsuperscript{329} Ps 109(110) was interpreted messianically for the first time during the time of Rabbi Chamah ben Chaninah (ca. 260 AD) and Rabbi El’azar (270 AD).\textsuperscript{330} According to STR-BILL, however, Rabbi Ismael (ca. 100-135 AD) — a serious opponent of the Christians and a contemporary of the gospel writers — was responsible for the earliest datable non messianic interpretation (by applying it to Abraham). What is indisputable is that here in Ac the Ps is indeed interpreted in a messianic manner.\textsuperscript{331}

The LXX reading makes it clear that both the speaker (ὁ κύριος) and the addressee (τῷ κυρίῳ) are indicated by exactly the same title (name): κύριος.\textsuperscript{332} God remains the Subject by giving the most honourable position in the universe to Christ. The latter could therefore also be called with the very same name as God himself. All this points to the "subordination of Christ" (V.33).

To summarize: Luke uses the second Petrine speech to remind the people that they know about the "wonders and signs which God has done in their midst through Jesus of Nazareth" (V.22). Evidence from the Scriptures (VV.25-28, 34-35) is now used to explain to them that the resurrection and exaltation of the Christ was already foretold by "the patriarch" (V.29) David himself — who was a prophet (V.30), knowing God's oath (V.30), and foreseeing the resurrection of the Christ (V.31), and his ascension (V.34). The Scriptures testify thus to God's "definite plan and foreknowledge" (τὴν ὑπερμέτρητην βουλὴν καὶ προγνώσει τοῦ θεοῦ, V.23), when David is quoted (VV.25,34) with regard to Jesus' resurrection (VV.25-28) and his exaltation (VV.34-35). In addition to the evidence of the Scriptures and the "prophecy" of David, Peter and the rest are first hand eyewitnesses of Jesus' resurrection (V.32).\textsuperscript{334}

\textsuperscript{328} Cf. STR-BILL, \textit{Kommentar IV} 1, 452.
\textsuperscript{329} P.G.R. DE VILLIERS, \textit{Jesus}, 146-7.
\textsuperscript{330} Ibid., 147-8.
\textsuperscript{331} So also D.L. TIEDE: "...the citations from Psalm 16 (vs. 25-28) and Psalm 110 (vs. 34-35) are adduced to substantiate the messianic and christological claims made on behalf of the crucified Jesus as resurrected and exalted Christ and Lord" (\textit{Acts} 2, 64); and O. GLOMBITZA: "Alle diese Zitate sind messianisch ausgelegt worden, um im Schriftbeweis verwendet werden zu können" (\textit{Schluß der Petrusrede}, 118). If it is accepted that the "OT" is interpreted messianically at this point, then it follows that "Petrus legte das AT dahin aus, daß er auf den Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Κύριος als den σωτήρ hinwies, der von τῆς γενεᾶς τῆς σκόλος errichtet, von dem Geschlecht, das gegen Gottes Handeln Jesum kreuzigte" (118). He (Luke) interpreted the Scriptures then christological to the Christ congregation, with his contemporaries (118). F.F. BRUCE makes it clear that Jesus did not use this language of himself, but that Paul (Rm 1:3) and the apostles used it of him (\textit{The Davidic Messiah in Luke-Acts}, in: G.A. TUTTLE (ed), \textit{Biblical and Near Eastern Studies. Essays in Honor of William Sanford LaSor}, Grand Rapids 1978, 7-17, here 7). Luke is probably emphasizing some words from an early Christian confession (8,11). Compare Luke’s nativity narrative with those of Mk and Mt (\textit{Davidic Messiah}, 7-9).
\textsuperscript{332} So also G. SCHNEIDER: "Die Argumentation ist nur aufgrund des LXX-Textes möglich." "Nur die LXX 'ermöglicht die Unterscheidung von κύριος = Gott und κύριος = Christus" (\textit{Apg I}, 276).
\textsuperscript{333} Cf. also H. CONZELMANN, \textit{App. 35}. He refers to Ac 5:31. Also G. SCHNEIDER on the basis of ὁ θεοῦς and τὴν δεξίαν τοῦ θεοῦ (\textit{Apg I}, 275).
\textsuperscript{334} Cf. W. DIETRICH: "Die Begrenzung der Zeugenschaft auf den nachhöheren Christus wird im Blick auf 5.30-32 deutlicher: das Zeugnis der Apostel beschränkt sich darum auf das εὐαγγελίον Ἰησοῦ und auf das ζωόν τῇ δεξίᾳ αὐτοῦ (=θεοῦ), weil die Umkehr der Juden an die Auferstehung Jesu gebunden ist" (\textit{Petrusbild}, 208).
5.3 Possible broader LXX knowledge in the rest of the section
(Language, Style and OT-motifs)

οτε ὅρκω ὠμοσέων αὐτῷ ὅ θεὸς ἐκ καρποῦ τῆς ὁδόρου αὐτοῦ καθίσαι ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ (Ac 2:30). This might be a brief reflection of the saying by Nathan in 2 Ki(Sm) 7:12-13. God's promise to David is also to be found in Is 55:3 and Ps 131(132):11.335 ὠμοσέων κύριος τῷ Δαυίδ δόθεν τοῖς καπνοὺς τῆς κοιλίας σου θηρομαί ἐπί τὸν θρόνον σου. See also Ps 88(89):4.

6. SECTION IV: ACTS 2:37-41
Reaction of the hearers & appeal to conversion and baptism by way of reference to Jl 2:32 (LXX)

6.1 Composition of the section

The hearers have listened and have taken notice of these words (οἱ κοινοστείρετες336 δὲ κατενύγησαν τὴν κοθίνην, V.37). These hearers are part of the audience who was addressed as those who have crucified Jesus (V.23,36). They want to know what to do now (τι τῷ πρὸς τὸν Πέτρον καὶ τοὺς λαόποις ἀποστόλους τῷ ποιησμῷ, ἀνδρὲς ἀδελφοί, V.37). Two things are stated:339 (a) repentance (μετανοήσατε, V.38) and (b) baptism (βαπτίσθητε, V.38) in the name of

335 Also H. CONZELMANN, Apog. 35.
336 Compare also V.22: ἀκούσατε τοὺς λόγους τούτους. This appeal to listen in V.22 is followed in V.37 by the reaction of those who have indeed listened to these words. L. O’REILLY has already drawn attention to "...the word as call in Acts..." and "...its similarity to the prophetic word in the Old Testament". The admonition to hear is a constant feature of the prophetic writings... (Word and Sign, 108). See also 109-110.
337 V.37 probably only serves a compositional purpose in the speech. Cf. also M. DIBELIUS, Formgeschichte, 15; E. HAENCHEN, Apog. 146; U. WILCKENS, Missionsschriften, 37.
338 Cf. also U. WILCKENS, Missionsschriften, 37.
339 The appeal to hear could also be included, V.22 (cf. L. O’REILLY, Word and Sign, 107). O. GLOMBITZA recognizes the role of καί here which divides the contents into three parts, indicating a sequential (though not rigid) order (Schild der Petrisreden, 117). See also A. KERRIGAN: "...the reception of the Spirit follows baptism. The story of Cornelius, however, shows that baptism can follow the reception of the Spirit and that the gift of the Spirit in no way dispenses with the necessity of receiving baptism (Ac, X, 44ff)" (Sensus Plenior, 305).
340 This verb is to be found frequently in the Lukan writings and the Scriptures (OT), especially in the preaching of the prophets. The LXX rarely employs the verb Mešnepe in the prophets where epitrepheomai normally translates the Hebrew šāb. According to O’REILLY then, the biblical background shows that the cry "repent" means not simply a call to change one’s mind (as a literal translation of the Greek might suggest), to feel sorrow, or even to repent of a particular action"...it implies a complete change in one’s life, a radical reorientation of one’s whole existence" (Word and Sign, 111). Just as the prophets, the Baptist, and Jesus himself, so Peter too continues within this tradition of repentance. For him, it is the rejection of Judaism and acceptance of Christianity.
341 Compare this phrase in Ac 2:38 with Lk 3:3 which states with regard to the ministry of John the Baptist: ἐπήρωσαν βάπτισμα μετανοίας εἰς ἀφέσεις ἁμαρτιῶν. Cf. also Lk 24:47 and Ac 5:31. Compare all this, however, with C.D. OSBURN, The Third Person Imperative in Acts 2:38, in: RQ 26 (1983), 81-84. According to OSBURN, referring to the work of J. GLAZE (The Septuagintal Use of the Third Person Imperative, unpublished MA thesis, Harding Graduate School of Religion 1979), "...the third person singular imperative does function idiomatically in concert with a second person plural imperative so as to allow the speaker addressing a group to address members of that group individually" (C.D. OSBURN, Third person Imperative, 83). In addition to several examples from the
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Jesus Christ (ἔπὶ τῷ ὄνοματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ). The result of this is that they will receive "the gift of the Holy Spirit" (καὶ λήψεσθε τὴν ἰδίαν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, V.38). This "gift" is "the promise" (ἡ ἐπαγγελία, V.39) — according to the γιὸς ἐστιν (V.39) — and is meant for the Jews, or "Israelites" (ἢ πάντων τῶν εἰς μακρόν, V.39); i.e. all those who are far from God [ὃς ἄν ἐπικαλέσσαι τὸ ὄνομα κύριον σωθήσεται, V.21]. Peter tells them now that what God has promised is for them,

6.2 Reference to Jl 2:32(3:5)350

In Ac 2:21, the long quotation ends with Jl 2:32(3:5). The remaining section of Jl 2:32(3:5) is not quoted in Ac 2:21, but is now referred to here in Ac 2:39. The result of Peter's speech as a whole, is then that the promise quoted in Ac 2:21, and appealed to again in Ac 2:39, begins to be fulfilled.

LXX, there is also evidence in apocryphal literature and the Apostolic Fathers. Therefore, "In accord with customary idiomatic usage, the function of the third person imperative ἐπικαλεῖται in Acts 2:38 is to underscore emphatically in distributive fashion the necessity of each one of the hearers participating in baptism as part of conversion" (S4). So also W. DIETRICH, according to whom the first two parts of the sentence should be taken together because of their imperative character (Petersbild, 213).

342. According to E. HAENCHEN, Luke is using the valid practice for baptism in his congregation: The name 'Jesus Christ' was spoken over the person who was being baptized. "Damit tritt der Getaufte unter die Macht Jesu, mit der Folge, dass ihm seine Sünden vergeben werden, und der 'den hl. Geist empfängt" (Apg, 147).

343. Codex D includes here κύριος. This makes only explicit what is already implicit. So also D. JUEL, Use of Ps 16, 545.

344. Cf. Ac 8:20: 10:45; and 11:17.

345. Cf. W. DIETRICH: "Die erste Vershälfe umehreit mit ihren beiden Aufforderungen die Bedingung für den Empfang des heiligen Geistes. Der zweite Versteil enthält dementsprechend eine Zusage, die insofern eine Besonderheit zeigt, als Petrus den Geistempfang unter den Aspekt der διαθήκη stellt" (Petersbild, 214). Cf. also H. CONZELMANN (Mitte der Zeit, 215) and G. LÜDEMANN (Christentum, 52), the latter who points out that 'Die Antwort des Petrus enthält die krit. Sicht darüber, wie man Christ wird, námlich durch Buße, Taufe zur Vergebung der Sünden und Verleihung des Heiligen Geistes".


347. Cf. V.14b (ἕρετις Ἰησοῦν) and V.22 (ἕρετις Ἰησοῦν).

348. L. O'REILLY talks about the word which is used here in the sense of "a challenge" or "an invitation" (Word and Sign, 107), while A. KERRIGAN talks about "a special divine call..." (Sensus Plenior, 310); and O. GLOMBITZA about a "Bussvermahnung" (Schluß der Peinredd, 116).


350. See H. VAN DE SANDT for the "intertextual relations" between Ac 2:39b and Is 57:19 (Fate of the Gentiles, 70-71).
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their children, and all those who are far off (ἡ ἐπαγγελία καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις ὑμῶν καὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς εἰς μακράν, V.39) — those who will be called by the κύριος their God (ὅσοις ἄν προσκαλέσηται κύριος ὁ θεός ἡμῶν, V.39). Note the similarities between the JI quotation (VV.17-18,21) and VV. 38-41: (a) οἱ υἱοὶ ὑμῶν... αἱ θυγατέρες ὑμῶν...οἱ νεανίσκοι ὑμῶν...οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ὑμῶν (V.17) —> ὑμῖν γὰρ ἔστιν ἡ ἐπαγγελία...τοῖς τέκνοις ὑμῶν...κύριος ὁ θεός ὑμῶν (V.39); (b) τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου (V.21) —> ἐπὶ τῷ ὄνοματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (V.38);351 (c) σώθησαι (V.21) —> εἰς ἀφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν (V.38),352 σώθησε (V.40);353 (d) ὃς ἄν ἐπικαλέσηται...κυρίου (V.21) —> ὃσοις ἄν προσκαλέσηται κύριος (V.39);354 (e) ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἔκεισας (V.18) —> ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἔκεισα (V.41).

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

The three quoted texts in the second Petrine speech were probably taken from the LXX. Although the last phrase in the JI-quotations and the third quoted text were already known by Luke's time, the only way in which the long quoted section from JI 2(3) and that of Ps 15(16) could be sufficiently explained, is to accept that Luke made use of the scrolls of the 12P and the Ps.

The Stichwort, or keyword, which plays a prominent role here in combining the three quoted texts, is "κύριος", one of the prominent names which are given to Jesus of Nazareth, who was made (confirmed to be) κύριος by God himself (V.36). Therefore, all those who call on the name of the κύριος will be saved (JI-quotations).

He is that κύριος who is seated at the right hand of God — an indication that death does not have any hold on him. He was resurrected and exalted (Ps 15(16) and Ps 109(110)), and it is from that exalted position where he receives the promise of the Spirit from the Father, which he "pours out". This is Luke's explanation for what happened at Pentecost day.

These passages are thus used in order to prove that they could only apply to Jesus of Nazareth, as "the prophet" David himself died and was buried. The Scriptures are therefore authoritative witnesses in Luke's proving of his argument.

8. A SUMMARY OF THE MESSAGE OF THE SECOND PETRINE SPEECH

It is the beginning of "the last days". The prophet Joel has already prophesied that (a) "from the spirit of God" would be poured out on "all flesh" and (b) that they would prophesy. Also (c) "signs and wonders" would be given, and (d) all those who

351. Note the fundamental assumption underlying the thought that the name of the κύριος in JI 232(3:5), is indeed the Name of Jesus Christ (V.38).
352. Remember that it is only God who could forgive sins! Calling on the name of the κύριος in JI, means calling Yahweh to save them. The use of the same quoted text in the appeal to the listeners to be baptized in the name of Jesus (which will lead to the forgiveness of sins) indicates that the name of Jesus has been elevated to the same level as the name of Yahweh.
353. So also G. LÜDEMANN: "Der Schlüsselappell V. 40b...knüpft mit sothe an das letzte Wort des Josephites (sotheatai) an (V.21)" (Christentum, 53).
354. According to H. VAN DE SANDT, "Luke alters οὗς...προσκαλέσηται (Joel 3,5d) in the restrictive ὃς ὑμῖν προσκαλέσηται: not all Gentiles are called" (Fate of the Gentiles, 73).
would call on the name of the κύριος would be saved. These things would happen before the great and glorious day of the κύριος.

Jesus was made known by God by way of the "signs and wonders" which he had done in their midst. God had, however, already decided to hand this Jesus over to the lawless people, who had then crucified him. But God thereafter had resurrected him from death and saved his body from decay — as foretold in the words of David, that he saw the Lord at his right hand and that the pious one of the Lord would not see decay. David could not have referred to himself, because he had died, was buried and his memorial stood as proof of this. Being therefore a prophet, David knew that God would put one of his descendants on his throne. It is thus Jesus who sits at God's right hand. It is from this place that he receives the (power of the) Spirit from the Father, which he pours out. This is the event which the listeners have just experienced; what they have seen and heard. Thus: God has made this Jesus, whom they had crucified, both Ruler and Saviour.

They must now be converted and baptised in order to receive this gift of the Spirit,355 which is the gospel, and which is meant for the Jews, their children and all those who are far off; i.e. all those whom God would call to him.

355 Cf. W. DIETRICH who refers to Ac 8:19-20; 10:45 and 11:16-17 with regard to the combination of πνεύμα ὑποδέχεται and δοξάζει. According to him, this particular combination has been overlooked by previous scholars; he finds it significant that each of these three references is found at the stations for the exposition of Christianity — and found nowhere else! (Pannensbld, 214-216). See also D.L. TIEDE: "Thus the gift of repentance (cf. Acts 5:31; 11:18) and the baptism which is effective for the forgiveness of sins are offered in the name or by the agency of the exalted Jesus and received by the power of the Spirit which has been bestowed. This is the crucial significance of the gift of the Holy Spirit" (Acts 2, 65).
CHAPTER 5

PETER'S THIRD SPEECH
(Acts 3:11-26)

1. THE BROADER CONTEXT AND BACKGROUND

This speech, in its present form, is also accepted as both the compilatory and the creative work of Luke himself. The history of the study of this speech has caused scholarship to describe it as "an exegetical battleground, especially with respect to questions of Lucan christology and eschatology." Scholarship is also divided on the issue of whether the quotation in Ac 3:22-23 is to be traced back to LXX witnesses, or to a non LXX background.

The broader context of the speech, is indeed the motivation for the speech itself: Peter and John's healing of the lame man at the gate of the temple (Ac 3:1-10), a healing which shows similarities with a similar healing narrative in Ac 14:8-10. In the excitement following the healing, a crowd gathers, and Peter takes the opportunity to address the people, explaining why this healing miracle has taken place. The speech itself is much more a report on what has happened with Jesus, than it is a sermon of Peter.

2. The debate concentrates especially on the issue if there is a pre-Lukan text, containing early christology, which is to be found behind this speech.
5. Cf. STR-BILL, Kommentar II, 625 for the topography.
6. So also A. WEISER, Apg I, 112; and U. WILCKENS, Missionsreden, 37. According to D. HAMM, a fact which most commentators overlooked, is that "Peter's address is not simply occasioned by the healing, rather, the speech interprets the healing story," and that "event and speech illuminate one another" (Peter's Speech, 199,205).
8. So also U. WILCKENS, Missionsreden, 50. He said: "...man könnte sie von ihrem Haupteil her am zutreffendsten als 'historia Jesu' kennzeichnen."
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There are also definite links between this third Petrine speech and other speeches in Ac. One of these is the speech of Stephen in Ac 7. Some of the similarities between these two include the explicit reference to the covenantal God of Israel, "the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob" (Ac 3:13, 7:32), the quoted phrases of Dt 18:15,18-19 in Ac 3:22-23 which is to be found again in a brief explicit quotation in Ac 7:37, δίκαιος used as a messianic title in Ac 3:14 and 7:52, and the only two uses of προκαταγγέλλειν in the NT, to be found in Ac 3:18 and 7:52.

2. OVERVIEW OF THE TEXT OF THE SPEECH (Ac 3:11-26)

Although this whole speech forms a cohesive unit, it may be divided here, for working purposes, into two sections. These are divided on the basis of V.17 with its strong temporal break of καὶ νῦν on the one hand, and the second explicit mention of the addressers in the speech (οἱ ἀπεκρίνασαν), on the other hand. The first section stretches thus from VV.12-16 and presents an explanation for the healing miracle, while the second section stretches from VV.17-26, and deals with the fulfillment of Scripture and the appeal to repent.

11 Κρατοῦντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸν Πέτρον καὶ τῶν Ἰωάννην
    συνέδραμεν πάντας ὁ λαὸς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ στήλῃ τῇ
    καλομένῃ Ἑλληνικῷ ἐξεθαμβοῦσαν.
12 ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Πέτρος ἀπεκρίνατο πρὸς τὸν λαόν:

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διδάσκετε Ἰσραήλ.
    τι διημέριστε ἐπὶ τούτων ἡ ἡμέρα τι ὑπευγιέτε ὡς ἓδει διωξάμει
    ἡ ἐκτελεσθεὶς πεποιθότως τοῦ περιπατεῖν αὐτῶν;
13 ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραήλ καὶ ὁ θεὸς Ἰσαὰκ καὶ ὁ θεὸς Ἰακώβ,
    ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, ἐθεάσασθεν τοῦ παπάς αὐτοῦ Ἰσαὰκν
    διὰ ὑμᾶς μέν περικύκλωσε κατὰ πρόσωπον Πιλᾶτον,
    κρίνωσας ἐκείνῳ ἀπολύσας;
14 ὑμεῖς δὲ τὸν ἁγιον καὶ δίκαιον ἱροσκόπησατε
    καὶ ἠτίθησατε ἄνδρα φανέα χωρισθήματι ἐκ μίας
15 τοῦ δὲ ἁρχηγοῦ τοῦ ζωῆς ἀπεκτείνωσε
    διὰ τὸν θεὸν ἅγερεν ἐκ νεκρῶν,
    σοὶ ὑμεῖς μαρτυρεῖς ἐσμένειν.
16 καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ πίστει τοῦ ἀνήμονας αὐτοῦ
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The speech could be divided into two sections: (a) VV.12-16 which deals with the past events by giving an explanation of the preceding miracle, which is rooted in Jesus' name: and (b) VV.17-26 which flows from the first section, and deals with the appeal to repent.12

3. SECTION I. ACTS 3:12-16

Explanation of the healing rooted in Jesus' name

In contrast with the structural markers which introduce the first two speeches of Peter (Ac 1:15, 2:14), the gesture of the speaker is not explicitly stated here. This is replaced here with Peter who saw the crowd at the portico: ἴδων δὲ ὁ Πέτρος (Ac 3:12). The verb of saying which follows the introduction in the previous two speeches, introducing the direct speech, (eἰνε, Ac 1:15: ἀνεθήγετο, Ac 2:14), is

12. So also W.H. MARTY, New Moses, 183; and (more qualified) G. SCHNEIDER, Apg I, 313.
replaced with a related verb: ἀπεκρίνατο (Ac 3:12). The element of the naming of his hearers remains, however, the same: ἀνδρὲς Ἰσραήλ (Ac 3:12). And although the speech seems to be directed to Israel, in reality it addresses the Christian congregation. In Ac 1:15 the group addressed by Peter consisted of those who devoted themselves to prayer after the ascension of Jesus, the group of “one hundred and twenty” early Christian believers, addressed by Peter as ἀνδρὲς ἀδελφοί. In Ac 2:14 it was those living in the province of Judea and in the city of Jerusalem, non-Christians representing several nationalities, addressed there by Peter as ἀνδρὲς Ἰουδαίοι καὶ οἱ κατοίκοι Τιμίου Ιερουσαλήμ (V.14), ἀνδρὲς Ἰσραήλ (V.22), and ἀνδρὲς ἀδελφοί (V.29). Here in Ac 3:12 those addressed belong to the same regional group as those in Ac 2.

In Peter's second speech the audience was there as a result of the miracle which had happened to the group “who were all together in one place” (Ac 2:1), and the reason for Peter's speech was their wrong perception of what was happening, that they thought them to be drunk (VV.13-14). Again, in this third speech of Peter, the audience gathers as a result of a miracle, performed by (through) Peter and John after they have received power in Ac 2. And again, the speech which then follows is intended to explain why this had happened, an explanation which seems to have been necessary, as the people “wonder at this” and “stare at them as though they have done this by their own power or piety” (Ac 3:12).

The starting point for the whole argument in substantiation of the miracle is the confessional formula that it is the “God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, the God of their forefathers” (V.13), who has glorified his servant Jesus (€апримерευ τῶν πατέρων Ἰακώβ, V.13). The argument starts thus with the exalted position of

13. According to E. PLU'MACHER, ἀπεκρίνατο is in the LXX often to be found at the beginning of direct speech. He refers to Gn 22:4; 1 Ki 1:15; 9:12; 2 Ki 4:9; Am 7:14; 2Mac 7:8 (Lukas, 43).
17. Compare also Ex 3:6,15-16; 4Mac 7:19; 16:25; Lk 20:37; Ac 7:32; Mt 22:32; Mk 12:26 and Heb 11:16 on this well known and often used formula. The occurrence here is not an explicit quotation in the strict sense of the word, as it is not clearly introduced by an introductory formula. According to H. CONZELMANN, its function is to “hält die Kontinuität der Kirche mit Israel fest” (Apg, 39).
18. Cf. L. CERFAUX, (La Première communauté chrétienne à Jérusalem, in: ETThL. 16 (1939), 20); M. RESE, (Motive, 112); H. CONZELMANN, Apg, 39; E. PLU'MACHER (Lukas, 43); K. KLIESCH (Heitgeschichtliche Credo, 128-129); E. HAENCHEN, Apg, 165; B.M. NEWMAN & E.A. NIDA, Translator’s Handbook, 77; A. WEISER, Apg I, 116; W.H. MARTY, New Moses, 184; G. SCHNEIDER, Apg I, 317; D. HAMM, (Peter's Speech, 201); and D.E. JOHNSON, Jesus Against the Idols: The Use of Isaiahic Servant Songs in the Missiology of Acts, in: HTJ 52 (1990), 343-353, here 344. They have pointed out that the phrase, ἐδοξάσεν τῶν πατέρων Ἰακώβ, is probably an allusion to Is 52:13. This is confirmed by (a) the combination of πατέρων with ἐδοξάσεν, (b) the fact that the verb is only here in the whole of Lk-Ac understood in terms of “glorified,” and that (c) the two words used for the exaltation of the Messiah in the beginning of Ac (δοξάζει, Ac 3:13 and ὄψα, Ac 2:33 and 5:31), are juxtaposed in the LXX of Is 52:13. This motif is also to be found in Lk 24:26 where the suffering of Christ and his entrance into “glory” (δοξάζει) were linked — an idea probably taken over from the LXX (M. RESE, Motive, 112). In Ac 3:13 a variation of the same idea is then to be found (K. KLIESCH,
the glorified Christ at the right hand of his Father. It is God who is the Subject of the preceding healing, and that in its turn is a sign of God's glorification of Jesus.

Then follows a summary of the humiliation and exaltation of Jesus. The audience is first of all accused of the murder on Jesus (vv. 13-15). They delivered him up (ἐφέδρος μὲν παρεδόθησεν τὸν Ἰησοῦ Θυμίατος ξένου ἀπολύειν) and denied him in the presence of Pilate when he had decided to release Jesus (Καὶ ἐπίτευγμα τὸν Πηλᾶτη, κρίνως τὸ ξένον ἀπολύειν). They even chose a murderer to be set free in Jesus' place (ὁ θεός ιησοῦ Θυμίατος ξένου χαρισθήσεται μέν). Secondly, it is then made clear that this was denial, not of an ordinary person, but of the holy and righteous One (ὑμεῖς δὲ τὸν ἄγιον ἐπικύρων ἐδέχθησεν), the killing of the one who is the beginning, the source of life (τὸν ἄρχηγὸν ἡ ζωὴν ἐπεκτείνεται). There is a connection between this title of Jesus and the healing of the lame man. The message is clear: Jesus brings life.

The contrast between Jesus as ὁ θεός ιησοῦ Θυμίατος ξένου (v. 15) and Barabbas as άνδρα θουέα (v. 14) should be noted here. However, God himself has raised him (Jesus) from the dead (ἐγερθηκαί ἐκ τοῦ νεκροῦ, v. 15) and the speakers here are witnesses to that (οὐ θεοὶ μαρτυρεῖς ζημεν). It is thus...
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through the name of Jesus (τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ), by way of faith in his name (καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ πίστει τοῦ ὄνοματος αὐτοῦ), that this lame man whom they see and know, was made strong (τούτου ὃν θεωρεῖτε καὶ οἶδατε, ἐστερέωσεν).30 Note the pleonastic character of this verse. It emphasizes primarily the perspective of the divine side of the healing: it was in "the name" of Jesus (two times). Also the human side is not denied: it was the result of "faith"31 in that name (two times).32 There is an ambiguity here. This faith could be either that of the lame man33 (see 3:6) or that of the apostles.34 But even this faith itself was received through him (δι' αὐτοῦ, V.16), i.e. through Jesus!35 Due to the faith in that name then, this man has been "given this perfect health in the presence of all" (ἐκείνην αὐτῷ τὴν ὄλοκληρίαν τούτην ἀπέσωκτο τάντας ὑμῖν, V.16). As the apostles were witnesses of the life, and especially the resurrection of Christ, so these people here are witnesses to the miraculous nature of Christ's existence, via the ministry of the apostles. This is referred to several times, both implicitly and explicitly: V.9 (ἐπέγινοσκον), V.11 (συνεδραμεν πάς ὁ λαὸς... ἔχθαμβοι), V.12 (τι θεαμάζετε... τι άπεινίζετε).

The fact that the lame man could be healed (raised up), is an indication of Christ who was raised up.37 There is thus a parallel between the healing of the lame man and the resurrection of Christ.38 Outstanding, however, is still the fact that it is "in the Name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth," that Peter and John healed the lame man

31. See C.K. BARRETT on "faith" in Ac 3.16 (Faith and Eschatology, 1-17). He highlights this issue in V.16 as one of "two notoriously difficult passages in the chapter" (3).
32. So rightly labelled then by H. CONZELMANN as "zwei parallelen Sätzen" (Apg, 39). This is in line with the proposals of LACHMANN, BLASS and B.M. METZGER (Textual Commentary, 313) to place a colon after ἐστερέωσεν and omit the comma after τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ.
33. So taken by H. CONZELMANN, Apg, 40; F.F. BRUCE, Acts, 82; R. PESCH, Apg I, 154 (who refers to Lk 5:20; 8:48; 17:19; 18:42; Ac 14:49);
34. So also B.M. NEWMAN & E.A. NIDA, Translator's Handbook, 79.
35. So also R. PESCH, Apg I, 154; and the translations of the OAB, NAB, RSV. Others translated differently: NEB ("by awakening faith"); TEV ("faith in Jesus"); KJV ("the faith which is by him"); GNB ("The Name Jesus has in him the power of faith"). G. SCHNEIDER says: "Der Vers betont die Funktion der πίστει und des ὄνομα Jesu bei der Krankenheilung" (Apg I, 220).
36. D. HAMM found an allusion to Is 1:6 in this word, and has drawn attention also to other elements common to the passages of Is 1 (LXX) and Ac 3: (a) the seed of Abraham (Ac 3:25; Is 1:9); (b) that God will turn each from their πορνεία (Ac 3:26; Is 1:16); (c) a call to conversion with a threat of punishment (Ac 3:23; Is 1:20,24-5,28-30); and (d) a promise of blessing (Ac 3:20,25-6; Is 1:19,26). It seems then for HAMM that behind this healing lies a reference to the motif of the restoration of Israel (Peter's Speech, 206). The search for parallels or sources lying behind the text is probably pushed too far in this interpretation. Supporting evidence for this theory of Is 1 underlying Ac 3, can only be found in this single word, which is insufficient. This does not exclude, however, some general idea about the restoration of Israel which might have played a role here — the same idea which may have underlaid the first Petrine speech, where the place of the 12th apostle had to be filled (so rightly, Peter's Speech, 211).
37. The comparison between the two "raisings" was noticed by D. HAMM who has said: "...the point is that this raising up (the healing) is a sign of the other raising up (the resurrection)." This is confirmed by the use of the identical word in both V.7 and V.15: ὄνομα (Peter's speech, 203).
38. So also D. HAMM, Peter's Speech, 204.
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(Acts 3:6). The motif of "the name of the Κύριος" is thus continued from the second Petrine speech, where it was said that all those who call on "the name of the Κύριος" will be saved (Acts 2:21), and that the hearers should be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ (Acts 2:38). This is taken up again in this speech; the hearers are told that it is through faith in the name of Jesus that this has happened (Acts 3:16). The consequences of this healing and preaching in "the name" of Jesus would follow afterwards, when Peter and John are arrested, and continue to testify about this "name", especially in Acts 4:10,12.

4. SECTION II. ACTS 3:17-26
The fulfillment of Scripture and the appeal to repent

4.1 The composition of the section

According to Verse 17, it is implied that Peter could not understand their rejection of Jesus before, but can do so now. The irony is, that he himself denied Jesus! But he has, since then, gained insight and understanding which he did not have before. This is made clear by the combination of the καὶ νῦν with οἶδα. The only possible source of this insight is the power which he has received at Pentecost, and with this power of the Spirit of God he is able to see in perspective what has happened. They have acted in ignorance, as did their leaders (τιτα κατά δύναμιν ἑπρόεπε ὡς επερ καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες ζήτουν). It is important to make it clear to this audience that Christ was not incapable of defending himself when suffering at the hands of humans, but (note the δὲ at the beginning of Verse 18) that he suffered willingly, and in obedience to his Father,

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39. So also U. WILCKENS, Missionsreden, 60. C. SMITS points to the fact that as miracles were performed in Egypt in the name of Yahweh (Ps 105[106]:8), so also are miracles now performed in the name of Jesus (Citation II, 185). W. H. MARTY underlines that "the Name" was a pious Jewish surrogate for God and connoted his divine presence and power" (New Moses, 186). So also R. LONGENECKER, Acts (ExpB Com), Grand Rapids 1981, 299, n.16.


41. Cf. Lk 22:31-34,34-62. So also D. HAMM, Peter’s Speech, 207: "...the reader knows from the first volume that the one saying these things is himself a reformed denier".

42. E. PLUMACHER has pointed out that καὶ νῦν is a “äußerst häufige Interjektion“ in the LXX before questions, imperatives and expressions as here in Acts 3:17. He refers to Tob 6:13; 1Macc 4:10; Jdt 11:23; 1Esr 8:79, etc. (Lukas, 43).

43. "The leaders are the chief priests and scribes who took the leading part in accusing Jesus before Pilate" (B.M. NEWMAN & E.A. NIDA, Translator’s Handbook, 181).

44. Cf. Lk 23:34 where some manuscripts included the sentence where Jesus said God should forgive those who have crucified him, "for they know not what they do." P.W. VAN DER HORST has pointed out that this understanding of ignorance as the source of sin, was an idea current in Greek literature. He refers to EurHip 133-6; XenCypr 3.38; Epicur 1.26.6; PLuDe serm ousinis vindicis 6,551E; Sextus Empiricus, Adversus grammaticos 1.267; Dio Chrysostomus 6.46; Aelian, Varia historica 2.29; Ps-Apuleius, Aesopius 22 (Hellenistic Parallels to Acts (Chapters 3 and 4), in: JSNT 35 (1989), 37-46, here 40-41).
because "what God foretold long ago by the mouth of all the prophets, he thus fulfilled" (ο δὲ θεός, ἀ προκαταγεγελεν διὰ στόματος πάνω τῶν προφητῶν ... ἐπιλήφθη εἰς, V.18): that is, that his Christ should suffer (παθεῖν τὸν χριστόν αὐτοῦ, V.18). God thus remains the Subject here. He is not a mere bystander who observes what happens; rather, what happens was known and predicted by him long before. He is actively involved in history, i.e. salvation history.

Now that the audience has heard that the person whom they have rejected and denied was "the holy and just One," "the source of life" itself, there remains nothing left than to repent. This is part of God's divine plan which Jesus himself revealed before his ascension, as stated in Lk 24:47: "...that repentance and forgiveness of sins should be preached in his name to all nations." In fact, this is the only remaining part of that revealed plan which was not yet fulfilled! The appeal for their repentance is made in V.19 (μετανοήσατε οὖν καὶ πιστεύσατε), and the consequences thereof spelled out clearly: (a) that their sins may be blotted out (εἰς τὸ ἐξαλειφθῆναι υμῶν τὰ ἁμαρτίας), (b) that times of refreshing may come from the presence of the κύριος, and (c) that he (God) may send Christ Jesus appointed for them (VV.19-20). Scholarship is divided on the issue of whether there is some traditional material behind VV.19-21. The "times of refreshing" (καιροί...
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6:va~tR;E:UX;;,
V.20) is a phrase that is unclear and has become a crux interpretum in the scholarly debate. It has been suggested that it may have come from the apocalyptic tradition,59 or from an interpretation of Is 32:15 (LXX) which is extant in the LXX version of Symmachus.60 Within this context (Ac 3:20), it seems to indicate the interim period between Jesus’ ascension and his second coming.61 It refers probably to that period as an opportunity for salvation.62 V.21 is an elaboration and explanation of (c) above, substantiated by the role of J.I.E:v here at the beginning of this verse. It is stated that this Jesus must remain in heaven (óv δει οὐρανὸν μὲν δέξασθαι)63 until (ἄρξετ) the time (has passed) for establishing all

Abraham unser Vater, Fei tschrift für O. Michel, Leiden 1963, 13-23; and U. WILCKENS (Missionsreden, 153-156) has supported an underlying Elijah tradition which was interpreted by the early church in terms of Jesus. And although others, such as F. HAHN, Christologische Hooheitstifel, 184-6, have rejected a purely Jewish origin for VV.19-21, they have nonetheless taken VV.20f as a sentence expressing the early church’s ancient christology which was formulated with the help of the Jewish ascension schema. G. LOHFINK admits that VV.19-21 is probably the reworking of a pre-Lukan ascension tradition. "Denn hinter der Aussage δια δει ουρανον μεν δεξασθαι steht klar die Vorstellung der Apokalyptik, daß bestimmte Personen von Gott in den Himmel entrückt und dort für die Endzeit aufbewahrt werden können" (Himmelfallt Jesu, 224). However, he makes it clear that these verses originated from the hand of Luke himself (225). Others who prefer to see the redactional hand of Luke himself behind VV.19-21, include E. HAENCHEN (Apg, 209-11); G. LOHFINK (Christologie und Geschichtsbild in Apg 3,19-21, in: BZ 13 (1969), 223-241); H. CONZELMANN (Apg, 34f). The problem is very complex, and clearcut distinctions difficult to make, as argued later by F. HAHN, Das Problem, 129-154.

59. So, for example, G. LOHFINK, Christologie, 223-241; and idem., Himmelfallt Jesu, 224. He says in the latter: "Lukas hat allerdings gerade in 3,19-21 verstärkt Wendungen und Vorstellungen der Apokalyptik eingebaut, um eine Rede an Juden über die Eschata sächgemäß formulieren zu können" (225). D. HAMM, in his comments on LOHFINK, says: "If such material as this provides the background, Luke would appear to be using a term from Jewish apocalyptic referring to messianic 'interim time' and applying the phrase to the 'salvation time' already come with Jesus" (Peter's Speech, 208). Also W.H. MARTY finds the origin of this phrase in "messianic Judaism" (New Moses, 182). Cf. rabbi Jacob (ca. 170) in Abot 4:17: "eine Stunde der Erquickung...in der zukünftigen Welt ist besser als das ganze Leben in dieser Welt" (STR-BILL, Kommentar II, 626).

60. So C. SMITS, Citaten II, 185. He refers also to the recension of Aquila on Is 28:12 and 34:15. Cf. also D. HAMM (Peter's Speech, 208), who refers to W.L. LANE, Times of refreshment: A Study in Eschatological Periodization in Judaism and Christianity, PhD.Diss., Harvard Divinity School 1962.

61. D. HAMM stresses the eschatological thrust of this idea, and sees, especially in VV.19-26, "...an invitation to conversion that places such a conversion of the Israelites within the eschatological unfolding of the plan of God" (Peter's Speech, 207). A second coming is thus partly Luke’s end-time picture (211). Cf. also Lk 21:27; Ac 1:11; and 2:20. Interesting here is the viewpoint of J.A.T. ROBINSON (The most primitive Christology of all?) and F. HAHN (Christologische Hooheitstifel): "...dass Jesus von Gott erst bei der Parusie zum Messias eingesetzt wird, dass also das Ostergeschehen zunächst als reine Entwicklung, hingegen noch nicht als Erhöhung konzipiert war" (G. LOHFINK, Himmelfallt Jesu, 225).

62. So also H.N. RIDDERBOS, Speeches, 14; and D. HAMM, Peter's Speech, 208. The latter states: "...the coming of times of refreshment is not a reference to the parousia hastened by conversion, but rather a way of describing the effects of conversion in apocalyptic language." H. CONZELMANN says that the kairop δαυξφυςως are not 'Atempausen in der eschatologischen Dramatik" (cf. O. BAUERNFEIND, Apg, 68-69) "sondern die endgültige Hellszeit" (Apg, 40).

63. Cf. F.W. VAN DER HORT for parallels in Hellenistic literature on the same idea (Hellenistic Parallels, Ac 3 & 4, 41).
(χρόνων ἀποκαταστάσεως) that God has spoken (ὡν ἐλάλησεν ὁ θεός) by the mouth of his holy prophets (δύα στόματα τῶν ἁγίων...αὐτοῦ προφητῶν) from old (ἀπ’ αἰῶνος). The richness of this verse in terms of Luke’s understanding of Scripture, can hardly be overstated. The point of departure for all that happens, is to be found in the fulfillment of the Scriptures (here the “mouth of God’s prophets”). Because these are the words of God, they will come true. God is the Initiator and the Subject. These words are eternal in their function, and not simply limited to the time in which they are spoken. The prophets used as authoritative media by whom God has spoken his words. Those words pointed to Jesus of Nazareth as the Christ. In this instance, it is understood from the Scriptures that the Christ had to suffer (Jesus himself told his disciples this after his resurrection according to Lk 24:46), and that he also had to (ἀνά) stay in heaven until (ἐχριστέας ἄνωθεν κύριος ὁ θεός ὑμῶν). There seems to be a chiastic structure in VV.22-23, placing the statement about the prophet’s words in the centre. The phrase, "raised up by God", could be understood in three ways: (a) It refers to the first

With another μεν, VV.22-23 recall the direct words of Moses (God’s words) which talk about a prophet who will be “raised up by their God for them” (μεταμόρφουσαν τοὺς ἄνωθεν κύριος ὁ θεός ὑμῶν). There seems to be a chiastic structure in VV.22-23, placing the statement about the prophet’s words in the centre. The phrase, "raised up by God", could be understood in three ways: (a) It refers to the first

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64. According to C. SMITS, this word has a clear messianic-eschatological intension in prophetic texts such as Hos 11:11; Jer 15:19; Ez 16:53, as well as Ps 15:5. In Mal 3:23 and Am 5:15, however, it points to an inward change (Caten II, 185). D. HAMM adds Jer 16:15; 23:8; 24:6; 27:19; Ez 17:23; Is 49:6b (of. Ac 13:47); Is 61:1-2 & 58:6 (cf. Lk 4:18), Am 9:11-12 (cf. Ac 15:16) while saying that “Such texts as these seem to indicate the kind of restoration of all meant by the ἀποκαταστάσεως πάνω τῶν of Acts 3:21 — the end-time restoration of the people to their Lord and their land” (Peter’s Speech, 210). J.W. DOVE argues for the viewpoint that the restoration is on a par with the refreshing, and that the pericope itself presents an explanation of the quoted text of Dt 18:15 (Apokatastasis in Act 3:21, een voorbereiding, in: VaxTh 18 (1947-48), 165f). It should be noted, however, that it was expected that the Messiah would restore 6 things, according to Gn 12 (STR-BILL, Kommentar II, 626).

65. G. LOHFINK said: „Ih nußte freilich der Himmel aufnehmen bis zu der von Gott gesetzten Zeit der Wiederherstellung. Das heißt, die Parusie liegt nicht in naher Zukunft, sondern sie erfolgt dann, wenn Gott es will. Nicht nur Tod und Auferstehung Jesu, sondern auch sein Verweilen im Himmel bis zur Parusie stehen unter dem bei des göttlichen Willens” (Himmelfahrt Jesu, 225). E. HAENCHEN, Apg, 168; G. SCHNEIDER, Apg I, 324; and A. WEISER, Apg I, 115, have drawn attention which agrees almost verbally with this phrase.

66. Cf. also G. LUDEMANN: “Zwar war das Leiden des Christus scharfgeschaffen, doch gilt das ebenfalls für die Predigt zwischen Auferstehung und Parusie (Lk 24,44-47) und für die Parusie selbst (= die Zeiten der apokatastasis) (V.21) (Christentum, 57-58).

67. H.N. RIDDERBOS, referring to V.24, points to this issue when saying that “...there is still a distance between the beginning and the end of these days of the fulfillment” and that “the ascension of Christ signifies a new interim period” (Speeches, 14).

68. This moment is an eschatological one, based on the “restoration”. “Dic χρόνοι ἀποκαταστάσεως πάνωτων wirken sich auf die Gläubigen als καιροί αναμίκτων aus” (E. HAENCHEN, Apg, 168).


70. So L. O’REILLY, Word and Sign, 108. In fact, for O’REILLY the whole of Ac 3:19-26 is structured in a chiastic manner. See his exposition on pp.112-114.
coming of the Messiah, being Jesus of Nazareth,\textsuperscript{71} in his "vocation as prophet" or (b) it refers to the resurrection and exaltation of Christ,\textsuperscript{72} or (c) it refers to both.\textsuperscript{73} It was not only Moses, but also all the prophets, "from Samuel and those who came afterwards," who have proclaimed these days (V.24).

Peter goes on to tell the audience that they are the descendants of those prophets (their "sons") and of the covenant which was given by God to their forefathers. The hearers are reminded of this in V.25 when God's promise to Abraham is recalled, namely that all the families of the earth shall be blessed in his posterity.

It is clear that the audience here seems to consist of Jews. The references to Moses and the other prophets, Abraham as their forefather, and especially the implied covenantal promises, could only be understood against the background of Jewish history. V.26 thus states that the "raised"\textsuperscript{74} Christ was first sent to them, in order to bless them and to turn them from their wickedness.

Note also the links between V.26 and the foregoing: ἀναστήσας (V.26) and ἀναστήσει (V.22); παῦξα (VV.13,26);\textsuperscript{75} ἀποστεύῃ (V.20) and ἀπεστευεῖν (V.26).

4.2 The phrases from \textit{Dt 18:15-20} and \textit{Lv 23:29} (Ac 3:22-23)

The unit in Ac 3:22-23 can be understood in three different ways: (a) It was either meant to be an \textit{explicit} quotation;\textsuperscript{76} or (b) meant to be only \textit{explicit} references;\textsuperscript{77}

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\textsuperscript{72} So, for example, L. O'REILLY: "The prophet...whom God 'will raise up' is in fact his servant...Jesus whom he raised from the dead, thus glorifying him" (\textit{Word and Sign}, 113. See also 117-119). Cf. also the \textit{Bible de Jerusalem} (referred to by J. DUPONT, \textit{Etudes}, 55); J. DUPONT, \textit{Les discours}, 353; W.S. KURZ, \textit{Acts}, 3, 311-312. L. O'REILLY reported that the latter "...points to the fact that the position of the verb \textit{anistemai} at the end of the speech tells against a reference to the earthly ministry of Jesus because the other missionary speeches always begin with the earthly ministry" (\textit{Word and Sign}, 117).

\textsuperscript{73} So D. HAMM, \textit{Peter's Speech}, 213-214.

\textsuperscript{74} Seen to be (a) the resurrected Christ by G. SCHNEIDER, \textit{Apg I}, 330; or (b) to refer to the earthly mission of Jesus, as in V.22, by E. HAENCHEN, \textit{Apg}, 169; and B.M. NEWMAN & E.A. NIDA, \textit{Translator's Handbook}, 88. But (c) according to W.H. MARTY, both the resurrection and raising as God's servant and prophet might be implied here (\textit{New Moses}, 194).

\textsuperscript{75} W.H. MARTY suggests that "Peter identifies Jesus as God's Servant both in the beginning and end of his sermon" (\textit{New Moses}, 183). ἀναστήσας occurs only 4 times in Ac, all in Ac 3-4: 3:13,26; 4:27,30. Cf. also C.K. BARRETT, \textit{Faith and Eschatology}, 3; and D.E. JOHNSON, \textit{Isaiahic Servant Songs}, 344.

\textsuperscript{76} According to D. HAMM, "παῦξα is sometimes used in the LXX to denote the prophet as servant". He refers to Jos 14:7: Μωυσῆς δὲ παῦξα τοῦ θεοῦ (\textit{Peter's Speech}, 214-215). G. LUDEMANN reckons that this phrase does not come from Luke's hand: "...da so nicht die breite Streuung von παῦξα theou im frührchristlichen Schrifftum bis zur Mitte des zweiten Jhs. erklärt werden kann" (\textit{Christentum}, 59).

\textsuperscript{77} W.H. MARTY suggests that "Peter identifies Jesus as God's Servant both in the beginning and end of his sermon" (\textit{New Moses}, 183). ἀναστήσας occurs only 4 times in Ac, all in Ac 3-4: 3:13,26; 4:27,30. Cf. also C.K. BARRETT, \textit{Faith and Eschatology}, 3; and D.E. JOHNSON, \textit{Isaiahic Servant Songs}, 344.


\textsuperscript{79} Supported by the ὧς in the introductory formula (which \textit{might} introduce indirect speech here), as well as the adaptation of the 2nd person plural pronoun (four times) in Ac 3:22, which are on a par with the rest of the context of the speech. Also T. HOLTZ, \textit{Untersuchungen}, 71; and G. SCHNEIDER, \textit{Apg I}, 316, who calls them 'Anspielungen auf die Schrift'.
created by the author by his skillful combination of several different passages, and explicitly and consciously linked with those reading(s) of the OT texts themselves;\textsuperscript{78} or (c) some free quotation from memory.\textsuperscript{79} The second possibility seems to be the best choice, and Ac 3:22-23 could be treated as a paraphrase of Dt 18:15-20/21 which was summarized by the author by way of a complex combination of phrases (from the referred passages) in an order that suited his purpose within the context of his time.\textsuperscript{80} Nevertheless, Ac 3:22-23 is introduced by a single introductory formula, and the unit in Ac 3:22-23 is the combination of several conflated or combined phrases, mainly from two different text units, traditionally accepted to be Dt 18:15-20 and Lv 23:29.\textsuperscript{81}

4.2.1 Other occurrences of these texts

Although this text was used very seldom in other Jewish literature,\textsuperscript{82} Dt 18:18-19 is to be found in 4QTest 5-8\textsuperscript{83} and 1QS 9:11.\textsuperscript{84} The readings of 4QTest 5-8 and that of the MT are identical, with the exception of \textsuperscript{85} for the \textsuperscript{86} of the MT.

There might, however, also be an implied knowledge of Dt 18:15 to be detected in Mk 9:4,7 (par: Mt 17:5; Lk 9:35), Lk 7:39; 24:25; Jn 1:21 and 5:46. These NT occurrences are, however, not clear explicit quotations at all and none of these proves any clear intention to quote explicitly from the Scriptures. It is also interesting that Philo refers to the prophecy in Dt 18:15, but there is no indication that this is a reference to an eschatological prophet.\textsuperscript{86}

\textsuperscript{78} So also C. SMITS: "De combinatie is buitengewoon deskundig tot stand gebracht. Wat in de gegeven omstandigheden niet paste, is met een andere passende tekst aangevuld" (Citaten II, 187). In the same direction also E. RICHARD: "He modifies considerably the LXX text (Deut 18:15-22 and adds Lev 23:29) to formulate his own 'OT quotation' (\textit{OT in Acts}, 336); and G.D. KILPATRICK: "In principle he could have put the two passages together and made the various changes from the LXX himself" (\textit{Some Quotations}, 86).


\textsuperscript{80} J. ROLOFF also thinks in this direction: "Die Wiedergabe des Wortes fußt auf dem LXX-Text, ist jedoch in ihrer Wortfolge so frei, daß man von einem Zitat im eigentlichen Sinne nicht mehr sprechen kann" (\textit{Apg}, 77). So does L. O'REILLY (\textit{Word and Sign}, 115) refers for instance also to C.M. MARTINI, L'esclusione dalla comunità del popolo di Dio e il nuovo Israele secondo Atti 3,23, in: \textit{idem, La parola di Dio alle origini della Chiesa}, Rome 1990, 246.


\textsuperscript{82} So STR·BILL, \textit{Komentar II}, 626; and C. SMITS, \textit{Citaten II}, 186. Exceptions are SDt 18:15 §175-6(107) and P\textsuperscript{5}esiq 112\textsuperscript{8}. See J. DE WAARD on this in: \textit{Comparative Study}, 21-24; and \textit{Quotation from Deuteronomy}, 537-540. Cf. also the remarks of D.-A. KOCH on 4QTest (\textit{Schrift als Zeuge}, 252).


\textsuperscript{84} Cf. J. DE WAARD, \textit{Comparative Study}, 22.

\textsuperscript{85} Cf. D.M. HAY, \textit{Moses}, 241, n.3.
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Lukan knowledge and usage of these texts seems nonetheless to be prominent. The resemblances between Lk 24:25-27 and Ac 3:18,21-24 are striking. Even more interesting is the fact that Dt 18:15,18 is to be found once more in Ac, in a shorter quotation in Ac 7:37. No other references to Lv 23:29 are to be found.

To assume that these phrases (in Ac 3:22-23) were to be found already combined before Luke's time, remains problematic, questionable and unprovable.

4.22 171e

The same trend is to be found here, as was the case in Ac 1:20, where a single introductory formula introduces an explicit quotation consisting of two separate quoted texts. In Ac 1:20 the two texts are kept clearly separate, although combined with a καί. Here, however, the two different quoted texts seem to be integrated very closely with each other, thereby forming a conflated quotation. It would thus be a better modus operandi to discuss both quoted texts together here, instead of separating them. The introductory formula: Μωϋσῆς μὲν εἶναίς ὁτι, suggests that the conflated quotation may have been intended as an explicit citation. It clearly indicates the section from the Scriptures from which the author is "quoting" — as was the case in the other two Petrine speeches. In the first Petrine speech the quoted texts were taken from "the book of the Pss" (Ac 1:20). In the second Petrine speech from "the prophet Jl" (Ac 2:16) and "David," (Ac 2:25,34). To these, the Torah ("Moses," Ac 3:22) is now added here in the third Petrine speech.


88. A pre-Lukan combination is presumed (a) on the basis of the existence of "testimonies" by J.R. HARRIS (Testimonies II, 70); K. LAKE and H.J. CADBURY (Beginnings IV, 22); L. CERFAUX (Le première, 211); C. SMITS (Citation II, 187); C.H. DODD, Scriptures, 55f; T. HOLTZ (Untersuchungen, 72-73,97-98); and J. ROLOFF (Apg, 78); (b) on the basis of a relationship with 4QTest, by J. DE WAARD (Comparative Study, 21-24); and (c) a Jewish-Christian source grounded in the MT, not the LXX text, by D.L. BOCK (Proclamation, 192,357).

89. So also G.D. KILPATRICK (Some Quotations, 86). In the same direction: E. RICHARD (OT in Acts, 336).

90. So also W.K.L. CLARKE, Use of the Septuagint, 94; E. HAENCHEN, Schriftzitate, 163; C. SMITS, Citation II, 186; M. RESE, Motive, 66; G.D. KILPATRICK, Some Quotations, 86; G.L. ARCHER and G. CHIRICIGNO, Quotations, 33; D.L. BOCK, Proclamation, 192; and C.K. BARRETT, Luke/Acts, 238. E. HAENCHEN labelled it as "Zwei 'Mischzitate'" (Schriftzitate, 165), while D. KILPATRICK talks of it as a "composite quotation," consisting of "shoes or pieces from passages in Deuteronomy and Leviticus" (Some Quotations, 86).
4.2.3 Determining and explaining the textual differences

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(a) Textual differences: Ac 3:22 and Dt 18:15-16,19 (LXX)\(^91\)

There are 5 major changes to be found between the readings of Ac 3:22 and Dt 18:15-16,19: (1) A transposition in the NT of the LXX phrase, ἐκ τῶν ἁδελφῶν...ὡς ἐμέ (2) pronoun changes of the three singulars (σοῦ, σοὺ, σου) in the LXX text, by way of three plurals in the NT text (ὑμῖν, ὑμᾶς, ὑμῖν); (3) the changed pronoun in Ac (ὑμῖν) is moved before the verb, while it follows after the verb in Dt 18:15; and (4) the addition of the words, πρὸς ὑμᾶς, in the NT. (5) The remaining reading of the text of the LXX in Dt 18:16-19 is omitted.

\[a1\] Transposition: ἐκ τῶν ἁδελφῶν (ὑμῖν) ὡς ἐμέ

This phrase is to be found transposed from its position in the LXX reading (at the beginning of the sentence, before the verb), to another position (at the end of the sentence, after the verb), in the NT reading. Exactly the same situation is to be found again in Ac 7:37 where Dt 18:15 is quoted again. There is no reason to doubt the reading of the NT text in either instance; there are no other NT textual witnesses to support another reading.

The situation among the LXX textual witnesses is interesting. The transposition as it is to be found in Ac, is supported by no major LXX witness, but finds support, however, in the quotations of several Church Fathers\(^92\) — which clearly points to the fact that at a later stage in history the Church Fathers have adapted the NT reading.

According to the known textual witnesses then, no evidence can be found that this transposition was already at hand in Luke's Textvorlage, and the transposition may therefore cautiously be ascribed to the hand of Luke himself. The word order as found in Dt 18:18 might have influenced him on this point: \(^93\) Προφήτης Ἀναστήσω αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῶν ἁδελφῶν αὐτῶν ὡς ἐμέ... However, the consistency in word order with regard to the transposition in both instances (Ac 3:22 and Ac 7:37), raises the unanswered question of whether Luke would have used an older Textvorlage of the LXX, lost today, which had this specific word order.\(^94\)

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\(^91\) The textual differences between the MT and LXX could be followed in W.H. MARTY, New Moses, 195-197.

\(^92\) The change is supported by Chr passim; Cyr II 596, III 33, VIII 1316, IX 888, X 980; Epip. II 136; Eus VI 17; Isid 797; Nil 137; Or III 285; Procop 1844; Thl II 545, IV 1393; Titus 1225.

\(^93\) With E. RICHARD, OT in Acts, 336. He draws attention to the stylistic parallel with Ac 3:21: object, verb, subject + propositional phrase. (He prefers, however, another Textvorlage as a better choice for explaining the occurrences of the 2nd person plural forms here. This cannot be accepted, as ὡς ἐμέ (1st person) contradicts this theory).

\(^94\) Also L. O'REILLY (Word and Sign, 116) refers to C.M. MARTINI who has already considered this possibility, but after scanning through all the existing evidence of the textual witnesses of the LXX, including the Samaritan Pentateuch, the Targum Onkelos, and 4Q 175, he had to admit that none of these differs substantially from the MT or confirms a different version. He concluded then that "The changes of which we shall speak seem, therefore, to be due entirely to the pen of Luke" (L'esclusione, 244-247). Contrary to this, J. DE WAARD has stated explicitly that Ac 3:22 "is probably a rendering of Dt 18,15, but not according to the MT or the LXX" (Comparative Study, 23), and has argued that there is a textual interrelationship between Ac 3:22-23 and a text of the type of 4Q 175. He refers also to the evidence of the Palestinian Targum tradition (especially Targum Pseudo-Jonathan and codex Neofiti 1) in comparison with Targum Onkelos (Quotation from Deuteronomy, 538-9).
This transposition is probably better explained in terms of the function of this stylistic change within the context, and that is that "prophet" is placed here in an emphatic position.

a.2 Pronoun changes and a.3 the transposition of ὅμων

Three times in the first sentence of the quoted text, the second person singular pronoun of the LXX reading (σοῦ-σοῦ-σοῦ) is substituted by the second person plural pronoun in Ac 3:22 (ὅμων-ὅμων-ὅμων). The same changes occur again in Ac 7:37 (except that the second of these three instances is omitted). The first of these is not only substituted in the NT, but also transposed from its original position in the LXX. This is the dative plural ὅμων, which appears before the verb as the second quoted word in Ac 3:22. It is a substitution of the dative singular σοῦ, which appears after the verb as the ninth word in the sentence of Dt 18:15 (LXX). No existing NT textual witness proposes any another reading, and the reading of the NT text can thus be accepted without any doubt at this specific point. Similarly, the NT change receives no support from any major LXX witness. There is, however, as noted above, the later adaptation of the NT text reading by the Church Fathers. The dative plural form (3rd person) is to be found in Dt 18:18 (προφήτην ἀναστήσω αὐτοῖς) and might have influenced this change between Dt 18:15 and Ac 3:22. The change plays an important role in the broader context. In the second instance, the LXX genitive singular σοῦ (in the phrase, κύριος ὁ θεός σου, Dt 18:15), is substituted in Ac 3:22 in the same phrase by the genitive plural ὅμων. The NT change is again supported by some minor LXX witnesses of a late date, which probably adapted to the reading of the NT. Also in the third instance, the other LXX genitive singular σοῦ (in the phrase ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν σου ὡς ἐμέ, Dt 18:15), is substituted in the same phrase in the NT also by the genitive plural ὅμων. Exactly the same situation appears here, as was the case with the above mentioned changes, in relation to the LXX witnesses which support the changed reading of the NT. The genitive plural form (3rd person) is again to be found in Dt 18:18 (ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτῶν ὡστέρα σε...), which might have influenced the change between Dt 18:15 and Ac 3:22.

Despite the scarcity of LXX textual support for the changed NT readings, there are scholars who don't want to exclude the possibility that these changes were already to be found in the exact reading of Luke's Textvorlage. This cannot be accepted, and...
the changes are easily explained within the context of this speech itself. It must be noted that Peter's hearers are addressed in the second person plural. He talks with the people (πρὸς τὸν λαόν, Ac 3:12), whom he addresses as "Israelite brothers" (ἀδέρφες Ἰσραήλ, V.12), and refers to them several times in his speech with the second person plural pronoun: ὑμεῖς μέν (V.13), ὑμεῖς δὲ (V.14), ὑμῖν (V.14), πάντων ὑμῶν (V.16), ὑμῶν (V.17), ὑμῖν (V.19), ὑμῖν (V.20), ὑμῖν (V.22), ὑμῶν (V.22), ὑμῖν (V.22), πρὸς ὑμᾶς (V.22), ὑμεῖς ἐστε (V.25), ὑμῶν (V.25), ὑμῖν πρῶτον (V.26), ὑμᾶς (V.26), ὑμῶν (V.26). Seen from this contextual viewpoint, the three changes in V.22-23 are compatible with the hearers, or subjects, who are addressed.\(^\text{100}\) The transposition of the first (ὑμῖν) in V.22 to its emphatic position, is understandable in the light of the same emphatic trend in V.25 and V.26.

\textit{a.4 Addition: πρὸς ὑμᾶς}

There is no reason to doubt the reading of the NT at this point, as none of the NT textual witnesses omits these words. Likewise, they are not included by any of the LXX witnesses. Thus, their occurrence in Ac must be attributed to the work of the NT author. The author may have included the words between the quoted phrases from Dt and Lv, with the same purpose as mentioned above, i.e. to be consistent with the addressing nature of the speech, and to emphasize this point by way of the three changes to the second person plural pronoun (V.22), as well as to include the pronoun here again.\(^\text{101}\)

\textit{a.5 Omission of Dt 18:16-19}

The quoted text from Dt 18:15-20 breaks off at the beginning of Dt 18:16 and picks up again at the end of Dt 18:19 with a brief phraseological reference. The Dt content of this omitted section does not fit the new context of this speech in Ac at all, and its exclusion thus makes sense here.

\textit{(b) Textual differences: Ac 3:23 and Dt 18:19(LXX)}

It is generally accepted by scholars that V.23 is based on Lv 23:29 (LXX), with phrases taken also from Dt 18:16,19 (LXX). This seems acceptable on the basis of the syntactical similarities between these phrases. Only three major changes appear in the remaining comparative material with Dt 18:19: (1) The words ἐσται δὲ seems to be added in Ac 3:23;\(^\text{102}\) (2) the ὁ προφήτης of Dt 18:19 may have been substituted by τοῦ προφήτου ἐκείνου in Ac 3:23 and transposed from its original position in the sentence; and (3) the ἀν μὴ ἀκούσῃ of the LXX reading is transposed in Ac (reading ἐὰν...).

\(^{100}\) So also C.M. MARTINI, L'esclusione, 246-8; L. O'REILLY, Word and Sign, 115; D.L. BOCK, Proclamation, 191.

\(^{101}\) So also M. RESE, Motive, 67.

\(^{102}\) This is not indicated in the print of NA26.
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b.1 Addition: ἔσται δὲ

No textual support for the omission of these words is found among the NT witnesses, nor do the LXX witnesses support their inclusion. The NT reading can thus be accepted as it is, and the addition be ascribed to Luke. Interesting here is the similarity between this ἔσται with that which was found in the Jl-quotation (Ac 2:17,21). Although the possibility of influence from Ac 2 (Jl-quotation) cannot be excluded at all here, it must be noted that ἔσται is used frequently in the LXX — especially in Dt, where it is combined with the curses linked with disobedience to the laws. Some broader knowledge of Dt (and/or the Torah) could have played a role here.

b.2 Substitution and transposition: τοῦ προφήτου ἐκεῖνον

Without the alternative reading in Dt 18:19, supported by some LXX witnesses, the phrase, ὁ προφήτης ἐκεῖνος, is to be found both in Dt 18:20 and 18:22. This might have found its way (in the genitive) into Ac 3:23 during Luke's compilation and paraphrasing of Dt 18:15-20/22. Interesting is also the similarity between 4QTest (גַּזִּית) and the LXX reading of ὁ προφήτης (ἐκεῖνος).

b.3 Transposition: οὐ οὖν μὴ ἀκούσῃ

There is no textual support from any LXX witness for this transposition as it occurs in Ac. The transposition should be seen as part of the author's process to compile a single quotation from the quoted phrases.

(c) Textual differences: Ac 3:23 and Lv 23:29(LXX)

The phrases πᾶσα ψυχή ἡτίς...ἐξολεθρευθόταται ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ in Ac 3:23 resemble Lv 23:29, while μὴ ταπεινωθῆτε ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτη and the final word, αὐτῆς, were excluded from Lv 23:29 during the quoting process. There is no support from any LXX witness in favour of these changes. They can therefore also be relatively safely be ascribed to Luke's hand as being part of his process of compiling one combined quotation.

One thing, however, still remains in question: How does Lv 23:29 fit into this context? What is its relation with Dt 18:15-20 and how did Luke (or his tradition) come to it?

103. Cf. also M.RESE, Motive, 67.
105. Contrary to D.L. BOCK, Proclamation, 192.
106. Also J. DE WAARD, who said that this is "...an obvious evidence of the 'Septuagintal tendency of the text tradition used by the compiler of 4Q" (Comparative Study, 23).
107. Cf. also W.H. MARTY who suggested that this possibility offers the best explanation for all the variations in the texts (New Moses, 197). J.A. WAARD, Comparative Study, 23; and R. LONGENECKER, Acts, 299-300 n.22-23, hold another viewpoint, namely that Luke replaces the ἐκ δικήσεως of Dt 18:19 (LXX) with ἐξολεθρευθόταται.
The syntactical similarities between Ac 3:23 and Lv 23:29 should not be pushed too far, in the effort to accommodate the possible contextual connections. A few things must be considered here: (a) the context of the words in Lv 23:29 has no relationship with either Dt 18:15-20 or with Ac 3; (b) the formula itself seems to be typical of the literature which deals with the obedience of God’s law, and the disobedience of the laws seems to be closely linked with this curse — which is found extensively in the OT; (c) Luke himself may have compiled the curse here, within the framework of the nature of this law-material, which seems always to be combined with the curse. He would have done this with the help of his knowledge of the well known terminology used in the Torah, as well as with the help of the rest of the context of Dt 18:(19).

4.2.4 Method of quotation

This third Petrine speech contains several explicit references to the history contained in the Scriptures (ο θεός Ἀβραὰμ καὶ ο θεός Ἰσαὰκ καὶ ο θεός Ἰακὼβ, ο θεός πατέρων ἡμῶν, V.13; ἀντὶς πολλῶν των προφητῶν, V.18; ἔλαβον ὁ θεός διὰ στόματος τῶν ἀγῶν ἀπ’ αἰῶνος αὐτοῦ προφητῶν, V.21; Μωυσῆς μὲν εἶπεν, V.22; πάντες δὲ ὁ προφήται ἀπὸ Σαμουὴλ καὶ τῶν καθεξῆς δοσι ἐλάλησαν καὶ κατήγγειλαν..., V.24; οἱ νόμοι τῶν προφητῶν καὶ διαθήκης, V.25; τοὺς πατέρας ὑμῶν, V.25; πρὸς Ἀβραὰμ, V.25), as well as explicitly quoted texts. Prophetic texts on the suffering of the Christ are not explicitly mentioned, but suggested. The primary text which Luke had in mind here, seems then to be that of Dt 18:15,18-19, although it is supplemented with a moral code similar to the one to be found in Lv 23:29. The first part of the quotation is almost verbatim, the only changes being in the word order, while the second part seems to be a conflation of the rest of Dt 18:19-20/22 and a curse such as the one in Lv 23:29. Although this phraseological quoted text from Dt 18 is not quoted verbatim in its entirety, it is clearly apparent that it is based on the LXX.

108. Cf. also J. DE WAARD who argued in the same direction (Comparative Study, 23-24).
109. Cf. here, for example, the discussion by D.L. BOCK, Proclamation, 192-3.
110. Also C.M. MARTINI has recently debated this issue and denied that Ac 3:23 is a quotation from Lv 23:29 as such. According to him, the central phrase in V.23 probably comes from Dt 18:19, but the phrases at the beginning and the end of Ac 3:23, although found in Lv 23:29, are in fact stereotyped expressions frequently found elsewhere in the OT (L’esclusione, 249-251, as referred to by L. O’REILLY, Word and Sign, 115).
112. Cf. E. HAENCHEN, Schriftstudie, 163; C. SMITS, Citaten II, 186-7; and G.D. KILPATRICK, Some Quotations, 86.
114. So also G.D. KILPATRICK, Some Quotations, 86; G. SCHNEIDER, Apg I, 328; D. HAMM, Peter’s Speech, 213; and H. RINGGREN, Luke’s Use, 233. Contrary to C.H. DODD, Scriptures, 53; C. SMITS, Citaten II, 187; J. DE WAARD, Comparative Study, 23; and T. HOLTZ, Untersuchungen, 71-81 (later followed by G. SCHNEIDER, Apg I, 316), who believes that it came from a collection of testimonies. KILPATRICK’s criticism of HOLTZ will suffice: “With this conclusion we may sympathize, but I cannot follow his argument in this instance. He does not seem to have demonstrated an intervening stage between the LXX and the evangelist. In principle he could have put the two
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The quoted phrases were carefully selected from its original context and those in the quoted section which did not fit the new context, were omitted on contextual grounds. Stylistic changes were also made, such as the personal pronouns which were changed to fit the audience to whom this "quotation" was directed, and the transposition which placed "prophet" at the beginning, and thus in an emphatic position. The curse at the end of the compiled quotation, was probably the author's own creative construction, based on his knowledge of such curses within the wider context of the book (Dt) or part (Torah) from which he is quoting.

It is interesting that roughly the same pattern which was deployed in the first and second Petrine speeches, is also to be found here. In this instance there are (a) four themes which are touched upon (VV.12;13-18;19-20;21); (b) next, the first part of the quotation is presented as a fulfilled promise made to Moses (V.22a); (c) the last two parts of the quotation — containing the as yet unfulfilled aspects of the promise — follows, and has the nature of an appeal to the listeners (VV.22b-23); (d) the last of the four themes under (a), i.e. the argument about God's promises, is again picked up (VV.24-25a); (e) another unfulfilled quotation is presented, recalling the promise made to Abraham (V.25b); and (f) the speech is concluded with a summary of the message (V.26).

Looking especially at V.23, the possibility was mentioned that there is an apparent similarity between the way in which Luke uses Scripture here, and the peshur method of exegesis as found in rabbinic Judaism. One should be cautious, however, not to make connections between the exegetical methods used by rabbinic Judaism and those of the NT writers, Luke in particular. The explicit use of well known indicators (termini technici) for those methods are lacking to a large extent in Lk-Ac.

4.2.5 Interpretation of the quotation by Luke

Ac 3:21 refers to the words of God, spoken in the distant past, through his prophets. The quoted phrases from Dt 18 are now presented as an example of such a promise of the times of restoration, as implied in the previous verses. This brings to mind Luke's presentation of Jesus' own interpretation of the Scriptures before his ascension. The first occasion is to be found in Jesus' debate with the Sadducees in connection with the resurrection of the dead (Lk 20:27-40). Jesus indicated there that even Moses showed that the dead will be resurrected, and referred to the passage of the bush where Moses calls the Lord the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, thereby interpreting it that they are still living, and that he is therefore the God of the living (Lk 20:37-38). The interesting point here is that this confessional

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115 Compare Ch 4, 3.2.4 "Method of quotation".
116 Cf. D. HAMM who says categorically that V.23 "...is a broad statement of the peshur hermeneutic Luke is using — the principle that all of Scripture points to these current events" (Peter's Speech, 213).
117 See for instance also D.-A. KOCH's remarks in his study on Paul, that the introductory formulae lack these indicators (Schrift als Zeuge, 227-230).
118 Cf. also D. HAMM who argues along similar lines (Peter's Speech, 212).
formula is interpreted by Luke in terms of the resurrection! The second occasion is after Jesus' own resurrection, before his ascension. On two different occasions in Lk 24 Jesus refers to the Scriptures, applying them to his own life. First to those on their way to Emmaus: "And beginning with Moses and all the Prophets, he interpreted to them in all the Scriptures the things concerning himself" (Lk 24:27). But also to the disciples: "...that everything written about me in the law of Moses and the Prophets and the Psalms must be fulfilled" (Lk 24:44). The christological application of these phrases here in Ac 3, as well as in Stephen's speech in Ac 7:37, do then indeed fit within Luke's interpretation of Scripture. It will be reflected upon again in Ac 28:23.

The links between Ac 3 and 7 are wider than only this one shared quotation. The reference in Ac 3:13 to the covenantal God of Israel, "the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob," is also to be found in a similar form in Ac 7:32.

The Servant-of-Yahweh theme is linked here with the Prophet-like-Moses theme. The prophet-like-Moses motif plays a prominent role here in the third Petrine speech. There might have been an expectation among some Jews and Samaritans of an eschatological prophet like Moses or Elijah. In fact, IQS 9.11 and 4QTest 5-8 might be indications that this prophecy was already interpreted before the time of the apostles "as pointing to one particular prophet, a second Moses, who would exercise the prophet's full mediatorial function as Moses had done." That Luke understood Dt 18:18 in a direct messianic sense here, is clear: Jesus is that eschatological prophet to whom Dt 18 refers, who was "raised up" by God (Ac 3:22). That prophet would be divine, as God himself is

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119. According to C.H.H. SCOBIE, these are the only two passages in early Christian literature (apart from the Pseudo-Clementines) where Dt 18:15,18 is explicitly quoted as a christological text (Source Material, 418).
120. To be found in the usage of παραδείγματα. Cf. Ac 3:13,26 and the allusion to Is 52(53):13.
121. So J.A.T. ROBINSON, Primitive Christology, 139; F.F. BRUCE, Davidic Messiah, 11; and W.H. MARTY, New Moses, 198.
122. L. O’REILLY has pointed out, based on his analysis of the chiastic structure of Ac 3:19-26 that the phrase, ὡσα ναθανιήτα πρὸς ύμᾶς (V.22), is central. He argues that this may have been done consciously by the author, and this in turn would convey something of the importance of the prophets' (God's) words here. His conclusion is that "The word of the prophet-like-Moses is deliberately placed in the central position in the rhetorical structure and that indicates its crucial importance" (Word and Sign, 116). D. HAMM says: "...Jesus has been raised not only to reign as Davidic Messiah, but also to continue his mission as anointed Prophet-like-Moses now working through the leaders of 'Israel restored' (the church)" (Peter's speech, 200).
123. So D.M. HAY who refers to: 1Mac 4:46; 14:41; IQS 9:11; 4QTest 5, with the clearest evidence to be found "of eschatological expectations of a prophet especially like Moses (whether equated with the Messiah or not) are 4QTest 4-8 and the Samaritan Tabaq traditions" (Moses Through New Testament Spectacles, in: Interpr 64 (1990), 240-252, here 241). Also F.F. BRUCE, Acts, 86, following J. MACDONALD (The Theology of the Samaritans, London 1964) and H.-J. SCHOEPS (Theologie und Geschichte des Judentums, Tübingen 1949).
125. Cf. also C. SMITS, Citaten II, 186.
126. L. O’REILLY says: "Since, however, the prophecy clearly refers to Jesus, it can only mean that it is Jesus, the Eschatological Prophet, who speaks here and now in the preaching of the apostle" (Word and Sign, 119). So also W.H. MARTY, New Moses, 198-199.
127. Cf. L. O’REILLY, Word and Sign, 110. W.H. MARTY highlights three features of the Mosaic Prophet motif: (a) a messiah-prophet, (b) an eschatological prophet, and (c) a resurrected prophet (New Moses, 198-201).
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divine. Jesus could therefore be described as the "holy and just One," attributes of God himself.128

Although the word τύμπος is not used explicitly, the hermeneutical link is clearly that of typology.129 The words of Moses are used to indicate that, as God raised up Moses, so also will God raise up a prophet like Moses.

It is interesting that although this quoted section is not part of "the Prophets" as such, Luke uses it in the same way as the prophetic material. The bridge is already made within the broader context of Dt 18:15-22. Luke finds in those words some kind of foretelling, with Moses typifying himself as "a prophet" (Ac 3:22). For Luke then, Moses is a prophet, just as Joel, Isaiah and the other prophets were. This is similar to the approach which Luke followed in Peter's first speech, where he quoted from the Pss, but used the quotations as "prophecies" from David. In the second Petrine speech he explicitly calls David "a prophet" (Ac 2:30), and again quotes from the Pss, treating the quoted passages as prophecies.

In the context of Dt 18:15-22, the people are also clearly warned against false prophets. The proof is given in Dt 18:22: If a prophet announced something in the name of the Lord and it did not happen, then it was not the Lord who had spoken to that prophet. The fact that the lame man could have been raised by Peter and John, proved that Christ was raised. Thus the prophecy has come true, and is confirmed as being the words of God himself.

An important question which arises here, is whether this motif of "the Mosaic eschatological prophet" was a pre-Lukan concept which was passed on as early church tradition,130 or whether it was Luke himself who applied the concept to Jesus.131 Although there are many references to Moses to be found in the NT, nowhere else is Jesus explicitly referred to as "the prophet like Moses".132

This speech seems to be important in terms of the development in the theology which was based on concepts from the Scriptures. Although a link is

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128. C. SMITS refers to Is 6:3 and Dn 9:7, in comparison with Is 53:11 and Jer 23:5 where these attributes of God are seen also as attributes of the Messiah (Citaen II, 184-185).
129. So also H. CONZELMANN, Apg, 41; W.H. MARTY, New Moses, 198; D. HAMM, Peter's Speech, 215.
130. See Dt 10:10 which introduces what follows as the words of Moses. But it is also confirmed by God himself in Dt 18:17-22 with regard to the prophet who will come.
133. So also D.M. HAY, Moses, 242-3. Although W.A. MEEKS has referred to passages such as Jn 4:19-29; 6:14-15 and 7:25-52, containing allusions to the idea of "a prophet like Moses," the line of thought in those passages is simply that of "Jesus as Prophet". There are no explicit indications that it is Moses in particular who is being referred to in those passages (The Prophet-King: Moses Traditions and the Johannine Christology, Leiden 1967, 319). See also the remarks of D.M. HAY, Moses, 243-244 on this, and W.H. MARTY, who stated that Ac "contains the most explicit references to Christ as the second Moses in the New Testament" (New Moses, 181).
established between the messianic time and the time of the parousia, it is clear that not all that the prophets had foretold, had happened yet.134

4.3 The quoted text from *Gn 22:18/26:4 (Ac 3:25)*

Scholars differ in their identification of the quotation in Ac 3:25. Some relate it to Gn 12:3 (28:14), while others trace it back to Gn 22:18 (26:4). Similarities between the latter and the quoted text in Ac 3:25 seem to be greater than in the former case.135

4.3.1 Pre-Lukan NT usage of the quotation

This text was already quoted before Luke’s time in Paul’s letter to the Galatians (€€ν λογοθήσουσαν ἐν σοι πάντα τὰ ἔσον, Gl 3:8)136 with its relation to 3:16 (καὶ τῷ σπέρματι σου).137 It seems then to be known by the early Christians within the context of God’s promise to Abraham. That Luke has taken this from Gl seems unprovable. The fact that it is quoted here in Ac 3 by the mouth of Peter, and in Gl 3 by Paul, is but one piece of evidence against a Lukan adoption of the Gl-text. What seems clear is that this promise of God was well known to the early Christians, and it could have been quoted and/or referred to on several occasions; differences in wording are thus to be expected.

4.3.2 The introductory formula (Ac 3:25)

The introductory formula flows out of the statement that the audience “are the children of the prophets and of the covenant which God has made with their fathers, by saying to Abraham” (λέγων πρὸς Ἀβραὰμ). The quotation which follows hereafter is then intended to be the wording of that age old promise of the covenantal God to Abraham.

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### 4.3.3 Determining and explaining the textual differences

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(a) Textual differences: Ac 3:25 and Gn 22:18 / 26:4

There are two major changes between the text of Ac and that of the LXX to be found: 1 transposition (ἐνευλογηθήσονται is moved after ἐν τῷ σπέρματι σοῦ in Ac 3:25), and 1 substitution (πᾶσα τὰ ἔθυμα becomes πᾶσα αἱ πατριαὶ in Ac 3:25).

#### a.1 Transposition: ἐνευλογηθήσονται

None of the existing NT textual witnesses supports the order as found in the reading of the LXX, which is reflexive. They do, however, differ on alternatives with regard to the word ἐνευλογηθήσονται. There is also no support from the LXX textual witnesses in favour of the Ac-reading, which is passivistic. This makes it possible that the existing changes in Ac are due to the hand of the author or the specific tradition (of which there exists no written proof today) from which the author has taken this quotation.

The function, or result, of the transposition is that the phrase, ἐν τῷ σπέρματι σοῦ, is emphasized within its new context. Bearing in mind the context of this verse in which the audience are told that they are "the sons" (οἱ παῖδες) of the prophets and the covenant, and that it was made to their "fathers" (τοὺς πατέρας ὑμῶν), the transpositional change to emphasize ἐν τῷ σπέρματι σοῦ makes good sense. This audience consists of the descendants (the "seed") of Abraham to whom the promise was made. That ancient promise is thus going to be fulfilled in them.

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138 D.L. BOCK calls this an "inversion" (Proclamation, 175).
139 Alternatives are the following: (a) A B V 323.945 pc = εὐλογηθήσεται; (b) C = ἐπευλογηθήσεται; (c) P14 X AC DE 0165 M = ἐνευλογηθήσονται. Note that codex D also agrees with this reading.
140 So also D.L. BOCK, Proclamation, 195.
There is no evidence of any NT textual witness supporting the reading as found in the LXX, and also no LXX textual support for the reading in Ac. So this alternative reading too might thus be ascribed to the hand of the author and/or his tradition (of which no written evidence exists).

Some have suggested the influence of Ps 21:18, Ps 21(22):28 or an independent non-LXX tradition behind this change. If it is accepted that this speech was addressed to Jews, and that τα ἔθνη means the Gentiles in Ac, the change makes sense.

4.3.4 Method of quotation

Although some scholars have taken Gn 12:3 as locus for the phrase πᾶσαι ἀι πατριαί τῆς γῆς in the quotation, this is doubtful. Gn 12:3 is however, also to be found again in the identical wording (LXX and MT) repeated in Gn 28:14. It is not clear if this quotation was taken from the LXX or from the Hebrew. The verb ἔνευλογεῖν points to the first (LXX), but the word order points to the latter (MT).

This might be a so-called “free quotation”, i.e. meant to be an explicit quotation with an introductory formula, but probably not copied from a written
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Textorlage, but rather from memory and/or oral tradition. Or it was meant to be a conflated quotation, combining Gn 22:18 and 26:4, as was done in Ac 3:23 with Dt 18:19 and Lv 23:29.

Compare the interesting notion in Lk 20:37-38 where Luke deals with the resurrection as attested by Moses, plus the quotation "the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob". This is linked in Lk 20:41f with the sonship of David. A similar pattern is to be found here.

4.3.5 Interpretation of the quotation by Luke

The application of the quotation is made at the end of the speech. It clearly fits in with God's salvation history which featured prominently in the rest of the speech. With the audience being clearly reminded that they are the descendants of those fathers to whom God's promises were made, and that these promises are fulfilled in their (the listeners') generation, this quotation is used to appeal to their conscience that Christ was sent to them in order to bless them, and to turn them from their wickedness.

It has been proposed that εὐαγγελίζονται should be understood as reflexive and not as passive. Also the πρῶτον in V.26 clearly suggests that the circle is wider than the Jews alone. However, Luke probably consciously changed the έθνη to πατριά. This was probably done either to include the Jews (to whom this speech seems explicitly to be addressed), or because Luke could not refer explicitly to the Gentiles, as did Gn 22:18, without a clear reference to the gentile mission, which at this stage in the story still lies in the future. Luke interprets the promise to Abraham in Gn 22:18 as being fulfilled through this opportunity for conversion of the hearers of Peter's message.

The final question to be answered, is then if the quotations in this speech is to be understood as "christological", as "eschatological", or both? This quotation

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152 See also C. SMITS, Citaten II, 187, who thinks along the same lines.
153 So also W.H. MARTY, New Moses, 197.
154 So E. HAENCHEN, Schrifizitate, 166: "Ihrem eigentlichen Sinn nach wollten die alttestamentlichen Stellen sagen: Die Heiden werden in Abrahams Nachkommen die höchste Möglichkeit des Gesegneteins erblicken und darum sich segnen mit dem Wunsch: Möchtest du so gesegnet sein wie Abraham?"
155 So also E. HAENCHEN, Schrifizitate, 166.
156 So, for example, N. DAHL (The Story of Abraham in Luke-Acts, in: L.E. KECK and J.L. MARTYN (eds), Studies in Luke-Acts, Nashville 1966, 139-158); and D. HAMM (Peter's Speech, 214). For C. SMITS this implies Jews as well as Gentiles. He considers the possibility that Ps 21:28 could have played a role here (Citaten II, 187). However, as with Gn 12:3, there is no evidence that Ps 21:28 has had any influence here.
157 So E. HAENCHEN, Schrifizitate, 166.
158 Cf. also D. HAMM, for the same line of thinking: "...the fulfillment of that Abrahamic covenant is given final explicitness — it is interpreted as the conversion now offered to all, first to those of Israel who show themselves to be the authentic people of God by accepting the Messiah, then those Gentiles who allow themselves to be included in the end-time restoration of Israel by embracing its Christ" (Peter's Speech, 214).
159 So D.L. BOCK, Proclamation, 197; Cf. also C.H.H. SCOBIE, Source Material, 418. M. RESE links only the last quotation to the christology (Motive, 75).
160 So convincingly argued by C.K. BARRETT, Faith and Eschatology, 4. Also along similar lines on the combined quotation in Ac 3:22-23, M RESE, Motive, 71.
Chapter 5: Third Petrine Speech

from Gn 22:18 points to the present and future. It is not only used to state that this generation will be blessed, but, within the context of the preceding quoted texts, demands the acceptance of Jesus as that fulfillment of God's promises. That is the prerequisite for this blessing. This is confirmed by especially V.23. The emphasis is thus rather on the eschatological dimension,\(^{161}\) than on the christology. This in turn, is confirmed by the implied promise of Jesus' second coming in V.21. They are thus living currently in the "moment of the refreshing times" until all which was promised has been fulfilled, and then they will experience the moment in time when Jesus will come again.

5. SUMMARY

5.1 The first Petrine speech quotes from the scroll of the Pss, the second from that of the 12P and the Pss, and now this third one from the remaining part of Scripture, the Torah.

5.2 The authoritative nature of these Scriptures stands out, "being the Word of God spoken by his Spirit through the prophets".

5.3 The promises made to David, Joel, Moses and Abraham are recalled in these three Petrine speeches. The mediatory role of prophets plays an important part here.

5.4 The fulfillment of God's words spoken by these prophets and Scriptures, cannot be prevented. It has to happen, whether it be the betrayal of Jesus by Judas, his rejection by the Israelites (Jerusalemites) and their leaders, or the suffering of Christ and his resurrection.

5.5 Very few of the changes between the readings of these quotations in Ac and the existing textual witnesses of the LXX are attributable to another Textvorfage. Most of the changes are stylistic changes to adapt the quoted text to its new context. The majority of these changes are theologically motivated from the hermeneutical framework of the author.

5.6 Certain elements of the Jesus-kerygma are found repeated in all three Petrine speeches: the rejection of Jesus (Ac 1:16; 2:36; 3:13-14); his suffering (Ac 1:22; 2:23; 3:13-15) and resurrection (Ac 1:22; 2:24,31,32; 3:15). Some elements are only to be found in the first two speeches, e.g. Jesus as κύριος (Ac 1:21; 2:36); while others are only found in the last two of these three Petrine speeches (so-called missionary speeches).

5.7 The disciples as witnesses of Jesus' life and resurrection are to be found in all three speeches (Ac 1:21-22; 2:32; 3:15).

\(^{161}\)Cf. G. LÜDEMANN on V.20: "Resultat der Umkehr ist Vollendung in der Parusie Jesu" (Christentum, 58). Also D.L. BOCK: "The peculiarities of this speech centre on their Pentateuchal emphasis and the explicit emphasis on Jesus' return, elements which reflect a strongly Jewish context and an eschatological emphasis that is found in the earliest writings of Paul as well as the Gospel's apocalyptic discourses" (Proclamation, 197).
CHAPTER 6

PAUL’S FIRST SPEECH
(Acts 13:16-41/48)

1. THE BROADER CONTEXT AND BACKGROUND

The extensive scrutiny and discussion to which the second Petrine speech (Ac 2:14-41) has been subjected has been noted in Ch 4; it has been viewed from many different perspectives, and with different purposes in mind. The same close attention has been applied to this first Pauline speech (Ac 13:16-41), and the trilogy of quotations (VV.33-35) in particular, has exercised the imagination of scholars!

Like the Petrine speeches, this speech is today, fairly generally accepted as the creative and compilatory work of Luke himself. This current stage has not, however, been reached without questions being asked about whether the speech as a whole, or parts of it which were taken from tradition, were formed by Luke. Attention has already been drawn to the similarities between Ac 2:14-41 and 13:16-41. When the focus falls specifically on the explicit quotations in these two speeches, it is interesting to notice that (a) Ps 15(16):10 is found here again, as well as (b) a quotation from the duodecim prophetae. The fact that both speeches quote from both the collections of the 12P and of the Ps, is also noteworthy.

Ac 13:14 states explicitly that this speech was delivered by Paul in the Jewish synagogue in Antioch, in the province of Pisidia. This occurred on the sabbath, after the readings from the Law and the Prophets had taken place (13:15). Paul is seen here as a rhetor, but in contrast to the Jewish tradition of sitting in the

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2. So also A. WEISER (Apg II, 328-329) who has argued convincingly in this direction, and C. BREYTNENBACH, Mit Paulus und Barnabas in Galatien. Studien zu Apostelgeschichte 13f.; 16, 16, 18, 23 und Gal 1,2 und 3,1. (yet unpublished) 1993/4, 27. On the basis of Ac 13:15f which forms the scenic narrative frame of the speech, and Ac 13:42f which describes the reaction to the speech, BREITENBACH says that 'Diese beiden Textteile können kaum unabhängig von der Rede existiert haben. Daher wird man annehmen müssen, daß zumindest Apg 13,14c-42 in dieser Form von Lukas komponiert wurde' (Paulus und Barnabas, 27).
4. According to A. WEISER, this Paul's only speech addressed to Jews (Apg II, 323).
5. Compare J.W. DOEVE, Jewish Hermeneutics; J.W. BOWKER, Speeches, 96-111; D. GOLDSMITH, Peshar, 321-324; E.E. ELLIS, Midrashartige Züge, 94-104; M. DUMAIS, Le langage de l'évangélisation. L'annonce missionnaire en milieu juif (Actes 13,16-41), T journal/Mintréal 1976; and D.L. BOCK, Proclamation, 241. The above scholars work from the basis of the quotations, and compare the form of the speech to be on a par with that of a Jewish synagogue homily, especially a Proemium homily based on peshar-midrash. They use 4QFlor I,1-16 as a comparative example. The reading from the Torah (Seder) would have come then from Dt 4:25-46 and the reading from the Prophets (Haphtarah) from 2 Ki(Sm) 7:6-16 (so A. WEISER, Apg II, 323).
Chapter 6: First Pauline Speech

synagogue, he stood up and began his speech like the Greek orators did.

2. OVERVIEW OF THE TEXT OF THE SPEECH

Section I: Summary of the salvation history of the elected Israel and emphasis on God’s promise to them (13:16-25)

"Andrew: Israel, listen, and let your hearts respond, so that you may receive the promised Holy Spirit.

17 who is an image of the invisible God and the firstborn of every creation, 
18 and for this reason he is mediator of the covenant that was given to his apostles, 
19 to make the promise valid for all the people, 
20 who were witnesses of what God did in the past, 
21 and who spoke through the prophet: 
22 "Thus you are witnesses, and you have heard, how the Lord promised. 
23 That in the name of Jesus you will hear again the hearing of the Father's voice, 
24 through the son, who will be called his firstborn, 
25 who has been before every one of us, 

Section II: Interpretation of the life of Jesus until his resurrection (Jesus-kerygma), i.e. the message of salvation (ὁ λόγος τῆς σωτηρίας) (13:26-31)

"Andrew: brothers, 

26 when we, after our full days' fast, had fasted, 

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27 οἱ γὰρ κατακυκλώσης ἐν Ἱεροσολύμῳ καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες αὐτῶν
tαυτῶν ἀγνοοῦσαι καὶ τὰς ἰωνικὰς τῶν προφητῶν
tοὺς κατὰ πᾶν σάββατον
ἀναγνωσκόμενοι κρίνουσιν ἐπιλήφσαι,
28 καὶ μηδεμίαν αὐτῶν θανάτου εἰρήνης
ὁτιδήποτε Πολέμων ἀναφερθήμεναι αὐτῶν·
29 ὡς δὲ ἐπέλευσαν πάντα τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένα,
καθελοῦντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου ἔδιδαν εἰς μυστήριον.
30 οὐ δὲ θεὸς ἤγερεν αὐτοῦ ἐκ νεκρῶν·
31 ὡς ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ ἡμέρας πλεῖον τοὺς συναναβάσαν αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Γολοθύας
eἰς Ἱεροσολύμῳ, οὕτως (ὑνὶ) εἴσων μάρτυρες αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν λαὸν.

Section III: Contents of the message (gospel) and three quoted texts
(13:32-37)
32 καὶ ἴμεν ὡς εὐαγγελιζόμεθα τὴν πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ἐπαγγελίαν
gενομένην,
33 ὅτι ταύτην ὁ θεὸς ἐκπεπλήρωκεν τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτῶν ἡ μι
ἀναστήσας Ἡσαΐων,
ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ ψαλμῷ γέγρασε τῷ δευτέρῳ,
Υἱὸς μου εἰς θό, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγένηκά σε.
34 ὅτι δὲ ἀνέστησεν αὐτοῦ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἐκκέντρου
tι μέλλουτα ὑποστρέφειν εἰς
dιαθήκας, οὕτως ἐφηκέν ὁτι
Δάκτιο ὑμῖν τὰ ἡμέρα Δαυίδ τὰ πιστά.
35 διότι καὶ ἐν ἐτέρῳ λέγει,
Οὐ δοσέσαι τὸν δοσόν σου ἰδεῖν διαθήκας.
36 Δαυίδ μὲν γὰρ ἴδια γενέα ὑπηρετήσας τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ βουλῇ ἐκκομηθῆ
καὶ προσετέθη πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶδεν διαθήκας,
37 οὐ δὲ θεὸς ἤγερεν, οὐκ εἶδεν διαθήκας.

Section IV: Interpretation of the contents of the message and admonition
(13:38-41)
38 γνωστῶν οὖν ἔστω ὑμῖν, ἄνδρες ἄδελφοι,
ὁτι δὰ τούτων ὑμῖν ἰδεῖς ἐκμαρτυρεῖται,
{καὶ} ἀπὸ πάντων ὧν οὐκ ἔδησθήτε ἐν νόμῳ Μωυσέως δικαιοθήναι,
39 ἐν τούτῳ ποὺς ὁ πιστεύω δικαιοῦται.
40 ἑλπίζετε οὖν μὴ ἐπελθᾶτε τὸ εἰρήμενον ἐν τοῖς προφήταις;
41 θετε, ὁ θεοφρονεῖται, καὶ διασκεδάζετε καὶ ἀφαίρεσθε,
ὅτι ἔργα ἔργαξαν ἐγὼ ἐν τοῖς ἡμέραις ὑμῶν,
ἔργα δὲ οὐ μὴ πιστεύσητε εάν τις ἐκδικηθῆται ὑμῖν.

Section V: Reaction of the hearers (13:42-45)
42 Ἐξάντων δὲ αὐτῶν παρεκάλουσι εἰς τὸ μεταχεῖ σάββατον
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Section VI: The message is not only for the Jews, but also for the "gentiles" (non-Jews). (13:46-48)

2.1 Division of the speech

The main speech, or first part of the speech, stretches between VV.16-41. The reaction of the hearers (VV.42-45) divide this first speech with the second part, a follow-up speech, which stretches between VV.46-48.

This speech consists of all the constitutive elements that are to be found in the missionary speeches to the Jews:9 Section I: Ac 13:16-25: Summary of the salvation history of Israel and emphasis on God's promise to them; Section II: Ac 13:26-31: Interpretation on the life of Jesus until his resurrection, i.e. the message of salvation; Section III: Ac 13:32-37: Contents of the message (gospel) and three quoted texts; Section IV: Ac 13:38-41: Interpretation of the contents of the message and admonition; Section V: Ac 13:42-45: Reaction of the hearers; Section VI: Ac 13:46-48: The message is not only for the Jews, but also for the "Gentiles" (non-Jews).

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With regard to the form, or structure, of the speech itself, during the last decade some scholars have indicated that this speech (and other early Christian "sermons") show remarkable resemblances with the form of (hellenistic-) Jewish sermons. Although this may be a possibility, the problems remain that there is insufficient comparative material available to prove this hypothesis. Others, on the other hand, have found it to be nearer to that of Graeco-Roman speeches. According to the latter, Ac 13:16b could be regarded as the exordium, VV.17-26 could be seen as the narratio, VV.27-37 as the proposition (propositio), the proof (probatio), and VV.38-41 as the epilogue.

3. SECTION I: ACTS 13:16-25
Summary of the salvation history of Israel and emphasis on God's promise to them.

This Pauline speech starts with the same structural elements as did the Petrine speeches: (a) The gesture of the speaker: "Paul stood up and motioned with his hand" (ἀναστὰς δὲ Παύλος καὶ κατέστησας τῇ χειρὶ... = V.16); (b) A verb of saying introducing the direct speech: "he said" (εἶπεν, V.16); (c) Naming of the hearers at the beginning of the speech: "Brothers Israelites and Godfearers" (ἀδερφοί Ἰσραήλ, καὶ οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν... = V.16).

In addition, the explicit appeal to the hearers to "listen" follows the naming of the hearers: ἀκούσατε (V.16). This probably resembles the element of the Schema in the synagogue service. Compare Dt 6:4: "Ακοεύε Ἰσραήλ... However, here in

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10. For a more comprehensive discussion on this, cf. M.F.-J. BUSS (Missionspredigt, 19-31; and A. WEISER, Apg II, 322-324.
12. So argued also by M.F.-J. BUSS (Missionspredigt, 23), and A. WEISER (Apg II, 324): "Aber der Hypothese, daß das formale Gerüst ganz einer ProÖmien-Homilie entspreche, stehen doch die Schwierigkeiten entgegen, daß die genauen Formen und Gesetzmaßigkeiten jüdischer Synagogenpredigten aus so früher Zeit nicht genügend bekannt sind,... daß die Form des Christuskerygmas nicht dem vorausgesetzten Schema entspricht und daß der Schlußteil mit der Paräne se bereits im V 38 beginnt."
14. Ibid., 8-10. Ac 13:17-25 probably shows several of the characteristics of a narratio as recommended by Quintilian, while Ac 13:27-37 resembles all four types of "certainties" (a priori) which were conceptualized by Quintilian.
15. Compare also Ac 1:15; 2:14; 12:17; 15:7; 17:22; 21:40; 26:1. This was not Jewish custom, as rabbis have sat in the synagogue.
17. See also V.26. Cf. STR-BILL, Kommentar II, 715-723 for an extensive discussion on this phrase. It refers to a "Proṣelyt-Klasse." The old Synagogue has had two categories of proselytes: complete and half proselytes. According to B.M. NEWMAN & E.A. NIDA, "They may have been either full converts to Judaism or Gentiles who sympathized with the Jewish faith and desired to worship the God of the Jews" (Translator's Handbook, 253).
19. Cf. the Mishnah (ca. 200 AD) Megilla IV:3-6 which indicated that the synagogue service consisted of 5 elements: Schemer (confession), Tefila (prayer), Torah (law), Ha-Nahim (prophets) and Targum (explanation).
Ac 13:15, this element follows after the reading of the Law and the Prophets, and not before it, as in the order described in the Mishnah.

V.17 starts with God as the Subject, the God of this people of Israel (ὁ θεός τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου Ἰσραήλ),20 It resembles the beginning of Peter's third speech, also starts with God as the Subject, the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (Ac 3:13). The covenantal God is thus at stake here. The motif of the election of their forefathers (probably the patriarchs) is then introduced, with Paul including himself within the circle of his hearers by using a first person plural pronoun (ἐξελέξατο τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, V.17). This election motif introduces a summary of the salvation history of Israel which involves God as its Subject:21 VV.17b-23. Its peak or climax is to be found in V.23 with the coming of the Saviour Jesus, as was promised by God. The function of the material in VV.17b-23 is thus probably to lead, in a salvation-historical manner, to the Jesus-kyrigma.22

VV.17b-23 provides a brief summary to help the listeners recall God's activity in their history,23 from the Exodus to the rise of David.24 The following eight elements in God's salvation history with his elected people are described: (a) the prospering of his people during their stay in Egypt (καὶ τῶν λαῶν ὑψωσεν25 ἐν τῇ παροικίᾳ ἐν γῇ Αγγύστου, V.17b); (b) their exodus out of that country, being led out with his mighty power26 (καὶ μετὰ βραχίονος ύψηλοῦ ἔζηγαγεν αὐτοὺς ἐξ αὐτῆς, V.17c); (c) his endurance of their conduct for about forty years in the desert (καὶ ὡς τεσσαρακονταετίς χρόνον ἔτρωπος ἔθηκεν27 αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, V.18); (d) his overthrowing of seven nations in Canaan and his gift of their land to his people as their inheritance,28 a process taking about 450 years (καὶ καθελὼν ἐθνη ἐπτά ἐν γῇ Χανάν ἐκκλησιοφόρησεν τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν ὡς ἔτεσιν τετρακοσίων και πενήντα, VV.19-20a); (e) God then gave them judges29 until the time of Samuel "the prophet" (καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἔδωκεν κρίτας ἐώς Σαμουήλ [τοῦ]

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20. The expression ὁ θεός Ἰσραήλ is to be found frequently in the LXX. Cf. G. SCHNEIDER, Apg II, 131,n.36.
23. Behind this "heilsgeschichtlich-summarischen Durchblick durch die Geschichte Israels" lies "eine uralte israelitisch-jüdische Tradition" according to U. WILCKENS, Missionsreden, 50, and A. WEISER, Apg II, 325, but — as the latter points out — there are elements which point to this version as the composition of the author of Ac! So also F.F. BRUCE, following G.E. WRIGHT (God Who Acts, London 1952, 70-81), reckons that it "summarizes the Old Testament kerygma, Israel's salvation-history as it was recited in the national worship" (Davidic Messiah, 11).
24. So also F.F. BRUCE, Davidic Messiah, 11.
25. C. SMITS saw a parallel with the selection and exaltation of Israel, and Is 1:2 where the same word is used, although in a different context (Citation II, 193). So also H. CONZELMANN, Apg, 83.
26. Cf. to Dt 4:34; 5:15; 9:26,29; Ex 6:1,6; and 12:42. See also C.A.J. PILLLAI, who calls it a "simple major citation" of Dt 5:15 (Early Missionary Preaching, 40).
27. According to C. SMITS it is only Dt 1:31 which knows the word ἔτρωπος ἔθηκεν (Citation II, 194). See also NA26; B.M. NEWMAN & E.A. NIDA, Translator's Handbook, 253; and C.A.J. PILLLAI, Early Missionary Preaching, 40, the latter who indexed this whole phrase as a "simple major citation".
29. According to C.A.J. PILLLAI, this phrase is a "minor citation" of Jdg 2:16 (Early Missionary Preaching, 40). C. SMITS has pointed to 1 Ki(Sm) 8:5 and 10:21-24: "De figuur van David is enigszins op de voorgrond geschoven door expliciete citaten, maar het gebeurt wederom alleen om een overgang te maken naar de persoon van Jesus" (C. SMITS, Citation II, 194).
προφήτου, V.20b); (f) the people then asked for a king30 and God gave them Saul, the son of Kish, of the tribe of Benjamin, who ruled forty years (κάθετος εν τούτω βασιλέα, καὶ ἐδωκεν αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς τὸν Σαουλ υἱὸν Κίς, ἀνδρα ἐκ φυλῆς Βεναδεμίων, ἔτη τεσσάρων, V.21); (g) after removing Saul, he made David their king (καὶ μετατάσσοντα αὐτὸν ἤγερεν τὸν Δαυίδ αὐτοῖς ἐς βασιλέα ὧν, V.22a); (h) this was the man from whose descendants God brought to Israel the saviour Jesus — as he has promised (τούτου ὁ θεὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ σπέρματος κατ’ ἐπαγγελίαν ἤγερεν τῷ Ἰσραήλ σωτῆρα;32 Ἰησοῦν, V.23).33

All these phrases are combined with a καί, with the exception of the latter. It is interesting that a direct leap is made from David (the climax of the "OT κεῖσθαι") to Jesus (the climax of the "NT κεῖσθαι"),34 probably to point out some typological meaning in the context of the traditional proof from Scripture.35 Also important is the fact that God remains the Subject throughout their history. When looking back into their history, it is clear that this God has never let them down and has fulfilled all his promises.

The reference in V.22b was probably meant as an explicit quotation.36 Not only is it introduced by an introductory formula (καί εἶπεν μαρτυρήσας), but also the words directly following are in the first person singular, so as to be understood as God’s direct speech: Εὗρον Δαυίδ τοῦ τοῦ Ἰσαὰκ, ἀνδρα κατὰ τὴν καρδιάν μου, διὸ θάνατε πάντα τὰ θηλματά μου. The quotation itself is, however, not drawn from a single quoted text. It consists of a conflation of Scriptural textual phrases,37 mainly from Ps 88:21(89:20),38 1 Ki(Sm) 13:14 and Is 44:28.9

30. Although C.A.J. PILLAI calls this a “minor citation” of 1 Ki(Sm) 8:5, it refers simply to the history as contained in 1 Ki(Sm) 8:5 and 10:24 (Early Missionary Preaching, 40).
31. For the history behind VV.21-22a, see 1 Ki(Sm) 8:50; 10:21-24; 16:13.
33. G. SCHNEIDER, Apf II, 133, and A. WEISER find in V.23 a reference to the Davidic promise of 2 Ki(Sm) 7:12-14 (Apf II, 325).
34. So also A. WEISER, Apf II, 325. The comparison of the two terms, OT and NT κεῖσθαι, is used by F.F. BRUCE, Davidic Messiah, 12-13.
35. See also U. WILCKENS, Missionsreden, 50, n.3.
37. So also E. HAENCHEN, Apf, 351; H. CONZELMANN, Apf, 83; E. PLUMACHER, Lukas, 45; B.M. NEWMAN & E.A. NIDA, Translator’s Handbook, 256; G. SCHNEIDER, Apf II, 133, n.56; F.F. BRUCE, Paul’s Use, 72; D.L. BOCK, Proclamation, 242-243; and C.A.J. PILLAI who calls it a “composite citation...introduced by a formula of quotation, but combining texts from different books” (Early Missionary Preaching, 41). Some consider this to be probably the result of a “testimony book”, cf. for instance, H. CONZELMANN, Apf, 83; (somewhat reserved) G. SCHNEIDER, Apf II, 133; and E. PLUMACHER, Lukas, 45.
38. Cf. here to D.A. HAGNER for a comparison between Ac 13:22 and Clement of Rome on the use of this text (The Use of the Old and New Testaments in Clement of Rome (S.NT 34), Leiden 1973, 259-261). HAGNER admits that the similarities between the two might "...indicate that the source of the citation in Acts is to be found in a collection of Davidic or Messianic passages." “This remains a possibility, but the simpler conclusion of dependence upon Acts is to be preferred in the present instance" (260-261). Differently, G. SCHNEIDER: “Trotzdem ist 1 Clem hier kaum von der Apf abhängig (Apf II, 133, n.56). So also D.L. BOCK, Proclamation, 243.
39. F.F. BRUCE points to the fact that the phrase, “who will do all my will”, is found as a paraphrase of “after his own heart” in the Targum Jonathan. On the basis of the literal rendering and the paraphrase
Vv. 24-25 deals with the motif of the preparatory work of John the Baptist before the coming of Jesus. He preached repentance and baptism to all the people of Israel. He himself revealed his true identity: he is not ("the one"), and he is not worthy to untie the sandals of that one (Jesus) who is coming after him (John).\(^{40}\)

4. SECTION II: ACTS 13:26-31

Interpretation of the life of Jesus until his resurrection (Jesus-kerygma), i.e. the message of salvation (ὁ λόγος τῆς σωτηρίας)

The second major section of this speech starts again with the typical ἀνδρεὶς (ἀδελφοί), V. 26a, calling the hearers sons of the generation of Abraham (υἱὸς γένους Ἰαβραίων). The addition of the phrase "God-fearers" (καὶ οἱ ἐν ὑμῖν φοβοῦμεν τὸν θεόν) implies a wider audience than just Jews, and suggests that this is a "mixed audience".\(^{41}\) It is to them that this word of salvation is sent (ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος τῆς σωτηρίας τούτης ἐξαπεστάλη, V. 26b).\(^{42}\)

After mentioning David (V. 22), a change is made directly to Jesus, i.e. to the Jesus-kerygma. He is the Saviour (V. 23).\(^{43}\) The life of this Jesus until his resurrection is now briefly summarized in vv. 27-31. The following seven elements are focused on: (a) the people of Jerusalem and their rulers did not recognised Jesus (οἱ γὰρ κατοικοῦντες ἐν Ἰερουσαλήμ καὶ οἱ ἁρχοντες αὐτῶν τοῦτον ἀνυσώκαντες, V. 27a);\(^{45}\) (b) but by condemning him they fulfilled the words of the prophets that are read every sabbath (καὶ τῶν φανῶν τῶν προφητῶν τὸ σάββατον ἀναγινώσκομενας κρίναντες ἐπλήρωσαν, V. 27b);\(^{46}\) (c) though they found no proper grounds for a death sentence, they asked Pilate to have him executed (καὶ μηδεμίῳ αὐτῶν θυσίασας οὐδὲντες ἦτταντο Πλάτων ἀνοιχθηθηκαί αὐτῶν, V. 28); (d) when they had carried out all that was written about him, they took him down from the tree and laid him in a tomb (ὡς δὲ ἐξελέσαν πάντα τά...
The section of the speech which consists of VV.32-37 forms such a cohesive unit that it would be almost impossible to discuss each of the three quoted texts in it completely separately. Luke's interpretation of each quoted text flows over into the others. One cannot be understood without the other being directly linked with it. This trilogy of quoted texts forms part of the same argument and reflects a striking interwoveness.

Luke's intention here, is to summarize the message, the "good news" (gospel). This is presented through the mouths of Paul and Barnabas to those Jews and godfearers in the synagogue at Antioch in Pisidia: καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑμᾶς ἐσπογγυλίζαμεν, V.32a. The content of the message itself is threefold: (a) God has fulfilled, to those of the present generation, the promise he made to their fathers, to them their children (τὴν πρὸς τὸς πατέρας ἐπαγγελίαν γενομένην, ὃτι ταύτην ὁ θεὸς

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48. Here, thus Scriptural witness.
50. The Lukan Paul had not himself seen this resurrected Jesus. Cf. also G. SCHNEIDER, Apg II, 136.
51. Here, thus oral witness.
52. U. WILCKENS has pointed out that also now is nothing else preached than the fulfillment of the scriptural promises which were given to their fathers (Missionsreden, 53).
54. Cf. also U. WILCKENS, Missionsreden, 51; and W.H. BATES, Note, 9-10. The latter found the similarities between Ac 3 and 13 to be even broader.
55. Cf. W.K.L. CLARKE who talks about "a remarkable combination...(which) make a composite quotation" (Use of the Septuagint, 94).
έκπεπλήρωκεν τοῖς τέκνοις [αὐτῶν] ἡμῖν, VV.32b-33a); God has done this by (b) raising Jesus (ἀνοστήσας Υιοῦ, V.33b), substantiated with a quotation from Ps 2:7: υἱὸς μου εἶ σὺ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγένηκα σε, V.33c); and (c) Jesus, being raised from death, would therefore never decay (ὅτι δὲ ἀνέστησεν αὐτὸν ἔκ νεκρῶν μηκέτι μέλλουτα ὑποστρέφειν εἰς διαφθορὰν, V.34), substantiated with quotations from Is 55:3 (δῶσω ψωμί τὰ ὁσιά Δαυίδ τὰ πιστά, V.34) and Ps 15(16):10 (οὐ δώσεις τὸν οσιόν σου ἴδειν διαφθοράν, V.35).57 Basically the very same thing is said in both of the last two quotations. The one from Is 55:3 only in a positive statement, and the other from Ps 15(16):10 in a negative statement.

The people are thus first informed of Jesus’ raising as referred to in the second Ps (ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ ψαλμῷ γέγραπται τῷ δεύτερῳ, V.33), that he (Jesus) is God’s son and God has given him life. The fact of Jesus’ raising is repeated again after the quotation, referring now explicitly to his resurrection as a fact which has taken place: God has resurrected Jesus from death and he would thus never decay. Having established this, Luke can now come back to the first part of the argument, or the first element of the apostles’ message: that God has thus indeed fulfilled his promises, as was foretold in Is 55:3 (αὕτως εἴρηκεν ὁ θεός, V.34), that the blessings promised to David58 would be bestowed, and, elsewhere (διότι καὶ ἐν άλλῳ λέγει, V.35), that he would never decay. Attention is then given to this aspect by way of the third quoted text, from Ps 15(16):10. It is at this point that Luke explicitly states that these words could not have referred to David himself59 (V.36), but are to be understood in terms of Jesus (V.37). For when David had served God’s purpose in his own generation, he fell asleep, was buried with his fathers,60 and his body decayed (Δαυίδ μὲν γὰρ ἴδια γένεσιν ὑπερετήσας τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ βουλῇ ἐκομίσθη καὶ προσετέθη πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἴδειν διαφθοράν, V.36).

56. Compare Ac 3:22-23 where this exx interpretum was encountered. Cf. to M. RESE, Motive, 82-86 and D.L. BOCK, Proclamation, 244-245 for a summary of the debate and the arguments pro and contra.
57. Similarly also E. HAENCHEN: “Lukas trägt also hier 3 Gedanken vor: 1. Jesus ist auferstanden; 2. damit ist die Verheißung an die Väter erfüllt; 3. das verkünden wir” (Apg, 353).
58. G. SCHNEIDER points to the fact that (τῶ) δῶσα was seen by Plato (Politicus 301d), Xenophon (Hell IV 1,33) and others as the "göttlichen Verfügungen im Gegensatz zu den δικαιο, den menschlichen Satzungen". He says also that it could mean here "die dem David (oder durch David) gegebenen göttlichen Verheißungen bzw. verheißenen Heilsgaben." Cf. also Wisd 6:10 and Jos (Ant VIII, 115) (Apg II, 137).
59. Because the Psalmist (David) is speaking here in the first person (cf. also G. SCHNEIDER, Apg II, 138). See also the discussion on Ps 15(16):8-11 in the second speech of Peter, especially under 4.2.5 (Section IV).
60. Cf. 3 Ki(1Ki) 2:10, also labelled a "minor citation" by C.A.J. PILLAI, Early Missionary Preaching, 40.
5.2 The three quoted texts: (Ac 13:33-35)
Ps 2:7 - Is 55:3 - Ps 15(16):10

5.2.1 God has fulfilled his promise: The raising of Jesus and the quoted text
from Ps 2:7 in Ac 13:34

(a) Pre-Lukan occurrences of the quotation

Within the context of later Judaism, Ps 2 was probably already connected with the
"messiah," especially with regard to the occurrence of Νασ in Ps 2:2.61 In 4QFlor,
for example, is to be found a quotation from Ps 2:1, where it is linked to 2 Ki(Sm)
7:10b-14.62 Ps 2:7, in turn, was already linked with 2 Ki(Sm) 7:12-16 in PsSol 17:23-
24.63

Although not quoting from the same verse, it is also interesting to note that Ps

Here in Ac 13:33 is found a quotation which identically resembles a part of Ps
2:7.64 The same quotation is found again in both Heb 1:5 and 5:5,65 where, in each
case, the quotation serves to strengthen the idea of the exaltation of Jesus, and is
therefore linked with the christology.66 In Heb 5:5 this quotation from Ps 2:7 is
followed directly by another Ps quotation, from Ps 109(110):4. It became clear from
these occurrences that both Ps 2(7) and Ps 109(110) were already linked with the
christology, and then especially with Jesus' exaltation.

(b) The introductory formula (Ac 13:33)

The introductory formula is formed by the words: οὐκ η ἐν τῷ θεῷ γέγραπται
τῷ δευτέρῳ.67 Although there are a lot of textcritical alternatives to be found in this
unit, none of them seems convincing enough to alter the reconstructed text of NA26.

Very interesting then is the explicit reference that the quotation which is to
follow, comes from the second Ps.68 One has to weigh a few probabilities here:69
Was it (a) either "more likely that Luke was acquainted with the tradition that

61. So according to D.L. BOCK, who points out that Ps 2 is used "messianically" in 4QFlor
(Proclamation, 246).
62. See the work of D. GOLDSMITH in this regard (Pesher, 321-324). Also D.L. BOCK, Proclamation,
246.
63. So pointed out by E. SCHWEIZER, Davidic 'Son of God', 190.
64. VV. 1-2 of the same Ps was already quoted in Ac 4:25-26.
65. T. HOLTZ mentions only Heb 1:5 (Untersuchungen, 56).
66. "In der Hebr 1,5 und 5,5 vorliegenden alten Tradition wird Ps 2,7 eindeutig auf die himmlische
Inthronisation Christi in der Erhöhung bezogen. Damit soll gesagt werden: Durch die Erhöhung hat
Gott Jesus zu seinem Sohn gemacht (vgl. Röm 1,4; Kol 1,18; Offb 1,5)" (J. ROLOFF, Apg, 207). See
also E. LÖVESTAMM, Son and Saviour, 13-14.
68. This reading is supported by P74 Α B C Y 33,81,945,1739 al. Codex D reads here ὅν τρις γένος ἐν
τῷ πρώτῳ ψαλμῷ γέγραπται — as it is indeed to be found in the MT. This exact pinpointing of the
precise place from which the quotation came, is an individual case and unique in the whole NT (so also
M. RESE, Motive, 81; J. ROLOFF, Apg, 206).
69. So proposed by B.M. METZGER, Textual Commentary, 412-414.
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counted the first two Pss as one,70 and later editors or transcribers altered his πρώτῳ to δευτέρῳ to conform what became the usual enumeration", or (b) "was πρώτῳ substituted by someone who was acquainted with the rabbinical practice of combining them? Another possibility to reckon with is whether (c) the reading of P45 (τοὶς ψαλμοίς) is "to be preferred, not only because it is the oldest, but for transcriptional reasons as well"? In favour of the last is the fact that "the variety of positions at which the numeral (whether πρώτῳ or δευτέρῳ) is introduced makes both numerals suspect".71 One of the consequences of choosing the last alternative, is that one would then have to be cautious of using this introductory formula as part of the evidence that Luke might have had a broader knowledge of Ps 2.72

(c) Determining and explaining the textual differences

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The Greek translation of the LXX is a complete, identical and true translation of the Hebrew,73 and the quotation in Ac 13 (as well as in Heb 1 and 5) agrees exactly with the text of the LXX.74 In codex D, the quotation is extended to the next verse (V.8) of Ps 2. Also this addition agrees with the LXX version.75

(d) Method of quotation

After presenting a summary of the salvation history of Israel, the place of Jesus within this history is explained. It is made clear that he was the fulfillment of God's

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70. See also STR-BILL, indicating that also the Talmud has often taken the first and second Pss to be one (Kommentar II, 725).
73. So also D.L. BOCK: "This agreement extends even down to the word order of the text" (Proclamation, 245-246).
74. W.K.L CLARKE (Use of the Septuagint, 85.87); M. RESE (Motive, 81); H. RINGGREN (Luke's Use, 234) and D.L. BOCK (Proclamation, 245), among others, agree that Ps 2:7 is quoted here according to the LXX.
promise which was made to their forefathers. The Davidic promise plays a prominent role here. The summary account of the salvation history of Israel breaks off at this point, and the connection with Jesus is made immediately thereafter (Vv.22-23). The quotation of Ps 2:7 is then probably also to be understood within this context. Both the motif of the "raising" of David and Jesus, as well as that of the "promise" made to David (fulfilled in their raising/coming of Christ), serve the purpose of strengthening the links between what happened with David and Jesus. This technique of quoting within the context of the speech compares with that established in Peter's first speech.

(e) Interpretation of the quotation by Luke

Luke himself used this quotation to support his statement "that God has fulfilled this" (ὅτι τάυτα θεός ἐκπενθήσει)76 "to us, to their children" (τοῖς τέκνοις [ἀυτῶν] ἡμῶν)77 "by raising Jesus" (ἀναστήσας Ἰησοῦν).78 It was no problem to quote from the Pss in this manner, because the Pss have functioned also as prophecy.79 The quotation itself is encircled by the whole issue of Jesus' resurrection. It was stated in V.30 that God has raised Jesus from the dead. Then, just after the quotation, Luke again repeats it: ὅτι δὲ ἀνέστησεν αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν (V.34). The motif of Jesus' resurrection thus forms an inclusio here. But that does not necessarily means that this quotation refers here to the resurrection and/or exaltation process.80 Scholarship seems to be deeply divided on this issue, and the following major viewpoints are represented with regard to the interpretation of this quotation: The first two viewpoints are concerned with the issue if the quotation should (a) refer to God's presentation of Jesus to humankind, i.e. Jesus' appearance, human birth and ministry, or (b) if it is to be linked with Jesus' resurrection. The debate has developed on the basis of the double meaning of ἀναστάσεως in Ac 13:33 — which could mean either "to appear" ("auftreten lassen"), as it is used in Ac

76 ἐκπενθήσει is a hapax legomenon.
77 The ἡμῶν of this phrase, of which the reading is supported by only a few witnesses (C3 E MT sy), has triggered some debate in the past. It was read during the time of E. HAENCHEN (Apg, 353) as ἡμῶν in some printed NT editions, based on the overwhelming support of textual witnesses (w74 KA B C q ψ p lat) — on which HAENCHEN's response was that it is an "uraler Fehler". Although some have adopted the ἡμῶν-reading (cf. G.D. KILPATRICK, Eclectic Study, 74), the majority of textcritics have concluded that "there is a serious degree of doubt regarding the original reading of the text at this point" (B.M. NEWMAN & E.A. NIDA, Translator's Handbook, 261). After F.J.A. HORT (Notes on Select Readings, in: B.F. WESTCOTT & F.J.A. HORT, The New Testament in the Original Greek, Vol II: Introduction and Appendix, Cambridge/London 1896, 95) has made this choice in favour of ἡμῶν, it became the popular mode to see it in this way by which it became possible to explain all the variants (J.H. ROPE, Detached Note, 124; E. HAENCHEN, Apg (1968), 353; M. RESE, Motive, 82; B.M. METZGER, Textual Commentary, 411).
78 Having chosen the resurrection alternative, W.J.C. WEREN reckoned that the three quotations in Ac 13:33-35 "are used to emphasise that God's promise to send Israel a saviour from the descendants of David is fulfilled in the resurrection of Jesus" (Psalm 2, 198).
79 So G. SCHNEIDER who refers here to Ac 1:16, 2:25 and 4:25 (Apg II, 137).
3:22,26 and 7:37 in the sense of the first appearance of a prophet, or it could mean "to be resurrected" ("auferwecken"). The saying could thus refer to either the physical birth of Jesus in the meaning of the first instance, or to his new life which has started with his resurrection when the second alternative is chosen, an event which has taken place on Easter day. Within this second alternative, some go to great lengths to link the quotation with the resurrection by means of birth imagery, where Jesus is seen "to be 'begotten' at the resurrection". This viewpoint was recently rejected on the basis that such imagery does not exist in the NT. The arguments of both alternatives were already extensively discussed in detail several times in the past.

Members of a third viewpoint agree that this quotation in Ac 13:33 refers to Jesus' exaltation, but differ about whether it refers exclusively to the exaltation, or whether it can be linked also with the resurrection. Most of them saw it in terms of a finer distinction which was implemented here by Luke, which is an important new point within his tradition: He saw the resurrection and the exaltation as two different events which followed one after the other. After the distinction is made, emphasis is then laid on Jesus' exaltation. When bearing in mind that the letter to the Heb probably predates Ac, it is a relatively safe assumption that Luke was familiar with the tradition linking the quotation with Jesus' exaltation. It is clear from the way in which Heb 1:5 and 5:5 interpret this quotation, that the exalted status of the Son at the right hand of the Father is a God given honour. Ps 2:7 is thus used within the context of Jesus' exaltation. Being involved in the christology himself, and in discussing Jesus' resurrection, he also included the known quotations that were already previously linked with the exalted Christ, i.e. Ps 2:7 here in Ac

81. So, for example, supported by M. RESE, Motive, 86. Cf. also F.F. BRUCE: "...not, probably, to his being raised from the dead but to his being raised up as Israel's deliverer (just as, earlier in the address, God is said to have 'raised up David to be their king' (Davidic Messiah, 12). Cf. also idem., Paul's Use, 72. Although E. SCHWEIZER did not support this option, he said that this would indeed be the sense of the same Greek word in the OT prophecy of 2 Ki(Sm) 7:12. He also refers to PsSol 17:21 and Sir 47:12 (Davidic 'Son of God', 186).

82. So seen by the second corrector of codex A and some Bible translations (e.g. NAB). Also followed by J. WEISS, Das Unchristentum, Göttingen 1914, 25; J. GEWIES, Urapostolische Heilsverkündigung, 30,n.73; L. CERFAUX, Citations, 44; E. HAENCHEN, Apg, 353; J. DUPONT, Filius meus, 530; E. LÖVESTAMM, Son and Saviour, 10; H. CONZELMANN, Apg, 85; D. GOLDSMITH, Psalter, 322; E. SCHWEIZER, Davidic 'Son of God', 186; B.M. NEWMAN & E.A. NIDA, Translator's Handbook, 262; W.J.C. WEREN, Psalm 2, 198; and U. WILCKENS, the latter who has pointed out that the proof from Scripture is attached here to the resurrection-kyrigma, which is introduced by a repetition of the salvation historical motif (Missionsered, 51). Also G. SCHNEIDER thought that it is to be understood as "auferwecken", and substantiates it that "das auf die Auferweckung Jesu bezogene transitive der Tät bezeugt im NT nur die Apg: 2,24,32; 13,33,34; 17,31" (Apg II, 137). Also the TEV and NEB.

83. So E. LÖVESTAMM, Son and Saviour, 20. For an evaluation of the arguments of E. LÖVESTAMM, see D.L. BOCK, Proclamation, 246-248.

84. So D.L. BOCK (Proclamation, 248).

85. See J. DUPONT, L'Interpretation, 528-535; E. LÖVESTAMM, Son and Saviour, 8-11; M. RESE, Motive, 83-86); E. SCHWEIZER, Davidic 'Son of God', 186-193.

86. See for instance D.L. BOCK, Proclamation, 246.

87. So also J. ROLOFF, Apg, 207.

88. Reference to this Ps could therefore be due to the tradition (so also G. SCHNEIDER, Apg II, 137).

89. According to A. WEISS, "Ps 2:7 ist bereits vorpaulinisch (Röm 1,3f.) herangezogen worden, um die in der Auferweckung geschehene Einsetzung des Davidsohnes Jesus in seine göttliche Söhnschaft auszudrücken" (Apg II, 327). Also in the same direction: H.J. HOLTZMANN, Die Apostelgeschichte (HCNT 1/2), Tübingen/Leipzig 1901, 90; A. LOISY, Les Actes, 533f; O. BAUERNFEIND, Apg, 176;
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13:33 and Ps 109(110):1 in Ac 2:34-35. The quotation probably belongs then to some of the oldest "Schriftbeweisen der Urgemeinde" and was often used in early Christianity with reference to the exaltation of Christ. This christological use of Ps 2:7 could even be so old, that it might have been used in pre-Pauline times.

When looking once again at this quotation within its context, the connection between VV.22-23 and VV.32-33 seems to be important, something which was sometimes overlooked by scholars. V.22 states that God has "raised up" David as the king of Israel (ηγείρεν τοῦ Δαυίδ); V.23 goes on to say that it is "of this man's posterity that God has brought to Israel a Saviour, Jesus, as he promised" (καὶ ἐπαγγελίαν). God promised David that a messiah would come; for Luke, the coming of Jesus is the fulfillment of that Davidic promise. But there is another aspect from the Davidic tradition which is standing out prominently at the beginning of Luke's gospel, i.e. the angel's (God's messenger's) promise which was made to Mary during the announcement that she will become pregnant with Jesus: "...and the Lord God will give to him the throne of his father David" (καὶ δώσει αὐτῷ κύριός ὁ θεός τῶν θρόνων Δαυίδ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, Lk 1:32). That promise was referred to again in Ac 2:30, "that he will sit on the throne of David" (καθίζοι έπὶ τῶν θρόνων αὐτοῦ). The same motif is also retrospectively mentioned here in Ac 13:22-23, and again referred to in VV.32-33: the good news is that what God promised to their fathers (τῶν πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ἐπαγγελίαν), is fulfilled for these people in the raising of Jesus (ἀναστήσας Ἰσοῦν). The intention is probably, that he is now sitting on that promised throne! The connection between VV.22-23 and VV.32-33 is established on the one hand by linking the explicit reference to David (V.22) with the quotation from the Ps (V.33), already accepted by Luke as the work of David, and on the other hand by taking two motifs from the Davidic tradition and applying them to Jesus: the "raising" (ηγείρεν, V.22; ἀναστήσας, V.33) and the "promise" (ἐπαγγελίαι, V.23; ἐπαγγελίαι, V.32). By using this first quotation (Ps 2:7) in the trilogy of quotations, Luke probably intended to refer to the fact of Jesus' exaltation.

The final piece of evidence which substantiates this interpretation, is the content of

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90. Cf. also E. LÖVESTAMM on this (Son and Saviour, 36). According to J. ROLOFF, Ps 2 was (after Ps 109(110)) the most quoted OT text in connection with the christology (Apg, 206).
91. Cf. T. HOLTZ, Untersuchungen, 56.
92. According to A. WEISER, "...um die in der Auferweckung geschehene Einsetzung des Davidsohnes Jesus in seine göttliche Söhnschaft auszudrücken" (Apg II, 327). He refers to Rm 1:3f at this point. So also E. SCHWEIZER, Davidic 'Son of God', 186-187.
93. Some, however, have noticed this. Cf. C. SMITS who said: "Door de voorafgaande vermelding van de belofte aan de vaderen (13.23,32) moet hier naar onze mening wel sprake zijn van de verschijning van de Zoon van God in de tijd" (Citaten II, 195). Also D.L. BOCK: "Ps. 2:7 is used as part of the chain of texts to point to the fulfilment of the Davidic promise in Jesus (vv. 22-23) as that fulfilment is demonstrated through his resurrection. Ps. 2:7 serves to designate Jesus as God's son. The decisive demonstration of his sonship is revealed in the fact that he is raised from the dead incorruptible" (Proclamation, 248.253).
94. C. SMITS has already pointed to the fact that the terms ἐγείρω and ἀναστήσαμεν are used interchangeably in biblical literature for the appearance of kings and prophets (Citaten II, 195). So also F.F. BRUCE, Paul's Use, 79.n.6.
95. With regard to Ps 2 being the work of David, see Ac 4:25-26.
the quotation itself: εγὼ σῴζειν γεγένεται σε — God has "begotten" Jesus! This quotation contains thus the contents of the promise made to David, as a third motif from the Davidic tradition. The implied knowledge of 2 Ki(Sm) 7:12-16 cannot be denied here.96 The "promise" of V.32f refers probably to 2 Ki(Sm) 7. Ac 13:33 could then be based on 2 Ki(Sm) 7:12 (LXX) and the quotation from Ps 2:7 seen as a fulfillment of 2 Ki(Sm) 7:14. The prophecy which Nathan gives to David there, is that his "seed" shall be "raised up", he shall be God's "son", and his "throne", "house", and "kingdom" shall last "in all eternity".97 Except for the same verb being used for "raising", all these elements of the Davidic promise were probably at the background of Luke's mind. Without really wanting to distinguish the coming, resurrection and exaltation of Jesus here as separate events, he probably understood them inclusively and all being part of one process. The importance of the "eternal throne" which was promised by God himself to David, is to be seen in Palestinian Judaism with references such as 1Mac 2:57, and in Hellenistic Judaism with references such as Sir 47:11.98 It should be noted that there were two main streams of interpretation of the Davidic prophecies: the one emphasized "a Messianic figure, God's Son of Davidic descent, who rules over Israel in the latter days", and the other has emphasized "the divine sonship of the eschatological Israel and leads to the apocalyptic or Qumranian passages of the NT".99 The interpretation of Ps 2 here in Ac 13 takes place within the framework of the former stream.100

It is also interesting to note the similarity of the first part of the quotation from Ps 2:7 with the words spoken by the voice from heaven at Jesus' baptism: "You are my beloved son" (Mk 1:11; Lk 3:22; Mt 3:17)101 as well as at the transfiguration of Jesus: "This is my Son, my beloved" (Lk 9:35; Jn 12:28-30).102 With the first quotation referring to the resurrected Jesus being raised (exalted) as God's Son103 at his right hand, the following two quotations will focus exclusively on the fact of his resurrection104 within this whole process of exaltation.

96. See also Heb 1:5 where the quotation from Ps 2:7 is followed immediately by a quotation from 2 Ki(Sm) 7:14. So also D.L. BOCK, Proclamation, 375.n.109. Compare also D. GOLDSMITH: "There seems to be sufficient connection between the ideas and wording of II Sam 7:11-16 and Acts 13 to suggest the possibility of an early Christian pesher tradition related to the Nathan oracle" (Pesher, 322).
97. So effectively pointed out by E. SCHWEIZER, who has indicated that the key words of this prophecy "...turn up time and again whenever the Son of David is expected". Compare especially for this his table (Davidic 'Son of God', 187-188).
98. So E. SCHWEIZER, Davidic 'Son of God', 190.
99. Ibid., 191.
100. On the Davidic sonship of Jesus, cf. Lk 1:27 (Joseph belongs to the "house of David"); 1:32 (Jesus will inherit the "throne of David"); 2:4 (they went to Bethlehem, the "city of David"); 3:23,31 (the genealogy of Jesus...the son of David); 18:38 (the blind man at Jericho knew him as 'Jesus, son of David'); 20:41 (Jesus himself poses the problem of the Messiah (Christ) who will be the "son of David", using Ps 109(110):1 as quotation); Ac 2:30 (the issue of the promise made to David that he will sit on the throne of God and the link with Ps 109(110):1 is taken up again). See also Rom 1:3 ('concerning his Son, who was descended from David according to the flesh').
101. So also B.M. NEWMAN & E.A. NIDA, Translator's Handbook, 262. F.F. BRUCE suggests that the wording of Ps 2:7 "...may well have been the precise wording of the heavenly voice" and points to the fact that it is so read in the so-called "Western text" (Davidic Messiah, 12).
102. Cf. also E. LOVESTAMM, Son and Saviour, 26n.7.
103. So also the conclusion of D. GOLDSMITH: "The recent major treatments of Ps 2 7 in Acts 13:33 agree that the reference is to: the elevation to sonship of the resurrected Jesus" (Pesher, 322).
104. So also F.F. BRUCE, Paul's Use, 72.
(f) Possible broader knowledge of Ps 2 (LXX) in the rest of the section
(Language, Style and OT-motifs)

That Luke had some broader knowledge of Ps 2 in mind when quoting V.7 here, seems to be accepted by some scholars.\footnote{105} The question must be asked, however: if Luke adopted the Ps 2:7 quotation (which seems likely, bearing in mind the occurrences in Heb 1:5 and 5:5), were the interpretative links applying the quotation to Jesus of Nazareth already present in the tradition? But that Ps 2 has played a significant role for Luke's evidence in his argumentation in Ac, is clear from the fact that it is also used in Ac 4.

Other possible indications of Luke's knowledge of Ps 2:7 can be found in Lk 3:22; Ac 11:15; 17:18 and 19:19.

5.2.2 God has resurrected Jesus from death and the quoted text from Is 55:3 (LXX) in Ac 13:34

Although the next two quotations are extremely closely linked with each other, scholars found it difficult in determining the role of Is 55:3 in this speech.\footnote{106}

(a) Pre-Lukan occurrences of the quotation

This quotation seems to be familiar in early Judaism as becomes clear from the evidence found in the scrolls from the Judean desert (Qumran). It occurs in 1QS 4:22; 5:5f; 1Q5 1:21 and 2:25.

Although this quotation is not found as an explicit citation anywhere else in the NT, there may be an implied reference to Is 55:3 in Heb 13:20 — but then only with regard to those words which are omitted here in Ac 13:34! Its occurrence here in Ac 13:34 is thus the only place where it is to be found in the NT. The question arises then, that if this was part of a so-called "testimony book",\footnote{107} would one not expect to find other references to it in the NT writings? Especially bearing in mind the close relationship between this quotation and that from Ps 15(16):10 which follows hereafter in Ac 13.

On the basis of a lack of evidence proving the existence of the trilogy of quotations as found here in Ac 13, it should be presumed that the selection and adaptation of this quoted text is the creative work of Luke himself.

(b) The introductory formula (Ac 13:34)

Scholars seem to have accepted without question that V.34b is an explicit citation. This assumption needs to be re-examined. If an explicit citation is typified as a conscious quotation that is always clearly introduced by an introductory formula, then it is doubtful that V.34b qualifies as an explicit quotation. In contrast to the
of the previous quotation, which clearly indicates that the words which follow should be read as direct speech. V.34b is prefaced by an ὅτι-construction. On the surface, this is a possible indication that the phrase should be read as indirect speech, though this is not necessarily the case. It seems important, then, to try to determine whether this is an explicit quotation, introduced by an introductory formula, or whether it should be seen simply as a reference to the OT.

There is one important indicator here that could throw some light on this question. The words which follow directly after this second ὅτι are presented in the first person, and not in the third. The words directly after ὅτι were thus meant by the writer to be seen as a direct quotation — with ἔρθη included as part of it! When δώσω is taken as part of the quotation it also links better with the next quotation. Seen from this perspective, the words οὗτως εἶρηκεν ὅτι thus function here as introductory formula.

(c) Determining and explaining the textual differences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NT (NA26)</th>
<th>LXX</th>
<th>MT</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ac 13:34</td>
<td>Is 55:3</td>
<td>Is 55:3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>οὗτως εἶρηκεν</td>
<td>καὶ</td>
<td>ἔρθησιν</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ὅτι δώσω</td>
<td>διαβήσῃσαι</td>
<td>λέγει</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ὁμών</td>
<td>ὁμὼν</td>
<td>καὶ λέγει</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>τὸ δῶσα Δαυὶ</td>
<td>τὸ δῶσα Δαυὶ</td>
<td>ὑποτις κρινής</td>
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<tr>
<td>τὸ πιστά</td>
<td>τὸ πιστά</td>
<td>ὑποτις πιστῆς</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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108. This is due to δώσω (= fut/ind/act/1st pers/sing) which would otherwise have been δώσετ (=fut/ind/act/3rd pers/sing).
109. ὅτι then must be interpreted here as a hodi officiantur. "Ὅτι is usually followed not only by the indicative instead of the optative (a tendency also in classical), but also by an exact representation of direct discourse, so that ὅτι serves here the function of our quotation marks" (BL-DBR § 470, 246). Compare also Mk 7:6; 11:17; Lk 2:23; 4:4,[10]; [In 8:17]; Rm 3:10; 4:17; 8:36; 1 Cor 14:21; Gl 3:10 and 1 Pt 1:16 where the same tendency is to be found.
110. In the printed edition of NA26 this can cause some confusion, because only the words that correlate directly with the reading from the known LXX texts are printed in cursive. Discussions on this quotation often also omit ἔρθη as part of the contents of the quotation itself (cf. for example C. SMITS, Citaten II, 195-6; B.M. NEWMAN & E.A. NIDA, Translator's Handbook, 263; G. SCHNEIDER, Apg II, 137). The printing format of the Greek UBS (third) edition, is more clear on this. δώσω is printed with a capital and starting on a new line, as is the case with other quotations.
111. The combination δώσω...τὰ δῶσα (V.34) would then be found again in the δῶσεις τὸν δῶσα of the next quotation (V.35). This is in agreement with E. HAENCHEN, following CERFAUX, by saying that for "διαβῆσαι διαβῆσαι αἰώνιοι tritt unter dem Einfluß des folgenden Zitats...δώσω εἰν" (Schriften, 163). So also H. CONZELMANN, Apg, 85.
112. See also C.K. BARRETT: "It is integrated into the argument with οὗτως εἶρηκεν (the subject must be God) ὅτι..." (Luke/Acts, 239).
Chapter 6: First Pauline Speech

Textual differences between MT and LXX

The only major difference between the readings here is that the תִּניָּא of the MT was translated with δοσια by the translators of the LXX (and so adopted here in Ac). It was thus changed to the plural. The fact that the LXX translated תִּניָּא with δοσια in Is 55:3, with the same Hebrew letters as to be found in 2 Ki(Sm) 7:15, might point to an earlier linkage between Ps 2 and Is 55. Did Luke know of this?

Textual differences between LXX and Ac

There are two major differences to be found here in Ac 13:34: (i) the addition of δώσω, and (ii) the omission of διαθέσαμεν...διαθήκην αἰώνιον.

(i) Addition: δώσω

None of the NT witnesses offers any textual evidence to cast doubt on the occurrence here of δώσω. On the other hand, the LXX witnesses show no evidence of the word being included at some stage in the LXX textual history. This evidence make it clear that the addition of δώσω in V.34 should probably be ascribed to the hand of Luke himself. There seems to be an intended connection implied between the δώσω...τά ὀνομα of this quotation in V.34 (Is 55:3) and the δώσεις τὸν ὄσιον of the next quotation in V.35 (Ps 15(16):10).

This addition might be an implicit replacement for the phrase διαθέσαμεν...διαθήκην αἰώνιον which is omitted later on in the quotation.

(ii) Omission: διαθέσαμεν...διαθήκην αἰώνιον

Both the textual witnesses of the NT and the LXX readings agree that the readings, as reconstructed in the modern editions, are beyond question. There is thus no doubt, on the one hand, that these words are part of the reading in Is 55:3, and on the other hand, that they are not part of the reading of Ac 13:34.

By omitting this phrase here in Ac, a different emphasis is given to the quotation. The explicit reference to the eternal covenant is left out. The focus which was on the covenant tradition itself, shifts to the promise made to David, with emphasis on the person David, and therefore the David tradition itself. The promise which was made to David, and which was fulfilled in Jesus, replaces thus the idea of the covenant which God has entered into with Israel. This change of focus has already taken place implicitly with the reference to the fulfillment of God’s promise

113 H. RINGGREN says that this translation makes it “easy to carry the argumentation by means of word play (V 35)” (Luke’s Use, 234).
114 So also D.L. BOCK: “Thus τά ὀνομα Δαβίδ is deliberately plural and includes two key elements. They are (1) the provision for an everlasting rule [specifically, in resurrection of the Davidic son] and (2) the opportunity of deliverance through the Davidic son [specifically, in justification and forgiveness of sin]” (Proclamation, 254). Interesting here is that it has exactly the same Hebrew letters as τά ὀνομα in 2 Ki(Sm) 7:15, as pointed out by E. SCHWEIZER, Davidic ‘Son of God’, 192, n. 10.
115 Only the minuscule SS (10th cent AD) disagrees with the LXX textual witness tradition (cf. J. ZIESLER, Isaias (Vol XIV), Göttingen 1967, 327).
(V.32-33). The concept of the διαθήκην αἰώνιον (Is 55:3) is therefore probably implicitly replaced by the concept of the ἐπαγγελματία...ἐκπεπλήρωσεν (V.32-33), and the concept of διαθήκησα (Is 55:3) with the addition of δῶς at the beginning of the quotation (V.34).

(d) Method of quotation

On the surface it seems that the sense of Luke's line of argumentation would have lost nothing if he had gone directly from Ps 2:7 at διαθητήσεται at the end of V.34a, to the beginning of V.35 (i.e. omitting V.34b). The quotation from Is 55:3 (with its introductory formula) contributes to the argument by providing authoritative Scriptural evidence of the promise to David that the resurrection from death would take place and that he would not "see decay". It may have been used here in order to make it clear that Ps 15(16):10 could not, at this point, have been referring to David. For some scholars, this is evidence of a pre-Lukan link between Ps 15(16):10 and Is 55:3.

Did Luke himself insert Is 55:3 at this point, or did he derive it (in combination with either, or both, of the quotations from the pre-Lukan tradition?) There has been speculation in the past that the trilogy of quotations may be due to

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116. Cf. B.M. NEWMAN & E.A. NIDA: "As a testimony to the reality of the resurrection, an appeal is made not only to the authority of the eyewitnesses but also to the testimony of Scripture" (Translator's Handbook, 262). Also A. WEISER: "In der Auferweckung Jesu zu unvergänglichem Leben und ewiger Herrschaft hat sich die göttliche Zusage verwirklicht, und zwar so, daß sie nun den Zuhörern und Paulus selbst (V 33.34) als Heil zugute kommt" (Apg II, 333).


118. In the same direction, M.F.-J. BUSS, who thought Ps 15(16):10 to be an insertion and Is 55:3 a reworking (Missiönsreden, 180-183).

119. Cf. T. HOLTZ (Untersuchungen, 140-145); U. WILCKENS (Missiönsreden, 232); and A. WEISER (Apg II, 327). The latter said: "Der in den VV 33b-37 mit Hilfe von drei Zitaten dargebotene Erweis, daß sich in Jesu Auferweckung die alt. Verherrlichungen und Heilshoffnungen erfüllt haben, wird nicht erstmals von Lukas zusammengestellt worden sein." F.F. BRUCE, among others, accepts the existence of a group of testimonia, to which he attributes these quotations (Davidic Messiah, 11-13). So also L. CERFAUX (48), who believed that Is 55:3 and Ps 15(16):10 were already combined in a "testimony book" before Luke's time, as R. HARRIS formerly proposed. E. HAENCHEN, too, did not deny this (Schriftzitate, 163-164). However, the existence of such a "testimony book" could not yet sufficiently proofed. So also G. SCHNEIDER: "Dennoch ist...nicht bewiesen, daß eine Katene oder (vor-lukanische) Testimoniens-Sammlung zugrunde liegt. Die Anfügung von Jes 55,3 und Ps 15,10 LXX an das traditionelle Testimonium Ps 2,7 konnte auch von Lukas stammen" (Apg II, 138).
some kind of "testimony", but the difficulty of substantiating this has been clearly
pointed out. There might be some similarity here with one of the rules of Hillel, i.e. the
principle of "equal category".

(e) Interpretation of the quotation by Luke

Taken at face value, Luke's purpose in using the quotation seems vague. However, its function and contribution within its new context in Ac is to be seen in relation with Ps 15(16):10. With the conscious connection of δῶον...τὸ δον (Is 55:3) and δῶον τὸν δον (Ps 15(16):10), there can be no doubt that Luke intended to parallelize the two quotations and to use the one as a substantiation of the other.

Emphasis is laid on the promises made to David which will be given by God. The link with David was already established in V.22 where it was said that God raised David as their king, and testified that he was a man after God's heart who will do all his will. Then in V.23 it was said that it was of his posterity that God brought to Israel the Saviour, Jesus, as he has promised. In V.32 the promises to the forefathers were taken up again and linked with the first Ps-quotation, associated with David. The issue of the promises made to David, are once again repeated in V.34 by quoting now Is 55:3. The emphasis on the David-tradition is complemented by the omission of δωος...δωον, which helps to move the focus to the promises made to David, rather than to the "eternal covenant". The fulfillment of that promise made to David, is then interpreted by Luke to has happened with

121. So for instance, R. HARRIS, who thought it came from an existing collection of texts, concentrating on the promises to David (Testimonies). Also G. LÜDEMANN thinks in this direction with regard to the last two in this trilogy (Christentum, 164). More recently, for instance, B.M. NEWMAN & E.A. NIDA, Translator's Handbook, 263.

122. See C. SMITS, Citaten II, 196. He thought that Ps 88(89):48f could also be responsible for this connection. Although no direct word similarities are to be found, the contents are similar. He said: "Ofschoon in de grieke tekst de door Paulus aangehaalde woorden niet gevonden worden, staan daar dezelfde gedachten uitgedruk en zijn ze verbonden met ideeën over het zien van het heder."

123. So F.F. BRUCE: "In the Hebrew text ḥasid ("holy one") in Ps 16:10 is cogerate with ḥasid ("covenant mercies") in Is 55:3; in the Septuagint the same adjective ḥasid is used in both places (in the masculine singular in the former and in the neuter plural in the latter). "If Jesus, the son of David, was the 'holy one' of God who was saved from undergoing corruption, his resurrection was the means by which God kept his undertaking to fulfill for his people the covenant mercies promised to David and his dynasty (Davidic Messiah, 12)."

124. So C. SMITS who reckons that "De woorden van Isaias zijn op zich genomen niet erg duidelijk" (Citaten II, 195). Also G. LÜDEMANN says that this quotation is so "...fragmentarisch, daß es unverständlich ist" (Christentum, 164). See also D. GOLDSMITH, Pesher, 323. H. CONZELMANN suggests that Is 55:3 'ist so fragmentarisch angeführt, daß das Zitat für sich unverständlich bleibt' (Apg, 85). Is this vagueness perhaps the result of working with Ac 13:33-35 as being part of proem homily, testimony or early Christian catena?

125. So also E. LOVESTAMM, Son and Saviour, 49-84.

126. See D.L. BOCK for the possibilities of what τὸ δον might refer to (Proclamation, 252-253).

127. D. GOLDSMITH has seen a connection between the two only in terms of the δον (Pesher, 323).

128. D. GOLDSMITH points out that this dependence upon each other is taken by some as Ps 15(16):10 being dependent upon Is 55:3, while others consider Is 55:3 to be dependent upon Ps 15(16):10 (Pesher, 323).
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the events which had taken place around Jesus, especially with regard to his bodily resurrection. 129

5.2.3 Jesus' body would never decay and the quotation from Ps 15(16):10 in Ac 13:35

(a) Other NT occurrences of the quotation

The lengthy quotation of Ps 15(16):8-11 in Ac 2:25-28 was discussed in Ch 4 of this study. At this point it is sufficient simply to refer to its use in the second Petrine speech, and to note that the quotation is found nowhere else in the NT than in the second speech of Peter, and in this first Pauline speech.

(b) The introductory formula (Ac 13:35)

The words, διότι καὶ ἐν ἐτέρῳ λέγει, form the introductory formula to this quotation. 130 It includes Ps 15(16):10 here, "as another decisive element in the chain" 131 of quoted texts.

(c) Determining and explaining the textual differences

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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ac 13:35</td>
<td>Ps 15:10</td>
<td>Ps 16:10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>οὐ δώσεις</td>
<td>οὐδὲ δώσεις</td>
<td>λαβάται</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>τὸν σῶμα σου</td>
<td>τὸν σῶμα σου</td>
<td>καταρεῖ διὰ τοῦ σώματος σου</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἑιδεῖν διαφθοράν</td>
<td>ἑιδεῖν διαφθοράν.</td>
<td>λαύτα</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Textual differences between Ac and LXX

Except for the stylistic difference between οὐδὲ (Ps 15(16):10) and οὐ in Ac 13:35, there are no differences to be found between the two versions. NT textual witnesses support the reading as it stands in Ac 13, without any indication of possible changes or alternative readings in the textual tradition. The NT reading, as it stands, is thus beyond dispute.

The same applies to the LXX. There is no existing textual evidence that the οὐδὲ reading should be in doubt; it can be accepted as it is.

It is also interesting to note the difference between the quotation here in Ac 13:35 (which reads οὐ), and the longer version in Ac 2:27 (which reads οὐδὲ). The latter agrees identically with the LXX reading, and makes grammatical sense, as it

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129. D. Goldsmith, however, finds here not a proof for the resurrection, but for Jesus being the Christ (Pesher, 323).
130. Cf. C.K. Barrett who has said: "With ἐτέρῳ we must presumably supply ἔστιν; the subject of λέγει is probably God, though comparison with Chap.2 suggests David" (Luke/Acts, 239).
131. So D.L. Bock, Proclamation, 255.
stands in a kind of "neither...nor" construction, expressed by way of the οὐκ...οὐδὲ relation in V.27. The former, however, has been taken out of its original syntactical context. In the new context the use of οὐδὲ would be confusing, as it indicates the contrary of a parallel argument of which the first half is not to be found in the new context. All this makes it clear that Luke's knowledge of the context from which it is taken allows him to make also stylistic changes in the adaptation of his quotations to their new context.

(d) Method of quotation

With the words of this quoted text still fresh in the minds of his reader(s), Luke does not need to quote extensively again from this Ps. Only the relevant phrase for his argumentation is quoted here. But it is done as a pars pro toto, and the immediate context of the Ps is also implied, not only from its OT context, but here especially from its context in the second Petrine speech, which includes Luke’s interpretation of it at that point.

The importance of this Ps (and then especially this specific verse) for Luke’s interpretation of the Jesus-kerygma in terms of the resurrection, is clear, and is emphasized by the fact that it is placed in the mouths of both Peter (Ac 2) and Paul (Ac 13).

That the trilogy of quotations was taken from a so-called testimony book, is doubtful. Three things are pointing against it: (a) Both Is 55:3 and Ps 15(16):10 are only to be found by Luke and nowhere else in the NT corpus, (b) the combination of all three is only to be found once, and that is here in Ac 13, and (c) the similarities and strong connection between Is 55:3 and Ps 15(16):10 should then also be reflected somewhere else, which is not the case.

Luke has rather found Ps 2:7 from the tradition, and has probably added the other two himself. The first deals then with the exalted Son (at the right hand of his Father), while the other two deal with his resurrection from death. These three are now used as textual "witnesses" to the fact that God has fulfilled his promises to David, with 2 Ki(Sm) 7:11-16 probably used as the locus classicus. It makes more sense to understand the combination of these three quotations not only as a compilatory act of Luke himself, but also as an important piece of evidence about Luke’s interpretation of Scripture. Ps 2:7 is quoted as the first piece of evidence, taken from the tradition, to interpret the νικός as the exalted Jesus of Nazareth. Is 55:3 and Ps 15(16):10 are quoted as the second and third pieces of evidence, which

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133. D.L. BOCK also takes it as a stylistic variation here in Ac 13:35, "since the text is no longer set with its parallel partner of Ps 16:10a" (Proclamation, 255).
134. According to A. WEISER, Luke, under the influence of hellenistic anthropology, has understood the resurrection of Jesus as the "Wiedervereinigung der Seele mit dem der Verwesung nicht verfallenen Fleisch Jesu" (Apg II, 336).
135. With D. GOLDSMITH: "...not a random selection, but one carefully conceived on linguistic and theological grounds to show the Jews how God fulfilled his promise to David in II Sam 7 — namely, by raising Jesus from the dead" (Pesher, 324).
were added by Luke himself, to interpret the resurrection of Jesus from death. The Davidic tradition plays then a prominent role by linking all three quotations to one single unit in Paul’s (Luke’s) argument.

(e) Interpretation of the quotation by Luke

If ἐτέρως in the introductory formula is understood here to mean "another Ps", then it implies that the previous Ps was understood in terms of Davidic authorship. The speaker has changed between the two quotations. In both the one from Ps 2:7 and that from Is 55:3, it was taken to be God. But with the introductory formula of this quotation from Ps 15(16):10 the speaker is interpreted as to be David. His name was thus picked up from within the last quotation. Also immediately after quoting from Ps 15(16), the quotation is explained in terms of what has happened with David.

The prominence of διαφθοράς in VV.34-36 must be noticed. The word itself is found in the NT only in Ac (six times). It was used two times in the second speech of Peter, and appears here four times in this first speech of Paul. One of these four usages is again part of the same quotation (V.35), while the two occurrences directly following (VV.36-37) are also to be linked directly with the interpretation of the quotation. The other occurrence in the preceding V.34 also connects to this quotation, although indirectly. Its importance, as stressed through this quotation, is probably to be found in its message that Jesus was given victory over death by God (VV.32,34) and that he would never decay (V.34). The idea of incorruptibility is thus the point, or function, of this quoted text.

In combination with the immediate preceding quotation from Is 55:3, these two texts are interpreted by Luke "...in the sense that Jesus' resurrection fulfills the promises made to David and guarantees the perpetuity of his throne." The context of Ac 2:25-32, where Ps 15(16):8-11 was quoted and interpreted already before by Luke in Peter’s second speech, should not be forgotten here. The connection with Jesus’ resurrection was very carefully pointed out there by Luke. It

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136. So taken by the RSV, for instance.
137. Categorized in the semantic dictionary of J.P. LOUW & E.A. NIDA under the domain of "Physiological Processes and States" (248), and under the subdomain: "Rot, Decay" (277). It is described as "to rot or decay, in reference to organic matter" (Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament Based on Semantic Domains, Vol 1: Introduction and Domains, New York 1988).
138. It is found in both instances in Peter’s speech as part of the quotation from Ps 15(16):10.
139. κατά μέληνα ἀποστρέψων εἰς διαφθοράς...
140. E. FREISTEDT has found a possible connection here with the Jewish conception that the decay of the corpse begin after the third day. Jesus would then be resurrected just before this could begin (E. FREISTEDT, Alchemische Totengedächtnisrede und ihre Beziehung zum Jenseitsglauhen und Totenkultus der Antike, 1928, 63). A. WEISER said: "Jesus gilt als der durch seine Auferweckung zum Sohne Gottes Gezeugte, in die messianische Würde des Sohnes Gottes Eingesetzte. Daß diese durch die Auferweckung bewirkte Seinsweise derart ist, daß sie nicht mehr der Verwesung und Vergänglichkeit unterworfen, sondern nach hellenistischem Verständnis unvergänglich und deshalb im Unterschied zu allem 'Gewordenem' göttlich ist (Schmitt: Ps 16, S.240f.), wird durch die Zitation von Ps 16,10 LXX begründet" (Apk 11, 335).
141. D.L. BOCK, Proclamation, 255.
142. Cf. F.F. BRUCE, Paul’s Use, 72.
was seen as a prophecy from David, which could not have applied to himself, but which has referred to Jesus. The resurrection of Jesus to which it refers, was the result of God’s action. This interpretation is also applied here (Ac 13:36-37).

6. SECTION IV: ACTS 13:38-41
Interpretation of the content of the message and admonition. The quoted text from Hab 1:5.

One of the shared features between the second Petrine speech (Ac 2:14-41) and the first Pauline speech (Ac 13:16-41), is the fact that both of them present an explicit quotation from the *duodecim prophetae*.

6.1 Composition of the section

The parenthetic ἀνδρεῖς ἀπελευθοί in V.38 indicates the beginning of the next subsection. An appeal is made here on the revelatory character of the message for the hearers (γνωστόν σου ἔστω υμῖν). Three grammatical aspects contribute to the seriousness of the appeal: (a) the emphatic position of this phrase in the sentence, (b) the use of οὐν, and (c) the imperative form, ἔστω.

The rest of VV.38-39 makes it clear that the message which Paul and Barnabas are proclaiming (καταγγέλλεται) is that their sins are forgiven (ὑμῖν ἀφέσεις ἀμαρτῶν). This happens through Jesus as the agent, with the expression “through this” (ὅτα τούτου) properly referring back to the discussion of his death and resurrection in the preceding verses. The sins which are taken away are those from which the law of Moses could not justify them (καὶ ἀπὸ πάντων ὧν οὐκ ἠξυπηρέτησε ἐν νόμῳ Μωϋσέως δικαιοθητοί). In addition to the identification of Jesus as the agent through whom this freedom is achieved, an additional qualification is added at the end of the sentence (V.39): everyone that believes in this, is justified (ἐν τούτῳ πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων δικαιώταται). This makes the appeal of the preachers’ message

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143. Cf. also D. GOLDSMITH, who says that this quotation “...is used merely to prove that, since David did see corruption, the verse now applies to Jesus” (Pesher, 324).
144. Compare here also the division of this speech by G. SCHNEIDER, *Apg II*, 129, and A. WEISER, *Apg II*, 322-323.
145. See also V.16 (ἀνδρεῖς Ἰσραήλίται) and V.26 (ἀνδρεῖς ἀπελευθοί) for the role of ἀνδρεῖς as a structural marker in this speech. So also G. LÜDEMANN, *Christentum*, 160.
146. See also Ac 2:14 (τούτῳ ὑμῖν γνωστόν ἔστω); 4:10 (γνωστόν ἔστω πᾶσιν ὑμῖν); 28:28 (γνωστόν ὑμῖν ἔστω υμῖν) — all of them in speeches.
147. Cf. BL-DBR § 451: “After parenthetical remarks οὐν indicates a return to the main theme (resumptive).”
148. Cf. G. SCHNEIDER: “Freilich ist hier von μετάνοια keine Rede, sondern es wird (paulinisch!) von der Rechtfertigung des Glaubenden gesprochen” (*Apg II*, 139). Interesting is, however, that the verb ἰκανόνω is only to be found in Ac, here in this verse (hapax legomenon). W.H. BATES argued that V.39 “...hardly constitute a complete or exact summary of the doctrine of justification by faith. The writer would seem to be of the opinion that the law of Moses will justify you from some things but not from all. Where the Mosaic law falls short belief in Jesus takes over and will see you through. This is not Paul’s own view of things.” It simply appears as a characteristic Pauline afterthought, appended to a characteristic Acts’ kerygma” (*Note*, 10).
much more concrete, and places the possibility of achieving this new freedom in their own hands — they just have to believe this!

The appeal, which began in V.38, is now strengthened by the addition of a warning. Note the similarities between the beginning of the first sentence in this section (V.38) and the second sentence (V.40): (a) the emphatic position of the phrase (βλέπετε οὖν μη ἐπέλθη) in the sentence, (b) the use of οὖν, and (c) the imperative form, βλέπετε. The warning itself refers to the saying in the prophets (τὸ εἰρημένον ἐν τοῖς προφήταις, V.40), which in its turn forms the introductory formula for the quoted text from Hab 1:5.

6.2 The quoted text from Hab 1:5 in Ac 13:41

6.2.1 Other occurrences of the quotation

No evidence is found of other places in the NT where this text is quoted. It seems as if this quotation appears here for the first time in the NT literature. Although there exists today no textual evidence that this passage was quoted before in Jewish literature, its interpretation in the Hab Commentary (1QpHab 2:1), which was found among the Dead Sea scrolls, is noteworthy. Within its original context, Hab refers to the Chaldaean invasion of Judah. This is reinterpreted by the author of 1QpHab to the Roman occupation of 63 BC.

In the Pauline literature, Hab 2:4b was used in Gl 3:11 and Rm 1:17. Although it is also Paul who is at word here in Ac 13, the Lukan Paul uses Hab 1:5. The contexts are different and their purposes too. The only similarity is the fact that both quote from Hab.

6.2.2 The introductory formula (Ac 13:40)

The introductory formula is here formed by the words: βλέπετε οὖν μη ἐπέλθη τὸ εἰρημένον ἐν τοῖς προφήταις. The τὸ εἰρημένον is also found as part of the introductory formula of the quotation from the prophets in Ac 2:16. Although reference is made here to the "prophets" (plural), the quoted text itself is taken only from one prophet (Hab). The plural form probably refers here to the collection of the 12P.

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149. The quotation is from Hab 1:5 and not 2:5 as mentioned by C.K. BARRETT, Luke/Acts, 239. D.L. BOCK does not include this quotation in his discussion on Luke's OT christology (Proclamation). He emphasizes only those citations which refer to the christology. In W.K.L CLARKE's classification, this quotation forms part of those quotations which are "Free Versions of the LXX in Acts" (Use of the Septuagint, 88).
150. Cf. F.F. BRUCE, Paul's Use, 73.
151. G. SCHNEIDER (Apg II, 141) draws attention to the fact that the introductory reminder βλέπετε (οὖν) with the following μη also stands in the same connection in Mt 24:4/Lk 13:5/Lk 21:8; 1 Cor 8:9; Gl 5:15; Col 2:8; Heb 3:12; 12:25. Cf. also to Lk 8:18 and Eph 5:15 (βλέπετε οὖν).
153. The semantic weight of this τὸ εἰρημένον was already clearly formulated by G. SCHNEIDER: "τὸ εἰρημένον ist wie Lk 2,24 (ἐν τῷ νόμῳ) und Röm 4,18 (absolut) das 'Schriftwort'" (Apg II, 141).
6.2.3 Determining and explaining the textual differences

There are almost no text-critical difficulties in determining the NT text. The only changes to be found here are clearly due to the influence of codex D.

In this case we are fortunate also to have comparative Greek texts from Qumran: 8\textsuperscript{HevXII}gr and the Commentary on Hab (1QpHab).

### NT (NA26) vs. LXX vs. CODEX W

**Ac 13:41**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NT</th>
<th>LXX</th>
<th>CODEX W</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;\textit{\textit{Iδετε,}}\textit{ οἱ καταφρονη	extit{ται,}}\textit{ καὶ θαυμάσατε}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ο\textit{ἱ καταφρονη	extit{ται,}}\textit{ και έπιβλέ	extit{\textit{πατε}}}</td>
<td>και θαυμάσατε</td>
<td>και έφανε	extit{σθητε,}</td>
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<tr>
<td>ο\textit{ἱ έργον}</td>
<td></td>
<td>καὶ έργδο	extit{\textit{μαι}}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ο\textit{ἱ έργα	extit{\textit{δοι}}\textit{\textit{μα}}}}\textit{\textit{αι}}\textit{ \textit{ε ngàn}}</td>
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<tr>
<td>ο\textit{ἱ η	extit{\textit{μερα}}\textit{\textit{αι}}}}\textit{\textit{ε ngàn}}</td>
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<td>ο\textit{ἱ ήμω\textit{\textit{ν}}}}\textit{ έργο	extit{πως} ὃ σ\textit{\textit{o}} \textit{μη}}</td>
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<tr>
<td>καὶ θαυμάσατε</td>
<td>καὶ θαυμάσατε</td>
<td>καὶ έφανε	extit{σθητε,}</td>
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<td>πιστεύστε</td>
<td></td>
<td>καὶ έργα	extit{\textit{δοι}}\textit{\textit{μα}}}}\textit{\textit{αι}}</td>
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<tr>
<td>ἐὰν τις</td>
<td>ἐὰν τις</td>
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| ἐκδηγήθηταί ἡμῖν.|ἐκδηγήθηται.|ἐκδηγήθ\textit{\textit{ται}}|}

### 8\textsuperscript{HevXII}gr vs. MT vs. 1QpHab

**Hab 1:5**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>8\textsuperscript{HevXII}gr</th>
<th>MT</th>
<th>1QpHab</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ἐδετε, \textit{οἱ καταφρονηται,} καὶ θαυμᾶσατε</td>
<td>ἐδετε, \textit{οἱ καταφρονηται,} καὶ έπιβλέπατε</td>
<td>ἐδετε, \textit{οἱ καταφρονηται,} καὶ έπιβλέπατε</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἐργάζόμεθα ἡμᾶς</td>
<td>ἐγὼ εργάζόμεθα</td>
<td>ἐγὼ εργάζομεθα</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις</td>
<td>ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις</td>
<td>ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ὑμῶν, έργον ὃ σὺ μὴ</td>
<td>ὑμῶν, ὃ σὺ μὴ</td>
<td>ὑμῶν, ὃ σὺ μὴ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>πιστεύστε</td>
<td>πιστεύστε</td>
<td>πιστεύστε</td>
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<tr>
<td>ἐὰν τις</td>
<td>ἐὰν τις</td>
<td>ἐὰν τις</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἐκδηγήθηται ἡμῖν.</td>
<td>ἐκδηγήθηται.</td>
<td>ἐκδηγήθ\textit{\textit{ται}}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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The midrash-pesher of Hab (1QpHab 2,1-10)

"The prophetic meaning of the passage concerns those who were traitors along with the Man of Lies, for
they [did] not [believe the words of] the Teacher of Right (which came) from the mouth of God. It also concerns those who were traitors to the New [Covenant], [or] they were not faithful to the covenant of God, [but profaned] His holy name. / And thus the prophetic meaning of the passage [concerns] also [the traitors of the last days] They are violators of the covenant who will not believe / when they hear all that is coming upon the last generation from the mouth of / the priest in [whose heart] God has put understanding to give the prophetic meaning of all / the words of His servants the prophets, [through] whom God foretold / all that is coming upon His people and [His] congregation.  

(a) Textual differences between MT and LXX (and their relation with Ac)

[1] The דָּרֶנֶּב (“behold the Gentiles/nations!” or “gloat over the discomfiture of the nations!”) of the MT, was probably read by the translator of the LXX as דָּרֶנֶּב (translated by of καταφρονηταί, “You treacherous ones!”), and so followed by the reading of the NT. It is very interesting that this דָּרֶנֶּב-reading was found in 1QpHab. 

[2] The καὶ ἐπιθέσατε of the LXX is not to be found in the readings of the MT or 1QpHab. It is also left out by the NT text. At this point Ac and MT are thus nearer to each other than to the LXX.

When taking into account these changes, the text of Ac seems to be closer to the reading of 1QpHab than to that found in the versions of the MT and LXX.

(b) Textual differences: Ac 13:41 and Hab 1:5 (LXX)

155. Cf. also T. HOLTZ, Untersuchungen, 19. G.L. ARCHER & G. CHIRICHIGNO, say the vocative דָּרֶנֶּב would harmonize much better with the context than דָּרֶנֶּב does; it is therefore quite possible that this was the reading in the Hebrew Vorlage of the LXX. קαταφρονηταί is ‘despiser; an imposter who acts cleverly and treacherously’. It is used in Zph 3:5 to mean ‘perfidy’, and its verb, καταφρονέω = ‘act treacherously’ (דָּרֶנֶּב) in Pr 13:16; Hs 6:7; Hab 1:13. Therefore we must consider the distinct possibility that דָּרֶנֶּב or דָּרֶנֶּב is indeed the original reading. It is more likely that the MT scribe would have inadvertently omitted “than that the scribe of the LXX Vorlage accidentally inserted a”. (It is therefore best to amend MT to דָּרֶנֶּב) (Quotations, 159).
156. We can accept that this is the correct reading in 1QpHab on the grounds that (a) “the textual variant בֹּגְדִים (‘traitors’) for M.T. בָּגָדִים (‘among [or, upon] the nations’) is implied both by the constant reference to ‘traitors’ in the commentary” and (b) “by the absence to any reference to the ‘nations’” (W.H. BROWNLEE, Midrash-Pesher, 54). There are however, some who still prefer the reading of the MT here, e.g. M. BURROWS, The Dead Sea Scrolls, Grand Rapids 1955, 265.
157. Of the LXX manuscripts, only 763 omits these words, probably under the influence of the NT text.
Chapter 6: First Pauline Speech

The quotation agrees broadly with the reading of our known LXX readings. There are, however, some noteworthy differences to be found. In a comparison between Ac and the LXX witnesses, the following 6 changes to the reading of Ac were identified: Two additions, ἔργον and ύπος; two omissions, the phrase καὶ ἐπιβλέψατε and θαυμάσατε; one substitution where διότι (LXX) has become ἄτι (Ac); one transposition where ἐγὼ ἐργάζομαι (LXX) has been changed to ἐργάζομαι ἐγὼ.

b.1 Additions

[1] ἔργον

It is clear that there is no intertextual evidence that this addition might be due to some source text of Lk (at least those known and available today). There is no single witness in the LXX tradition which supports the inclusion of this word here. It can therefore relatively safely be assumed that Luke has consciously added this himself on stylistic grounds for the sake of clarity. An antecedent is here picked up for the ὁ that was implied by the previous ἔργον ἐργάζομαι.

[2] ύπος

There is no NT textual support for the omission of this word. Among the witnesses of the LXX are some that include this word in their readings. It is difficult to decide if this word was part of Luke's Vorlage or not. It makes also sense

158. Contrary to C. SMITS (Citaten II, 196) who typified these as "enige onbelangrijke afwijkingen" (some unimportant differences), and STR-BILL who unqualifiedly said "Die angezogene Prophetenstelle Hab 1,5 ist nach den LXX zitiert" (Kommentar II, 726).

159. E. HAENCHEN’s remarks (Schriften, 161) — i.e. that the addition of ἔργον here is in keeping the general trend in codex B to give frequent repetitions — are not valid at this point because this addition also appears frequently in other manuscripts. The word is included by the following NT textual witnesses: P72 Λ Β C Ψ 33,36,81,453,945,1175,1739 α' ε' γ' ο', and excluded by D E M γ μ υ. According to B.M. METZGER this ἔργον was probably omitted by codex D et al "either because it was felt to be redundant, or in order to assimilate the text to the Septuagint text of Hab 1.5" (Textual Commentary, 416). Cf. also T. HOLTZ, Untersuchungen, 19.


161. So also T. HOLTZ, Untersuchungen, 19.

162. G. SCHNEIDER explains this "unerwartete ἔργον" as follows: "das Gott den Verächtern der Botschaft ankündigen läßt, ist nach lukanischem Verständnis die Annahme der Heiden unter Verwerfung der Juden" (Apg II, 141). He also reckons that this meaning, as well as its "Einführungswendung", leads to the conclusion "daß dieses Zitat zu den selbständigen Zitaten zu rechnen ist, die Lukas entweder selbst der LXX entnommen hat oder deren Text er doch im wesentlichen selbständig nach seiner LXX bietet, auch wenn sie in irgendeiner Form mit der Tradition des christlichen Schriftbeweises vorgegeben sein sollten" (quoting T. HOLTZ, Untersuchungen, 21).


164. So also G.L. ARCHER & G. CHIRICHIGNO, Quotations, 159.

165. According to W.K.L. CLARKE its inclusion is due to "recensional" grounds, i.e. that "the quotations in Acts show the usual New Testament tendency in that they follow the A text of the LXX, as against the Β" (Use of the Septuagint, 95).

166. Its inclusion is supported by Νεα A(106,26)-49(613)-198-407 36-62-LII(46,86,711). T. HOLTZ said: "d.h. in der großen Mehrheit der A-Gruppe, in der L-Gruppe und bei einigen Vertretern der C-Gruppe" (Untersuchungen, 20). See also the table in App. A.
in terms of the hearers in this speech. See also V.38 (two times). He reinterprets and contextualizes it.167

b.2 Omissions

[1] καὶ ἐπιβλέψατε
There is no evidence of any NT textual witnesses which support the inclusion of these words. In leaving out this phrase, the Ac-reading stands nearer to the MT which also omits it, than to the LXX.168 The omission is thus either the result of another Textvorlage which might have been nearer to the MT text, or it was simply omitted by Luke himself, due to stylistic reasons, namely, that it seems to be superfluous after ὅτε.169

[2] ὑπαμάνα
This omission is not supported by a single textual witness among those of the LXX.170 Its inclusion in the text of Ac is also not supported by any single witnesses in the textual history of Ac. It can, therefore, relatively safely be assumed that this omission is due to the hand of Luke himself.

b.3 Substitution: διότι (LXX) --- > ὅτι (Ac)

The διότι of the LXX is substituted by ὅτι in the NT text. There is no clear textcritical support among the textual witnesses, either the LXX in favour of this NT reading, or of the NT in favour of the LXX reading.171 What should be noted, however, is that it is also to be found in SinHevXIIgr and codex Ν1.172 It might thus be due to another Textvorlage,173 or simply due to the personal stylistic preference of the final author.

b.4 Transposition:
ἐγὼ ἐργαζόμαι (LXX) --- > ἐργάζομαι ἐγὼ (Ac)

Not a single LXX textual witness supports this change of the reconstructed NT (NA26) text.174 It can therefore relatively safely be presumed that this change was

167. Cf. to the pronoun change in Ac 3:22.
168. So also T. HOLTZ, Untersuchungen, 20; and G.L. ARCHER & G. CHIRICHIGNO, Quotations, 159. The only textcritical witness of the LXX which supports this omission, is the minuscule 763 (11th century AD). This was probably done by the influence of the NT text. Refer also to the table in App. A.
170. So also T. HOLTZ, Untersuchungen, 20. See the table in App. A.
171. See the table in App. A.
172. This seems to be a typical characteristic of codex X, according to J. ZIEGLER, Duodecim Prophetae, 35.
173. So preferred by T. HOLTZ: "Vielmehr wird in der LXX des Lukas nur ὅτι gestanden haben. Zwar hat sich davon an dieser Stelle keine Spur in der Überlieferung erhalten." He draws attention to the fact that in Hab 1:6 and also in 2:3, codex A reads ὅτι instead of διότι (Untersuchungen, 20).
174. Among the textual witnesses of the NT, the ἐργάζομαι ἐγὼ reading is supported by A B D 13.61 k vg sa sy arm, while the reversed order (ἐγὼ ἐργαζόμαι), as found in the LXX, is supported by C E I L P al pler cat vg dem aeth Chr. The first reading might be taken as the original, as it is the most difficult, both grammatically and contextually. Cf. also T. HOLTZ, Untersuchungen, 19.
made by the hand of Luke himself, probably as a stylistic improvement.\footnote{175} The fact that the εὐα, which seems to be superfluous, is still retained, might denote some intention that this is an act of God.\footnote{176}

### 6.2.4 Method of quotation

There are no traces of this quotation being used elsewhere in the NT, and Luke has therefore probably found this quotation by himself and not from tradition.\footnote{177} He has probably used a Textvorlage which differs from that to be found in the reconstructed version of the LXX, if the changes of καὶ ἐπιβλέψετε and ὄτι are taken to be part of that specific Textvorlage. But there are also indications that he has made stylistic improvements (the addition of ἔργον, the word order of ἔργος ὥμοι, and the omission of θαυμάσω) and has interpreted the quotation within its new context (ὡμίν).

The prophetic motif which has played an important role in the usage of Scripture thus far, is to be found here once again. The quoted text from Hab is used as a prophecy from Scripture, being God's Word itself. It cannot be questioned and nothing can change it.

Attention was also drawn to the fact that Peter has quoted from the scroll of the 12P (Ac 2:17-21 = Jl 3:1-5), and so did Paul (and Barnabas) here (Ac 13:41 = Hab 1:5).

The same pattern reveals itself here as has become clear from the first Petrine, first part of the second Petrine and the third Petrine speeches, i.e. that the first section containing a quotation, or combined quoted texts, is presented as being fulfilled. The next section, however, is presented as not yet being fulfilled. All this fits then into God's plan and control of (salvation) history. In this instance (first Pauline speech), the trilogy of quotations, which is to be found in VV.32-37, deals with the theme of the Davidic promises and the exalted Christ. These are fulfilled. The next section (VV.38-41) deals with the theme of the acceptance of this message by the Jews, quoting Hab 1:5 which is not yet fulfilled. If they do not accept this, and if they do not listen, what was prophecized there, will happen! The first section deals thus with what God has done, and the second with what these hearers should do. It could structurally be presented as follows:

(a) Theme: Davidic promises and the exalted Christ (VV.32-37)
(b) Quoted texts: Ps 2:7; Is 55:3; Ps 15(16):10 (VV.33-35) = Fulfilled
(c) Theme: Appeal for acceptance of this message (VV.38-41)
(d) Quoted text: Hab 1:5 (V.41) = Yet unfulfilled

This unfulfilled quotation will find its fulfillment in the verses following thereafter (VV.44-46), when exactly that happens against which they were warned.

\footnote{175} Cf. also T. HOLTZ: "Die unmittelbare Folge von ἔργον ἔργος ὥμοι bringt die etymologische Figur zu besserer Geltung; 'die schöne Anaphora des zweiten ἔργον vor dem Relativsatz' verleihet dem Satz stilistischen Schwall" (Untersuchungen, 20).
\footnote{176} Cf. also T. HOLTZ, Untersuchungen, 20, n.5.
\footnote{177} So also T. HOLTZ, Untersuchungen, 21. Contrary to C.H. DODD, Scriptures, 87f.
6.2.5 Interpretation of the quoted text by Luke

This quotation functions as a warning to the diaspora Jews and the God-fearers of Antioch in Pisidia not to repeat the mistake made by the Jerusalemites and their leaders. V. 38-39 makes it clear that the forgiveness of sins and justification could not have been achieved by the law of Moses. This can only happen through him (Jesus), and all who believe in him are justified. The quotation is then linked as a threat of what could happen, if they do not listen and do not accept this message. They are addressed by way of the quotation itself as "treacherous ones".

When looking now at the interpretation of 1QpHab, the resemblance in terms of how Hab 1:5 is interpreted, is striking. The hearers are seen as "treacherous ones". They are not faithful to the covenant of God and have profaned his holy Name. This has probably happened because they have not fulfilled their part in the contract which was made in God's name (an oath). They did not believe the words of the Teacher, words which were coming from the mouth of God. It was God who helped the priest to understand the prophetic meaning of all the words of the prophets, who are the servants of God.

The following elements in the interpretation are shared in both 1QpHab and Ac 13: (a) the audience is addressed as "treacherous" (v.41), (b) their disbelief to the words which are spoken (v.45-46), (c) these are God's words (v.44,46,48), (d) they have profaned the name of the covenantal God, Jahweh (χέριος in the LXX), and here Jesus' name through which forgiveness of sins and justification takes place (v.38-39), (e) the fact that Paul and Barnabas were given a understanding by God for the interpretation of the Scriptures, the prophetic meaning, has already become clear.

Although Ac 13:41 cannot be seen as a Christian pesher of Hab 1:5180 — as its application here in Ac 13:41 differs from that of 1QpHab181 — the resemblance in terms of the manner in which this quotation is interpreted, is striking. Both Qumran and the NT sometimes quote without bearing in mind either the context from which the quotation comes, or the "original text meaning".182 Within its original context in Hab, this quotation had an eschatological intention, but here it is meant as a warning to immediately accept the forgiveness of sins through Jesus.183

178. A. WEISER points to the fact that the "Ermahnung" of which this quotation consists, is comparable to the "Schema" of the missionary speeches before the Jews (cf. Ac 2:38-40; 3:19f; and 3:26), all of which end with such an "ermahnende Abschluss" (Apg II, 328).
179. So F.J. MATERA, Responsibility, 86.
180. Contrary to F.F. BRUCE, Christianity, 181f.
181. "Das bedeutet für 1QpHab: im Blick auf das Geschehen um die Qumrangemeinde; für das Neue Testament: im Blick auf Jesus" (H. BRAUN, Qumran, 162).
182. According to H. BRAUN: "Eine historische Betrachtung des Alten Testamentes wird vielmehr festzustellen haben, daß Qumran wie Acta-Verfasser ein alttestamentliches Zitat oft kontextfrei und ohne Rücksicht auf den ursprünglichen Textsinn handhaben. J. DANIELLOU reckons that the reason for this manner of context-free quotation is to be found in the fact that "...beide Seiten, Qumran wie das Neue Testament, meinen, in der letzten, der Endzeit zu leben, und von ihr rede das Alte Testament und sei daher im Blick auf die Endzeit auszulegen" (H. BRAUN, Qumran, 162).
183. So U. WILCKENS: "Wenn die angeredeten jüdischen Predigthörer nicht augenblicklich diese Verkündigung der Sündenvergebung durch Jesus annehmen, so wird eine neue Epoche der Geschichte des Evangeliums und damit zugleich eine neue Epoche innerhalb der ganzen Erwählungsgeschichte eintreten: das Evangelium wird auf die Heiden übergehen" (Missionserden, 52).
There might be some implied conflict present here between the speakers and the hearers on the importance of the law for justification.\textsuperscript{184}

7. SECTION V: ACTS 13:42-45\textsuperscript{185}

Reaction of the hearers

The speech which starts at V.16b, ends at V.41. The narrative which follows (VV.42-45) describes the reaction of the hearers at the synagogue. This literary feature of describing their reaction, was also to be found at the end of the Petrine speeches.\textsuperscript{186} The second Petrine speech and this first Pauline speech have in common the shared feature of an "interruption" of the whole speech by the hearers' reaction. In both instances the hearers ask for more information, but what, in the first instance, is merely a request for information\textsuperscript{187} becomes, in the second, a plea.\textsuperscript{188} The authority of the message as God's words,\textsuperscript{189} remains official and directly linked to the sabbath and the synagogue. However eager (παρεκάλουσιν, V.42) the hearers are to know more, they will wait until the next sabbath (μεταξύ σαββατου, V.42) to do so.

While the above situation seems to be a more general reaction of the people present, the next event is more explicit and describes how "many Jews and devout converts to Judaism followed Paul and Barnabas, and urged them to continue in the grace of God" (συνεκαλουσιν πολλοι των 'Ιουδαιων και των σεβομενων προσηλυτων τω Παουλω και τω Βαρναβα...ἐπειθου αυτοις προσμενεν τη χαριτι του θεου, V.43).\textsuperscript{190}

The narrative continues in V.44 immediately with the setting of the context on the next sabbath, when "almost the whole city gathered together to hear the word of the Lord"\textsuperscript{191} (συνήχθηκαυσα του λογου του κυριου). Apart from the importance of the message, being "the word of the Lord", and the Jews and Jewish proselytes involved here, the quantity of people who are affected is also striking. V.42 speaks of "they" (αυτων), V.43 speaks of "many" (πολλοι)\textsuperscript{192}, and in V.44 the number has grown to include "almost the whole city" (συνεκαλουσιν πολλα πολις). For the reader of Ac this should come as no surprise; Ac 13:2 has already

\textsuperscript{184} Cf. B.J. KOET, Paul and Barnabas, 117.


\textsuperscript{186} Cf. Ac 1:23-26; 2:37,41-42; and 4:1-4.

\textsuperscript{187} Ac 2:37 = τι ποιουμενων, ουδες αδελφοι;

\textsuperscript{188} Ac 13:42 = ...παρεκαλουσιν εις το Μεταξυ σαββατου λαληθαιναι αυτοις τα ρηματα ταυτα.

\textsuperscript{189} Compare: τα ρηματα ταυτα, V.42; τη χαριτι του θεου, V.43; and του λογου του κυριου, V.44. G. SCHNEIDER refers to Ac 5:20; 10:44; 11:14, and says that λαληω τα ρηματα relate to the proclamation of the Christian message (Apg II, 141).


\textsuperscript{191} So wrongly translated as 'the word of God' by the RSV.

\textsuperscript{192} Cf. also Ac 44; 6:7; 8:7-8; 9:42; 10:27; 11:21; 14:1; 16:35; 17:4,12; 18:8,10; 19:18; 28:23.
shown the Holy Spirit directing Paul and Barnabas to be set apart for the work to which he calls them. The climax in the number of people who received this message, forms a contrast with the reaction of "the Jews": "they were filled with jealousy" and contradicted what was spoken by Paul, and reviled him (ιδοὺ τε οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τῶν ὄχλων ἐπήλθησαν ζῆλου καὶ ἀντέλεγον τοῖς ὑπὸ Παύλου λαλομένοις βλασφημοῦντες). V.45.

8. SECTION VI: ACTS 13:46-48
The message is not only for Jews but also for the Gentiles (non-Jews).
The quoted text from Is 49:6.

8.1 Composition of the section
The delivering of God's message, "God's word", resulted in a clear division among the hearers, with the Jews being the antagonists and the Gentiles the protagonists. After the reaction of their hearers (V.42-45), and without hiding their rejection of this attitude among the Jews, Paul and Barnabas spoke out boldly (παρρησιασμοί τε ὁ Παύλος καὶ ὁ Βαρνάβας εἶπαν, V.46). The εἶπαν introduces the last section of their speech. Again, the divine necessity of events is pointed out, by telling the Jews that "it was necessary that the word of God should be spoken first to them" (ὡς ἕκαστος πρώτος λαληθήσεται τῶν λόγων τοῦ θεοῦ, V.46). However, they have thrust it from them, thereby judging themselves unworthy of eternal life (επειδὴ ἀπῳδείξεθε αὐτοῖς καὶ οὐκ ἄλλοις κρίνετε ἐκουσίως τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς, V.46). The rhetorically attention marker, ιδοὺ, signals that the preachers are turning now to the Gentiles (ιδοὺ στρεφόμεθα εἰς τὰ ἔθνη, V.46). Substantiation for this is found in Scripture, interpreted as a command of the κύριος himself to the bearers of his message, by quoting Is 49:6. This substantiation (οὗτος γὰρ ἐνετέλτη ἡμῖν ὁ κύριος, V.47) then forms the introductory formula for the quotation which, in its turn, simultaneously ends their speech on a climactic note.

The joyful reaction of the Gentiles, and their reaction of glorification towards the word of the κύριος, is an indication of the impact of that message, driven by the

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193. According to B.J. KOET, the "Jews are not jealous but their attitude shows a certain zealfulness and especially a zeal against Paul's interpretation of the Torah, as presented in 13.38-41" (Paul and Barnabas, 105).
194. βλασφημεῖα points to the "cursing" of Paul by these Jews. So also G. SCHNEIDER, Apg II, 145. He draws attention also to Lk 22:65; 23:39; Ac 18:6 and 26:11.
195. B.J. KOET reckons that "Considering their use elsewhere and the content of the preceding speech it is clear that ἀντέλεγον and βλασφημεῖα in Acts 13.45 are used to depict a discussion about the interpretation of the Scriptures." This is in line with his contribution to VV.42-52 which he understands as being "a disagreement over the interpretation of the Scriptures" (Paul and Barnabas, 101.97).
196. Compare also Lk 20:35: "...those who are accounted worthy to attain to that age and to the resurrection from the dead..." (οἱ δὲ καταξιωθέντες τοῦ αἰώνος ἐκείνου τιμῆς καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τῆς ἐκ νεκρῶν).
197. So also B.J. KOET: "Paul and Barnabas react to the ζῆλος of the Jews on the basis of a scriptural argument." He sees this then as a confirmation "that the attitude of the Jews in 13.45 is 'zeal for an interpretation of Scripture'" (Paul and Barnabas, 105).
Chapter 6: First Pauline Speech

Spirit himself: αὑρίσκων δὲ τὰ ἐθνη ἐξωφυν καὶ ἐσόζομαι τοῦ λόγου τοῦ κυρίου, V.48. Note the change here from τοῦ λόγου τοῦ κυρίου (V.44) to τοῦ λόγου τοῦ θεοῦ (V.46b), το κύριος (V.47) and τοῦ λόγου τοῦ κυρίου (V.48). The meaning in V.44 is dubious. It could mean either "the word about Jesus", or "the word of God" — which is anyway understood here as being the message of salvation which has become a reality in Jesus of Nazareth. V.46 would then confirm the latter alternative. Also V.47 and V.48 probably refer to Jesus.

Still within the context of the divine plan (predestination?), it is now stated that "as many as were ordained to eternal life believed" (καὶ ἐπιστεύσαν ὅσιν ἔσαν τεταγμένοι εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον, V.48).

8.2 The quoted text from Is 49:6 in Ac 13:47

This is clearly an explicit quotation from the LXX. The change in person as indicated by ἡμῖν (V.47a) against σε (V.47b,c), as well as the break between κύριος and τεθεωκα, clearly substantiate this.

8.2.1 Other NT occurrences of the quoted text

Although not explicitly quoted, there are some clear references to this same phrase of Is 49:6 earlier in Luke's writings: Lk 2:32 and Ac 1:8. Simeon refers to the infant Jesus in the temple as the salvation of his people, and a light to the nations (Lk 2:32). A further messianic interpretation of Is 49:6 occurs in Enoch 48:4, which speaks of the expected messiah, who will be the light of the nations. In Ac 13:47 Luke transfers this motif from Jesus to his messengers. See also Rv 7:4 for an implicit reference to this quotation.

8.2.2 The introductory formula (Ac 13:47)

The introductory formula is formed by the words: οὐτως γὰρ ἐντέταλται ἡμῖν ὁ κύριος. Interesting is the strong expression ἐντέταλται ὁ κύριος. It is presented here as a direct command of the κύριος (Jesus), to his

198. But take note also of the differences among the textual witnesses with regard to the reading in V.48: B D E 049 323 453 pc sa ms bo support the reading τοῦ λόγου τοῦ θεοῦ.
199. Along similar lines, cf. G. SCHNEIDER who says that the λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ is the Christian message (Apg II, 145, n.19).
200. With T. HOLTZ, Untersuchungen, 32; M. RESE, Funktion, 76; and E. RICHARD who reckoned that "...there is ample, important textual support for the text form of Acts 13:47". Contrary to M. WILCOX who thought that the LXX form of this quotation "is very uncertain" (OT in Acts, 339).
201. Lk 2:32 = θοῦ εἰς ἀποκάλυψιν θησαυ.
202. Ac 1:8 = ἐνος ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς.
204. See also Lk 4:10 and Ac 1:2.
206. So also interpreted by H. CONZELMANN, Apg, 86; and M. RESE, Funktion, 78. The latter draws attention to an observation already made by H.J. CADBURY, that κύριος is often used in a double sense in Ac, but when it refers to Jesus it is (apart from a few explainable exceptions) preceded by the article (The Titles of Jesus in Acts, in: The Beginnings of Christianity I, Vol.3, London 1933, 354-375, 360).
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messengers,207 (Paul and Barnabas).

8.2.3 Determining and explaining the textual differences

NA26 does not indicate here that the Chester Beatty Papyrus II208 omits the second se at this point.209

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(a) Textual differences between MT and LXX (and their relation with Ac)

The LXX has only one major addition210 to the text against that represented in the MT, i.e. the attention marker ἤδον. This addition in the LXX text is also absent in the reading of Ac211 (if it is not accepted that the quotation was simply meant to begin with τέθεικα), so that the readings as represented in the MT and the NT correspond exactly at this point.212

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207. J. ROLOFF supposes that this application to the κύριος and his messengers, against the context of the quotation in Is 49, "...ist schwerlich Werk des Lukas; es ist anzunehmen, daß Jes 49,6 zusammen mit anderen deuterosejsajischen Texten schon sehr früh zur Begründung der Heidenmission gedient hat" (Apg, 209).
209. This does not, however, convince one to change the reading, as this is the only witness who reads this against the combination of the great majuscles. Cf. also F.G. KENYON, Chester Beatty, 46.
210. The possible addition of εἰς διαθήκην γένους in Is 49:6 in the LXX (supported by Æ O'Qmg L'46-86-233 C 198 239' 403' 449' 538 544 Co Syl Eur.ed. et ed. Thi. Tyx. Hi: ex 42:6 — which reads then: τέθεικα σε εἰς διαθήκην γένους εἰς φῶς ἐθνῶν), might also be due to the influence of Is 42:6 (καὶ ἐθνῶν σε εἰς διαθήκην γένους, εἰς φῶς ἐθνῶν) where emphasis is laid on διαθήκη in the same context of φῶς ἐθνῶν.
211. Its inclusion in codex D is to be ascribed to the "stylistic improvements" of the Bezan scribe, according to E. HAENCHEN, Apg, 50-54; and E. RICHARD, OT in Acts, 340. The latter, following J.H. ROPE (Detached Note, 128), agrees that "the 'Western' text altered the form by adding ἤδον (LXX; not Hebrew), by improving the barbarous εἰς φῶς ἐθνῶν to τοὺς ἐθνῶς, and by giving φῶς a more prominent position" (OT in Acts, 340).
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(b) Textual differences: Ac 13:47 and Is 49:6 (LXX)

As indicated in the paragraph above, Ac and the MT are probably nearer to each other on the basis that both of them represent the same shorter reading (not having ἰδοὺ), against that to be found in the LXX.

b.1 Omission: ἰδοὺ

There are two possible explanations for the lack of ἰδοὺ in Ac 13:47. It could be that Luke was using here a Vorlage of the LXX which lacked this ἰδοὐ, and was therefore closer to the reading of the MT. On the other hand, assuming that ἰδοὐ was part of his source text, Luke may have omitted the word himself (probably on stylistic grounds) by simply beginning his quotation at this specific point!

Assuming that it was part of Luke’s source text, it is possible that he quoted ἰδοὐ indirectly by introducing it into the sentence preceding the introductory formula to the quotation:213 ἰδοὺ στρεφόμεθα εἰς τὰ ἑδομι, ὦ, 46. On the other hand, the word is very common, both in Lk-Ac,214 and in hellenistic Greek generally;215 its use here may simply be due to the writer’s own stylistic preference, unrelated to its presence in the LXX reading. Thus, though the omission may have been a conscious one on Luke’s part, it may equally have been due to the reading of this source text; the agreement of the MT reading at this point tends to support the latter conclusion.216

8.2.4 Method of quotation

On the basis that this quotation is to be found nowhere else in the NT explicitly quoted, it may be assumed that it found its way into Ac through the hand of Luke himself. He probably used a Textvorlage which resembles that of our reconstructed LXX.

The authority and normativity of Scripture for Luke becomes vividly clear from the way in which this quotation is used. It asserts the divine will of the κύριος and is used as a direct command to Paul and Barnabas. This is similar to the usage of Ps 108(109):8 in the first Petrine speech (Ac 1:20d-21).

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213. So G. SCHNEIDER (Apg II, 146): "Apg 13,47 läßt das einleitende ἰδοὺ der Stelle weg (bzv. zieht es vor: V 46)." Also M.F.-J. BUSS indicates that the choice of words in the ἰδοὺ-sentence was probably influenced by Is 49:6 (LXX). "So könnte auch erklärt werden, warum Lukas bei dem anschließenden Zitat das einleitende ἰδοὺ nicht mitübernommen hat" (Missionspredigt, 137).
214. Out of the 200 occurrences in the NT, it appears 80 times in Lk-Ac!
215. Compare for example its occurrences in the rest of the NT and in the LXX.
216. E. HAENCHEN said: "Wie man sich aber auch entscheidet, deutlich ist, daß der lukanische Text nicht unmittelbar aus der LXX gewonnen ist, es sei denn, man setzt eine außerordentlich freie Behandlung durch Lukas voraus" (Schriftenzitate, 160). It is, however, very difficult to take sides here against either the LXX or the MT because of a lack of any further evidence (no other differences in the quotation as it appears in Ac 13:47).
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8.2.5 **Interpretation of the quoted text by Luke**

This quotation is used here by Luke (a) as a direct command of the κύριος to Paul and Barnabas, and (b) in order to support their argument that they have to go to the Gentiles with the gospel. They will be a light to the nations by bringing the message of salvation. The function of this quotation here is thus to make it clear: this has to happen, they have to turn now from the Jews to the Gentiles with the message of salvation. Scripture has foretold it; even better: the κύριος, Jesus, has commanded it! In Lk 2:32 Simeon interprets this text from the Jewish Scriptures in terms of Jesus. The same phrase is now interpreted in terms of Paul and Barnabas. There may be some distinction here between the "word of God" which was preached to the hearers in Antioch, and this "commandment of the κύριος". The latter probably refers to Jesus, implying that it was Jesus who commanded them to turn to the Gentiles; this is supported by Lk 2:32 where Jesus himself is described as an instrument of revelation to the Gentiles. Remember that God himself has exalted Jesus and made him κύριος (Ac 2:36). His ascension took place "after he had given commandment (ἐνέπτυχεν) through the Holy Spirit to the apostles whom he had chosen" (Ac 1:2).

The context of the second servant song, Is 49:1-6, deals with a mission beyond the restoration of Israel. The preceding context from which the quotation in Ac 13:47 was taken, makes this clear: "And now the Lord says, who formed me from the womb to be his servant, to bring Jacob back to him, and that Israel might be gathered to him, for I am honoured in the eyes of the Lord, and my God has become my strength — he says: 'It is too light a thing that you should be my servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob and to restore the preserved of Israel; I will give you as a light to the nations, that my salvation may reach to the end of the earth' (Is 49:5-6). As was the case with the other quotations from the prophetic literature which have been discussed so far, so this quotation also comes from a section which

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Chapter 6: First Pauline Speech

contains direct speech, the direct words of Yahweh. Within the original Hebrew context this was interpreted in terms of "the collective Israel" (an interpretation reinforced by the LXX); the servant-motif was subsequently re-interpreted by Luke in terms of Jesus, the servant of God (Lk 2:32); Ac 1:2 expands this interpretation in terms of Jesus' command to his apostles, who are now his servants. Thus, in the context of Ac 13, the κύριος of Is 49 has become Jesus, the κύριος who commands his apostles, Paul and Barnabas.

This audience and the Jews of Jerusalem share the same moment of decision in salvation history, centering on the acknowledgement of Jesus, and with it that of the divine goal of salvation history, as foretold by the prophets in the whole of Scripture. The quotation from Is 49:6 functions thus as "...the deciding factor in the transition from the proclamation to the Jews to that to the Gentiles".

9. SOME CONCLUSIONS ON THE USE OF THE EXPLICIT QUOTATIONS IN THE FIRST PAULINE SPEECH

9.1 Ps 2 was very well known during Luke's time. Also Luke makes use of it in order to designate the resurrected Jesus as the exalted Son of God. In line with Heb, Luke uses it christologically, especially in terms of Jesus' exaltation.

9.2 The Davidic motif plays an important role and combines all three quoted texts. The focus is on the promises which were made to David and which are fulfilled: Jesus was resurrected and exalted; he sits on the "Davidic throne" at the right hand of the Father.

9.3 Luke's creative compilatory hand could be seen at its best in his reconstructed parallel reading of Is 55:3 and Ps 15(16):10. The bodily resurrection of Jesus, as well as the immortality and incorruptibility of his body, is herewith substantiated, and that, in turn, is proof of God's fulfillment of his promises made to David.

9.4 The two Ps-quotations (Ps 2:7 and 15(16):10) are used as promises or "prophecies" which are fulfilled. The three prophet-quotations (Is 55:3, Hab 1:5 and Is 49:6) are also used as prophecies. On this, the occasion of Paul's first speech, the first is regarded as having already been fulfilled; the second is yet to be fulfilled. By the time the third prophecy is used, on the following sabbath, the second prophecy has reached fulfillment. At this point the third prophecy becomes relevant, and is next in line to be fulfilled. Probably only the first three of these five are to be

223. Compare Ac 2:17-21 (Hab 2:16-3:6); 13:34 (Is 55:3); and 13:41 (Hab 1:5).
225. So also H. CONZELMANN, Apg, 86; and M. RESE: "Kein Leser der Apg wäre auf den Gedanken gekommen, jemand anders als Jesus hätte Paulus und Barnabas zur Mission beauftragt" (Funktion, 77). Along similar lines, also B.J. KOET, Paul and Barnabas, 112-114. But he includes the other Jews too, and concluded that the issue concerning this is"a false dilemma" (114). Compare B.J. KOET for an overview of other proposed alternatives to whom this κυριος in the quotation might refer to (111-112). None of these, however, is convincing.
226. Cf. B.J. KOET: "The problem for these Jews is whether and how the Gentiles are allowed to take note of the Word of God and thus hear of their salvation" (Paul and Barnabas, 110).
227. U. WILCKENS, Missionsreden, 53.
understood in a (christological) messianic-eschatological manner. The remaining two have different functions.

9.5 While the first three quotations were used in an informative manner, the next quoted text (Hab 1:5) is used in a normative way. It is God’s word, nothing can alter, change or question it. With the information concerning Christ, the hearers have to make a decision, which, if negative, will result in the fulfillment of this quoted text and its consequences.

9.6 The last quotation confirms what God has planned: salvation to all. With the Jews rejecting it, the quotation is used as a clear demand to Paul and Barnabas to turn to the Gentiles with this message of salvation. Also this quoted text is thus used in a normative manner.
CHAPTER 7

PAUL'S INTERRUPTED SIXTH SPEECH  
(Acts 22:30-23:9)

1. THE BROADER CONTEXT AND BACKGROUND

One encounters here a completely new category of speech, and one which could be 
called the "stepchild" among studies on the speeches in Ac. The second and third 
Petrine speeches (Ac 2:14-41; 3:12-26), and the first Pauline speech (Ac 13:14- 
41/48), were missionary speeches. This sixth Pauline speech falls in the category of 
the defence speeches of Paul. It is one of two defence speeches which contain an 
explicit quotation from the Jewish Scriptures.¹

The similarities between the second Petrine speech (Ac 2) and the first 
Pauline speech (Ac 13) with regard to their use of the Pss and Prophets have already 
been pointed out. After they were presented, formulating the Jesus-kerygma, the 
Torah Scroll is picked up as another section from the Scriptures. It was referred to 
in Ac 3 to link the miracle of the lame man with the covenantal God of Israel, the 
God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (V. 13), and his promises which were made to 
their forefathers (VVs 13, 25), quoting from Gn. It was also used in the same speech 
as a prophecy from Moses, and linked with an exhortation to listen to the Prophet 
who will come, by quoting a combination of textual phrases from Dt 18 and 
probably Lv 23. In this instance (Ac 23), the Torah is used to show Paul's 
acquaintance with it. Not only does he know the commandments, but the fact that 
he quotes the Torah in this context indicates his respect and commitment to them.²

2. OVERVIEW OF THE TEXT OF THE SPEECH

Section I: Introduction (22:30)

30 Τῇ δὲ ἐπαύρων θεολόγον γνώναι τὸ ἀσφάλεια, τὸ τί κατηγορεῖται ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἔλεγεν 
αὐτόν καὶ ἐκέλευσεν συνελθεῖν τοὺς ἀρχηγοὺς καὶ πᾶν τὸ συνεδρίου, καὶ καταγγέλλων τοῦ Παύλου 
ἔστησαν εἰς αὐτὸς.

Section II: The irony of Paul's trial (23:1-5)

23:1 Ἀτενίσας δὲ ὁ Παύλος τῷ συνεδρίῳ εἶπεν:

¹. The other being Ac 28:16-28.
². So also A. WEISER: 'Die höchst befremdliche Mitteilung, daß es eines eigenen Hinweises bedurfte, 
damit Paulus den Hohenpriester erkannte, und daß er sich dann sofort mit Bezugnahme auf ein 
Schriftwort entschuldigte, kann wohl in der Absicht des Lukas nur den Sinn haben, Paulus — obwohl 
kritisch gegenüber jüdischem Fehlverhalten — doch als schrift- und gesetzesstreu herauszustellen' (Apg 
II, 616-617).
Chapter 7: Sixth Pauline Speech

Although the first six verses in Ac 23 do not look like a genuine speech, especially in comparison with the speech of Peter in Ac 2, or that of Paul in Ac 13, some of the prominent elements of the other speeches which were previously discussed, are also to be found here. The manner in which the hearers are addressed, the explicit quotation from Scripture with a clear introductory formula, the reaction of the hearers, and the motif of the resurrection were all present in the speeches discussed so far. But in contrast with the others, which were relatively long discourses, this takes the form of a dramatized dialogue between Paul and his antagonistic hearers. It looks like the start of a long speech by Paul, which is interrupted by the unjust order from the high priest to strike him; this interruption causes the dialogue to develop in a different direction from that planned by Paul. Nevertheless, the same structural markers stand out prominently here too: (a) the gesture of the speaker:3 “Paul, looking intently at the council” (“Ανενίας δὲ ο Παύλος τῷ συνεδρίῳ, V.1); (b) the verb of saying: “he said” (εἶπεν, V.1); (c) naming the hearers: “Brethren”

3. “Paul was set before them” (τὸν Παύλον ἠστησεν εἰς αὐτούς...).
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(ἀνδρεῖς ἀδελφοί, V.1). As in the other speeches, the addressing of the hearers serves as a prominent structural marker in the speech. It is to be found again in V.5 (ἀδελφοί), and also in V.6 (ἀνδρεῖς ἀδελφοί).

3. SECTION I. ACTS 22:30

Introduction

The brief dialogue of Paul with the authorities of the Sanhedrin, forms part of Paul's persecutions. It is Paul's remark that he is a Roman citizen by birth (Ac 22:29) which results in the withdrawal of those who were about to examine him, and the emotion of fear on the part of the tribune who had bound him.

In V.30, on the following day (τῇ δὲ ἐπαύριον), the need develops for this Roman tribune to establish the real reason (βουλομένους γυναῖκα τὸ ἁπάλες) why the Jews have accused Paul (τὸ τί κατηγορεῖται ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων). After unbinding Paul (ἐλύσειν αὐτόν), he commands the chief priests and the whole of council to meet (καὶ ἐκλέξων συνελθεῖν τοῖς ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ πᾶν τὸ συνέδριον), and brings Paul before them (καὶ καταγαγὼν τὸν Πάουλον ἐστησεν εἰς αὐτοὺς).

4. SECTION II. ACTS 23:1-5

The irony of Paul's trial and the quotation from Ex 22:27

4.1 Composition of the section

Paul's trial is presented here in such a way that he is in the centre of events. He addresses his hearers as "brothers" (ἀνδρεῖς ἀδελφοί, V.1), as was the case in several of the other speeches, including those of Peter, Stephen and James. This does not reflect a Jewish way of addressing people. Typical Lukan style is used to describe the temporal element in Paul's life before God, a life which he lived "in all good conscience up to this day" (τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἕως τοῦ θεοῦ ἀχρι ταῦτας τῆς ἡμέρας, V.1). It is important to notice that the τῇ θεῷ might also be taken to mean that Paul can call God as a witness with regard to his life.

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4. E. HAENCHEN, Apg, 565; A. WEISER, Apg II, 614; and B.M. NEWMAN & E.A. NIDA are right in including Ac 22:30 with Ac 23, "since it essentially constitutes an introduction to Paul's defense before Council" (Translator's Handbook, 431).
5. See Ac 21:33.
6. So also in the same direction, A. WEISER, Apg II, 614.
9. Cf. also Ac 24:16, although there with ἀπόφθεγμα as the attribute. G. SCHNEIDER points to the combination of συνείδησις with ἁγδῆ in the following: 1 Tm 1:5,19; 1 Pt 3:16,21; 1 Clem 41:1; Polyc 5:3; Herodian VI 3:4 (Apg II, 331).
10. The temporal marker ἀχρι occurs 49 times in the NT and is found most frequently in Lk-Ac (19X). Only Rv comes near with 11 times.
11. Almost half of all the occurrences of ἡμέρα in the NT are to be found in Lk-Ac (177 of the 389 times). It occurs 83 times in Lk and 94 times in Ac.
Paul is then interrupted at this point by the high priest Ananias who commands those who stand by Paul, to strike him on the mouth (ὁ δὲ ἁρχιερέας Ἄνανιας ἔπεταξεν τοῖς παρεστῶσιν αὐτῷ τύπτειν αὐτοῦ τὸ στόμα, V.2). Paul’s reaction to this comes in the form of a direct speech with (a) a curse on the one hand, and (b) the manifestation of his knowledge of the law, on the other hand. Note also the contrast here between ἀνδρεὶς θελεφοὶ (V.1) and τοίχες κεκουμημένες (V.3).

(a) "God shall strike you, you whitewashed wall!" (τύπτειν σε μέλλειν θεός, τοίχες κεκουμημένες, V.3). The phrase τοίχες κεκουμημένες ("whitewashed wall"), reminds one immediately of Jesus’ designation of the scribes and Pharisees, as τόφοις κεκουμημένοις ("whitewashed tombs", Mt 23:27), which is the only other place in the NT where the verb κονιών is to be found. There is a striking resemblance here to a motif from Ez 13:10-15, the context of which is a warning against false prophets. However, the LXX uses the verb ἀλείφω at this point, and not κονιών. Another interesting parallel is to be found in Dt 27:2-4. Here, Moses and the elders of Israel have commanded the people to keep the commandment which was given to them that day. Further, when they pass over the Jordan to the promised land, they are instructed to "set up large stones, and plaster them with plaster" (καὶ στήσετε σουλίας μεγάλους καὶ κονιώσετε αὐτοὺς κονιά, V.2), and write upon them all the words of that law. This is the only place in the LXX where the verb κονιά is used within a comparable context.

(b) Paul’s knowledge of the law becomes clear with the question he asks: "Are you sitting to judge me according to the law, and yet contrary to the law you order me to be struck?" (καὶ σύ κάθης κρίνων με κατὰ τὸν νόμον καὶ παρανομῶν κελεύεις με τύπτεος; V.3). The reference might be to Lv 19:15: "You shall do no injustice in judgment." It was the custom that defendants should be given a fair

13. G. LÜDEMANN says: "So hebt Paulus mehrmals an, ohne daß sich eine wirkliche Rede entwickelte." (Christentum, 251).
14. Based on the information from Josat XX.2; 9.2; Bell II 17,9, this Ananias was the son of Nedebaios, who was made high priest by Herod of Chalkis and who ruled between ca. 47-59. He was hated as being a friend of the Romans, and murdered by the Zealots in Sept 66, at the beginning of the Jewish war (STR-BILL, Kommentar II, 766). Cf. also H. CONZELMANN, Apg. 137; B.M. NEWMAN & E.A. NIDA, Translator’s Handbook, 432-433; F.F. BRUCE, Acts, 425; A. WEISER, Apg, 616; and G. SCHNEIDER, Apg, 331.
15. According to G. SCHNEIDER, this should not be seen as punishment for Paul taking it upon himself to speak, but rather for the content of what he is saying (Apg II, 331).
16. H. CONZELMANN says that "τύπτειν κταί ist eine jüdische Fluchformel" (Apg, 137). So also STR-BILL, Kommentar II, 766; and A. WEISER, Apg II, 616. According to G. SCHNEIDER, this phrase expresses the certainty of the punishment: "Die Strafe wird auf den Strafenden zurückfallen!" (Apg II, 331a.23).
18. Lk simply refers to them as being like ‘graves’ (Lk 11:44).
21. The phrase καὶ κονίωσεις αὐτοὺς κονιά is repeated again in V.4.
22. H. CONZELMANN points out that "Lk will das Judentum, sein gebrochenes, heuchlerisches Verhältnis zum Gesetz (vgl 7 50ff) in seinem Repräsentanten charakterisieren" (Apg, 137).
23. So also E. HAENCHEN, Apg, 566.
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trail, and he presumed innocent until proved guilty. However, the resemblance with Jn 7 on the division among the people about Jesus, is striking. Officers were sent by the chief priests and the Pharisees to arrest Jesus, but they were divided on the issue if he should be arrested, and it did not happen. On being questioned about their reluctance to arrest Jesus, Nicodemus, who went with the officers, answered: "Does our law judge a man without first giving him a hearing and learning what he does?" (Jn 7:51).

The similarities between the attitude of the priests, scribes and Pharisees to Jesus, and their attitude to Paul, are striking. The whole event calls to mind the trial of Jesus himself. Jesus was led to the high priest (Lk 22:54), while all the chief priests, elders and scribes were assembled (Mk 14:53; Mt 26:57; Lk 22:66); so too is Paul brought before the council, chief priests and high priest (Ac 22:30; 23:2). The whole council sought testimony against Jesus to put him to death (Mk 14:55; Mt 26:59; Lk 22:66-70); in the same way, the Jews plotted to kill Paul (Ac 23:12). No witnesses were needed for Jesus (Mk 14:63; Lk 22:71), or false witnesses came forward (Mt 26:60); and in Paul's case it seems as if only the centurion was present, apart from the council itself (Ac 22:30). They spat in Jesus' face, struck and slapped him (Mk 14:65; Mt 26:67; Lk 23:10-11); Paul too, is struck (on the mouth) (Ac 23:2).

The bystanders demonstrate their loyalty to the high priest with their counter (rhetorical) question to Paul: "Would you revile God's high priest?" (τοῦ ἀρχιερεῖα τοῦ θεοῦ λοιποῖς; V.4). Paul responds that he was unaware that this was the high priest (οὐκ ἦδεν, ἀδελφοί, ὅτι ἦτιν ἀρχιερεῖς, V.5). Note the use of ἀδελφοί again, indicating a more positive tone in Paul's voice. The opportunity is once again used by Paul to express his knowledge of the law, through the explicit quotation from Ex 22:27: "You shall not speak evil of a ruler of your people" (ἀρχοῦτα τοῦ λαοῦ σου οὐκ ἔρεις κακῶς, V.5).

4.2 The quotation from Ex 22:27 in Ac 23:5

4.2.1 Other NT occurrences of the quotation

This is the only place in NT literature where Ex 22:27 is quoted. Thus, there is no scriptural evidence to support the possibility that Luke could have derived this quotation from tradition; it can safely be ascribed to the initiative and hand of Luke himself. Ex as a whole seems to have been well known by Luke. It was part of the Torah scroll (the oldest and most respected section of Scriptures among the

24 Cf. also F.F. BRUCE, Acts, 425.
25 F.F. BRUCE (Acts, 426,n.13) has pointed to the resemblance here with Jn 18:22. Jesus is struck by one of the guards standing near him, asking Jesus: "Do you answer the high priest like this?" (τοῦτο ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐπίσκοπος τῶν ἐκστησάμενος ἡμῖν διά τῆς ἑαυτοῦ εἰπών· εἰς τὸν παρφίλον ἰδίως ἀνακλίνοντα τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ). 26 So also B.M. NEWMAN & E.A. NIDA, Translator's Handbook, 434, According to G. LÜDEMANN, 'hätte er' Ananias nicht so angeredet, wenn er von seiner Hohenpfesorwürde gewußt hätte" (Christentum, 251). This may be proof that Paul meant this honestly and not sarcastically.
27 G. SCHNEIDER draws attention also to Is 8:21 (LXX) (Apg II, 332,n.32).
28 Contrary to G. LÜDEMANN who thinks that VV.1-5 might have been influenced by material from the tradition (Christentum, 253).
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Jews), on the one hand, and also used frequently, on the other hand, by especially Luke, to quote from explicitly.29

4.2.2 The introductory formula (Ac 23:5)

The quoted text (phrase) from Ex 22:27(28) is introduced by the words γέγραπται γάρ ὅτι, which are clearly recognizable as an introductory formula.30 The ὅτι here simply serves the purpose of a double point.31

4.2.3 Determining and explaining the textual differences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NT (NA26)</th>
<th>LXX</th>
<th>MT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ac 23:5</td>
<td>Ex 22:27</td>
<td>Ex 22:27(28)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>θεοῖς οὐ</td>
<td>θεοῖς οὐ</td>
<td>אֶל</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>κοκολογήσεις καὶ</td>
<td>κοκολογήσεις καὶ</td>
<td>הַעֲנֵה</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἔφροντος τοῦ λαοῦ</td>
<td>ἔφροντος τοῦ λαοῦ</td>
<td>ἡ περισσεύσεις καὶ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>σου πόν ἐρείς κακῶς,</td>
<td>σου πόν ἐρείς κακῶς,</td>
<td>πόν ἐρείς</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) Textual differences between MT and LXX

Both versions are almost in agreement with each other with regard to the quoted phrase, except for (a) διὸ καὶ which reads θεοῖς in the LXX;32 (b) the Hebrew singular, נֵרֵי (“ruler”) which has become a plural in the LXX translation: ἔφροντος (“rulers”);33 (c) the preposition ἐν which is left untranslated in the LXX; and (d) the λέξις (“curse”) which is translated with κακῶς ἐρείς in the LXX.

According to this information, the quotation in Ac neither agrees exactly with that of the MT, nor with that of the LXX.

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29. Cf. the following: Ac 7:27,35 (Ex 2:14); Ac 7:6,29 (Ex 2:22); Ac 7:33 (Ex 3:5); Ac 3:13; 7:32, par Mk 12:26, Mt 22:32, Lk 20:37 (Ex 3:6); Ac 7:34 (Ex 3:7,10); Lk 12:35 (Ex 12:11); Lk 2:23 (Ex 13:2,12,15); Ac 4:24; 14:15 (Ex 20:11); Lk 18:20, par Mk 10:19, Mt 19:18 (Ex 20:12-16); Ac 23:5 (Ex 22:27); Lk 7:27, par Mk 1:2, Mt 11:10 (Ex 23:20); Ac 7:40 (Ex 32:1,23).
31. See also F. RIENECKER, Sprachlicher Schlüssel zum Griechischen Neuen Testament, Basel 1980, 301.
32. J.W. WEVERS points out that θεοῖς "can either refer to 'God' or 'gods,' but since Ναῷ is singular, the first clause must mean 'you shall not revile God' (Notes on the Greek Text of Exodus (SCS 30), Atlanta 1990, 355).
33. According to J.W. WEVERS, the LXX "Exod understood νοῆλακ as plural in intent and for consistency's sake took Ναῷ as a collective." He thinks that the use of the plural might be a reflection of the Egyptian environment in which the translator lived (Notes, 355).
(h) Textual differences between LXX and Ac

There are two differences between the versions of the LXX and that of Ac: (a) the LXX plural, ἄρχοντας, is found as a singular, ἄρχωντα, in Ac 23; and (b) the word order of the LXX phrase, οὐ κακῶς ἐρείς, is changed to οὐκ ἐρείς κακῶς in Ac.

b.1 Change in number. ἄρχοντας (LXX) —> ἄρχωντα (Ac)³⁴

No NT textual witnesses support the reading as it is to be found in the reconstructed reading of the LXX. The situation among the LXX manuscripts is, however, different, and they vary in their reading.

Two possibilities might have caused this alternative reading in Ac. It is (a) either the result of another Textvorlage which is nearer to the MT than to the LXX. The singular-reading of Ac agrees with the reading of the MT, and is therefore at this point nearer to the MT than to the LXX. Or (b) it is the result of the re-interpretation of the quotation in its new context. Contextually, the ἄρχωντα of Ac makes more sense in the context, referring to the high priest Ananias, and standing therefore in the singular.³⁵

b.2 Change in word order.

οὐ κακῶς ἐρείς (LXX) —> οὐκ ἐρείς κακῶς (Ac)

Similarly, with regard to this change, there is no support to be found among the textual witnesses of the NT in favour of the reading as it occurs in the LXX manuscripts.

4.2.4 Method of quotation

This is the only place in the NT where Ex 22:27 is quoted, and it is a relatively safe assumption that Luke himself is responsible for the occurrence of this quotation here and in this context. The reading of the quotation agrees neither with the reading of the reconstructed LXX, nor with that of the Hebrew. If the change from ἄρχοντας to ἄρχωντα is taken as being the result of Luke's Textvorlage,³⁶ then it seems to be nearer to the Hebrew. This agrees with the evidence from the other quotations which have been dealt with thus far.

The pattern of usage of Scripture in the Petrine speeches was that material from the Pss, 12P and Is was used first,³⁷ and thereafter material from the Torah.³⁸

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³⁴ Ἀρχω appears 19 times in Lk-Ac, which represents half of all its occurrences in the NT corpus (37 times).
³⁵ Cf. also W.K.L. CLARKE: "ἄρχωντα is substituted for the less suitable ἄρχοντας" (Use of the Septuagint, 94).
³⁶ W.K.L. CLARKE takes a different view. He sees the change from ἄρχοντας to ἄρχωντα as being due to those quotations which are "Free Versions of the LXX, in Acts" (88), and narrows this down to those which present "...a desire to adapt a prophetic context to the circumstances under which it was thought to have been fulfilled" (93,94). He sees the other change to be a mere recensional one (Use of the Septuagint, 93,95).
³⁷ Cf. the first and second Petrine speeches: Ac 1:16-22 and 2:14-41.
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It seems as if the same pattern is to be found here in the Pauline speeches; first, material from the Pss. 1:2P and Is is used, after which (in this speech) the focus moves to the Torah.

4.2.5 Interpretation of the quotation by Luke

The meaning of this quotation in its original context is retained. It functions as a commandment within the Torah. Its impact and its function within this speech, probably lies more in the fact of quoting this commandment, than in its content. It depicts Paul firstly as a Pharisee who knows the Jewish law very well, and secondly as a person who shows respect for that law and obeys it.

Some major historical problems arise here, the most obvious of which is that Paul, apparently, did not know that he was speaking to the high priest. However, the changing tone in Paul's voice by addressing them as ὀδελφοί, and the quotation from Ex 22:27(28) are pointing in the opposite direction. Luke probably intended to suggest that Paul was uttering a prophecy, without knowing that he was addressing the high priest himself. This may have been a retrospective interpretation by Luke, looking back on Ananias' death at the hands of the Zealots 66 AD. God's protection of his elected and authorized servants, and his revenge against those who touch them, would then be implied here.

If Paul was then genuinely unaware that he was addressing the high priest himself, then all this would show how God is in control of his servant, and of history. Any possible misunderstanding that Paul sees himself as being above the law is cleared up when he apologizes, pointing out his ignorance, and submitting himself in obedience to the Jewish law, which he knows so well that he can quote it verbatim from the Scriptures.

The ironies of Paul's trial are vividly clear. Paul is brought before the Sanhedrin to be judged by the Jewish law. As the accused, he might well be expected to convey some antagonistic reaction to this law. On the contrary, he shows his knowledge of, and respect for that law by quoting from it and submitting himself to it. The Sanhedrin, on the other hand, would be expected to act as honest and

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40. So also E. HAENCHEN, *Apg*, 566; F.F. BRUCE, *Acts*, 426; A. WEISER, *Apg II*, 617. C.K. BARRETT includes this quotation as part of those which give "direction for the church's life", "if it is understood to mean that Christians, or at least Jewish Christians, were expected to show respect to Jewish authorities" (*Luke/Acts*, 240).
41. Cf. also H. CONZELMANN: "Die ganze Szene ist unvorstellbar: Wie sollte Paulus den Vorsitzenden nicht erkannt haben?" (*Apg*, 137). F.F. BRUCE too points to the fact that: "At a regular meeting of the Sanhedrin the high priest presided, and would surely have been identifiable for that reason" (*Acts*, 426). Most commentators have a general problem with the historicity of the whole account. Cf. G. SCHNEIDER on the historicity of the centurion who calls together the Sanhedrin (*Apg II*, 330). Also A. WEISER, *Apg II*, 614-615, for some of the other historical problematic issues in this account, and a brief discussion on this.
43. Cf. E. HAENCHEN who agrees that this is a *prophecy*, pointing to "μέλλειν vom göttlichen Ratschluß" (*Apg*, 566). In the same direction, also G. SCHNEIDER, *Apg II*, 531.
44. Cf. also E. HAENCHEN who thinks along similar lines (*Apg*, 566).
faithful custodians of the law. They are the representatives and the watchdogs of that law. In fact, during the trial, the roles are reversed! The Sanhedrin does not comply with the law: Paul has been brought before them without any properly formulated charge, and without any witnesses. Even the highest authority of all, the high priest, the judge himself, acts against the law by ordering that the accused be struck. Likewise, at the lowest level of authority, the court officials obey the high priest, instead of upholding the law, and ensuring that others do so too. Paul is thus pictured in the same way as Jesus.\[^{45}\] He is an innocent person, unjustly accused, tried, and judged.\[^{46}\]

5. SECTION III. ACTS 23:6-9

The resurrection as a controversial issue

This section should be taken as beginning at V.6, rather than V.7. The structural use of ἀπελογιστάτην clearly indicates this.\[^{47}\]

By this time Paul has seen that the audience consists of both Pharisees and Sadducees, so he "cries out" in the council that he himself is a Pharisee, a son of Pharisees,\[^{48}\] and that he is on trial with respect to the hope and resurrection of the dead (V.6).\[^{49}\] It is the fourth time that Paul speaks here, and the hearers are once again addressed as "brothers". In a masterly way Paul uses the divided views on the resurrection to his benefit. The Sadducees did not believe in the resurrection, angels or spirits, while the Pharisees do believe in all these (V.8). The Pharisees then take side for Paul and against the Sadducees by saying that the do not find anything wrong in him (V.9). The fact that the Pharisees also believed in the resurrection, probably means that "pure" Judaism could have reached its fulfillment within the Christian religion.\[^{50}\]

With this chessmate situation, Paul gets himself out of a real dilemma.

6. SOME CONCLUSIONS ON THE USE OF SCRIPTURE IN THE SIXTH PAULINE SPEECH

6.1 A single line from Ex 22:27 in the Torah-scroll is used here to show Paul's respect and obedience for the law, in contrast to the officers of the same law who are disobedient to it themselves.

6.2 It is used in a normative sense, with the implication that it remains normative for all times; it is law!

\[^{45}\] So also A. WEISER, *Apg II*, 615.

\[^{46}\] A. WEISER says: "Hauptanliegen der beiden Szenenabschnitte ist es, Paulus gegenüber den höchsten Repräsentanten des religiösen Israel als einen vor Gott mit reinem Gewissen lebenden (V 1), schrift- und gesetzestreuen (VV 2-5), pharisäisch geprägten Judenchristen (VV 1.6-9) zu erweisen" (*Apg II*, 615).

\[^{47}\] Contrary to the division of G. SCHNEIDER, *Apg II*, 329.

\[^{48}\] Cf. also Ac 26:5 and Philp 3:5.

\[^{49}\] G. SCHNEIDER is right in saying: "Die Formulierung ist absichtlich so gewählt, damit sie zugleich auf die pharisäische Enderwartung und den christlichen Osterglauben bezogen werden kann" (*Apg II*, 332).

6.3 Either a Textvorlage was used which neither agrees with the existing LXX, nor with the MT evidence, or the quoted line is simply recalled from memory. But even then would it be a very exact formulation according to practice of the day to respect the law "to its letter".
CHAPTER 8

PAUL'S TENTH SPEECH
(Acts 28:16-28)

1. THE BROADER CONTEXT AND BACKGROUND

One encounters in Ac 28 the end of Luke’s double work. There seems to be no doubt that this chapter can also be ascribed to the creative hand of Luke himself. Paul has reached the capital of the Roman empire. Luke may have intended, by this account, to present Paul as the one who introduced Christianity to Rome, although he must surely have been aware of the prior existence of a Christian congregation in Rome. According to the Lukan Paul, “this sect” was unknown among the Jews in Rome itself, although the Jewish leaders had heard several rumours about it. They are curious to hear what Paul has to say about it, and where he himself stands with regard to this “sect”, or “party of the Nazarenes”.

Paul meets the Jewish leaders and gives them a summarized account of the events which have brought him to Rome (described in Ac 21-26). This can be seen as the last of Paul’s so-called “defense speeches”. It consists of two main parts of direct speech, with a narrative in between which deals with the reaction of Paul’s hearers. There is a striking similarity here between the end of Ac (23:23) and the end of Lk (24:27). Another similarity is to be found with the passion of Jesus

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1. So also A. WEISER, Apg II, 679.
2. So H. CONZELMANN, Apg, 159; and A. WEISER, Apg II, 679. Also F.F. BRUCE states: “When the Christian community in Rome came into being is uncertain, but when Paul sent his letter to the Roman church early in A.D. 57 it was already a well-established church, renowned for its faith and loyalty throughout the churches” (Acts, 506). Cf. also, along similar lines, G. SCHNEIDER: “Die christliche Botschaft steht ganz im Vordergrund des Schlußabschnitts 28.22-1, nicht die Person des Paulus” (Apg II, 413).
3. A. WEISER points out that the use of this word in the mouths of the Jews (and as it is used by Josephus), meant nothing else than a different “school” or “party” in the Jewish religion (Apg II, 681). So also E. HAENCHEN: “die Lehre einer Höhersie hätten sich die römischen Juden nicht begierig (πληκτορις) vertragen lassen” (Apg, 645, n.3).
6. Compare the following: Lk 24:27 = καὶ ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ Ναζαρέως καὶ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν προφητῶν διερήσαμεν αὐτούς ἐν πᾶσι ταῖς γραφαῖς τὰ περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ. Ac 28:23 = ἐπείδας τε αὐτοῖς περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἀπὸ τὴν ἡμέραν Ἰωάννου τοῦ μαθητοῦ καὶ τῶν προφητῶν... The similarity between Ac 28 and Lk 24 was also observed by A. WEISER, Apg II, 679.
himself.\footnote{So also A. WEISER, *Apg II*, 677-678; and G. SCHNEIDER, *Apg II*, 413. The latter points to the trilogy of references to Paul’s innocence (23:29; 25:25; 26:31) in relation with that of Jesus (Lk 23:4, 14, 22). Despite this, however, both Jesus (Lk 23:23-25) and Paul (Ac 25:25-27) were convicted.}

Also several other elements which have come to the fore in the other speeches which were discussed so far, are to be found here: The Jesus-kerygma and God’s divine plan of salvation,\footnote{Here in Ac 28 understood to be “the kingdom of God” and “the things about Jesus”.} the reaction of the Jews manifesting a division about this message, the usage of Scripture as proof that God knew what would happen in the future, the necessity to fulfill the rest of that divine plan via these speakers who were authorized to do so, are but some of these motifs which were encountered before, and which are to be found here once again.

2. **Overview of the Text of the Speech**

Section I: Paul’s conversation with the Jewish leaders (VV.16-20)

16 "Ὅτε δὲ εἰσῆλθομεν εἰς Ἑρώτημα, ἐπετράπη τῷ Παύλῳ μένειν καθ’ ἑαυτῷ σὺν τῷ φυλάσσοντι αὐτὸν στρατιώτῃ.

17 Ἠγέτεν τὸ δὲ μετὰ ἡμέρας τρεῖς συγκαλέσασθαι αὐτῶν τοὺς δυτικὸς τῶν Ἰουδαίων πρῶτον: συνελθόντως δὲ αὐτῶν ἔλεγεν πρὸς αὐτούς:

- ἐγώ, διὸ οἱ αἰσθανομένοι, ὑπῆρξαν εἰς ἑαυτὸν παιδίας τῷ λαῷ
- καὶ τόις ἔθεσε τοῖς πατριάσις δέομεν:
- εὖς ἦσαν ἐκ τῆς θεοσολογίας παρεδόθην εἰς τὸς πολιτικός τῶν Ἰουδαίων.

18 οἴτινες ἁπακρίναντες με

- ἔφυλαντο ἐπολίσασα διὰ τὸ μηθεῖαν αἰτίαν θεωράτου υπάρχειν ἐν ἑμοὶ.

19 ἄνευ γενεαλογίας δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἄνακτος ἐπικαλέσατο Καίσαρα
- οὐχ ὡς τοῦ ἔθους μου ἔχων τι κατηγορεῖν.

20 διὰ τἀταύν σὺν τὴν αἰτίαν παρεκλησά τις ὧν καὶ προσολήξαντα,

- ἔνεκεν γάρ τῆς ἐπιλογὸς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν χαράνειαν.

Section II: The reaction of his hearers (VV.21-22)

21 οἱ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶπαν:
- ἤμεσα ποιεῖ γράμματα περὶ σοῦ ἐβεβηκαί ἅπαν τῆς Ἰουδαίας
- σὺν παραγωγοῖς με τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐπηγγελον
- ἢ ἐκλησάοντα το περὶ σοὶ το ποιησάν.

22 ἄξιόμενος δέ παρὰ σοῦ ἀκούσας τὸ φρονεῖς,

- περὶ μὲν γάρ τῆς αἰρέσεως τούτης γνωστῶν ἡμῶν ἐστὶν
- ὅτι ποιηθοῦ ἀπελεγέτοι.

Section III: Paul’s last effort (VV.23-25a)

23 Σοφαμενοὶ δὲ αὐτῷ ἡμέραν
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Section IV: The quotation from Is 6:9-10 and the stubbornness of the Jews.

Conclusion: God's salvation is sent to the Gentiles (Vv.25-28)

25b εἰπόντας τοῦ Ἰωάννου ἐπή, ὅτι
καλὸς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἄγιον ἐλάλησεν διὰ Ἡσαῦ τοῦ προφήτου
πρὸς τοὺς πατέρους ὑμῶν 26 ἔγωγεν,
poreū̂ntai πρὸς τὸν λαόν τοῦτον καὶ εἰπόντας:
ἀκοή ἀκούσατε καὶ ὑμεῖς συνῆτε
καὶ βλέπ͂ντες βλέψετε καὶ ὑμὴ ἴδετε:
27 ἐπανεύρεθη γὰρ ἡ καρδία τοῦ λαοῦ τοῦτον
καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ βαρείας ἤκουσαν
καὶ τοὺς ἁβαλμένους αὐτῶν ἐκαμμύσασιν.
μημὴ ἔθεσιν τοὺς ἁβαλμένους
καὶ τοὺς ὑσών ἀκούσασιν
καὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ σωθῆσιν
καὶ ἐπιστρέψωσιν, καὶ ἱλασθοῦσιν αὐτοῖς.

28 γνωστὸν ὑμῖν ἀνέστη ὑμῖν
ὅτι τοῖς θεοῖς ἀπεστάλη τοῦτο τὸ σωτηρίον τοῦ θεοῦ·
αὐτοὶ καὶ ἀκούσατε.

3. SECTION I. ACTS 28:16-20

Paul's conversation with the Jewish leaders

In V.16 is found the conclusion of the so-called "we"-sections in Ac. Once in Rome,9 Paul receives special treatment, probably because he is a Roman civilian:10 he receives special permission to stay by himself with a single soldier11 to guard him (ἐπετράπη τῷ Ἰωάννῃ ἐπί τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τοῦ Ἰσραήλ, V.16). V.17 starts with the interesting temporal designation of "after three days"

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9. A. WEISER points to several elements which give the final chapter of Ac the nature of a climax, one being that Rome is the goal of Paul's mission: "Den Szene kommt eine besondere Bedeutung zu, weil sie sich in Rom, dem mehrfach angesagten Ziel des von Gott geführten Weges treiben (vgl. 19,21; 22,11; 25,10-12; 27,24)" (Apg II, 677).


11. According to H. CONZELMANN, it was customary to hand a prisoner over to two soldiers (Apg, 159). So also G. SCHNEIDER, Apg II, 408n.28; and F.F. BRUCE, Acts, 304.
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(ἐγένετο δὲ μετὰ ἡμέρας τρεις)\(^{12}\) when Paul takes the initiative to call together the local Jewish leaders (συγκαλέσασθαι αὐτὸν τοὺς ὄντας τῶν Ἰουδαίων πρώτους).\(^{13}\) They obey his wish by coming to him (συνελθόντων δὲ αὐτῶν) and he addresses them (ἐλέγεν πρὸς αὐτούς) with the typical αὐθεντικός (V.17). This is the structural indication of the formal start of Paul’s speech, directed to these Jewish leaders in Rome.

Paul uses the opportunity to brief his hearers on how he came to be in Rome. This is done by way of a brief summary of the history of events reported in Ac 21-26. He starts with a statement about his innocence.\(^{14}\) Starting with an emphasized ‘I’ (ἐγώ at the beginning of the sentence), Paul claims that he has not done anything against the people or the customs of their fathers.\(^{15}\) He was nevertheless captured in Jerusalem and delivered “into the hands of the Romans” (ἐποίησεν τῷ λαῷ ἡ τοῖς ἐβέβαιοι τοῖς πατρίδιοις δεσμίος, V.17).\(^{16}\) He was nevertheless captured in Jerusalem and delivered “into the hands of the Romans” (ἐποίησεν τῷ λαῷ ἡ τοῖς ἐβέβαιοι τοῖς πατρίδιοις δεσμίος, V.17).\(^{17}\) The Romans then tried him (οἱ τινὲς ἀναρίζοντες με), found him not guilty, and wanted to set him free (ἐβουλοῦντο ἀπόλαυσαι), as there was no reason whatsoever to bestow the death sentence upon him (διὰ τῷ μηδείματι αἰτίας θανάτου ὑπάρχειν ἐν ἐμοί, V.18). These Romans are contrasted with the Jews, who were not satisfied with that decision and who objected to it.\(^{18}\) They have “spoken against” it (ἀντιλεγόντων δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, V.19). Note the emphatic position of ἀντιλεγόντων in this sentence. The attitude of these Jews forced Paul to appeal to the Caesar (ἐπικαλέσασθαι Καίσαρα, V.19).\(^{21}\) But although Paul was mistreated in this manner by them, he gives his hearers the assurance that he will not file suit against his people (οὐχ ώς τοῦ ἐθνοῦς μου ἐμοὶ τι κατηγορεῖν, V.19). In VV.17-19 then, Paul defends his innocence with regard to three things: (a) the Jewish customs, (b) the Roman authorities, and (c) the Jewish people.\(^{22}\)

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12. The whole phrase is typically Lukan. This is attested by: (a) the temporal designation, (b) the usage of ἐγένετο δὲ + inf, (c) τρεις. Cf. also G. LUDEMANN, Christentum, 273.
13. Is there perhaps some connection between Jesus’ witness in Jerusalem after his resurrection (3 days), explaining the Scriptures from Moses and the Prophets (Lk 24), on the one hand, and that of Paul here in Ac 28, witnessing after 3 days in Rome “ἐπεί "Ἰησοῦ", on the basis of the Scriptures from Moses and the Prophets, on the other hand?
14. Compare Ac 23:29; 24:16; 25:25; 26:31. Also 23:1 (third Pauline speech) where Paul says to the Sanhedrin that he is standing there with a clear conscience. See also G. SCHNEIDER, Apg II, 413.
15. These customs are those prescribed in the Jewish law (Torah). Thus, seen from a Jewish religious viewpoint, he declares his innocence.
17. ἐπεδίδαντο εἰς τὸς χείρας is a typical LXX expression. See G. SCHNEIDER, Apg II, 414,p.30. He refers to Dt 1:27; Jer 33:24; Jdt 6:10; 1Mac 4:30.
18. Cf. Jesus’ passion: Lk 9:22; 24:7. So also H. CONZELMANN, Apg, 159; and G. SCHNEIDER, Apg II, 413. Compare also the Jewish law (Decalogue) which prohibits false witness. The Jews, however, are violating it themselves here. Paul, nonetheless, undertakes not to take the case further.
19. So the same during Jesus’ passion: Lk 23:4,14,22,41. Also from a Roman political viewpoint, Paul declares his innocence. But compare Ac 25:11!
20. With this, the blame is shifted to the Jews: "Politisch und religiös befinden sich nicht Paulus und das Christentum in Glubensabfall und Unrecht, sondern die Juden" (A. WEISER, Apg II, 681).
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Paul then justifies his calling them, by telling them the reason (διὰ ταύτην σοι τὴν αἰτίαν) why he has called them (παρεκαλέσα ύμας). He wanted to meet them and to talk to them (ἰδεῖν καὶ προσλαλῆσαι), since it is because of "the hope" whom is expected by Israel, that Paul is now in chains (ἐνεκεν γὰρ τῆς ἐλπίδος τοῦ Ἰσραήλ τὴς ἰδιότητος τοῦ ταύτην περίκειμαι, V.20). This "hope of Israel" is probably the Jewish messianic hope, which was meant to be fulfilled, either with the coming of Jesus as the Christ, or with his resurrection, or both.

4. SECTION II. ACTS 28:21-22
The reaction of Paul's hearers

In their reaction to what Paul says the Jewish leaders respond by saying (οἱ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶπαν), that they have neither received any letters about him from Judea (ἡμεῖς οὕτως γράμματα περὶ σοῦ ἐδεξαμεθα ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαΐας), nor has any of their brothers reported anything about him (οὕτως παραγενομένος τις τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἀπήγγειλεν), or spoken any evil of him (ὢ ἐλάλησεν τι περὶ σοῦ πουσιόν, V.21). Thus, neither officially, nor orally, have they received information about Paul. However, they are curious about "this sect". They desire to hear from him what his views are (ἀδεωμένι δὲ παρὰ σοῦ ἀκοῦσαι τὰ φρονεῖς) with regard to this sect; they know that everywhere people speak against it (περὶ μὲν γὰρ τῆς αἱρέσεως ταύτης γνωστὸν ἡμῖν ἔστιν ὅτι πανταχοῦ ἀντιλέγεται, V.22).

5. SECTION III. ACTS 28:23-25a
Paul's last effort

The Jewish leaders then appoint a day for Paul (ταξάμενοι δὲ αὐτῷ ἡμέραν) to further satisfy their curiosity (V.23). On the appointed day they came to his lodging in great numbers (ἡμῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἐποίειν τὰς λέξεις). This opportunity is now used by Paul, from early in the morning until late in the evening (অνοὶ τοὺς ἐσπέρας), to explain to them the kingdom of God (οἷς ἔξετίθετο

23. In the same direction, also Ac 23:6; 24:15; 26:6.
24. So also E. HAENCHEN, Apg 645; G. SCHNEIDER, Apg II, 415; and the TEV, for instance. Against others who take it as a reference to the Jewish (Pharisaic) belief in the resurrection. Others choose to keep it ambiguous; for example, RSV.
25. According to A. WEISER, this could not be strictly historically true. There is evidence of regular contact between the Jews in Palestine and those in Rome. Also, Paul's letter to the Galatians indicates clearly that Paul (and his preaching) was challenged by Jewish agitators from Jerusalem in the diaspora. The letter to the Romans also points in this direction: "Paulus rechnete damit, daß seinen Besuch in Rom judaistische Angriffe vorausgegangen waren" (Apg II, 681). F.F. BRUCE too (Acts, 506), finds it strange that these Jews had apparently heard nothing about Paul, "since the Jerusalem-Rome axis was strong" (referring to R.E. BROWN, Antioch and Rome, London 1983, 104).
27. Cf. 2Mac 3:14; 14:21; Tob 6.
28. Compare with V.17. See also Ac 13 where the same feature is found: As Paul continues with his ministry over a period of time, the numbers of the hearers increase (Ac 13:42,43,44). Cf. also A. WEISER for several other obvious parallels between this speech and that in Ac 13 (Apg II, 678).
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διαμορφωτικός τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ. He does this from within the context of the Mosaic law and the Prophets, trying to persuade them about Jesus (πειθῶν τοὺς προφητῶν, Ἰησοῦ). The kingdom of God and the things about Jesus are not closely related, but within each other.

Some of the Jews are convinced by what Paul says (καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπείθουσαν τοῖς λεγομένοις), while others disbelieve (οἱ δὲ ηπίστους, V.24). This results in a division among the hearers, something which can be observed also in the reactions to some of the earlier speeches. Compare the reaction to the second Petrine (Ac 2:41); third Petrine (4:1-4); first Pauline (13:44-45,48-49), and sixth Pauline speeches (23:7-10). This dual reaction could be seen also as a fulfillment of the words of the Nunc Dimmitis, the song of Simeon in Lk 2:34 which says of Jesus: "this child is set for the fall and rising of many in Israel". It also fits in with the words of Jesus about himself in Lk 12:51-53, i.e. that he has come to bring division.

So, as they disagreed among themselves, they departed (ἀσύμφωνοι δὲ ἀντίς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀπελύοντο, Ac 28:25a).

6. SECTION IV. ACTS 28:25b-28

The quotation from Is 6:9-10 and the stubbornness of the Jews.

Conclusion: God’s salvation is sent to the Gentiles

Before the people can leave, Paul gets a last word in (εἰπόντως τοῦ Παύλου ἡμᾶς εὖ, V.25b). He confirms what the Holy Spirit has said so beautifully to their fathers through Isaiah the prophet (ὅτι καλῶς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἐγὼν ἔλαλησεν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ προφήτου πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ὑμῶν λέγων... V.25c-26). He follows this with a relatively long quotation from proto-Is (Is 6:9-10), describing the stubbornness of the Jews: “They shall hear but not understand, see but not perceive, their heart has grown dull and their ears are heavy of hearing. Lest they should perceive with their eyes and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and turn to God to heal them.”

Paul’s conclusion is clear: “Let it be known to you then that this salvation of God has been sent to the Gentiles (γενόστων οὖν ἐστῶ ὑμῖν... ὁτί τοῖς ἐθνεσιν ἀπεστάλη τοῦτο τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ). He then prophesies that they — with an emphasized “they” — (the Gentiles) will listen (αὐτοὶ καὶ ἀκούσωσαν, V.28)!

Textcritical evidence weighs heavily in favour of the exclusion of V.29.

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29. G. LÜDEMANN points out that the connection between βασιλεία with verbs of proclamation, is a Lukan feature (Christentum, 274).
30. Note that the Mosaic law is again used here as a witness to Jesus. Compare also Lk 24:27,44; and Ac 26:22.
31. From the previous speeches, the things "about Jesus" is the Jesus-kerygma: his death, resurrection, exaltation and parousia. Cf. Ac 2:31 = περὶ τῶν ἀναστάσεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ; Ac 13:9 = πάντα τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένα. So also along similar lines: H. CONZELMANN, Apg, 159; and A. WEISER, Apg II, 681.
32. Cf. the argumentation of E. HAENCHEN, Apg, 646.
33. So G. SCHNEIDER, Apg II, 417.
34. Cf. also Ac 2:14; 4:10; and 13:38.
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6.1 The quoted text from *Is 6:9-10* in Ac 28:26-27

6.1.1 Other NT occurrences of the quotation

The quotation is found in exactly the same form (apart from the introductory phrase at the beginning) in Mt 13:14-15. A reduced or summarised version (i.e. a reference or allusion, and not an explicit quotation) occurs also in Mk 4:12, Lk 8:10, Jn 12:40 and Rm 11:8. The Markan passage quotes from Is 6:9, while the Lukian and Johannine passages quote from Is 6:10. Probable references to Is 6:9f can be found in Jn 9:39; 2 Cor 3:14; 4:4 and Eph 4:18. Outside the NT, the quotation appears in Justin's *Dialogue* 12:2, 33:4 and 69:4. The versions of Mt, Mk and Lk are closer to the reading of the LXX, while that of Jn is closer to the MT.

Lk could have known of this quotation from its occurrence in the Pauline (Rm 11:8) and/or Markan material (Mk 4:12). The fact that the text, as quoted in Ac, is closer both in length and in wording to the version in Mt 13 than it is to that in Lk 8, raises the question of where Luke took the quotation from — the LXX, or elsewhere in the tradition. The fact that it was used both by Paul and by all four gospel writers highlights the important role which this passage played in the early Christian tradition. Although the initiative for identifying and employing this passage should therefore probably be attributed to the tradition, the question about the *length* of the quotation here in Ac, remains unanswered. Luke may have encountered the quotation in the tradition, have checked it himself in the Is scroll, and extended it to its current length.

6.1.2 The introductory formula (Ac 28:25b-26)

A clear distinction must be maintained between the introductory formula to Paul's quotation on the one hand, and on the other, the introductory formula which leads into the words of Yahweh (κύριος) at the beginning of the quotation. This clearly

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35. However, some of the Mattheian textual witnesses do include the introductory phrase with the quotation: D it mac Eus.
37. According to J. GNILKA, the quoted phrases seem to be nearer to the Targum than to the known MT and LXX versions (Die Verstockung Israels (STANT 3), München 1961, 14). Cf. also C. BREYDENBACH on Mk 4:1-34 (Nachfolge, 133-190, here 159-163).
40. H. RINGGREN says of the occurrence of the quotation in Mt, Mk and Lk that "All three differ from the LXX in the order of the clauses...a phenomenon which often points to oral transmission or quoting from memory" (Luke's Use, 228). According to E. HAENCHEN, Mk and Jn made use of another tradition (Schriftestate, 159).
41. So also J. ROLOFF, Apq, 374. Cf. also the commentary column of G.L. ARCHER & G. CHIRICHIGNO, *Quotations*, 95.
42. So believed to be the case by T. HOLTZ, Untersuchungen, 35; and A. WEISER, *Apg II*, 679.
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illustrates the technical distinction made earlier in this study between a formal explicit quotation and a quoted text. Paul's (Luke's!) quotation, on the one hand, is introduced with a ὁτι-recipientum," with the words: ὅτι καλῶς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἀγιὸν ἐλάλησεν διὰ Ἰσαίου τοῦ προφήτου πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ὑμῶν. Is's quotation, on the other hand, now already part of Luke's quoted text, is introduced by λέγον.

The quotation is thus marked out as an explicit citation, clearly attributed to Is. The καλῶς carries an emphatic function. It implies that the Holy Spirit, who has used David as his mouthpiece, has also used Is to predict these things long in advance of their happening. It fits in with God's plan and his being in control of history.  

6.1.3 Determining and explaining the textual differences

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<th>MT</th>
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Πορεύθητι ὁπός τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ καὶ εἶπον, ἀκοὔσατε καὶ ὑμᾶς συνήκητε, καὶ βλέψτε καὶ ὑμᾶς ἔδεικτε. 27 ἐπαχύνθη γὰρ ἡ καρδία τοῦ λαοῦ τοῦτοι καὶ τοῖς ωμοῖς. βαρέως ἦκοῦσας, καὶ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτῶν ἐκάμμουσαν. μὴ πάσες ἡμίσειν τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀναστὰ

quotation from Paul* (Paul in Rome, 132).

44. Cf. also E. HAENCHEN, Apg, 64(6) and BL-DBR, § 410.1.

45. C.K. BARRETT says: “The introduction is elaborate and draws special attention to the last OT quotation in the book” (Luke/Acts, 240).

46. For the combination of καλῶς in an introductory formula, linked with an Isaiahic quotation, see also Me 7:6 (H. CONZELMANN, Apg, 160). Also Lk 20:39 and Mk 12:28 (par Mt 15:7) (G. SCHNEIDER, Apg II, 418, n69).


48 So also H. CONZELMANN, Apg, 160.

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<td>Mt 13:14-15</td>
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<td>Lk 8:10</td>
<td>Jn 12:40</td>
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Τετῶθεκαν αὐτῶν τοὺς ὁφθαλμοὺς καὶ ἐπωρισαν αὐτῶν

'Akophi akouste kai su mh swiske kai blepoutes blepeste kai su mh iotite, 15 epistw anti gar h kardia toj lao tautou kai tois wsi wbariws hksuav, kai tois ophiarmoi oautov ekumussan mhpot ev idswn tois ophiarmoi kai tois wsiw akoiwsan kai t' kardia swswan kai epistrefw-sin, kai idswmai aptous kai idswmai aptous.
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Textual remarks:
Ac 28:26-27 with its quotation from Is 6:9-10 is lacking in codex D. The ἵκητε in Ac 28:26, reads εἴδητε 50 in some textual witnesses, while the ἐπαξίωθη in ν. 27 has become ἐπιφύση 51 in some others. The ἔπιστρέφουσα in the last line of the quotation is read as ἔπιστρέφουσα by a few textual witnesses, 52 and ἱδίωσα as ἱδίωσα. 53 The textual witnesses connected with the Mt 13:14-15 reading support none of these alternatives.

(a) Textual differences between MT and LXX

There are a number of differences to be found between the MT text and the LXX translation. All of these changes were taken over by both the readings of Mt 13:14-15 and Ac 28:26-27. Some of the most prominent changes are the following: (i) 4 imperatives of the MT are changed: two of them to future indicatives and the other two to aorist indicatives; (ii) 2 Qal-futures are translated into subjunctives; (iii) another imperative changed to an aorist passive; (iv) the causal conjunction γαρ, is inserted by the LXX; (v) an object in the MT becomes a subject in the LXX; (vi) the translation of a μήμοντε-conjunction in combination with the aorist; (vii) the use of a futurum translation equivalent rather than a passive.

(i) In the LXX translation of Is 6:9, two future indicatives are used (ἀκούσετε, "you shall hear"; βλέψετε, "you shall see"), rather than imperatives which would have correlated better with the MT reading: "hear" and "see".54 Also in Is 6:10, the two forms of the Hiph il/imp/masc/sing ἡσυχασθείς ("make heavy/grievous") and ὄφθαλμοι ("look away from/shut"), were translated by the LXX as aorist indicatives: βαρέως ἄκουσαν ("have heard with difficulty") and ἐκάμμυσαν (their eyes "have closed") by the LXX.55

(ii) In Is 6:9, the two forms of the Qal/fut/2nd pers/masc/sing ἄκουσαν ("you shall understand") and ἀπανσφαλέως ("you shall not perceive"), are translated as aorist subjunctives, οὐ μὴ συνήτε ("you shall never understand") and οὐ μὴ ἵκητε ("you shall never perceive").56

(iii) In Is 6:10, the Hiph il/imp/masc/sing ἀπανθάμω ("make fat") of the MT, is translated as an aor/ind/pass ἐπαξίωθη ("it has grown dull") in the LXX.57

50. Cf. NA26: (ex iac.) P774 And E 104 pc syh.
51. So κ' (sig). According to E. HAENCHEN, this was due to the influence of βαρέως ἄκουσαν (Schriftzitate, 159).
52. Cf. A E Ψ 048.81 pc vg
53. Cf. E 33.81.2464 pm sig vg.
54. So B.J. KOET, Paul in Rome, 129. R.H. GUNDROY formulates this as follows: "...note the pure Septuagintal form in the rendering of the Hebrew idiom of a conjugated verb-form with an infinitive absolute first by a finite verb with a cognate noun and then by a finite verb with a participle (Use of the OT, 118).
55. Cf. R.H. GUNDROY, Use of the OT, 118; and B.J. KOET, Paul in Rome, 129. According to G.L. ARCHER & G. CHIRICHIGNO, it seems as if they were read as θάνατος, ὄφθαλμοι (Quotations, 93).
56. In the latter case, a better translation would probably have been μὴ γνώτε/εἰδήτε, according to G.L. ARCHER & G. CHIRICHIGNO. Quotations, 93.
57. It seems as if it was vocalized as a 3rd pers/masc/sing ἁπτόταλ (ἁπτόταλ) by the LXX translator, according to G.L. ARCHER & G. CHIRICHIGNO. Quotations, 93.
(iv) A γαρ is inserted between ἔπαυσαν and η καρδία by the LXX translation.58
(v) The "heart of the people", being the object in the MT, is changed to a subject in the syntax of the LXX translation.59
(vi) In the LXX translation the negative intention of the people is expressed with the μὴποτε-conjunction in combination with the aorist.60
(vii) Instead of the futurum in the LXX translation καὶ ἱάσωμαι αὐτοῖς ("and I shall/should heal them"), a better translation for the impersonal Ἰατρεῖν ("and to heal/cure") would probably have been: καὶ ἱαθησθαι, ἱαθη (passive),61 or "and be healed".62

(b) Textual differences between Ac and LXX

The quotation in Ac 28:26-27 matches almost exactly the LXX version of Is 6:9-10.63 There are only two differences to be found between the reconstructed readings of the LXX and Ac:64 (a) the omission of αὐτῶν after ὁσίον (V.27), and (b) the LXX order καὶ εἶπον τῷ λαῷ τοῦτο, which is changed in Ac to πρὸς τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον καὶ εἶπον.

b.1 Omission: αὐτῶν

None of the available textcritical evidence casts any doubt upon the omission of αὐτῶν in Ac 28:27. The LXX witnesses on the other hand, confirm its inclusion in the LXX text, so that this NT omission does not have any convincing support by any LXX textual witnesses.65 It is interesting that its omission in the other NT parallel, Mt 13:15, also receives adequate textcritical support.66 This raises the question of

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58. Cf. also R.H. GUNDRY, Use of the OT, 118; and B.J. KOET, Paul in Rome, 129. The latter points to the fact that "This causal conjunctive is employed to underscore the change from the prophet's active agency to a diagnosis."
59. So B.J. KOET, Paul in Rome, 129.
60. Cf. B.J. KOET; "The heart of the people has become fat and their ears are dull of hearing and they have closed their eyes; therefore they do not perceive and thus do not repent. It is they themselves, who make it impossible for the Lord to heal them" (Paul in Rome, 129).
61. Cf. R.H. GUNDRY, OT Quotations, 118. So also according to G.L. ARCHER & G. CHIRICHIGNO, Quotations, 95,95. The latter reckon that "...this voweling of the Sopherim consonantal text may reflect a theological preference. That is, sinful, disobedient Judah has hardened itself in willful rejection of God's mandates; the emphasis is laid on human guilt rather than upon that judicial blinding by which God confirms the wicked in their unbelief, making them ripe for the coming judgment" (95).
63. So also W.K.L. CLARKE who has indexed it as belonging to those quotations which show "Substantial Agreement between Acts and LXX" (Use of the Septuagint, 87). Also H. CONZELMANN: 'folgt fast genau LXX' (Apg,160). E. HAENCHEN talks about a "LXX-treuen Zitat" (Schriftdat., 159); B.M. NEWMAN & E.A. NIDA about "almost word-for-word agreement with the Septuagint" (Translator's Handbook, 513); and B.J. KOET says it "largely agrees with the LXX" (Paul in Rome, 128). Cf. also T. HOLTZ, Untersuchungen, 33-37; and G. SCHNEIDER, Apg II, 418.
64. So also H. RINGGEN, Luke's Use, 235.
65. It is supported only by minuscule 393 and the Coptic translation.
66. It is included, however, by Νεξ 33.892.1241 pc it vg mss ἀπεκ.ο.π.
whether both Mt and Luke (here in Ac) could have made use of the same written textual tradition.67

6.2 Substitution and Transposition
καὶ εἶπον τῷ λαῷ τούτω (LXX) ——>
πρὸς τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον καὶ εἶπόν (Ac)

The Ac-reading presents this LXX-phrase in the reversed order,68 thereby going against our known readings of the MT and LXX.69 When looking back at the other discussed quotations, this change in word order seems to be a feature which is relatively often to be found. The question arises then whether this was a stylistic feature of the Textvorlage which Luke has used, or a stylistic feature of Luke himself. The latter should be preferred on the basis of the lack of textcritical evidence to support the former.

6.1.4 Method of quotation

The same quotation is also to be found in Mk 4:12,70 Mt 13:14f, Lk 8:10, Jn 12:40 and Rm 11:8. This quotation could have been known by Luke from his knowledge of the Markan and Pauline material and could therefore hardly be ascribed to Luke's own independent finding and application of it from his "Scriptures".71 But this does not prove beyond all doubt that Luke has made use here of "an early Christian testimony".72 It is interesting, however, that the version in Ac almost identically resembles that found in Mt, in length,73 form and content, while those in Mk, Jn and Luke's gospel are standing closer to each other.74 The beginning and ending of the quotation is quite clear.

67. R.H. Gundry reckons for instance, that "because of an identical purpose to show the OT passage has already been fulfilled, for which the Hebrew is not suitable, Mt and Acts may independently follow the same Septuagintal text, represented by Cod. K in its omission of the first εἰς τῶν in Isaiah against its own reading in Matthew" (Use of the OT, 118).
68. The same trend has come to the fore in Ac 7:50 where Is 66:2 was quoted. It was changed there, however, due to the change from a statement to a question.
69. Textual support by LXX witnesses (minuscules 393 and 534, as well as by Ath. II 1001) do not convince. Cf. also E. Haenchen, Apg, 640.
70. According to F.F. Bruce, here "they are introduced (in a targumic form) at the end of the parable of the sower" (Paul's Use, 77).
71. G. Schneider (Apg II, 418), on the footsteps of T. Holtz (Untersuchungen, 35), asked whether Luke could have found the 1st text, probably from a "Testimonienansammlung", and checked it with his LXX text. A. Weiser thinks in the same direction: "Das Jesaja-Zitat wird er freilich nicht nur aus der LXX, sondern auch aus sonstigen urchristlichen Gebrauch aufgenommen haben..." (Apg II, 679).
72. So taken by F.F. Bruce, Acts, 508.
73. The only difference between the two is that Mt's version left out the sentence that immediately precedes the ἐκοίμησετε.
74. So also E. Haenchen, Apg, 159.
6.1.5 Interpretation of the quotation by Luke

Luke has applied this quoted text to his own audience. In Is, the prophet is called to tell the people of Israel these words in the quotation. Those Israelites, to whom these words were originally addressed, are now taken to be the (fore)fathers of the current generation. Luke repeats the same words in mouth of Paul, and indicates thereby that they (the descendants of those generations) are still walking in the same old ways, being stubborn and relentless.

This quotation is therefore used to explain and justify Paul’s turning away from the Jews to take the message of salvation to the Gentiles, as seen as a fulfillment of God’s divine plan; the quotation merely provides scriptural support for this change of direction.

Note the link between Mk 4:11-12 (within the setting of the parable of the sower) and Ac 28:25-31 on the basis of “the kingdom of God” in combination with the reference to Is 6:9-10. In Mk 4:11-12, Jesus said to “those who were about him with the twelve” that to them was given “the secret of the kingdom of God, but for those outside everything is parables”. At this point he adds quoted phrases from Is 6:9-10, without any indication that these are explicit quotations. This is taken over by Luke in Lk 8:9-10, also in the context of the parable of the sower, where Jesus says to the disciples that “it has been given to them to know the secrets of the kingdom of God; but for others they are in parables”; again, the quoted phrases from Is 6:9-10 appear without any indication that this is an explicit quotation. The same trend is found in Mt 13:11-15, except that: (a) there is an explicit reference to Is (formal introductory formula), (b) an explicit quotation follows, and (c) this quotation is considerably longer than the parallel passages in Mk and Lk. This suggests the existence, during the time of early Christianity, of a well established tradition linking the Is quotation with the theme of “the kingdom of God”.

It has been noted that, in his use of this quotation, Luke (in this case, in Ac) stands closer to Mt, than to the Markan tradition; a similar pattern is apparent also, for example, in the temptation narratives, where it seems that Mt and Lk have used
the same longer tradition, as against the shorter version as found in Mk. What is curious here, is that in terms of similarities, Ac and Mt stand over against both Mk and Lk. One possible explanation here is that there were two variations of the same tradition in circulation: one version like that found in the Markan account, which does not resemble an explicit quotation, and which was used by Luke in his gospel, and a second version, resembling a long explicit quotation, which Luke used in Ac. However, both versions combine the reference/quotation from Is 6:9-10 with the theme of "the kingdom of God".

When Jn 12:37-41 is now compared with the synoptic gospels and Ac, the differences are striking. Not only does John's version seem to be nearer to the MT than to the LXX, but the link with "the kingdom of God" is not to be found at all. The quotation appears in the context of the continued unbelief of the people in spite of the many signs which Jesus had performed before them. This unbelief is seen here as the fulfillment of prophecy — "that the word spoken by the prophet Isaiah might be fulfilled".

Turning to Rm 11:7-8, and comparing the context and interpretation of this quotation there, it is clear that there is a definite difference between the synoptic and Pauline understanding of this quotation. In the context of Rm 9-11, Paul says that "Israel failed to obtain what it sought. The elect obtain it, but the rest were hardened, as it is written..." He combines then some phrases from Is 29:10; 6:9; and Dt 29:4 to form a single but conflated quotation.

Returning now to the occurrence of Is 6:9-10 within the context of Ac 28:26-27, and its interpretation there by Luke, one thing is clear: the quotation agrees almost exactly with the reconstructed LXX version, but together with the LXX, differs considerably from the reconstructed MT. It is the consequences of these changes between the LXX and the MT that are interesting: (a) Emphasis is laid in the LXX translation on the fact that it is the people's fault that they are unable to hear and see; (b) the severe picture of God in the Hebrew text is toned down; and (c) in a description of the people's negative attitude, their judgment changed. "It is because the people themselves have hardened their hearts that the unfortunate result is blindness. In contrast to the Hebrew text, the possibility to repent is still open in the LXX." The LXX thus opens another direction for the interpretation of this quotation, which is not present in the MT.

80. So, for instance, E. HAENCHEN: "Wie sich aus unserer Stelle, aber auch aus Mk 4,12 Par. und Joh 12,40 ergibt, ist Jes 6,9f. in der hellenistischen Gemeinde als reines Verwurfsurteil Gottes verstanden worden. Mit Rö 11,26 darf man diese theologische Auslegung nicht vermissen" (Apg, 646). J. ROLOFF explains the synoptic understanding further: "Dieses geheimnisvolle Gotteswort wurde im Urchristentum viehlich angewendet zur Beantwortung der Frage, warum die Botschaft des Evangeliums nicht das ihr zukommende Gehör fand" (Apg, 374). And about the Pauline understanding: "Die heilsgeschichtliche Zukunftsperspektive von Röm 9-11, die über die gegenwärtige Verstockung hinaus auf eine zukünftige Bekehrung Israels blickt, macht sich Lukas also nicht zu eigen" (Apg, 375).

81. So spelled out by B.J. KOET, Paul in Rome, 129-130.
82. B.J. KOET, Paul in Rome, 130. He takes a different viewpoint from the traditional. There is thus still the possibility for the Jews to repent. G. SCHNEIDER and others, think differently: "Jes 6,9f habe sich an ihnen erfüllt; das Judentum bleibe verstockt" (my emphasis, G/J), although it "...schließt nicht die Bekehrung einzeller Juden aus" (Apg II, 419).
Another aspect which is apparently clear, is the interpretation of Is 6:9-10 in connection with the theme of "the kingdom of God". Within the broader context of Ac itself, this should probably be linked with Ac 1:3-6. There, during the forty days before Jesus' ascension, he talks to the apostles whom he had chosen (V.2) about "the kingdom of God" (V.3). This causes them to ask him if he will restore the kingdom to Israel at this time (V.6). Ac 28:23,31 is reminiscent of this scene: just as Jesus explains the kingdom of God to his apostles in Jerusalem, so Paul explains the kingdom of God in Rome. This teaching can probably be interpreted as encapsulating the central message of the Christian proclamation; in Lukan theological terms: God's plan of salvation. The content of the message need not to be described here; the previous speeches, narratives and miracles of Ac all help to convey the message. And the Jesus-kerygma fits into this plan of salvation, this kingdom of God, which is clearly revealed in the prophecies quoted from Scripture. Also that does not need to be spelled out here. The reader of Ac would surely be familiar at this point with what that is! With reference being made to it at the beginning of Ac (1:3) and at the end of Ac (28), the whole book forms an inclusio on this theme.

The contrast between the long quotation of Jl 2:28-30(3:1-5) in the second Petrine speech, and this long quotation of Is 6:9-10 in the tenth Pauline speech, is striking. In the first, those who have received the (power of the) Holy Spirit, will prophecy, see visions, have dreams and do miracles; but those who do not accept that message will be blind and deaf, according to the latter! Consisting mostly of Jews, this is a demand and justification for Paul to turn away from them with this message, and to proclaim it to the Gentiles.

7. SOME CONCLUSIONS ON THE USE OF SCRIPTURE IN PAUL'S TENTH SPEECH

7.1 The origin of this quotation remains a question. The sharing of it with Mt may be an indication of some common texttradition shared by both of them. But it is
clear that the quoted text matches almost exactly that of the LXX, which in turn, differs relatively substantially from the Hebrew.

7.2 Again a prophecy is used, but reinterpreted to suit that current generation. The omission of οὐράνιον might be a result of this.

7.3 Part of this reinterpretation is conveniently made possible in the LXX version, which tones down the severe picture of God and indicates that it is the people’s fault that they are unable to hear and see.

7.4 The link with the beginning of Ac has also become clear, especially in terms of the motif of the "kingdom of God". The purpose of it all seems to be God's plan of salvation which is offered to all those who call on the name of the Κυρίου. With the Jews rejecting this message, the quotation is used both as a justification and as a demand to turn away from them and to proclaim the message to the Gentiles.
CHAPTER 9
SYNTHESIS AND CONCLUSION

1. EXPLICIT QUOTATIONS WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THE SPEECHES

1. This investigation has explored the question of Luke’s use and understanding of his Scriptures in his second work, the παράγωγος ἀποστόλων (Acta Apostolorum).
2. The investigation has focused exclusively on his usage of explicit quotations, but contrary to most previous studies in this direction, it has attempted to deal with these quotations within their contexts, and thus in a holistic, rather than a fragmentary way.
3. It has been confirmed that all the explicit quotations drawn from Luke’s Scriptures are to be found in speeches and dialogues, with the Is quotation in Ac 8 being an exception. These speeches are normally accepted to be Luke’s own literary composition. It is therefore significant that the explicit quotations are only to be found in these speeches, and the speeches can thus tell something about Luke’s use and understanding of Scripture, while being creative compilations by himself.
4. Interesting was the confirmation that in all these speeches and dialogues which contain explicit quotations, the hearers were Jews. However, it was also established that in several instances the non-Jews were not completely excluded. Important was the notion that there are no explicit quotations from the Jewish Scriptures (regardless of whether written in some Semitic language or in Greek) in the speeches and dialogues where the hearers consisted exclusively of non-Jews!
5. Based on the abovementioned information, three categories of speeches/dialogues were identified, i.e. Petrine, Pauline and "other" speeches. For practical and workable reasons the investigation was limited only to the Petrine and Pauline speeches. These have included three "missionary speeches" (Ac 2, 3 and 13), two "defense speeches" of Paul (Ac 23 and 28) as well as Peter’s "selection speech" for a twelfth witness (Ac 1).

2. THE TEXT-HISTORICAL ASPECT OF THE PROBLEM:
   The origin and Textvorlage of the explicit quotations

1. It is clear from the identified explicit quotations in Ac, that Luke has used the scrolls of the Torah, the Pss, the 12P and that of Is.
2. There also seems to be evidence that Luke knew most of his quotations already from the tradition (either oral or written). Cf. the following:
   (a) The first Petrine speech: It was argued in Ch 3 of this study that Ps 68(69) was no foreign text for the writers of the NT and that there seems to be a strong possibility that V.26 was already linked with the tradition of Judas’ death.
   (b) The second Petrine speech: Jl 2:28(3:5) was already used by Paul in Rm 10:13, and one might assume that the christological-soteriological connection with this quoted text from Jl was known during Luke’s time. It was also argued that Ps
109(110) was probably the text most used by early Christianity. With its occurrence in the gospels, Pauline literature and Heb, there can be no doubt that this was no foreign text for Luke at all!

(c) **The third Petrine speech**: Compare here the promise to Abraham (covenant) and the christological application of the quoted text from Gn 22:18 in Ac 3:25, with the evidence as found in Gl 3:8,16 (as discussed in Ch 5). Also the Jewish expectation of a "prophet like Moses" and the application of the quoted text from Dt 18:15-20 in Ac 3:22, underlines the fact of a pre-knowledge in terms of the usage of this quotation. Its occurrence in 4QTest 5-8 and 1QS 9:11 proves this pre-knowledge.

(d) **The first Pauline speech**: The Davidic tradition and the promises made to David about "God's exalted son" as contained in 2 Ki(Sm) 7:10b-14, were noted. The latter is reflected in its links with the quoted texts from Ps 2:7 and Is 55:3 (the latter which, in turn, shares the translation of // by ἔσια with 2 Ki(Sm) 7). The application of the quoted texts from Ps 15(16) in Ac 2 and 13, as well as Ps 109(110):1 in Ac 2:34, also fit in with these Davidic promises. Apart from the evidence for the importance of the Davidic tradition of 2 Ki(Sm) 7, it was also stated that Ps 2 was already linked by early Judaism with a messianic expectation. Also the usage of Ps 2:7 in Heb 1:5 and 5:5, linked with the christology (exaltation), is an indication that Luke may have known this quotation from its use in early Judaism and early Christianity. The same applies to Is 55:3 which is found to be quoted already in 1QS 4:22; 5:5f; 1QSb 1:2f; 2:25, although their interpretations differ. Even Is 49:6 was used before Luke's time, as can be seen from the quotation in Enoch 48:4, which already interpreted it messianically.

(e) **The tenth Pauline speech**: It was argued that Luke could have been familiar with the quotation from Is 6:9 from the Markan and/or Pauline material, but might have checked it in his Is scroll, and then extended it to its current length. Several of these quotations were then already used before Luke's time, as is to be seen in the documents from Qumran, Mk, Paul's letters and Heb. However, it seems as if Luke has sometimes checked these quotations against his Scriptures. Two things point in this direction: (a) He sometimes quotes longer passages, as is the case with his quotations from Jl 2(3) and Ps 15(16) in Ac 2, as well as that of Is 6:9-10 in Ac 28; and (b) he sometimes reflects a broader knowledge of the original context from which a specific quotation is drawn. This becomes clear, not only from traces of motifs which are found in the original context as well as in the new context, but also in the specific reference in some of the introductory formulae to the place from which the relevant passage is quoted from, e.g. Jl, the second Ps, etc.

But even though the tradition ensured his familiarity with most of the quotations he used, Luke himself clearly used a text which greatly resembles that of the reconstructed Old Greek Version and other LXX documents.

3. There is insufficient proof of the existence of a so-called "testimony book", which might have been used by Luke at the end of the first century AD, in order to substantiate the specific selection of texts as found in the *Acta Apostolorum*. A safer
assumption, in connection with those quotations which agree with other sources, may be that certain texts, interpreted by early Judaism in the context of messianic and eschatological expectation, were taken over by early Christianity, and reinterpreted, identifying Jesus of Nazareth as the messiah (Christ) who has come, and who will come again in the future. Luke may have picked up some of the "key texts" of the Jews, interpreting them in a consciously christological way, as a challenge to the way in which the Jews understood these texts. Does this indicate some apologetical motif implicit in the use of these specific quotations?

4. The remaining quotations from the six speeches which were investigated, do not show sufficient proof to assume knowledge from existing written traditions. These are: Ps 108(109):8 in Ac 1:20; Hab 1:5 in Ac 13:41; and Ex 22:27 in Ac 23:5. It may be assumed that these were added by Luke himself from his own repertoire of scriptural knowledge, either from memory, and/or traced by Luke himself in his LXX scrolls.

5. A comparison with existing reconstructions of the Hebrew and Greek texts of those Scriptures has revealed that the textform which Luke used was probably a Greek one, but one which greatly resembles our known LXX manuscripts. But there are also indications (although few) that his text has differed sometimes from these existing Greek manuscripts of the LXX, reflecting a Textvorlage which seems to be somewhat closer to the Hebrew.

3. THE METHODOLOGICAL ASPECT OF THE PROBLEM:

Luke's usage and application of LXX quotations

It became clear from all the speeches which were investigated in this study, that Luke consistently made use of Scripture on two levels:

(a) Level I: Informative. It is used here for past events, which were already fulfilled. While looking back, retrospectively, it is used especially in the missionary speeches, in a christological manner.

(b) Level II: Normative. On this level, it is used much more towards the present or future situation of the hearers who are addressed. Most of the time, the quoted texts presented on this level are events which are presented as if they still had to be fulfilled. It has a strong prophetic dimension.

A closer look at each of the speeches has revealed the following:

3.1 First Petrine speech: Two quoted texts from the Pss were combined in a masterly manner and presented as one single quotation with a single introductory formula. In the first quoted text, Ps 68(69):26, it was found that the changes between the reconstructed LXX readings and that of Ac were probably due to the hand of the author. The second person plural pronoun was changed to the singular in order to apply it to Judas. The change to the predicate adjective in place of the passive

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3. See the tables in App. A.
4. Compare these levels with D.E. AUNE's (Prophecy in early Christianity and the ancient Mediterranean world Grand Rapids 1983, 339) identification of three essential features of 'charismatic exegesis', being "a characteristic feature of Jewish propheticism in the Hellenistic and Roman periods", but also to be found in early Christian biblical interpretation: "it is commentary" (level I below?), "it is eschatological" (level 2 below?) "and it is inspired" (both levels?).
participle, seems to be a broader Lukan stylistic preference. An interesting feature of Luke’s use of sources is found here, namely that something might be omitted, only to be added later in different words (i.e. a transposition-cum-substitution). The quoted text as such replaces Zch 11/Jr 39(32) in the Matthean parallel.

In the second quoted text, Ps 108(109):8, the connection with the preceding quoted text was effectively made. The striking feature here is the change from the optative to the imperative. This not only connects the quoted text with the preceding one, but also serves the function of a divine demand.

3.2 Second Petrine speech: The long quoted text from Jl 2:28-32 (3:1-5) probably serves some programmatic function. It consists of three parts: the first interprets and confirms the preceding event of the Spirit which Jesus has just “poured out” from heaven, having received it from his Father, while sitting at the right hand of the Father; the second has a stronger eschatological trend, looking ahead to the consequences of this Spirit-event, which lie in the future; the third consists of the emphatic (and strategically ended) sentence about salvation in the name of the κύριος. The latter is thus interpreted in a christological-soteriological manner. Both levels of interpretation, as identified above, are thus to be found in this quoted text. Most of the changes found here seem to be the result of the author’s hand, and to be theologically motivated. The insertion of λέγει ὁ θεός confirms Luke’s Theo-centric approach; that of καὶ προφητεύσασθαι his prophetical intention, and those of ἀνώ, (κάτω), σημεία, with the substitution of μετὰ ταύτα by ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις, Luke’s eschatological dimension. Some pronouns were changed again in order to apply the quoted text more closely to its current context. The change in order between προσβὰτον and νησίσκον, as well as that of ἐνυπνία which has become ἐσυνυπνία, is an indication of Luke’s own stylistic preferences.

The second quoted text, Ps 15(16):8-11, has shown that it could only have been taken from the LXX. It is presented in a typological way, as being already referred to in the past by the “prophet” David, and now interpreted in terms of what has happened to Jesus of Nazareth. Striking is the Theo-centric approach which remains consequently present during the interpretation of the Ps.

The third quoted text, Ps 109(110):1, also points to the LXX by following the ὑποπόδιον, instead of the ὑποκάτω reading. Contrary to rabbinic material which interprets it in a non-messianic manner, the NT interprets it messianically (christologically). Taking this with Ps 15(16), there might be some link with the Davidic promises in 2 Ki(Sm) 7:12-16. Also important is the continuation of the κύριος-motif which was begun at the end of the Jl quotation, taken up by the quotation from Ps 15(16) and appears again here in the quotation from Ps 109(110).

Luke’s presentation of witnesses to the resurrection of Jesus is clear: (a) Scripture, as found in Pss 15(16) and 109(110), as well as (b) Peter and the other 11 “witnesses”.

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5. In a study conducted on LXX influence on the language and style of Luke’s gospel, it was found that the “Sondergut-Lukas” material was much closer to the readings of the LXX than those from other material (cf. G.J. STEYN, LXX influence, 138). Does the fact that the occurrence of this quoted text in Ac could only be traced back to Luke himself, confirm that finding?
3.3 Third Petrine speech: The first quoted text, Dt 18:15-20, was interpreted in pre-Lukan times in terms of the expectation of an eschatological prophet such as Moses. It is used here by Luke roughly within the same lines, but also as an example of the promise of the times of restoration. Typologically, therefore, it is christologically applied, so that its three dimensions, prophetic, christological and eschatological, are like three strings in a single cord of interpretation. Again, pronoun changes were made to adapt the quoted text to the current hearers, by changing the second person singulars to plurals. This adaptation to the current hearers was extended by the transposition of ὑμῖν which placed it in an emphatic position and by the addition of πρὸς ὑμᾶς. The prophetic dimension was stressed by (a) the emphatic start of the quotation with ἁπόκλιτην; by (b) the transposition of ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν... ὡς ἐμέ which emphasized "prophet"; by (c) the transposition of τοῦ ἁπόκλιτου ἐκείνου which emphasizes obedience to the prophet; and (d) the warning against false prophets. The rest of the context from the quoted text (Vv.15-20) was omitted, probably due to the fact that it does not fit into the new context. Despite the fragmentary character of this quoted text, there seems to be sufficient evidence that it is to be traced back to the LXX. Probable broader knowledge of the LXX version of Dt is also indicated by the addition of έσται δὲ.

The second quoted text, resembling a similar "curse" to that found in Lv 23:29 for instance, deals especially with the second level of Luke's use of Scriptural quotations. It is combined with the quoted text from Dt 18:15-20 and presented as a single quotation --- as was the case with the two quoted texts from the Ps in the first Petrine speech. It is used as an added moral code.

The third quoted text, Gn 22:18, clearly identifies the first recipients of the mentioned promises. This is achieved by (a) the transposition of ἐνευλογηθεῖσαται which results in emphasizing ἐν τῷ σπέρματί σου, by which it is clear that the quoted text was meant for them, being those children of their forefathers, as well as by (b) the substitution of πάντα τὰ ἐθνα with πάσαι αἱ πατριαί. This quoted text also seems to be functioning within Luke's second level of usage of scriptural quotations. It is applied to the present situation with an appeal to its current hearers (readers?). The context in which it is quoted is that the hearers are children of the covenant made by God with their fathers, through Abraham.

Most of the changes in the third Petrine speech seem to be stylistic changes, however, being theologically motivated.

3.4 First Pauline speech: The trilogy of quoted texts in Ac 13:33-35, are all christologically interpreted. Although the quoted text from Ps 2:7 reflects no textual changes, it seems to be a εὐκατ αὐτοῦ. It was concluded that it might have some double meaning, referring both to the earthly Jesus' birth and ministry, but also to the exalted Jesus' status. If a choice must be made, the latter is more probable, that is, that it deals with the period after his resurrection, and specifically with his exalted status. The quoted text is therefore interpreted as a fulfillment of the Davidic promise.

The second quoted text, Is 55:3, probably shares some background from 2 Ki(Sm) 7:15 with the next quoted text, Ps 15(16):10. The addition of δόθησαι makes it clear that one should distinguish between a quoted text and a quotation. Luke's quotation already starts here, but it is not yet part of his quoted text. However, it could also be
seen as an implicit replacement for the next omission in the quoted text (διαθήκησθαι). The element of God’s promise figures prominently here and reflects therefore again on the dimension of prophecy.

The third quoted text, Ps 15(16):10, is quoted as a pars pro toto, especially bearing in mind its first occurrence in the second Petrine speech. It probably serves to emphasize the incorruptibility of Jesus’ body as proven from Scripture, and therefore to substantiate the fact of his resurrection.

The fourth quoted text, Hab 1:5, was taken from an eschatological context, but is interpreted here as a warning with some immediateness, in the form of a prophecy which stands on the brink of fulfillment. In order to apply the quoted text to the current situation, Luke adds ἔργον for the sake of clarity and the pronoun ὑμῖν to emphasize the fact that the content of this prophecy is meant for them!

In the fifth quoted text, Is 49:6, the κύριος-motif again plays an important role. The text is presented as a direct commission of the κύριος himself to these apostles. This probably refers to the now exalted Jesus, who was made κύριος by God (cf. Ac 2:36). It has thus a christological dimension. However, within its current context it also reflects an eschatological dimension through the mission for the restoration of Israel — and even beyond the restoration of Israel! Simultaneously it contains then also a soteriological element. The normative character of this quoted prophecy is to be seen in the transposition of the attention marker ἰδοὺ from the context of the quoted text, prior to the introductory formula.

3.5 Sixth Pauline speech: The context of the only quoted text, Ex 22:27, is retained here. It functions as a commandment which is applied here to the relevant person, Ananias. This is achieved by the change from a plural to the singular ἀρχοντα. The purpose of the quoted text seems to be an emphasis of Paul’s commitment and obedience to the law, in ironical contrast with the Jewish officials who disobey these Jewish laws.

3.6 Tenth Pauline speech: There is clear and sufficient evidence to assume that Luke made use here of a LXX version for this quoted text from Is 6:9-10. It is still in line with Luke’s Theo-centric approach, fitting in with God’s plan of salvation. The transposition of elements within the LXX phrase καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ κόσμου τοῦτοι καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ παγκόσμιου καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ παγκόσμιου to read in Ac πρὸς τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν κόσμον καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν κόσμον καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν κόσμον to read in Ac πρὸς τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν κόσμον καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν κόσμον to read in Ac πρὸς τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν κόσμον καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν κόσμον.

The pronoun αὐτῶν was omitted in order to apply the quoted text to its new hearers.6 The quoted text could now be interpreted as a message by the mouth of (the "prophet"?) Paul to the descendants of Israel, while, in its original context, it was a message from the mouth of the prophet Isaiah to their forefathers. The text itself is thus interpreted as being a prophecy, both with an eschatological dimension (within the setting of Paul’s discussion on the "kingdom of God"), as well as a

6. But cf. also the reading in Mt which is similar. It was either the independent result of both authors, or both made use of a similar Textvorlage.
soteriological dimension (if the Jews do not want this message of salvation, it will be
taken to the non-Jews, "they will listen").

4. THE HERMENEUTICAL ASPECT OF PROBLEM:
Aspects of Luke's theology and his interpretation of LXX quotations

The question of how these changes in the quotations fit in with the Lukan theology
should now be taken a step further. Attention should be paid especially to the
theological apriori which were functioning within Luke's reinterpretation of his
quoted material from his Scriptures.

With regard to the place of Luke's use and interpretation of his Scripture within the
framework of his theology, the following has become clear:
(a) The nature of the applied quoted texts is Theo-centric rather than christological.
God always remains the Subject.
(b) The medium through whom these quoted texts are interpreted is a prophetic
one. Peter and Paul seem to be the mouthpieces of Jesus. They have authority, are
empowered by the Holy Spirit, and can therefore interpret the Scriptures.
(c) The general aim of these quoted texts is salvation-historical. It has as its primary
objects of salvation the Jews, but also more and more the non-Jews.
(d) The contents of the prophecy itself is presented in a kerygmatic form. It deals
with specific themes, arising from a real historical context, which are then related to
God's general plan of salvation via the name of the kópioç.

Luke's use, understanding, and application of his Scriptures, can therefore only be
understood in the end within his theology. It would be unwarranted to try and
reconstruct such a Lukan theology from the information in these six speeches alone.
However, the question which should be asked is, where exactly in Luke's theology
do these quotations then fit? It is clearly not the intention of this investigation to
reconstruct a Lukan theology here, or to be comprehensive or reflective with regard
to existing proposed reconstructions of Lukan theology. Attention will simply be
paid to certain aspects of Luke's theology as reflected in the discussed speeches.
Therefore, nothing more than a reflection on certain aspects of the Lukan theology
should be expected here. Thus, how do these changes fit in within the context of
these speeches, i.e. within those aspects of the Lukan theology which were dealt with
in the relevant speeches?

The Petrine and Pauline speeches have shown that they consist of certain
elements, which reflect some aspects of Luke's theology. These are the most basic
elements to be found in the Petrine and Pauline speeches which were discussed.
Due to the fact that the emphasis is not the same in all of the speeches (the
missionary speeches has a different approach from the Pauline defense speeches, for
instance), it would of course then be expected that the emphasis on some of these
elements would be more prominent in one speech than in another. But their traces
are clearly shared by all these relevant speeches. The elements are the following:

7. Cf. for instance: (a) περὶ Ἰούδα, Ac 1:16; (b) περὶ ἀφαντησόμενος, Ac 2:31; etc.
8. The form or format of these speeches are probably nearer to the influence of the Greek rhetorians
and philosophers, while the contents of the discussed speeches and their application and interpretation
of the Jewish scriptures, probably stands nearer to Jewish influence. However, it is not the purpose of
this study to investigate the speeches as such.
Chapter 9: Synthesis and Conclusion

(a) Link with a recent/previous occasion or event: First Petrine (Ac 1:16); second Petrine (2:14-18); third Petrine (3:12,16); first Pauline (13:15-16); sixth Pauline (22:30); tenth Pauline (28:16).

(b) A summary of past historical events (sometimes including the Jesus events): First Petrine (Ac 1:17-20c); second Petrine (2:22-23,29); third Petrine (3:13-15,17-18,22,24-25); first Pauline (13:17-25,36); sixth Pauline (23:1); tenth Pauline (28:17-19).


(d) Reaction of the hearers: First Petrine (Ac 1:23-26); second Petrine (2:37,41-47); third Petrine (4:1ff); first Pauline (13:42-45,48); sixth Pauline (23:2,4,7ff); tenth Pauline (28:21-23a,24-25a).

(e) Prophecy for future situation and/or appeal for present situation: First Petrine (Ac 1:20d-22); second Petrine (2:19-21,38-40); third Petrine (3:19-21,23,26); first Pauline (13:38-41,46-47); sixth Pauline (23:5,5); tenth Pauline (28:25b-28).

Scriptural quotations were not used for, or limited to, one single element of the speech only. The distribution of explicit quotations within these elements looks as follows:

Element (a) Link with a recent/previous occasion or event:

Element (b) A summary of past events:
* First Petrine speech: Ps 68(69):26 in Ac 1:20b-c

Element (c) Jesus kerygma:
* Second Petrine speech: Ps 109(110):1 in Ac 2:34
* Third Petrine speech: Dt 18:15-20 in Ac 3:22
* First Pauline speech: Ps 2:7 in Ac 13:33
* First Pauline speech: Is 55:3 in Ac 13:34
* First Pauline speech: Ps 15(16):10 in Ac 13:35
Note that quotations which are linked to the Jesus kerygma, are thus to be found only within the missionary speeches.

Element (d) Reaction of the hearers:
It is noteworthy that nowhere in these speeches do the hearers themselves quote directly from Scripture!

Element (e) Prophecy for future/appeal for present situation
* First Petrine speech: Ps 108(109):8 in Ac 1:20d
* Second Petrine speech: Jl 2:30-32 (3:3-5) in Ac 2:19-21
* Third Petrine speech: Lv 23:29 in Ac 3:23
Element (c) seems to reflect quoted texts from Scripture which were primarily *christologically* interpreted. They are generally treated as prophecies which were already fulfilled in the events as described in the Jesus kerygma, dealing especially with the resurrection and exaltation of Christ. Luke looks back into history and interprets those texts in an informative manner in order to indicate to his readers (via Peter and Paul's speeches to their hearers) the fact that these have been fulfilled, as well as how they have been fulfilled.

Element (e) reflects quoted texts which are treated *prophetically*. They are used mainly as prophecies which are not yet fulfilled, but which may be on the point of fulfillment; or, the prophecies may be fulfilled, but at the same time still remain open in terms of their consequences or their challenge, because they are normative for all time (e.g. Ex 22:28). Some of these texts also have an implied *eschatological* dimension. Emphasis is laid on the normative nature of these texts. Although they are revealed as being part of God's foreknowledge which is busy unfolding before them, all of them have the nature of an appeal, or invitation, (e.g. Ps 108(109):8), which is directed towards a soteriological aim, implicitly rooted in them, in order to fit in with God's plan of salvation for all, both Jews and non-Jews (Gn 22:18; Is 49:6; Is 6:9-10). Attention is paid to the current situation of the hearers, and to their future (Jl 2:30-31(3:3-4)), and they are constantly reminded and warned of the consequences of denying this opportunity (Lv 23:29; Hab 1:5; Is 6:9-10) of being saved by calling upon the name of the Κύριος (Jl 2:32(3:5)).

The sharing point of both seems to be their prophetic tendency, first in the past era directed towards the first coming of the messiah as Saviour of these Jews, then in the present era directed towards the salvation of all, including the non-Jews — a point which confirms the overall *salvation-historical perspective* which Luke has in mind. And this is confirmed, in its turn, by the occurrence of element (a) which points to a recent event in the present situation; element (b) which points to past events further back in history; and element (e) which points to the future situation.

Scripture is linked with elements (a) and (b) in order to prove that God already knew long ago what would happen with regard to Jesus of Nazareth, as spelled out in the Jesus kerygma, to which element (e) also attests. But Scripture is also used in order to prove, or rather to reveal, what God has intended for the future, as becomes clear from element (e).

4.1 Some aspects of Lukan theology within a salvation-historical approach

The above-mentioned elements which were encountered in the discussed speeches, point to the following aspects of Luke's theology, within a broader salvation historical approach: Theo-centric, pneumatological-prophetical, christological-soteriological, eschatological-soteriological. It could be schematically presented by the following illustration:
4.1.1 *Theo-centric approach (The "Divine Plan")*

Luke's Theo-centric approach to his understanding of salvation-history is striking. God remains the Subject of everything which has happened in the past (including the events as described in the Jesus kerygma), as well as that which is currently happening, and that which will come. God has decided and predetermined everything long ago (Ac 2:23; 4:28; 13:36). The role which the βουλή τοῦ θεοῦ plays in the argumentation of Ac 2 and 13 should not be underestimated in this regard. Jesus himself plays a subordinate role within this Theo-centric approach, being made κύριος and χριστός by God (Ac 2:36), and being given the most honourable position in God's creation: right next to God, at his right hand, where he "had to stay" until the "times of refreshment have come", "the time of the restoration of all things" (Ac 3).

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9. See also R.L. MOWERY, The Divine Hand and the Divine Plan in the Lukan Passion, in: E.H. LOVERING (ed.), *SBL Seminar Papers 127/30*, Atlanta 1991, 558-575, especially 568f. He identified 6 ways in which Luke refers to the divine plan: (a) the verb δὲ, (b) the verb μέλλειν, (c) references to the Scriptures, (d) various other distinctive words, (e) divine passives and (f) explicit references to God (571).

This Theo-centric approach is confirmed by the following terms and phrases (themes) in the *Perrine speeches* which were encountered:

(a) First Petrine speech: *With regard to Judas* (περὶ Ἰούδα, V.16): Using the mouth of David, "the Holy Spirit foretold" (προείπεν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἄγιον, Ac 1:16) what would happen to Judas. It therefore "had to" happen, (ἐδει, Ac 1:16). Ps 68(69):26 is then quoted as the Scriptural proof that God knew about this long ago. *With regard to the disciples*: On the basis of what has happened with Judas, another quoted text, from Ps 108(109):8, is linked with the previous one. It is treated as a divine imperative in order to fill that empty position which was left by Judas who should have been an authoritative witness about Jesus' life and resurrection. The disciples "had to" elect another witness in Judas' place (δει, Ac 1:21).

(b) Second Petrine speech: *With regard to the "promise of the Holy Spirit":* God has already said (inserted λέγει ὁ θεός, V.17) long ago "through the prophet Joel" (διὰ τοῦ προφήτου Ἰωάν, V.16) that this will happen "during the last days" (ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις, V.17, a substitution for the original reading). Jl 3:1-5 (2:28-32) is then quoted to show three things: the coming of the Spirit, the apocalyptic wonders and signs, and the opportunity to be saved by the name of the κύριος. Luke starts then to explain the last of these. Jesus is implicitly identified as that κύριος, and a summary of Jesus' passion follows: Luke emphasizes David's foreknowledge of Jesus' resurrection and ascension, backing this up with the quotations from Ps 15(16) and 109(110). It is the risen Jesus who has received this Spirit from his Father and "has poured it out", an event which they have just experienced (V.33). *With regard to Jesus of Nazareth: According to the "plan and foreknowledge of God"* (τῇ ὁρισμένη βουλή καὶ προγνώσει τοῦ θεοῦ, V.23), God has handed Jesus over to the Jerusalem Jews. *With regard to their forefather David* (περὶ τοῦ πατρίδοχον Δαυίδ, V.29): David "therefore" could only have been talking of Jesus (Δαυιὸς γὰρ λέγει εἰς αὐτόν, V.25), as he himself had died long before. This was illustrated by the long Scriptural quotation from Ps 15(16):8-11. *With regard to the resurrection of the Christ* (περὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ χριστοῦ, V.31): David, the "prophet" (προφήτης σοῦ ὑπάρχων, V.30) "knew" (εἰδὼς, V.30) that one of his descendants would sit on his throne, and had therefore "foreseen" (προβέβηκα, V.31) the resurrection of the Christ. At this point reference is once again implicitly made to Ps 15(16):10. *With regard to the ascension of Christ*: As David, again, had not ascended into heaven, the words quoted from Ps 109(110) must be seen as referring, not to himself, but to Jesus (οὐ γὰρ Δαυίδ ἀνέβη εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, λέγει δὲ αὐτός, V.34). Ps 109(110):1 is then quoted to prove that David knew Christ would sit at the right hand of his Father in heaven.

(c) Third Petrine speech: *With regard to the healing of the lame man*: This has happened because the covenantal God (of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob) has glorified his child, Jesus (V.13). It was through faith in the Name of Jesus, that God has healed the man (v.16). *With regard to the passion of his christ*: God has "foretold" (προκατήγγειλεν, V.18) through the mouths of many prophets that his christ would suffer (παθεῖ τὸν χριστόν, V.18), and so it was fulfilled (ἐπλήρωσεν οὕτως, V.18). If they convert. God will forgive their sins and he will send Jesus to them, whom he has made known before as the Christ (τὸν προκατεχειρισμένον ὑμῖν χριστόν Ἰησοῦν, V.20). *With regard to the exalted Christ*: He "had to" (δει, V.21)
stay in heaven until the time of the restoration of all,\(^{11}\) which God has spoken of 
(ἐλαλήσας ὁ θεός) since long ago (στὸ ἄιων) through the mouth (διὰ στόματος) 
of his holy prophets (τῶν ἁγίων...αὐτοῦ προφητῶν) (V.21). With regard to the 
restoration of all things: In VV.22-23, Moses is then quoted as one such prophet, 
prophesying that God will raise a prophet like himself to whom they should listen.
This is a combined quotation, consisting of material from Dt 18:15-20 and what 
seems to be Lv 23:29. The prophets since Samuel, have foretold what will happen 
during this time (V.24). Their prophecies are relevant for this generation, as they 
share in the covenant which God has made with their forefathers (V.25). Abraham 
is highlighted as one such forefather to whom God has promised that all the nations 
of the earth will be blessed because of his offspring, a quotation from Gn 22:18.

(d) First Pauline speech: With regard to the people of Israel: God has elected their 
forefathers, elevated them in Egypt, led them out of Egypt, cared for them in the 
desert, prepared a land for them (driving out seven other nations), given them 
judges until the time of the prophet Samuel, a king (Saul) when they asked for one, 
including (later) David with whom God was pleased and from whose descendants 
would come their promised saviour, Jesus!\(^{12}\) With regard to this message of salvation 
(λόγος τῆς σωτηρίας τούτης, V.26): Although the Jews had murdered him, God 
has resurrected him from death and Paul and Barnabas themselves are witnesses 
(μάρτυρες) to that (V.31). They can therefore proclaim to them that God has 
fulfilled (ὁ θεὸς ἐκπέμπει...διδάσκαλον, V.33) the promise which was made to their 
forefathers by "raising" Jesus (linked with a quoted text from Ps 2:7) and 
resurrecting him from death. Is 55:3 and Ps 15(16):10 are then quoted as proof that 
the Davidic promise had foretold the incorruptibility of the body of that saviour— 
which could not have referred to David himself, as he had "fallen asleep", was 
buried, and his body had decayed after he had served God's purpose (τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ 
βουλής, V.36) within his own generation. This message is indeed the "word of God" 
himself (τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ, V.46). With regard to Paul and Barnabas: They are 
urged by many Jews and converts of Judaism to continue "in the grace of God" 
(V.43).

(e) Sixth Pauline speech: With regard to Paul's trial: Paul's life is a life in good 
conscience "before God" (τῷ θεῷ, Ac 23:1). God himself could thus be called as a 
witness to that. The prophetic curse directed towards the high priest, is one where 
God is called to bring justice into an unjust situation. However, the high priest 
himself is accepted by his officials as "God's high priest". Paul's quotation from 
God's law as found in the Torah (Ex 22:27) is an indication of his own respect for 
the commands of God.

(f) Tenth Pauline speech: With regard to Jesus (περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, Ac 28:23): He 
seems to be the central point of the message about the "kingdom of God" (τῆν 
βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, V.23), already referred to in Scripture by the law of Moses and 
the prophets. Is 6:9-10 is quoted as being the words of the Holy Spirit, spoken by the

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\(^{11}\) According to H.N. RIDDERBOS, "This 'must' happens in accordance with the eschatological plan 
of God" (Speeches of Peter, 14).

\(^{12}\) Note the emphasis on τοῦτο ὁ θεός at this point in Ac 13:23.
mouth of the prophet Isaiah to their forefathers. This Jesus is thus no less than God’s salvation (τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ, Ἱ.28) which was sent to them.

All these point to a “divine plan” of God, made known to his prophets and the fathers in the past, and which shows that God remains in control of history, with the purpose of saving his people, first the Jews and then the Gentiles.

4.1.2 Pneumatological empowerment and prophetic mission

a. Regarding the pre-Christian era

It is interesting to see how Luke presented his quotations as information which was received by the prophets and fathers of old, via God or his Holy Spirit. They were the witnesses of old regarding the divine message. Compare the following:

(a) To David:
- προείπεν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἁγιόν διὰ στόματος Δαυίδ (Ac 1:16) —> Ps 68(69):26 and Ps 108(109):8 (Ac 1:20)

(b) To Joel:
- τὸ εἰρήμενον διὰ τοῦ προφήτου Ἰωάννη...λέγει ὁ θεὸς (Ac 2:16-17) —> Joel 2:28-32(3:1-5) (Ac 2:17-21)

(c) To Moses:
- τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ...περὶ Ἰσραήλ ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου Μωυσέως (Ac 28:23).

(d) To Abraham:

(e) To their fathers:
- τὴν πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ἐπαγγελίαν γενομένην, ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ ψαλμῷ γέγραπται τῇ δευτέρῳ...οὕτως εἴρηκεν...καὶ ἐν ἐτέρῳ λέγει (Ac 13:32-35) —> Ps 2:7 (Ac 13:33); Is 55:3 (Ac 13:34) and Ps 15(16):10 (Ac 13:35).

(f) To Isaiah:

Samuel and all the other prophets had announced what would happen in these times (3:24). The hearers are thus partakers in the covenant which God had made with

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their forefathers (3:25). God promised Abraham that his descendant would be a blessing for all the people of the earth (3:25). God's Servant (3:13, 26; 4:27, 30) was sent first to them (the Jews) to be a blessing to them, and to bring them back from the wrong ways (3:26).

All this attests to the fact that "God's voice speaks 'Scripture'”, and that "divine speech" and Scriptural inspiration, seem here to be two sides of the same coin. The promises are presented as being God's very own words which were written down, and are thus contained now in Scripture. These Scriptural accounts are treated by Luke as prophecy. These accounts are then seen as God's "programme" for what was to happen; now that the prophecies have been fulfilled, the Scriptural accounts are used by Luke to prove that these events are indeed part of God's broader plan of salvation history. The normative nature of these Scriptures and Luke's respect for them is clear from the way in which he quotes from them. The mere fact that these Scriptures are used in his argumentation regarding God's salvation, makes this clear.

The content of the message in the pre-Christian era was God's promises to Abraham, Moses, David and the other prophets regarding the coming of a messiah, which turns out to be Jesus (Lk 1:32), who would bring salvation to the Jews (Lk 2:32).

b. Regarding the early Christian era

Apart from the prophets and fathers of old who have received God's message, the apostles too (including Paul) are pictured in Ac as the authorized witnesses of God's message, i.e. the Jesus events. They had to fulfill his commands and orders. They have the authority to interpret Scripture, and have the ability to use it in the same way as the prophets of old, and as Jesus himself, in order to indicate what could (and should) happen.

During the 40 days after Jesus' resurrection, and before his ascension, Jesus (i) gave commands to his apostles (1:2; 10:42) and (ii) proved during this time to his apostles that he was alive (1:3). These apostles are thus the faithful witnesses (10:39; 13:26) of his resurrection (1:3, 21; 2:32; 3:15; 4:20, 33; 5:32; 10:40-41; 13:31). He also (iii) talked with them about the things of the kingdom of God (1:3; 14:22). Almost all of the quotations are to be found in the speeches and dialogues, i.e. in the mouths of authoritative witnesses (μαρτυρεῖ, Ac 1:22; 2:32; 3:15). Peter and Paul

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14 Cf. S.E. JOHNSON on Mk 1:11. Refers to Hebrew "bath qol" which means literally: "daughter (i.e. echo) of the voice". Often then, although not always, it speaks words of Scripture. See Midrash Ecclesiasticus 12:17 and Talmud Berachoth 3a (A Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Mark, London 1960, 39).
are presented as "prophets" - they can "speak the words of God". They have received the "promise" of the Holy Spirit. They are thus informed about this "plan" of God and have received pneumatological empowerment. They recognize the message of God in Scripture, proclaim it and interpret it.

(a) In the first Petrine speech, the number of the apostles had therefore first to be completed, before they went on with their orders. With Judas no longer of their number, another had to be chosen in his place (1:20d-22), as is demanded by Ps 108(109):8. This is a divine imperative and probably contains an implied reference to the restoration of Israel.

(b) Just prior to the second Petrine speech, a special empowering of the witnesses takes place: they received the promise. The Spirit-event and the tongues (Ac 2) are experienced. They should not be surprised, as Joel had predicted that these things would happen.

(c) In the third Petrine speech, the listeners at the temple court are reminded about the warning contained in Scripture (Lv 23:29?), that those who do not listen to this "prophet like Moses" should be cut off from the people (Ac 3:23).

(d) In the first Pauline speech, the hearers at the synagogue in Antioch are exhorted not to reject the message about Jesus, and reminded of the warning of the prophets if they do not accept the message about Jesus: βλέπετε ὁσὺν μὴ ἐπέλθῃ τὸ εἴρημένον ἐν τούς προφήτας (Ac 13:40), as it is described in Hab 1:5. Then, when the Jews in Antioch did not listen, Scripture is quoted again to make it clear that "the κύριος has commanded them" (οὕτως γὰρ ἐυτέταλται ἡμῖν ὁ κύριος) to turn to the non-Jews, as it is stated in Is 49:6 (Ac 13:47).

(e) In the sixth Pauline speech, Paul indicates that he knows God's commandments and that he respects the Jewish law, by quoting from Ex 22:27 (Ac 23:5).

(f) In the tenth Pauline speech, Paul uses Is 6:9-10 in order to substantiate their decision to turn to the non-Jews (Ac 28:26-28).

Two types of witnesses are thus now testifying to God's message: (a) written witnesses, the prophets and fathers in Scripture, and (b) oral witnesses, the

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16. See also in this regard: L.H. FELDMAN, Prophets and Prophecy in Josephus, in: JThS 41 (1990), 388-422.
18. See also O SKARSAUGE, on the basis of whose results it can be pointed out that the authority of these became clear in the early church history, where even an Apologist like Justin Martyr related his proof-text tradition closely to the missionary tradition contained in the Kerygma Petri (Proof from Prophecy, 425). On Paul, cf. B.J. KOET, Prophets and Law, 73-96. He indicated that "Luke stresses that after Damascus Paul is a law-abiding Jew and a Pharisee", His mission is accordance with the Scriptures, in particular with "the Prophets" and that "just like Philip, Stephen and Peter before him (he) is proclaiming Jesus from the Scriptures or from concepts developed out of them" (95-96).
19. There might also be some wordplay on 'Ἰουδα, being the disciple Judas, but also the very same word for the tribe of Judah.
20. Cf. 1QpHab 2:1-10, referring to the 'traitors of the last days' = midrash-pesher.
21. Cf. A.A. TRITES, The New Testament Concept of Witness, Cambridge 1977. He confirms that Luke made use of the OT principle (Dt 19:15) "...that everything must be established at the mouth of two or three witnesses, and formulates his historical material in accordance with it" (133). Three categories of witnesses are identified: the apostles, Holy Spirit and Scriptures. Taken together, these three "...constitute a compelling case for the claims of Christ as Lord and Messiah".
Chapter 9: Synthesis and Conclusion

The contents of the divine message in the early Christian era resembles the message of the old era. As God has promised the messiah to the prophets, so Jesus has promised the Spirit to the apostles (Lk 24:46-47), who will empower them for their mission of the proclamation of salvation to the nations (Lk 24:46-47, Ac 1:2,8).

Comparison between both:

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<td>- Proof of fulfillment</td>
<td>- Promise of fulfillment</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Christologically directed</td>
<td>- Eschatological-Soteriological</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Limited to Jewish history</td>
<td>- Universalistic dimension</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- All texts from tradition</td>
<td>- Texts from tradition AND Luke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Jesus of Nazareth = Messiah</td>
<td>- Jesus is exalted Christ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.1.3 Christological arbitration (The Jesus kerygma)\textsuperscript{22}

After the baptism preached by John in Galilee (10:37; 13:24-25), Jesus of Nazareth was made known through powerful deeds, wonders and signs (2:22; 10:38) — because God had anointed him with the Holy Spirit and strengthened him with power (10:38). Jesus was delivered to them (2:23), the Jews, (this was decided and determined by God (2:23)) and then they have crucified Jesus (2:23; 3:15,18; 4:10; 5:30; 10:39; 13:29) using Gentiles (2:23). Although he was innocent (3:13; 13:28), they have rejected Jesus (4:11; 13:27) and chosen a murderer above him (3:14). These things were done through ignorance (3:17). After he was crucified, he was taken from the cross and buried (13:29). All this was already announced by the prophets, namely that the Christ would suffer (3:18; 13:29), and this is what has happened now (3:18; 4:27-28; 13:27), as foretold by the Holy Spirit through the mouth of God's servant, David (4:25-26); Ps 2:1-2 LXX.\textsuperscript{23}

God has, however, resurrected Jesus (2:24; 3:15; 4:10; 5:30; 10:40; 13:30,37) — as he has promised to their forefathers (2:30-31; 13:32,34). The resurrection itself was thus already foreseen by David, because he was a prophet (2:25-28,31); Ps 15:8-11 LXX, Ps 15:10 LXX. It was said that God would "raise" him (13:33): Ps 2:7 LXX;\textsuperscript{24} but David is dead (13:36). God has resurrected Jesus in fulfillment of his promises to David (2:30) 13:34) = Is 55:3 LXX (δὲ ὁ Ἰσραήλ ἐπί τὸν θανάτον τοῦ Δαβίδ τοῦ χριστοῦ); David, however, is still buried (13:36). Jesus would therefore not decay (13:34), because God has promised this also, in another text (13:35) = Ps 15:10 LXX (οὐ γὰρ τὸν θάνατον σου ἰδεῖν διὰ φθορᾶς); David has, however, decayed (13:36). Therefore, although these things were promised to David, he has died, is buried with his forefathers, and has decayed (2:29; 13:36). But it was Jesus who was resurrected by God and who did not decay (13:37).

\textsuperscript{22} Cf. R.BROWN: "The interpretation of Jesus' actions in terms of OT fulfillment probably began with Jesus himself; but the NT work agrees that it was only after the resurrection that the disciples saw in the OT the key to understanding Jesus Luke xxiv.27" (Gospel According to John, Vol I, (AnBib), New York, 123). See also H.N. RIDDERBOS, Speeches of Peter, 19-27.

\textsuperscript{23} Cf. the similar eschatological text of 4QFlor, linked with 2 Ki(Sm) 7:10b-14 (a midrash-pesher?).

\textsuperscript{24} Cf. also Heb 1:5, 5:5.
his forefathers, and has decayed (2:29; 13:36). But it was Jesus who was resurrected by God and who did not decay (13:37).

Jesus' ascension then took place (1:2, 9-11), as well as his exaltation, described as follows: He sits now on the throne of David — in fulfillment of the promise to David that one of his descendants would sit on his throne (2:30; 13:23; [34]), that is, at the right hand of God (2:33-35; 5:31; 7:55-56) — as foretold by David (2:34): Ps 109:1 LXX.25 From his place at the right hand of God, Jesus is now able to receive the Holy Spirit from the Father, and "pour" it out (2:33). He was been made both κύριος (Ruler) (10:36) and χριστός (anointed one, Messiah) (2:36; 4:26-27). He has thus received divine honour (3:13). He is appointed by God to be Judge over those who live and those who are dead (10:42).

4.1.4 Some eschatological dimension26

During this investigation, several traces of an eschatological dimension were found:
(i) There seems to be a slight possibility that the headings of Pss 68(69) and 108(109) (reading εις το τελεσθαι ημέρας (Ac 2). Especially the second part of this quotation is coloured in apocalyptic language, and ends then in the appeal that all who calls on the name of the κύριος will be saved. Add to this some exegetical-hermeneutical indicators which also play a role, e.g. τούτο ἔστω (Ac 2)
(ii) The J1-quotation contains a substitution with the words ἐν τοῖς ἐκχάσασις ημέραις (Ac 2). Especially the second part of this quotation is coloured in apocalyptic language, and ends then in the appeal that all who calls on the name of the κύριος will be saved. Add to this some exegetical-hermeneutical indicators which also play a role, e.g. τούτο ἔστω (Ac 2)
(iii) The restoration of all things, "times of refreshment" and parusia in the third Petrine speech have confirmed this eschatological motif. One might add to all this also the normative usage of these Scriptures. The proclamation of this message must take place. When it is rejected by the Jews, it should then be taken to the Gentiles. God's words will happen. Jesus must remain in heaven until all these "times of refreshment" have taken place, then will he come again.

These things must therefore happen. They were the spoken words of God! God's words are action. The role of the divine δει was identified. God has formerly worked through Jesus to achieve this. Jesus has now the same authority as God, and he works now through the apostles to unveil this salvation plan of God. Both are under the influence of the Holy Spirit.

5. CONCLUSION

Luke has thus used several of the already known quoted Jewish and early Christian texts, and has used a Textvorlage which was near to that of the reconstructed LXX editions of today (although being stylistically more Semitic in nature), in order to indicate that the expected messiah of the Jews was indeed Jesus of Nazareth, and in order to appeal to the Jews to believe in him. When some of them remained unconvinced, justification is found again in Scripture for the decision to turn to the non-Jews with this message of divine salvation in the name of the κύριος!

26 See also H.N. RIDDERBOS, Speeches of Peter. 12-17;
APPENDIX A
TEXTVORLAGE OF THE LXX IN THE ACTA APOSTOLORUM

I. DUODECIM PROPHETAE

The following LXX witnesses support the changed reading of the NT:

JOEL 2:28-32 (Ac 2:17-21)
[11 changes]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LXX (Göt)</th>
<th>NT (NA26)</th>
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36-LII(46,66,711)-49(613)
225-36-LII(46,66,711)-49(764,613)-407
225-36-
Appendix A: I. Duodecim Prophetae

I. Lk is following the LXX (against the Hebrew):
(a) ἀπό διὸ τοῦ πνεύματος
(b) ἡμέρας κυρίου τῆς μεγάλης καὶ ἐπίσκοπη

II. Lk used another Vorlage as that which we have:
(a) καὶ γε (= MT = 1st corrector)
(b) μου?]
(c) ἡκω ἡκατω (= W*)
- strong parallelistic tendencies?

HABAKKUK 1:5 (Ac 13:41)
[6 changes]

| LXX (Gōl) | NT (NA26) | W B-S-V | ALEXANDR. | LUKIAN | LK | PRE-
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I. Lk is following the LXX (against the Hebrew):
(a) οἱ κατεφώνται is included (NT and LXX); MT omitted

II. Lk used another textreading than our known LXX
(a) καὶ ἔπιστεύσει is omitted (NT = MT); LXX included
### Appendix A: I. Duodecin Prophetae

#### AMOS 5:25-27 (Ac 7:42-43)

**[6 changes]**

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I. Lk is following the LXX (against the Hebrew):
(a) θεσιῶς in plural (NT = LXX); MT singular
(b) τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ Μέσου
(c) καὶ τὸ διέστην τοῦ θεοῦ ὑμῶν Πατέρα

II. Lk used another reading than our known LXX
(a) ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ is included (= MT)

#### AMOS 9:11-12 (Ac 15:16-18)

**[11 changes]**

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<th>NT (NA26)</th>
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Lk is including the LXX:
(a) ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ
(b) τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ Μέσου
Appendix A: I. Duodecim Prophetae

<table>
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NOTES:
- There are the minimum omissions to be found; much more substitutions, transpositions and additions.
- Near to the text readings of codex A and the recension of Lukian
- Looks as if Lk made stylistic changes (Hebraic character is changed to better Greek?). Chooses the LXX. When there are thus changes between the LXX and Acts, which are nearer to the MT, the possibilities are great that he has used another Vorlage.

- All 4 quotations above were taken from contexts where it was presented as the direct words of the Lord - and so understood and interpreted by Luke
- All 4 quotations are presented within Ac as being closely connected with the inspiration of the Holy Spirit:
  - (a) Acts 2:14 = Peter and the 11 other under guidance of the Holy Spirit
  - (b) Acts 13:52 = All the believers in Antioch were full of joy and the Holy Spirit
  - (c) Acts 7:50 = Stephen has received his wisdom with which he argumentated from the Holy Spirit
  - (d) Acts 15:8 = God who know their hearts, has proven it by giving the Holy Spirit to the heathens just as he has given the Spirit to them (the apostles)
This connection with the Spirit seems to be the trend also by the other quotations. Looks as if the mystery of God's message is made known (only) through the (mediating) role of his Spirit. Knowledge about God, is thus only knowledge through his Spirit.
II. ISAIAH

The following LXX witnesses support the changed reading of the NT:

**ISAIAH 66:1-2** (Acts 7:49-50)

[4 = 2 changes]

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<td>26-861st 534</td>
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**ISAIAH 53:7-8** (Acts 8:32-33)

[1 change]

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**ISAIAH 55:3** (Acts 13:34)

[1 change]

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<tr>
<td>......</td>
<td>δύσω ύπνοι</td>
<td>N O</td>
<td>SUPP</td>
<td>O R T</td>
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</table>
Appendix A: II. Isaiah


<table>
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<th>LXX (Göt)</th>
<th>NT (NA26)</th>
<th>ALEXANDR.</th>
<th>LUKIAN</th>
<th>LK</th>
<th>PRE-</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>ἴδον</td>
<td>·</td>
<td>N O</td>
<td>SUPP</td>
<td>O R T</td>
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<table>
<thead>
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<th>LXX (Göt)</th>
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<th>LK</th>
<th>PRE-</th>
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<td>πορεύθητι καὶ εἴπον τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ</td>
<td>πορεύθητι πρὸς τῶν λαῶν τούτων</td>
<td>393 534</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>τοῖς ὦσιν αὐτῶν</td>
<td>τοῖς ὦσιν</td>
<td>393</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

*Notes*

(a) The readings of the Is-quotations in Ac do not resemble great differences with the reading of the LXX. This means two things: 1. Luke has not changed his quoted material here very much, and 2. Luke’s Vorlage must have been very near to this LXX text.

(b) About all the Is-quotations seem to have been known already quite well in the tradition, as became clear from their use by the synoptics and Paul.

(c) The ascending order of the chapters in Ac against the descending order of the chapters in Is. [Was Luke rolling the Isaiah-roll backwards?]

(d) As is the case with all the other quotations in Ac, also these Is-quotations are narrowly combined with the influence of the Holy Spirit, either explicitly or implicitly.
III. PSALMS

The following LXX witnesses support the changed reading of the NT:

   
   [4 changes]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LXX (Gött)</th>
<th>NT (NA26)</th>
<th>ALEXANDR.</th>
<th>LUKIAN</th>
<th>LK</th>
<th>PRE-</th>
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</thead>
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<td>(ἡ ἐπολύς)</td>
<td>(ἡ ἐπολύς)</td>
<td>N O</td>
<td>SUPP</td>
<td>O R T</td>
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<td>αὐτῶν</td>
<td>αὐτῶν</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>ἡρημὸς</td>
<td>N O</td>
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<td>O R T</td>
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<tr>
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<td>οἰκονόμους</td>
<td>N O</td>
<td>SUPP</td>
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<td>O R T</td>
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</table>

   
   [1 change]

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>NT (NA26)</th>
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<th>LUKIAN</th>
<th>LK</th>
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<tr>
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<td>λαβέων</td>
<td>R</td>
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   [1 change]

<table>
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<tr>
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<td>προσφρόμνυν</td>
<td>B, S, U</td>
<td>A (1219,55)</td>
<td>L Paup</td>
<td>Z</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
According to D-A. KOCH, in connection of the Psalms by Paul, the text groups by Rahlfs do not show any specific Pauline profile: "Die wenigen Fälle, in denen die Textüberlieferung innerhalb der von Paulus zitierten Textstellen differiert, sind zumeist stilistischer bzw. grammatischer Natur - oder es handelt sich um reinen Sonderlesarten" (Schrift als Zeuge, 55). The same trend seems to be the case here by Luke.
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D. COMMENTARIES:


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