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THE PAULINE TRADITIONS IN THE
ACTS OF APOSTLES

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PH. D. THESIS

KOTA YAMADA

JANUARY 1986



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ABSTRACT

Part I. The theme of Pauline tradition is mentioned by Barrett and Schenke, and further, Roloff and Plümacher indicate traditional material behind the image of Paul in Acts, part of which is analyzed by Burchard and Löning (ch.1). The date of Acts is placed at the end of the first century and the author confronted Jewish Christianity crossed with Gnosticism (ch.2). Historical criticism, form criticism and redaction criticism are methodological principles for our investigation. Any source theories are problematical. However, the author utilized traditional material in depiction of Paul in Acts, namely, the Pauline traditions, which are parallel to the Pauline Epistles, the Pauline legends, which are parallel to the miracle stories in the synoptic tradition, and the local community traditions (ch.3).

Part II. Paul's background in Acts (Jewish, Hellenistic and Roman) is based on the Pauline traditions. Judaizing and anti-Jewish tendencies are seen in it (ch.4). Paul's pre-conversion period is also based on the Pauline traditions, but coloured with Judaizing tendencies (ch.5). Paul's conversion and call are due

to traditional material, but modified with literary devices. Anti-gnostic tendencies can be traced behind it (ch.6). The earliest years after conversion and call are based on tradition; however, it is dominated by anti-Jewish tendencies (ch.7). The first missionary journey is not totally a "model" journey, but two parts of it are based on the Pauline traditions respectively together with the Pauline legends. But the author arranged them in order to make a circular journey. Judaizing tendencies and ambivalent anti-Jewish tendencies are seen in it (ch.8). In the second missionary journey, in contrast to the first one, the local community traditions are employed together with the Pauline traditions and the Pauline legends. Judaizing tendencies are seen in it (ch.9). The Pauline traditions, the Pauline legends and the local community traditions are utilized in the depiction of the third missionary journey. Apologetic tendencies against syncretism and paganism are seen in it (ch.10). The image of Paul in Acts is not only based on traditional material but also transformed by the author in order to defend the legitimacy of the Gentile mission under anti-Pauline attacks. Acts is governed by rhetorical Peripatetic historiography (ch.11).

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ABBREVIATIONS

AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
AThR	Anglican Theological Review
b	baraita
BA	Biblical Archaeologist
BAR	Biblical Archaeologist Reader
Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich	A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Christian Literature
<u>Beg.</u>	<u>The Beginnings of Christianity, Pt.1: The Acts of Apostles</u> , edd. F.J.Foakes-Jackson, K.Lake, vols.1-5, London 1920-33
BEvTh	Beiträge zur Evangelischen Theologie
BFChTh	Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie
BHTH	Beiträge zur Historischen Theologie
BIC	Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London
Bib	Biblica
BJRL	Bulletin of the John Ryland Library
Blass-Debrunner-Rehkopf	Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch
BSNTS	Bulletin of the Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas

BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
BZ	Biblische Zeitschrift
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche
C.A.H.	Cambridge Ancient History
CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly
ET	English translation
EThL	Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses
<u>EVB</u>	<u>Exegetische Versuche und Besinnungen</u> (Käsemann), vols.1-2, Göttingen 1970
EvTh	Evangelische Theologie
EWNT	Exegetisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament
ExpTim	Expository Times
FGH	Fragmente der griechischen Historiker
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
GNT	Grundrisse zum Neuen Testament
Hennecke-Schneemelcher	New Testament Apocrypha
	-wilson
HThR	Harvard Theological Review
HThS	Harvard Theological Studies
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual
JAC	Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JEH	Journal of Ecclesiastical History
JJS	Journal of Jewish Studies
JQR	Jewish Quarterly Review
JR	Journal of Religion
JRH	Journal of Religious History
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies
JSNT	Journal for the Study of the New Testament
JThC	Journal for Theology and Church
JThS	Journal of Theological Studies

<u>Les Actes</u>	<u>Les Actes des Apôtres: Tradition, redaction, théologie</u> , ed. J.Kremer, Louvain-la-Neuve 1979.
Liddell-Scott-Jones	A Greek-English Lexicon
Lipsius-Bonnet	Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha
LXX	Septuagint
m	Mishnah
Moulton-Milligan	The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament
MT	Masoretic Text
NF	Neue Folge
NovTest	Novum Testamentum
NS	New Series
N.T.	New Testament
NtAbh	Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen
NTS	New Testament Studies
O.T.	Old Testament
Pauly-Wissowa	Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft
PCPS	Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society
<u>Perspectives</u>	<u>Perspectives on Luke-Acts</u> , ed. C.H.Talbert Danhill / Edinburgh 1978
PG	Patrologia Graeca (Migne)
PL	Patrologia Latina (Migne)
Proleg.	A Grammar of New Testament Greek, vol.1: Prolegomena (Moulton)
PTS	Patristische Texte und Studien
RAC	Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum
RGG	Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
<u>SLA</u>	<u>Studies in Luke-Acts</u> , edd. L.E.Keck, J.L.Martyn, London 1978
StEv	Studia Evangelica
Strack-Billerbeck	Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch
StTh	Studia Theologica

SUNT	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
Suppl.	Supplements
TAPA	Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association
TDNT	Theological Dictionary of the New Testament
ThF	Theologische Forschung
ThLZ	Theologische Literaturzeitung
ThR	Theologische Rundschau
ThZ	Theologische Zeitschrift
TRE	Theologische Realenzyklopädie
TU	Text und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur
VigChr	Vigiliae Christianae
v.l.	variant readings
WdF	Wege der Forschung
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZKG	Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte
ZNW	Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche
ZPhK	Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche

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PART I

CHAPTER 1

THE PROBLEM AND PERSPECTIVE

The image and theology of Paul which we have today is gathered not only from the genuine Pauline epistles¹ but also from later works of the New Testament, namely, the Deutero-Pauline writings and the Book of Acts. The Pauline letters are the earliest documents in the New Testament, and his theology is the heart of Christianity. But how was the historical man Paul accepted and understood in the post-Pauline period? If after the death of Paul this tradition was to some extent transformed, why did this happen at a time of "diminution of the Pauline sphere of influence"?² These are the vital questions which we need to answer if we are to understand the transition from the earliest

1 In this thesis, the epistles taken as authentically Pauline are seven: Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, 1 Thessalonians and Philemon. The Pastoral Epistles are distinguished from these both by their language and by their theological thought. The other three letters ascribed to Paul (Ephesians, Colossians and 2 Thessalonians) are similar to the genuine ones in terms of their language, but bear some traces of different theological thought.

2 Quotation from: W. Bauer, Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity, ET London 1972, 219.



stage of Christianity to early Catholicism.

Paul was a controversial figure even in the post-Pauline period as well as in his life-time. In the second century, the figure of Paul was variously interpreted (both among) the gnostic and anti-gnostic circles.³

On the gnostic side, Paul became the figurehead of some sects and his letters were the source of their theology. For Marcion, Paul was only true apostle and the others were rejected as Judaizers.⁴ Marcion's "exaggerated Paulinism"⁵ was based on his own interpretation of the Pauline letters, so that Paul, the apostle of the Gentiles, also became "the apostle of heretics".⁶

- 3 For brief sketches of Paulinism in the second century: E.Käsemann, "Paulus und der Fröhkatholizismus", ZThK 60 (1963), 75-89 =EVB vol.2, 239-252; W.Schneemelcher, "Paulus in der griechischen Kirche des zweiter Jahrhunderts", ZKG 75 (1964). 1-20; C.K.Barrett, "Pauline Controversies in the Post-Pauline Period", NTS 20 (1974), 229-245; H.-M.Schenke, "Das weiterwirken des Paulus und die Pflege seines Erbes durch die Paulus-Schule", NTS 21 (1975), 505-518; G.Strecker, "Paulus in nachpaulinischer Zeit", Eschaton und Historie: Aufsätze, Göttingen 1979, 311-319. For further recent studies for the reception of Paul: A.Lindemann, Paulus im ältesten Christentum: Das Bild des Apostels und die Rezeption der paulinischen Theologie bis Marcion (BHT 58), Tübingen 1979; E.Dassmann, Der Stachel im Fleisch: Paulus in der frühchristlichen Literatur bis Irenäus, Münster 1979.
- 4 A.von Harnack, Marcion: Das Evangelium vom fremden Gott, TU 45 (1924); R.S.Wilson, Marcion: A Study of a Second-Century Heretic, London 1933; J.Knox, Marcion and the New Testament, (Chicago 1942) New York 1980.
- 5 Words borrowed from E.C.Blackman, Marcion and His Influence, London 1948, 103. It is worth quoting a well known dictum of F.Overbeck; "Niemand hat Paulus je verstanden und der einzige, der ihn verstand, Marcion, hat ihn missverstanden," which was cited by Harnack, quoted from: A.Schweizer, Die Mystik des Apostels Paulus, (Tübingen 1930) Tübingen 1981, 39 and n.l. In this thesis, the word "Paulinism" does not signify "the systematizing Pauline theology" but "the influence of Paul in the post-Pauline period," cf. R.Morgan, "The Significance of 'Paulinism'", Paul and Paulinism: Essays in honour of C.K.Barrett, London 1982, 320-338.
- 6 Irenaeus, Adv.Marc. iii,5.

Clement of Alexandria wrote that Valentinus and his followers claimed themselves to be the disciples of Paul: "so too they report, that Valentinus heard Theodas, who was a disciple of Paul".⁷ Newly discovered texts from Nag Hammadi offer further evidence for a gnostic Pauline tradition. For instance, in the Epistle to Rheginos, Paul is called "the apostle" and his teaching is summarized as follows: "Then indeed, as the Apostle said, 'We suffered with him, and we arose with him, and we went to heaven with him.'".⁸ It should be remembered that there was no such profound approach to the mysticism of Paul on the orthodox side. "Mystical Paulinism" developed particularly in Valentinian Gnosticism.⁹

On the anti-gnostic side, we can trace three different approaches to Paul. First, orthodoxy in the middle of the second century kept silence about Paul, perhaps because of the gnostic enthusiasm for his works. Thus Hegesippus reported that on his journey to Rome he found the same doctrine everywhere: "in every

7 Clement of Alexandria, Strom. vii,106.

8 The Epistle to Rheginos 45:24-28 (cf. Rom.8:17; Eph.2:5f, Col.2.12f.); cf. G.Quispel, "The Jung Codex and its Significance", The Jung Codex: A Newly Recovered Gnostic Papyrus, London 1955, 37-78; E.Haenchen, "Literatur zum Codex Jung", ThR 30 (1964) 55-58; W.C.van Unnik, "The newly discovered gnostic 'Epistle to Rheginos on the resurrection I and II'", JEH 15 (1964) 141-167; M.L.Peel, The Epistle to Rheginos: Valentinian Letter on the Resurrection, London 1969.

9 Cf. H.-F.Weise, "Paulus und die H~~ä~~retiker: Zum Paulusverständnis in der Gnosis", Christentum und Gnosis, ed. W.Eltester (BZNW 37), Berlin 1969, 116-128; E.Pagels, "The Valentinian Claim to Esoteric Exegesis of Romans as Basis for Anthropological Theory", Vig. Chr. 26 (1972), 241-258; idem, "'The Mystery of the Resurrection': A Gnostic Reading of 1 Corinthians 15", JBL 93 (1974), 276-288; idem, The Gnostic Paul, Philadelphia 1975; K.Koschorke, "Paulus in den Nag-Hammadi Texten", ZThK 78 (1981), 177-205.

city things are in accord with the preaching of the Law, the prophets and the Lord".¹⁰ That is to say, the fundamental authorities for orthodox churches at that time were the Old Testament and "the Lord" (i.e. the Gospels) and this left no room for Paul as an authority. Papias, according to Eusebius, did not mention the Third Gospel when he referred to the traditions of the Gospels of Mark and Matthew, nor Pauline Epistles, although he admired the Book of Revelation and used 1 John and 1 Peter. This is probably a reaction against the Marcionite usage of Pauline letters and the Third Gospel. The name of Paul is lacking in his list of "the presbyters" who preserved the faith, that is, "Andrew, Peter, Philip, Thomas, James, John, Matthew, or any other of the Lord's disciples".¹¹ Pauline tradition seems to have been consciously pushed into the background. Justin also kept silence about Paul; as Bauer observed, he does not cite Pauline letters when he argues that Christians are loyal subjects who pay their taxes (Apol.ch.17 / Rom.ch.13), when he discusses the conversion of the Gentiles and rejection of the Jews (Apol.ch.49 / Rom.ch.9-11) or the resurrection (De Resurrectione / 1 Cor.ch.15). Thus it would seem that Paul was somewhat suspect among the church fathers in the second century until the time of Irenaeus and Tertullian.¹²

Secondly, hostility toward Paul actually increased among Jewish Christians in the second century because of the gnostic

10 Eusebius, H.E. iv, 22.

11 Eusebius, H.E. iii, 39.

12 W. Bauer, Orthodoxy, 213-216.

New Testament testimony about the suspicion of Paul is seen in 2 Peter 3:16.

adoption of Pauline tradition. Paul was accused under the mask of Simon Magus in the Kerygmata Petrou on account of his apostleship through vision and his condemnation of Peter in Antioch.¹³ "Anti-Paulinism" arose as a reaction to radical Paulinism on the gnostic side.

Thirdly, in contrast to silence or hatred for the gnostic Paul, admiration for Paul appeared in the Apocryphal Acts, particularly in the Acts of Paul,¹⁴ and the Epistula Apostolorum at the end of the second century. Paul was revived in edifying legendary stories, which may be called "vulgar Paulinism", against the gnostic Paul. But at the same time these writings stress that Paul was subject to the twelve apostles from whom he received his

- 13 Cf. G. Strecker, Kerygmata Petrou, Hennecke-Schneemelcher-Wilson, vol.2, 94-127; idem, Das Judenchristentum in den Pseudoklementinen (TU 70), Berlin 1958. For anti-Paulinism and Jewish Christianity in general: H.-J. Schoeps, Theologie und Geschichte des Judenchristentums, Tübingen 1949; H. von Campenhausen, "Die Nachfolge des Jakobus" ZKG 63 (1950/51), 133-144 = idem, Aus der Frühzeit des Christentums: Studien zur Kirchengeschichte des ersten und zweiten Jahrhunderts, Tübingen 1963, 135-151. L. Goppelt, Christentum und Judentum im ersten und zweiten Jahrhundert (BFChTh II,55) Göttersloh 1954; J. Münck, "Jewish Christianity in Post-Apostolic Times", NTS 6 (1959/60), 103-116; M. Simon, Verus Israel, (2nd. ed.) Paris 1964; J. Danielou, Theology of Jewish Christianity, Eerdmans Chicago 1964; G. Quispel, "The Discussion of Judaic Christianity" Vig. Chr. 22 (1968), 81-93 = idem, Gnostic Studies, vol.2. Istanbul 1975, 146-158; G. Strecker, "Appendix 1: On the Problem of Jewish Christianity", Bauer, Orthodoxy, 241-285; A. F. J. Klijn, "The Study of Jewish Christianity", NTS 20 (1973/74) 419-431; G. Lüdemann, Paulus, der Heidenapostel Bd.2, Antipaulinismus im frühen Christentum, Göttingen 1983.
- 14 W. Schneemelcher, "Acts of Paul", Hennecke-Schneemelcher-Wilson, vol.2, 322-390; idem, "Die Apostelgeschichte des Lukas und die Acta Pauli", Apophoreta: Festschrift für E. Haenchen, ed. W. Eltester (BZNW 30), Berlin 1964, 236-250 = Gesammelte Aufsätze zum Neuen Testament und Patristik, Thessaloniki 1974, 204-239.

instructions¹⁵ or that Paul was closely related to Peter as a pair of the apostles.¹⁶

This brief outline of Paulinism in conflict in the second century gives us a glimpse of light into Paulinism in the New Testament. Let us narrow the area of our quest. How and to what extent was Paul accepted in the book of Acts? What is the image and theology of Paul accepted in Acts? Or, more precisely, how and to what extent was Pauline tradition transmitted to the author of Acts? And how did he transform it at the editorial stage? What are the theological tendencies and the theological purpose of the picture of Paul in Acts?¹⁷

P. Vielhauer made a decisive step forward for recent criticism of the theological ideas of Paul in Acts, by comparing the theological statements of Paul in his letters with those in Acts under four headings; natural theology, the Law, Christology and eschatology.¹⁸ In brief, his conclusion is that the Christology of Acts is primitive and pre-Pauline, while natural theology,

15 Epistula Apostolorum, ch. 31 and ch. 33. Cf. M. Hornschuh, Studien zur Epistula Apostolorum (PTS 5), Berlin 1965, esp. 82f, 87f, 90, 95f.

16 Acts of Peter, Acta Verc. chs. 1-3, 4, 6, 10 and 23.

17 For a historical review of Paulinism in Acts from the 19th century, see P.-G. Müller, "Der 'Paulinismus' in der Apostelgeschichte", Paulus in den neutestamentlichen Spätschriften, Freiburg 1981, 157-201. Brief reviews of recent studies are given in V. Stolle, Der Zeuge als Angeklagter (BWANT 102), Stuttgart 1973, 13-31; C. Burchard, "Paulus in der Apostelgeschichte", ThLZ 100 (1975), 881-895; J. Roloff, "Die Paulus-Darstellung des Lukas", EvTh 39 (1979), 510-531, K. Löning, "Der Paulinismus in der Apostelgeschichte", Paulus in den neutestamentlichen Spätschriften, Freiburg 1981, 202-234.

18 P. Vielhauer, "Zum 'Paulinismus' der Apostelgeschichte", EvTh 10 (1950/51), 1-15 = ET, "On the 'Paulinismus' of Acts", SLA, 33-50.

conceptions of the Law and eschatology are post-Pauline, so that none of the typical theological ideas of Paul can be traced in Acts. The Paulinism in Acts does not consist of authentically Pauline theology, in spite of the author's zeal for Paul, but consists in the image of Paul, which portrays him as a Gentile and universal missionary who travels extensively from East to West. It is not irrelevant to quote the dictum: "There is indeed no theologia crucis beyond the affirmation that the Christ must suffer" in Luke.¹⁹ To put it another way, the author of Acts is not interested in the theology of Paul, but in his historical role.²⁰

G.Klein, on the other hand, has further advanced recent criticism of the image of Paul in Acts.²¹ Firstly, he concludes that the Lukan church was confronting the gnostic problem as shown in the farewell speech at Miletus (Acts ch.20), when gnostic opponents had begun to make use of the teaching of Paul. Secondly, the idea of the twelve apostles was originated by the author of Luke-Acts, identifying "the twelve", who were the temporal council of the eschatological community, with "apostles", in order to preserve the tradition and succession of the earliest

19 J.M.Creed, The Gospel According to St. Luke, London 1930, lxxii; C.K.Barrett, Luke the Historian in Recent Study, London 1961, 23 and 59; E.Haenchen, Acts of Apostles, EF Oxford 1971, 122. Cf. C.K.Barrett, "Theologia Crucis-Acts", Theologia Crucis-Signum Crucis: Festschrift für E.Dinkler zum 70. Geburtstag, ed. C.Anderson and G.Klein, Tübingen 1979, 73-84.

20 C.Burchard, Der dreizehnte Zeuge: Traditions- und kompositionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu Lukas' Darstellung der Frühzeit des Paulus (PRLANT 103), Göttingen 1970, 173.

21 G.Klein, Die zwölf Apostel: Ursprung und Gehalt einer Idee, (PRLANT 77), Göttingen 1961.

church against gnostic heretics. Thirdly, the historical figure of Paul was then domesticated and subordinated to the twelve apostles in Acts in order to rescue him from his role as a patron of the gnostic heresy; in the process, Paul was connected to the succession nexus.

Against this conjecture of Klein, K.Löning put up another interpretation of the image of Paul in Acts.²² Paul was not a controversial figure at that time, Löning thinks, and the problem behind the portrayal of Paul in Acts is not the gnostic one but that of the identification of Gentile Christianity and of its legitimacy. The figure of Paul was intended to solve the problem of a gap of discontinuity in the salvation history. It represents the process of the separation of Christianity from Judaism and that of Gentile Christianity from Jewish Christianity.

C.Burchard has followed a similar line of thought to Löning. He says that Paul is not depreciated in Acts: the author insists on putting Paul's witness on the same level as that of the twelve apostles, even though Paul was not regarded as one of the apostles in Acts.²³ This witness motif in the image of Paul was also stressed by V.Stolle.²⁴ In this chain of discussions, the image of Paul is intended to represent the last but decisive witness of the earliest church, and the Lukan church took it as its identification figure. In a word, the real problem of Paulinism in Acts is whether the image of Paul is "a corruption of Pauline theology, or is no more than a development and application of it

22 K.Löning, Die Saulustradition in der Apostelgeschichte (NtAbh 9), Münster 1973.

23 C.Burchard, Zeuge.

24 V.Stolle, Zeuge.

to a new historical situation".²⁵

C.K.Barrett opened another field of recent discussion about the figure of Paul, which he calls "Pauline legend". At first, in Luke the Historian in Recent Study, Barrett classifies the historiography of Acts as a Hellenistic romance of the type which is represented by Philostratus' Life of Apollonius of Tyana and Lucian's False Prophet and On the Death of Peregrinus. The divine man who is "the religious expert, human yet more than human in his origin and person, who works miracles proclaims a message, and gathers and teaches disciples",²⁶ dominates these works.

E.Haenchen also summarized the image of Paul in Acts as the great miracle worker and outstanding orator, which runs parallel to the divine man motif.²⁷ Then Barrett discusses Pauline legend in the post-Pauline period.²⁸ His setting is more comprehensive and complicated than Klein's, introducing another contrast between Pauline word and Pauline legend in addition to that of gnostic and anti-gnostic Paul in order to grasp the theological situation in the post-Pauline period. "There is tension", Barrett says, "between the historical Paul of the letters, the gnosticized Paul, and the anti-gnostic Paul --- a tension in which popular piety as well as theology played its part",²⁹ not only in the second century but also, he suggests, in the New Testament itself. The legendary figure of Paul is operative both in gnostic and anti-gnostic circles and the positive "good" legend circulated

25 C.K.Barrett, New Testament Essays, London 1972, 91.

26 C.K.Barrett, Luke, 12-15, quotation from p.13.

27 E.Haenchen, Acts, 112-116.

28 C.K.Barrett, "Controversies".

29 C.K.Barrett, "Controversies" from p.243.

as early as the "bad" in important quarters, as represented by Ephesians, Acts, the Pastoral Epistles and 1 Clement. At the end of his essay, Barrett estimates the positive Pauline legend in these by the criteria of controversy element and martyr motif, and traces its development briefly.

This theme of Pauline legend was extended by H.-M. Schenke especially in relation to the formation of the Pauline Corpus.³⁰ Schenke calls Pauline legend "Paulus-Fama" or "Paulus Saga", which he thinks circulated in popular Christianity where Paul was admired. His thesis about the formation of the Pauline Corpus is as follows. Firstly, "Paulus-Fama" circulated in the earliest Christian communities (Gal. 1:23) when the Pauline Corpus did not yet exist. Secondly, the death of Paul motivated the preservation, collection and editing of Pauline Epistles (Cor, Gal, 1 Thess. and Rom.) in order to preserve the literary inheritance of Paul and to make useful books out of short letters. Thirdly, the Pauline Corpus later gave rise to the Deutero-Pauline letters (Phlm, Col, Eph, 2 Thess, 1 Pet. and Past) and enriched the word-tradition of Paul. The later two stages of the formation of the Corpus were preceded by "schools of Paul"³¹ whose centres were in Corinth (European Paulinism; Cor, Thess, Phil. and Rom.) and in Ephesus (Asian Paulinism; Gal. and the Deutero-Pauline Epistles). In short, from our point of view, the "Paulus-Fama" developed its effective power in the early stage when collected

³⁰ H.-M. Schenke, "Weiterwirken".

³¹ Cf. E.A. Judge, "The Early Christians as a Scholastic Community", JRH 1 (1960), 4-15, 125-137; H. Conzelmann, "Paulus und die Weisheit" NTS 12 (1965), 231-244.

Pauline letters did not have their authority. But in his discussion, the relation between Acts and the Corpus is not clear. Did Acts belong to a school of Paul? Was the role of Pauline legend limited to the earliest stage of the formation of the Corpus? It is necessary to answer these questions in order to estimate the content and character of the Pauline tradition in Acts (see the next chapter).

The content and character of the Pauline legend has been classified more precisely recently. E. Plümacher calls Pauline legend "Paulusvulgata", which he divides into four groups; first, the divine man legends where Paul is described as a miracle worker (Acts 13:8-12, 14:8-18, 16:16-18, 25-34, 19:12, 13-16, 20:7-12, 28:3-6, 8), second, the suffering apostle motives which have parallels in the Pauline Corpus (Acts 9:1-19a / 1 Tim. 1:12ff; Acts 14:19f. (9:15f.) / 2 Tim. 3:10f, Eph. 3:13, Col. 1:24; Acts 16:19-24, 35f. / 1 Thess. 2:2; Acts 19:23-40 / 1 Cor. 15:32, 2 Cor. 1:8ff; Acts 9:24b.25 / 2 Cor. 11:32f.), third, some legends to show him faithful to ancestral tradition (Acts 16:1-3, 18:18, 21:26f. cf. Gal. 5:11, 2:3, 5, Phil. 3:7f.), including Paul's dependence on the Jerusalem church (Acts 9:23, 26-30) and his contact with Jerusalem from his youth (Acts 22:3, (26:4), 22:17-21, 23:16 cf. Gal. 1:22), which are all historically quite doubtful, and, fourth, what he calls "Paulus-Erinnerung" which depicts Paul as a missionary, not as a theologian (Acts 16:13-15, 18:2-8, 11, 18-19a, 21b, 19:8-10, 21f, 20:1-6, 13-17).³²

32 E. Plümacher, "Die Apostelgeschichte", TRE vol. 3 (1978), 483-528, esp. 498-500.

On the other hand, J. Roloff classifies them into three categories.³³ The so-called "Itinerar" (Acts 16:11f, 20:5-21:18, 27:1,6), personal traditions (9:11, 3-18, 23-25, 22:25ff; 22:3; 22:16; 9:11, 23:39) and personal legends (13:8-12, 14:8-10, 19:13-20, 20:7-12, while 16:24-39, 19:11f, and 28:7-10 are ascribed to the author's hand, following the manner of Petrine legends). The "Itinerar", part of which is supposed to have originated in the Antiochene church, is reckoned to reflect the history of the earliest church. The personal tradition originally developed out of controversial situations (Gal. and 2 Cor.), but this polemical context was erased during its circulation. Finally, in the personal legends, Roloff thinks, Paul is not depicted as a charismatic miracle worker, only as a powerfully working missionary and preacher.

To summarize : Barrett (Pauline legend), Schenke (Paulus-Fama), Plümacher (Paulusvulgata), and Roloff (Pauline personal tradition and personal legend) have opened up a new way of understanding the problem of Paul in Acts, part of which is already approached by Burchard and Löning. This way is promising after the period of Haenchen and Conzelmann.³⁴

33 J. Roloff, "Paulus-Darstellung".

34 E. Grässer, "Vorwort zur 7. Auflage", Haenchen, Apostelgeschichte, (7th ed) Göttingen 1977, 6-8, esp. 7, "Und zwar sind es bezeichnenderweise zwei traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum Paulus-Bild, nämlich C. Burchard, Der dreizehnte Zeuge, Göttingen 1970, und K. Löning, Die Saulustradition in der Apostelgeschichte, Münster 1973. Es ist das Problemfeld, das Haenchen im Blick auf eine Neuauflage am meisten interessiert. Das Ergebnis ist negativ !".

CHAPTER 2

THE DATE OF ACTS IN ITS HISTORICAL AND THEOLOGICAL SETTING

The date of Acts falls within the limits of c.A.D. 60 when Paul was imprisoned in Rome and c. A.D. 150 when Marcion made use of the Third Gospel.¹ It is well known that in the second half of the second century Acts was clearly known among the early fathers.² However, it is not easy to determine the date of Acts within this span of time, because there is no decisive external evidence,³ so that theological tendencies reflecting historical situations become important in order to fix the date of Acts.

If the author of Acts was the "beloved physician Luke" (Col. 4:14), the companion (2 Tim. 4:11) and "fellow-worker" (Phlm. 24) of Paul, the issue will be easily settled, to date the composition of Acts between A.D. 60 and 80. It is assumed that

- 1 H.J.Cadbury, "Subsidiary Points", Beg. vol.2, 349-359, esp. 358.
- 2 Irenaeus summarized the content of Acts (Adv.Haer. iii,14, 1-4) c. A.D. 180. It has been disputed whether Justin knew Acts or not, cf. Haenchen, Acts, 8-9; Cadbury, The Book of Acts in History, London 1955, 157; J.C.O'Neill, The Theology of Acts in Historical Setting, London 1961, 15-17, and 28-53.
- 3 H.Conzelmann, "Luke's Place in the Development of Early Christianity", SLA, 298-316.

this traditional view of Lukan authorship was already formed by the end of the second century and accepted in different parts of the Church.⁴ Irenaeus referred to the author of Luke-Acts as follows: "Luke, also, the companion of Paul, recorded in a book the gospel preached by him".⁵ The so-called Anti-Marcionite Prologue to the Third Gospel speaks of its author as "Luke, a man from Antioch in Syria, a physician by profession", and adds, a few lines later, that "This same Luke afterwards wrote the Acts of the Apostles".⁶ The Muratorian Canon says more or less the same: "The third Gospel book is that according to Luke. This Luke was a physician whom, after the ascension of Christ, Paul took as his companion because he was a man of letters; he wrote the book in his own name, on his own authority... The Acts of all the Apostles are, nowever, written in one book, in which Luke puts together the various events which had taken place in his presence...".⁷ This traditional view is also to be found in Clement of Alexandria (Strom. v, 12; Adumb. ad 1 Petr. 5:13), Tertullian (Adv. Marc. iv, 2, 4f.) and Origen (Comm. in Matth. 1, quoted by Eusebius, H.E.

- 4 Cadbury says: "... sometime before A.D. 180 the assignment was made and before that date we have no records dealing with the authorship of the book" ("The Tradition" Beg. vol.2, 209-264, quotation from p.261f.). For further discussion, cf. Haenchen, Acts, 1-14, and Conzelmann, ApG, 1-2.
- 5 Irenaeus, Adv. Haer. iii, 1, 1, "Et Lucas autem sectator Pauli, quod ab illo praedicabatur Evangelium, in libro condidit", cf. iii, 10, 1 (Migne, PL vol.7, 845).
- 6 The Anti-Marcionite Prologue to Luke (c. A.D. 180-200).
 "Ἔστιν ὁ Λουκᾶς Ἀντιοχεὺς Σύρος, ἰατρὸς τῆ τέχῃ, ... καὶ δὴ μετέπειτα ἔγραψεν ὁ αὐτὸς Λουκᾶς πρᾶξεις Ἀποστόλων".
- 7 The Muratorian Canon, 11.2-6, 34-37 (c. A.D. 200).
 "Tertium evangelii librum secundum Lucan. Lucas iste medicus, post ascensum Christi cum eum Paulus quasi litteris studiosum secum adsumsisset, nomine suo ex opinione conscripsit... Acta autem omnium apostolorum sub uno libro scribta sunt. Lucas optimo Theofilo comprehendit quae sub praesentia eius singula gerebantur...".

vi,25,6).

But it is very difficult to maintain the traditional view in the present situation of criticism. It is widely held that such a view is not confirmed by the usage of medical language.⁸ It is also difficult to back it up with the so-called "we" sections and the Antiochene source theory.⁹ The traditional view collapses completely when one starts to think seriously of the historical and theological differences between Acts and the Pauline Epistles. For instance: is it historically probable that a companion and fellow-worker of Paul would have inserted the second Jerusalem visit before the so-called Apostolic Council (Acts 11:27-30 / Gal. 2:1, cf. ch.3) or Timothy's circumcision by the hand of Paul, although this may be based on an unreliable tradition (Acts 16:3 / Gal. 5:6, 11f, 6:12f.)? Is it likely that a companion of Paul would have ascribed the Apostolic Decree to the Council of Jerusalem (Acts 15:20f, 28f. / Gal. 2:6, cf. ch.3)? If there had been such a decree, there would not have been the conflict between Paul and Peter as reported in Gal. 2:11-14, and therefore it seems likely that the author of Acts is not aware of the serious controversy between them (Acts 15:36-40 / Gal. 2:11-14). In addition, the author of Acts does not understand the nature of Paul's collection journey to Jerusalem (Rom. 15:25-33, 1 Cor. 16:1-4, 2 Cor. ch.8

8 Against W.K.Hobart's The Medical Language of St. Luke, Dublin 1882, A.Harnack, Luke the Physician, ET London 1907, Cadbury has shown that the medical terms in Luke-Acts are not used exclusively by physicians but also by educated Greco-Roman writers, Style and Literary Method of Luke (HTS 6), Cambridge (Mass.) 1920; idem, Beg. vol.2, 349-355.

9 Conzelmann, "Luke's Place" SLA, 300, "The source analysis of Acts is completely problematical", cf. ch.3.

and 9, cf. Gal. 2:7-10), for in Acts it is described as a journey of witness and as Paul's apologia pro vita sua rather than as the collection journey (Acts 19:21, 20:22-24, 23:11; chs. 21-26, in spite of 24:17). Furthermore, Acts makes no mention of Paul's journey to Arabia (Gal. 1:17), the so-called intermediate visit to Corinth (2 Cor. 1:15-2:4, cf. 12:14, 13:1), the journey to Illyricum (Rom. 15:19) or his plan to visit Spain (Rom. 15:24). In addition, Acts does not mention Paul's significant role of letter-writing: there is not a single reference to the Pauline letters in Acts. On the other hand, the genuine Pauline letters do not explicitly mention the so-called first missionary journey (Acts chs. 13-14 / Gal. 1:21; cf. 2 Tim. 3:10f.), or his five visits to Jerusalem --- they mention only three (Acts 9:26-30, 11:27-30 and 12:25, ch. 15, 18:22, chs. 21-26 / Gal. 1:13f, 2:1-10, Rom. 15:26).

But there is a still more serious problem. How is it possible to explain that the companion and fellow-worker does not grasp his master's theology in depth, for instance, justification by faith? Admittedly, the author of Acts tries to reproduce it as far as he understands it, but his treatment is superficial, for it is combined with the non-Pauline term "remission" (*ἀφεσις*) of sins in Acts 13:38f. and, moreover, such Pauline teaching is, according to Acts, not typically Pauline, because Peter also uses these Pauline words in 15:11. Further, it is apparent, as Vielhauer showed,¹⁰ that there is a theological distance between Acts and Paul in terms of natural

10 Cf. ch.1, n.18.

theology, the Law, Christology and eschatology. In short, "Luke represents the purely external characteristics of Paul's activity." ¹¹

These facts (that the author of Acts does not have an accurate knowledge of the history or biography of Paul, in spite of the significant agreements between Acts and Paul, and that there is a big theological distance between Acts and Paul) lead us to conclude that the author of Acts is not the "beloved physician Luke", nor the companion and the fellow-worker of Paul, that is, an eye-witness of Paul, ¹² and that Acts was not written as early as A.D. 60-80 (a date which is derived from the traditional view). This conclusion, against the traditional view, implies that the significant agreements about the activity of Paul between Acts and the statements of Paul should not be ascribed to the fact that the author was himself an eye-witness, but to the fact that he has used traditional material, namely, Pauline tradition. ¹³

So much for the case against the tradition. But there are three important events in the history of primitive Christianity, which are correlated with the date of Acts: the death of Paul, the fall of Jerusalem and the formation of the Pauline Corpus.

- 11 H.Windisch, "The Case Against The Tradition", Beg. vol.2, 298-348, quotation from p.338.
- 12 "Luke" or "Lukan", sometimes employed in this thesis, does not refer to the "beloved physician Luke", but simply the author of Acts.
- 13 Cf. C.K.Barrett, Freedom and Obligation: A Study of the Epistle to the Galatians, London 1985,5, "And, unlike Paul, he wrote at some considerable distance from the events in question. This does not mean, as some think, that Luke can be simply written off as a historian. He was not nefariously whitewashing the first Christians, so that we cannot trust him; he is using traditional material for the edification of the Church of his own time.

Firstly, the relation between Acts and the death of Paul. It seems improbable to place the date of Acts prior to the death of Paul. The "early date" theory of Acts presupposes that, if the author of Acts had some knowledge of the Apostle's death, he would have mentioned it because he was a historian, in the sense that he would have tried to narrate his accounts as precisely and as accurately and as fully as possible, like modern historians; and it would have been impossible for him to omit this.¹⁴ Less likely is the theory that Acts was written for Paul's defence at his trial in Rome, because it ends with his arrival at Rome. Nevertheless, Acts is not an apology of Paul for his trial at Rome, nor a biography of Paul; for in either case, Luke-Acts would lose its consistency. Conversely, it is very likely that the author had some knowledge of the end of Paul's life, so that he could clearly foretell it in several passages (Acts 20:23-25, 21:10-14), like the passion predictions in the Gospel (Mk. 9:22, 43-45, 17:25, 18:31-34, 24:6f, 44-46). However, it is not mentioned explicitly in Acts, presumably because it was not the author's intention to describe it at the end of the book that depicts the triumphant progress of the word of God, throwing a bridge from Jerusalem to Rome, and the transition and expansion of Christianity from Jewish one to Gentile one. It is interesting

14 Cf. e.g. P.Parker, "The 'Former Treatise' on the Date of Acts", JBL 84 (1965), 52-58, thinks, based on the Proto-Luke theory, that the date of Acts falls in the A.D.60's because Acts does not mention the Neronian persecution, the death of Paul, the collection of the Pauline letters and so on. Similarly, C.S.C.Williams, "The Date of Luke-Acts", Exp.Tim. 64 (1953), 283f. and the commentaries on Acts by F.F.Bruce, C.S.C.Williams and I.H.Marshall.

to note that the two heroic figures of the book, Peter and Paul, do not meet their ends in Acts and that even in their perils they are rescued by miraculous power, in contrast with the minor figures such as Stephen and James the son of Zebedee, who suffer a martyr's death. In other words, the historical event, the death of Paul, became significant only after his death, when this controversial man Paul began to be admired as a religious hero,¹⁵ as in the Pastoral Epistles or other Deutero-Pauline letters. The Paulinism which arose as theological reflection sought to keep alive the legacy of Paul and his theological inheritance and to commemorate his great achievements as a missionary and theologian for the Gentiles. After the death of Paul, the necessity to collect the significant traditions became pressing, especially since there was a very real threat of losing them under the anti-

15 For heroes in general, cf. E. Rohde, Psyche: The Cult of Souls and Belief in Immortality among the Greeks, LF London / New York 1925, 115-155; E. Pfister, Der Reliquienkult im Altertum, (Giessen 1909) Berlin / New York 1974; S. Eitrem, "Heros", Pauly-Wissowa, vol. 8 (1913), 1111-1145; E. R. Farnell, Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality, Oxford 1921; M. P. Nilsson, Geschichte der Griechischen Religion, vol. 1, München 1941, 170-176, 677-681, vol. 2, München 1950, 540f.; A. D. Nock, "The Cult of Heroes", MPhR 37 (1944), 141-176 = idem, Essays on Religions and the Ancient World, vol. 2, Oxford 1972, 575-605; U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, Der Glaube der Hellenen, vol. 2, (3rd. ed.) Darmstadt 1959, 5-19; W. Burkert, Greek Religion: Archaic and Classical, LF Oxford 1985, 203-208, 429-431. Veneration of the Apostles shows the process of heroising, but the popular piety of the hero worship in the narrower sense is not found until the middle of the third century, which is attested by the excavated graffiti at St. Sebastian's in Rome, cf. e.g. H. Chadwick, "St. Peter and St. Paul in Rome: the Problem of the Memoria Apostolorum ad Catacumbas", JThS NS 8 (1957), 31-52 = idem, History and Thought of the Early Church, London 1982, 31-52.

Pauline attack.¹⁶ This alone can explain the fact that the author of Acts, an admirer of Paul, a Paulinist, did not understand the Pauline theology in depth, in spite of his enthusiasm.

Secondly, the relation between Acts and the fall of Jerusalem. The date of Acts cannot be earlier than the fall of Jerusalem, that is, A.D. 70, which is attested from Lk. 21:20-24, where explicit reference to the destruction of Jerusalem is seen, in contrast to Mk. 13:14-20.¹⁷ The attempt to attribute the source of Lukan passage to prophetic words in the Old Testament, not to the Marcan text,¹⁸ creates a difficulty in solving the problem of the theological distance between Acts and Paul. The fall of Jerusalem was a turning point for both Judaism and Christianity in the making.¹⁹ The period between A.D. 70 and A.D. 135 seems

16 For a sketch of relation between Christianity and Judaism in A.D.80-90, cf. K.H.Schelkle, "Israel und Kirche im Neuen Testament", Die Kirche des Anfangs : Für H.Schürmann, edd. R.Schunackenburg, J.Ernst and J.Wanke, Freiburg / Basel / Wien 1978, 607-614. For a sketch of Diaspora Jewish Christianity in A.D.70-100, cf. J.Jervell, "The Mighty Minority", *StTh* 34 (1980), 13-38 = idem. The Unknown Paul : Essays on Luke-Acts and early Christian History, Minneapolis 1984, 26-51, 162-164.

17 See commentaries; e.g. J.M.Creed, Luke, 253, "it seems clear, on the one hand, that for Luke the fall of Jerusalem is past history." Similarly, W.G.Kümmel, Introduction to the New Testament, 2^d rev.ed. London 1979, 150; Ph.Vielhauer, Geschichte der urchristlichen Literatur, Berlin / New York 1975, 417; H.Köster, Einführung in das Neue Testament, Berlin / New York 1980, 754.

18 Cf. C.H.Dodd, "The Fall of Jerusalem and the 'Abomination of Desolation'", More New Testament Studies, Manchester 1968, 69-83; for criticism of this thesis, e.g. O'Neill, Theology, 1-3.

19 Cf. C.F.G.Brandon, The Fall of Jerusalem and Christian Church, (London 1951) London 1981; L.H.Schiffman, "At the Crossroads : Tannaitic Perspectives on the Jewish-Christian Schism", Jewish and Christian Self-Definition, vol.2 Aspects of Judaism in the Greco-Roman Period, ed. E.P.Sanders, A.I.Baumgarten and A.Mendelson, London 1981, 115-156, 338-352.

to be crucial points both for the history of Judaism and for Christianity. On the Christian side, early Jewish Christianity, which practised Temple worship (Acts 2:46, 3:1,11, 5:12,20,42, 21:23f,26), circumcision (Acts 15:1,5) and observance of the Law, particularly, the food laws and rituals (Acts 10:14, 11:2f, 15:1, 21:20-24), suffered destructive damage from that event.²⁰ This means that the fall of Jerusalem, as well as the death of James the brother of the Lord, spelt the parting of the ways for Jewish Christianity and Gentile Christianity. Thereafter, Christianity turned from being a "sect" within Judaism (Acts 24:5,14, 28:22), identifying itself as "the way" (Acts 9:2, 16:17, 18:25f, 19:9,23, 22:4, 24:14,22), into an established religion independent of Judaism: that is, Christianity transformed itself from one phenomenon of the Jewish national religion to a world religion. On the Jewish side, the Sanhedrin was abolished, the sacrificial cults at the Temple were suspended, and aristocratic Sadducean power vanished. Instead, Jamnia became the centre of a Pharisaic

20 There are no clear demarcations between Judaism and early Jewish Christianity in Palestine prior to the fall of Jerusalem in A.D.70 in terms of sociology, as distinct from theology. That is why the circle around Peter and James, the brother of the Lord, remained in and around Jerusalem when the Hellenist Christians, that is, the circle around Stephen and Philip, were persecuted by the fervent Jews (Acts 8-12, 15:7,13, 21:18, cf. 1 Thess. 2:14). Further, the tradition about the flight of Jerusalem Christians to Pella, preserved in Eusebius, H.E. iii, 5, 2-3, is probably fictitious, cf. Brandon, Fall of Jerusalem, 168-173; G.Strecker, Judenchristentum, 229-231; J.Munck, "Jewish Christianity"; G.Lfdemann, "The Success of Pre-70 Jerusalem Christianity: A Critical Evaluation of the Pella Tradition", Jewish and Christian Self-Definition, vol.1 The Shaping of Christianity in the Second and Third Centuries, London 1980, 161-173, 245-254; = idem. Paulus, vol.2, 265-286. However, the traditional view is maintained by Schoeps, Theologie, 270; Simon, Verus, 88, n.3, 89, 304f; W.G.Kümmel, "Judenchristentum", RGG(5), vol.3, 967-972.

academy, where the canonization of the Torah was completed, and rabbinical Pharisaism took the dominant role in Judaism, excluding other sects as heretics from the synagogues.²¹ In short, "the war of 66-70 then separated the church from its roots in Palestine and transformed Israel from a national theocracy into a stateless church."²² This historical situation might explain the different attitudes towards Jewish Christianity and Judaism between Acts and Paul.

Paul of the Epistles repeatedly confronted the threat from Jewish Christians because of his gospel and his apostleship (Gal, Phil. 2, 2 Cor. 10-13); he speaks of "a different gospel" (Gal. 1:6-9) and "another Jesus" (2 Cor. 11:4), to distinguish between his own interpretation of Christ and that of his opponents, namely, between "the gospel of the uncircumcision" and "the gospel of the circumcision" (Gal. 2:7). In Acts, on the other hand, this conflict between Jewish Christianity and Gentile

21 The curse formula, the birkath ha-minim, was introduced into the regular recital of the "Eighteen Benedictions", according to a baraita, under R.Gamaliel II, that is, at the end of the first century; bBer. 28bf, "Our rabbis taught: Simon Ha-Foqli ordered the Eighteen Benedictions before Rabban Gamaliel in Yavneh. Rabban Gamaliel said to the sages: Is there no one who knows how to compose a benediction against the minim? Samuel Ha-Qatan stood up and composed it." This is attested by the evidence in John 9:22, 12:42, 16:2 (ἀποσυνάγωγος, -οι) cf. 7:13, 19:38, 20:19 (Lk. 6:22); in Justin, Dial, chs.16, 47, 93, 95f, 108, 117, 133; Epiphanius, Pan, 29,9. cf. K.L.Carroll, "The Fourth Gospel and the Exclusion of Christians From the Synagogues", BJRL 40 (1957/58), 19-32; L.Goppelt, Apostolic and Post-Apostolic Times, ET London 1970, 118; Kümmel, "Judenchristentum", 969; Schiffmann, "Crossroads"; W.Horbury, "The Benediction of the Minim and Early Jewish-Christian Controversy" JThS 33 (1982), 19-61.

22 For a brief sketch of Judaism after the fall of Jerusalem, cf. Schürer, History, vol.1, 514-557; C.K.Barrett, The Gospel of John and Judaism, London 1975, quotation from p.41; J.L.Martyn, History and Theology in the Fourth Gospel, 2nd ed. Nashville 1979.

Christianity is toned down except on two occasions in Acts 15 and 21. However, in the first case, the problem is skillfully settled at the so-called Apostolic Council in which both sides agree with the Decree (Acts 15:22-30, 16:4, 21:25): further, that unanimous decision is carefully prepared for a few chapters earlier by the vision of Peter even before the Gentile mission is initiated (Acts chs.10-11, 15:7-11), and illustrated immediately afterwards when Timothy is circumcised so as to prevent any conflict with Jews or Jewish Christians (Acts 16:1-3). In the second case, Paul of Acts takes a vow in order to avoid the problem (Acts 21:20-26). But these features are un-Pauline, particularly after the Apostolic Council and incident at Antioch (Gal.2:1-14); or curiously enough, they are, in one sense, similar to the attitude of Paul's opponents in his Epistles. In Acts, by contrast, the customary enemies of Paul are not Jewish Christians, nor the enthusiastic incipient Gnostic Christians (1 Cor.), but the Jews; in this sense, the tone of "the Jew" in Acts is close to that in the Fourth Gospel. In fact, Paul in Acts is ^{portrayed} as a real Jew, still an enthusiastic Jew after his conversion and call, presumably because Paul is repeatedly accused by the hostile Jews of profaning the Temple (Acts 21:28, 24:6,17-19, 25:7), denying circumcision (Acts 21:21), and attacking the Law (Acts 21:21,28, 23:29, 24:5, 25:7). Thus the conflict in the Epistles between Jewish and Gentile Christianity turns, in the setting of Acts, into that between Judaism and Christianity, which is a reflection of the post-70 situation. Moreover, the dispute between Jews and Christians in Acts is not about the nature of the Law or its nullification as in the Pauline Epistles, but about the

interpretation of the resurrection and messianship (Acts 23:6, 24:14f, 21, 25, 25:19, 26:6-8), presupposing the role of the Law to be as valid as in Judaism, which also reflects the post-70 situation. The historical distance between Acts and Paul also explains the different theological attitude towards the issue of Paul's apostleship. Paul of the Epistles is repeatedly concerned with his apostleship because his opponents do not admit it, in spite of his claim; Paul in Acts is not mentioned as an apostle except on two occasions in Acts 14:4, and 14, and the conflict about Paul's apostleship is never mentioned. Moreover, the signs of the apostle in the Pauline epistles are sufferings; but in Acts Paul is depicted as a miracle worker and outstanding orator, a description which comes curiously close to those signs by which Paul's opponents discerned the true apostle.

The second stage of the tension between Judaism and Christianity after the fall of Jerusalem is typically shown in Ignatius' dictum: "Christianity did not base its faith on Judaism, but Judaism on Christianity, and every tongue believing on God was brought together in it" (Mag.10:3). Christianity not only took over the Jewish inheritance but also replaced it, so that he could say: "the divine prophets lived according to Jesus Christ" (Mag.8:2), and "of whom (=Jesus Christ) the prophets were disciples in the Spirit and to whom they looked forward as their teacher" (Mag.9:2), but at the same time here Ignatius was confronted with Judaism crossed with Gnosticism (Mag.ch.8-10, Phila.ch.6-8). He writes, for example: "Be not led astray by strange doctrines or by old fables which are profitless", (Mag.

8:1),²³ and: "But if anyone interpret Judaism to you, do not listen to him for it is better to hear Christianity from the circumcised than Judaism from the uncircumcised" (Phila.6:1). It is significant to note that those uncircumcised Jews or gnostic Jews were quite different from the Judaizers who demanded circumcision for salvation (like those represented in Galatians), although their doctrine was based on the Old Testament (Phila.8:3) and they observed the Sabbath (Mag.9:1). Furthermore, the problem is much more complicated in that they may have held a Docetic Christology (Tra.ch.10, Sm.chs.2-4)²⁴ so that the opponents of Ignatius may be more exactly called Jewish Christian Gnostics.²⁵ Their doctrines were probably related to that of the heretics in

- 23 The Jewish "old fable" is a special term to refer to the Jewish gnostic teaching (1 Tim.4:7, Tit.1:14) as well as its estimation "profitless" (Tit.3:9), cf. J.B. Lightfoot, The Apostolic Fathers pt.2 S. Ignatius S. Polycarp, vol.2, sect.1, London 1889, 124; W. Bauer, Orthodoxy, 88.
- 24 Further discussion, cf. C.K. Barrett, "Jews and Judaizers in the Epistles of Ignatius", Jews, Greeks and Christians (Religious Culture in Late Antiquity): Essays in Honor of W.D. Davies, ed. R. Hamerton-Kelly and R. Scroggs, Leiden 1976, 220-244=in Essays on John, London 1982. Cf. for the single front opponents of Ignatius, E. Molland, "The Heretics combatted by Ignatius of Antioch", JEH 5 (1954), 1-6; V. Corwin, "St. Ignatius and Christianity in Antioch", Yale Publications in Religion, ed. B. Horne, vol.1, New Haven 1960, 24-30; L.W. Barnard, "The Background of St. Ignatius of Antioch", VigChr 17 (1963), 193-206; on the other hand, P.J. Donahue, "Jewish Christianity in the Letters of Ignatius of Antioch", VigChr 32 (1978), 81-93, maintains the double front opponents of Ignatius.
- 25 The background of such Anatolian syncretistic Judaism may be also indicated by the recent excavations from Asia Minor; cf. A.T. Kraabel, "Paganism and Judaism: The Sardis Evidence", Paganisme, Judaisme, Christianisme: Mélanges offerts à M. Simon, edd. A. Benoit et al. Paris 1978, 13-33; idem. "Hypsis and the Synagogue at Sardis", GRBS 10 (1969), 41-58; idem. "The Roman Diaspora", JJS 23 (1982), 445-464.

Colossians and in the Pastoral Epistles.²⁶

This stage of the tension between Judaism and Christianity is also reflected in Acts, for its writer is familiar with such syncretistic problems (Acts 8:9-24, 13:4-12, 19:13-19).²⁷ Judaism, from which Christianity arose, is not only taken as a rival religion, but also condemned as a false and harmful teaching (Acts 13:4-12, cf. 19:13-19)²⁸; furthermore, Acts emphasizes that all the prophets foretold the Christ-event according to the Spirit (Acts 2:25-35, 3:13, 21-26, 4:25-28, 10:43, 13:33-37),²⁹ so they too were killed for the sake of Christ (Acts 7:52, cf. Lk. 11:47-52, 20:9-16).³⁰ These features fit well with the motif of replacing Judaism.³¹ Moreover, the author of Acts knows the gnostic problem as of his own day, but preferred to speak of it as something in the future (Acts 20:29f.). Seen in this context, a

26 Cf. J. Bornkamm, "Die Adresse des Kolosserbriefes", *ThLZ* 73 (1948), 11-20 = idem. Das Ende des Gesetzes: Gesammelte Aufsätze I (BavTh 16), 2nd ed. München 1958, 139-156; K. Dibelius, "Die Isisweihe bei Apuleius und verwandte Initiations-Riten", Botschaft und Geschichte: Gesammelte Aufsätze, vol. 2, Tübingen 1956, 30-79; H.-M. Schenke, "Die Widerstreit gnostischer und kirchlicher Christologie im Spiegel des Kolosserbriefes", *ZThK* 61 (1964), 253-261; Kümmel, Introduction, 338-340, 378-380.

27 G. Klein, "Der Synkretismus als theologisches Problem in der Ältesten Christlichen Apologetik", *ZThK* 64 (1967), 40-82.

28 Cf. Ignatius, *Mag.* 8:1, 10:3.

29 King David is also counted as one of the prophets owing to Ps. 2, 16 and 110 (Acts 2:29f, cf. 2:25-28, 34f, 4:25f, 13:33) and Ps. 69 and 109 (Acts 1:16, 20).

30 Cf. Ignatius, *Mag.* 8:2, 9:2.

31 Cf. A. F. Kraabel, "Roman Diaspora" 461; "The author of Luke-Acts, for example, is concerned to legitimize the existence of Christianity despite Jews' rejection of it: he does this by showing that Christianity is the replacement for Judaism with biblical history". The motif of replacing Judaism is more strengthened by Justin, one generation after Ignatius. For Justin, authentic Judaism is really Christianity, cf. B. Z. Bokser, "Justin Martyr and the Jews", *JJrJ* 46 (1973/74), 97-122, 204-211.

better explanation may be given of the fact that the progress of the Gentile mission is stressed as that of the word of God or the Lord (Acts 6:7, 12:24, 19:20), and its development foretold and determined by heavenly beings through appearances or dreams, by the resurrected or ascended Lord (Acts 1:4-6, 9:4,6,11,15f, 18:9, 22:10,21, 23:11, 26:15-18), by angels (Acts 1:11, 5:19, 8:26, 10:4-6,13-15, 12:7f,23, 27:23) or by the Spirit (Acts 8:29, 10:19f, 11:12, 13:24, 16:6-9, 20:23, 21:11).³² This is partly because of the new situation caused by the heretics; the author is reacting against their myths.

Another basic framework of Acts is the parallelism of the witnesses' work with that of Jesus through the Spirit-motif. The activities of Jesus in the Gospel are extended by the activities of the witness to his resurrection in the Book of Acts. This is another feature of the post-apostolic time; the enthusiastic atmosphere of an imminent eschaton faded, and the tradition of the successors of the apostles became significant.³³ In that process the kerygmatic Jesus tradition was historicized as the "vita Jesu", as the sacred past, and the period of the apostles began to be evaluated as equal to it, as the "vita Christiana". It seems unlikely that Acts was written soon after the Gospel of Mark, given that the second Gospel was edited nearly

32 In Acts angels are nearly equivalent to the Spirit (Acts 8:26 / 8:29,39; 10:3,7,22 / 19:19; 11:12 / 11:13) and to the Lord (Acts 12:7-11 / 12:12), and it is difficult to distinguish the Lord from Spirit (Acts 18:9, 23:11 / 19:21), although their functions differ in some cases.

33 Parallel of the apostle(s) with the Lord, cf. 1 Clem.13:1f, 46:2f,7; Ignatius Sm.7:2, Phila.ch.8, Mag.7:1, 13:1; Polycarp Phil.2:3, 6:3, 7:2; 2 Pet.3:2; cf. Marcion, "the Lord" and "the Apostle"; Justin Dial.53:5, 109:1, 110:2, Apol.39:25, 42:4, 45:5, 49:5, 50:12, 53:3, 61:9, 67:3.

one generation after the event; it seems more likely that Acts may have been written approximately one generation after the age of the apostles. It is significant to note that Acts begins, in contrast to the Gospels, when they end. Thus it is right to say: "While for Paul, Christ, being the 'end of the Law' (Rom.10:4), is also the end of history, in the thought of Acts, he became the beginning of a new history of salvation, the history of Christianity. Later on he will be regarded by universalistic thinking as the middle-point and the turning point of history".³⁴ Behind the description of such history, in which the earliest community was not interested, because of the enthusiastic expectation of the imminent parousia, may lie the problem of the delayed parousia. This problem came to the fore during the post-apostolic period, after the death of the pillar apostles, the fall of Jerusalem, new experiences of persecutions and the appearance of heretics. In Acts this problem gives way to a new theory, the continuous historical process of salvation history.³⁵ It is divided into three stages, according to Conzelmann; "the period of Israel, or the Law and prophets, the period of Jesus, which gives a foretaste of future salvation" and "the period between the coming of Jesus and his parousia, in other words, the period of the Church and of the Spirit".³⁶ In this schema it is clear that the Church inherits the place of Israel, equipped by the Holy

34 E.Käsemann, "Neutestamentlichen Fragen von Heute", ZThK 54 (1957), esp. 19f. = EVB vol.2, 11-31, esp. 29f; R.Bultmann, The Theology of the New Testament, ET vol.2, London 1967, 117; Conzelmann, Theology. Quotation from Bultmann.

35 E.Grässer, "Die Parusieewartung in der Apostelgeschichte", Les Actes, 99-127.

36 Conzelmann, Theology, 150.

Spirit, so that Gentile Christianity is legitimated as the successor both of Judaism and of Jewish Christianity. At the same time, corresponding to this theological problem, interest in the world is so much increased that salvation history is fitted into world history (cf. Lk. 1:5, 2:1f, 3:1f, chs.22f, Acts 4:6, 5:36f, 11:28, 12:1, 12:20-23, 13:7, 18:2,12, 21:38, chs.23-26) in order to show that "this did not happen in a corner" (Acts 26:26) of the world.

Thirdly, we must turn to the more complicated and disputed point of dating the composition of Acts in relation to the formation of the Pauline Corpus. There are two issues at stake; first, the formation of the Corpus, second, its relation to Acts. The earliest literal witness of the Corpus is Marcion. According to the so-called Marcionite Prologue, the seven letters of ten documents except the Pastoral Epistles were known to Marcion. They were (in the order of the Prologue) Galatians, Corinthians, Romans, Thessalonians, Laodicians (=Ephesians), Colossians, Philippians and Philemon.³⁷ This list and its sequence are also attested by Tertullian³⁸ during the latter half of the second century. In addition to this earliest list, the Chester Beatty

37 Both the Corinthian and Thessalonian correspondance were counted as one item each, and probably the same could be said of Colossians and Philemon because of the latter's character and its length, so that it was placed at the end of the sequence: cf. J.Knox, Marcion, 42. The original order of the sequence may have been arranged by the decreasing length, cf. C.H.Buck, "The Early Order of the Pauline Corpus", JBL 68 (1949), 351-357; J.Finegan, "The Original Form of the Pauline Collection", HThR 49 (1956), 85-103; if it were the case, Galatians was originally placed between Thessalonians and Colossians.

38 Adv.Marc. v.

Papyrus 46 (c.A.D. 200) has a different content and order for the Pauline Epistles (Rom. Heb. 1&2 Cor. Eph. Gal. Phil. Col. 1 (2) Thess. (Phlm))³⁹; while in the Muratorian Canon (c.A.D. 200) the Pastoral Epistles were added to the Corpus (1&2 Cor. Eph. Phil. Col. Gal. 1&2 Thess. Rom. Phlm. Tit. 1&2 Tim.).⁴⁰ On the other hand, the earliest reference to the Pauline Epistles is found in 1 Clement, where he testifies that at least 1 Corinthians was known to the church in Rome in A.D. 96 (1 Clem. 47:1-3), and there are some paraphrased quotations from 1 Corinthians (1 Clem. 37:5 / 1 Cor. 12:12-26; 1 Clem. 47:3 / 1 Cor. 1:11-13; 1 Clem. 49:5 / 1 Cor. 13:4-7) and, presumably, from Romans (1 Clem. 35:5f. / Rom. 1:23-32). Two decades later, a clear witness of some collection of the Pauline letters is shown first in Ignatius (Eph. 12:2, *ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστολῇ* ; Ignatius knows the existence of Eph. and clear references to Rom. and 1 Cor. are seen cf. Ign. Sm. 1:1 / Rom. 1:3; Eph. 18:1 / 1 Cor. 1:20), then in Polycarp (Phil. 3:2, *ὑμῶν ἔγραψεν ἐπιστολὰς* ; at least, 1&2 Cor. Gal. Phil. Eph. and 1 Tim. are known to him) and 2 Peter (3:16, *ἐν πάσαις ἐπιστολαῖς*), but its size and content is not certain. There are then three possible hypotheses from these two sets of

39 It is interesting that Hebrews was inserted in the Corpus, and that the Corinthian and the Thessalonian correspondances were separated into two letters respectively.

40 Were the Pastorals rejected by Marcion (thus Zahn)? It seems likely that the original Corpus was expanded by the addition of them, cf. K.L. Carroll, "The Expansion of the Pauline Corpus", JBL 72 (1953), 230-237. But it is unlikely that the author of the Pastoral Epistles is identified with Polycarp against F. von Campenhausen, "Polykarp von Smyrna und die Pastoralbriefe", Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, 1951, 5-51 = idem. Aus der Frühzeit des Christentums: Studien zur Kirchen geschichte des ersten und zweiten Jahrhunderts, Tübingen 1963, 197-252.

fact:-

- (1) The Corpus including at least seven letters was already known by the time of 1 Clement;
- (2) The gradual formation was in process at the time of 1 Clement;
- (3) Marcion was the first systematic collector.

Goodspeed and his followers⁴¹ started their argument from the observation that the early writings of the New Testament (the synoptic Gospels and Acts) show no influence of the Pauline Epistles, although they were the earliest documents of the New Testament, written before the synoptic Gospels and Acts: on the other hand, the writings after A.D. 90 all reflect some knowledge of the Pauline letters. From this observation they concluded that the formation of the Pauline Corpus which took place about A.D. 95 in Ephesus was a decisive literary event in the early history of Christianity. Goodspeed conjectured that Ephesians was a post-Pauline work, written by the collector of the Pauline letters, namely Onesimus, in order to serve as an introduction to the Corpus and that the value of the letter-form as a vehicle of instruction promoted the production of subsequent letters: thus the Corpus stimulated the production of the corpus of the seven letters of the Book of Revelation, of Ignatius, of the Catholic Epistles, and the corpus of the three Johannine letters, of the Pastoral Epistles. But contrary to this attractive hypothesis,

41 E.J.Goodspeed, The Formation of the New Testament; Chicago 1926; idem, New Solutions of the New Testament, Chicago 1927; idem. The Meaning of Ephesians, Chicago 1933; idem. Introduction to the New Testament, Chicago 1937, 210-239; J.Knox, Marcion; C.L.Mitton, The Formation of the Pauline Corpus of Letters, London 1955.

there is no evidence for the existence of a corpus in which Ephesians occupied the first place of the sequence as an introduction, and it is also hard to maintain that the seven letters in Revelation are ^a reflection of the formation of the Pauline Corpus. However, it should be noted that symbolic number dominated the formation of a corpus in early Christianity, to signify the catholicity and universality of their contents. Recently this classical theory was revived in a new shape by Schmithals.⁴² His first point, following Goodspeed, is that the Corpus Paulinum had originally seven letters (1 Cor. 2 Cor. Gal. Phil. 1 Thess. 2 Thess. and Rom.), a significant feature which was copied by other collectors. The second point is that the Pauline Corpus was formed in Corinth about A.D. 80 against gnostic heretics, for each letter, according to Schmithals, has ^{an} anti-_{gnostic} tendency, except Romans and 'Philippians A'. But it seems an oversimplification to affirm that all of the Pauline letters have one type of opponents.

On the other hand, it is also difficult to say that Marcion was the first collector of the Pauline letters as Bauer maintained⁴³ because, if the number of the seven letters symbolizes the catholicity and universality of the contents, that would contradict Marcion's intent. According to the so-called Marcionite Prologue, Marcion was primarily interested in the particularity and historical situation of each letter.

Though there is no clear evidence of the emergence of partial

42 W. Schmithals, "Zur Abfassung und ältesten Sammlung der Paulinischen Hauptbriefe", ZNW 51 (1960), 225-245 = idem. Paulus und die Gnostiker (ThF 35), Hamburg 1965, 175-200.

43 Bauer, Orthodoxy, 221.

collections, it seems possible that before the publication of the Corpus some individual letters circulated in limited local Pauline communities for particular and practical usage, as indicated by some passages in the New Testament (1 Thess. 5:27, Col. 4:16). Moreover, Pauline letters acquired a high reputation even among Paul's opponents (2 Cor. 10:10); thus it seems unlikely that his letters were hidden away soon after they were written until the sudden appearance of a complete ^{collection} of the Corpus. It seems more likely that Corinthians and Romans circulated in Pauline communities in Achaia and Rome in the period before the formation of the Corpus; Thessalonians and Philippians in Macedonia; Galatians, and later Colossians with Philemon and Ephesians, in Galatia and Asia.⁴⁴ In that case, Corinthians and Romans may have constituted the core of the Corpus which was in the gradual process of formation. This conjecture is supported by the following facts. Firstly, there were some attempts to read the "situation-letters" of Paul (Romans and Corinthians) as general ones by omitting the particular destinations, as in the case of Ephesians.⁴⁵ Secondly, an ecumenical direction may have been interpolated at the beginning of 1 Corinthians (1:2b),⁴⁶ and the

- 44 Similar ideas are seen in; P.N.Harrison, Polycarp's Two Epistles to the Philippians, Cambridge 1936, 235-239; L.Mowry, "The Early Circulation of Paul's Letters", JBL 63 (1944), 73-86; Schenke, "Weiterwirkung"; A.Sand, "Überlieferung und Sammlung der Paulus briefe", Paulus in den neutestamentlichen Spätschriften, ed. Kertelge, Freiburg / Basel / Wien 1981, 11-24.
- 45 N.A.Dahl, "The Particularity of the Pauline Letters", Neotestamentica et Patristica (Suppl. NovTest 6), Leiden 1962, 261-271.
- 46 J.Weiss, Der erste Korintherbrief, Göttingen 1925, xli; idem. The History of Primitive Christianity, vol.2, ET London 1937, 681; C.K.Barrett, A Comentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians, 2nd ed. London 1971, 33.

general non-Pauline doxology may have been added at the end of Romans (16:25-27)⁴⁷ for the same reason. Thirdly, both of these letters are known to have been well read by the Apostolic Fathers in the pre-Marcionite period. If this hypothesis is accepted, it seems reasonable to conjecture that the circulation of these letters may have stimulated the production of the Deutero-Pauline writings at some stage, in a new situation, and later still, the formation of the Corpus itself took place, as an attempt to preserve the legacy of Paul. This collection of seven letters, which consisted of the European Corpus and the Asian Corpus,⁴⁸ appears not to have taken shape until the 80's nor 90's, but it was presumably in existence at the beginning of the second century. This would explain why 1 Clement was acquainted with 1 Corinthians and presumably also with Romans; on the other hand, Ignatius could refer to a collection of the Pauline letters and furthermore, as an admirer of Paul, a Paulinist, he followed Paul's example by writing seven letters. The same situation may have produced the Pastoral Epistles, which were later inserted in original Corpus for anti-Marcionite purpose. But it should be remembered at this point that this process of the formation of the Pauline Corpus was produced by the schools of Paul. If this

47 Lietzmann, An die Römer, Tübingen 1933, 130f; E.Käsemann, An die Römer, Tübingen 1974, 405-411; C.G.B.Cranfield, The Epistle to the Romans, vol.2, Edinburgh 1979, 808-814; U.Wilckens, Der Brief an die Römer, vol.3, Zürich / Köln / Neukirchen-Vluyn 1982, 147-152.

48 It is, however, hard to conclude that the original Corpus included Hebrews from the facts that 1 Clement quoted it (1 Clem.36:2-5 / Heb.ch.1) and that Chester Beatty Papyrus 46 also included it; this is because the other early collections did not have it until the beginning of the third century.

hypothesis is correct, it is still possible that there was a wide non-acquaintance with the Pauline letters at the end of the first century, but it is untenable to extend such non-acquaintance as far as the days of Polycarp.⁴⁹

The second point at issue is the historical relation between the Pauline Corpus and Acts, which is more important for our concern. First, it should be firmly stated that there is no trace of quotations from, or references to, the Pauline Epistles in Acts. The Tübingen school conjectured that Acts not only knew the Pauline Epistles but also contradicted and neutralized them: this was part of the purpose of its composition. M.S.Enslin, criticizing the reaction to the Tübingen reconstruction of the early history of Christianity as equally extreme, also tried to show that the author of Acts had made use of the Pauline Epistles. Enslin thinks that the author modified the Pauline sources but did not otherwise refer to them, because of the improper usage of the Pauline letters by the heretics in the second century.⁵⁰ Although the theory is interesting, it is not tenable, because there is no "verbal dependence".⁵¹ However, it is impossible to produce such a vivid portrait of Paul without some knowledge. Therefore it seems probable that some reminiscences of Paul in Acts are dependent on the tradition, namely Pauline tradition, but without a literal

49 J.C.O'Neill, Theology, 21-25, places the date of the collection of the Pauline letters in A.D.135, assuming that Polycarp was the first collector. But this seems too late a date altogether.

50 M.S.Enslin, "Once Again Luke and Paul", ZNW 61 (1970), 253-271; similarly, W.O.Walker, Jr, "Acts and the Pauline Corpus Reconsidered", JSNT 24 (1985), 3-23.

51 J.Knox, "Acts and Pauline Letter Corpus", SLA, 279-287, quotation from p.282.

knowledge of the Pauline letters or of the Pauline Corpus.

There are in fact three possible ways of explaining the non-use of the Pauline Epistles which are as follows:

- (1) Acts did not know of the existence of the Pauline Corpus because it was written before its formation;
- (2) Acts consciously ignored the Pauline letters and kept silence about them, in spite of the knowledge of their existence;
- (3) There is probably no decisive literary connection between the appearance of Acts and the formation of the Corpus.

Firstly, Goodspeed and Mitton⁵² concluded, from Acts' non-acquaintance with the letters, that when Acts was written the Pauline letters had not been collected or published; conversely, the appearance of Acts supplied a motive and a stimulus for the editing of the Pauline Corpus. Acts, they say, gave the early church such a striking and influential portrait of Paul that he was made famous to a younger generation as the founder and pioneer of the Gentile mission. In that case, according to Goodspeed, the date of the composition of Acts must be placed before the publication of the Corpus, that is before A.D. 90. Although it seems highly probable that Acts was written before the collection and publication of the Pauline Epistles, it is an oversimplification to state that the appearance of Acts motivated the formation of the Corpus. It should be remembered that Paulinism did not arise because of the appearance of Acts, but because of the death of the Apostle and the new situation caused by the heretics; hence it seems likely that it was ^{the} new controversial situation brought about

52 Cf. n.41.

by the heretics which motivated the production of the Corpus. Further, there is still the possibility of non-acquaintance ^{with} the Pauline letters at the end of the first century, as discussed above. This theory has recently been modified by Schenke in an interesting way. Schenke thinks, as summarized above,⁵³ that the Pauline legend circulated before the formation of the Corpus. He is quite right to insist on the role of the Pauline legend but it should not be restricted to the earliest stage of the formation of the Corpus, for such legends were also developed in the Deutero-Pauline writings and in the book of Acts.

The second view has been taken seriously recently.⁵⁴ But is it because the Pauline Corpus was used by the pre-Marcionites, or even by Marcion himself? In that case, according to J. Knox, Acts may be dated as late as A.D. 125.⁵⁵ Or because it was used by the gnostics? Klein would like to place the date of Acts in the second century for this reason.⁵⁶ Although there are some theological tendencies which are similar to those in the beginning of the second century, it is untenable to date the composition of Acts in the second century. The criterion is this: are the Lukan writings a production of early Catholicism? Is the author of Acts a representative of early Catholicism? Are there any trace of early Catholicism in Acts? The first problem is the definition of

53 Cf. ch.1, n.30.

54 Klein, Apostel, 192; Knox, "Corpus", 284; Burchard, Zeuge, 155-158.

55 Knox, Marcion, 132-136; idem. "Corpus", 284.

56 Klein, Apostel, 192. O'Neill also puts the date of the composition of Acts in the second century for another reason, that the author of Acts could still have written it in ignorance of the existence of the Corpus between A.D. 115 and 130; but this is untenable, cf. n.49.

early Catholicism. Käsemann defines the origin of early Catholicism as a phenomenon of the Church defending against the problem of Gnosticism and coping with the delay of the parousia.⁵⁷ This is correct, but too broad.⁵⁸ The decisive point of the definition of early Catholicism is the concept of the apostolic succession combined with that of apostolic tradition as well as the existence of certain ecclesiastical offices.⁵⁹

According to the Lukan prologue, the author of Luke-Acts distinguishes three qualitatively different stages of the tradition;⁶⁰ firstly "the eyewitness from the beginning and the ministers of the word", secondly, "the many who tried to compile the narrative", including at least Mark and Q, and thirdly, the author of Luke-Acts, "investigating accurately", who tries to complement those predecessors, "to write in order for the

57 Käsemann, "Fragen", EVB, vol.2, esp. 29-31.

58 Barrett, Luke, 70f.

59 Conzelmann, "Luke's Place", 304; idem. An Outline of the Theology of the New Testament, EF London 1969, 289f. U.Luz, "Erwägung zur Entstehung des 'Frühkatholizismus'", ZNW 65 (1974), 88-111, following Conzelmann, counts four features of early Catholicism: (1) retrospect to the apostolic times, (2) the difference between orthodoxy and heresy shown as that between true and false teaching, (3) stress on ethics, (4) true and sound teaching through visible ecclesiastical office.

60 Cf. W.Michaelis, Einleitung in das Neue Testament, Bern 1961, 14ff; G.Klein, "Lukas 1:1-4 als theologisches Programm", Zeit und Geschichte : Dankesgabe an R.Bultmann zum 80. Geburtstag, ed. E.Dinkler, Tübingen 1964, 193-216 = idem. Rekonstruktion und Interpretation : Gesammelte Aufsätze zum Neuen Testament (BEVTh 50), München 1969, 237-261; H.Schrömann, "Evangelien-schrift und kirchliche Unterweisung : Die repräsentative Funktion der Schrift nach Lk.1:1-4", idem. Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu den synoptischen Evangelien, Düsseldorf 1968, 251-271; D.J.Sneen, "An Exegesis of Luke 1:1-4 with Special Regard to Luke's Purpose as a Historian", ExpTim 83 (1971/72), 40-43; H.von Campenhausen, The Formation of the Christian Bible, EF Philadelphia 1977, 123-128; cf. ch.3, n.73 and 85.

security". In short, the author of Luke-Acts "understands himself to be the steward of the tradition".⁶¹ His position is not within early Catholicism but in that third generation out of which early Catholicism was formed. This is why it is very difficult to place the date of Acts in the second century, in spite of the possibility that Acts may have known of the existence of the Pauline letters but have ignored them.

Thus it can be concluded that non-acquaintance with the Pauline letters is not a decisive criterion in dating the composition of Acts. There is probably no definite connection between the appearance of Acts and the formation of the Corpus. At best, it is important to note, concerning the relation between the Pauline Corpus and Acts, that the author of Acts "not only stands alone within Pauline tradition, but also that he chooses to stand off by himself".⁶² This is typically shown in the image of the pillar apostles. In the 'schools of Paul', as in some gnostic sects, Paul is the apostle par excellence, and there is no room to admit other pillars. On the other hand, it is in Acts that Peter, who is the head of the twelve, and Paul are the chief pillars, although Acts knows the roles of other notable figures such as James, the Lord's brother, and John and James, the sons of Zebedee, or Stephen and Philip; but these are mere shadows on the stage. This image of Peter and Paul as pillars of the church is therefore significantly different from the original image of

61 Conzelmann, "Luke's Place", 305.

62 Conzelmann, "Luke's Place", 308; cf. C.K. Barrett, "Acts and the Pauline Corpus", *ExpTim* 88 (1976), 2-5, esp. 4, "Luke belonged to a group that was not Paul's".

pillar apostles in the Jerusalem church recorded in Galatians, where "James (the brother of the Lord), Cephas and John" are called "pillars" (Gal.2:9, cf. Gal.1:19, 2:12, 1 Cor.15:7).⁶³ It is neither close to the synoptic tradition, in which Peter, James and John of Zebedee make an inner circle among the twelve (Mk.1:19,29, 5:37, 9:2, 13:3, 14:33) nor close to Jewish Christianity in the Kerygmata Petrou where James the Lord's brother and Peter are the pillars. The image of the pillars of the church in Acts is on this point more developed than the synoptic tradition and closer to the tradition in 1 Clement (ch.5), Ignatius (Rom.4:3), Polycarp (Phil.6:3, 9:1) and further Dionysius of Corinth (Eusebius, H.E. ii,25,8), rather than in the schools of Paul.⁶⁴ It is clear from this that Acts, in spite of its enthusiastic Paulinism, does not belong to the schools of Paul, of which it is independent.⁶⁵ But the author of Luke-Acts

63 Cf. C.K.Barrett, "Paul and the 'Pillar' Apostles", Studia Paulina in honorem J.de Zwaan, edd. J.N.Sevenster, W.C. van Unnik, Haarlem 1953, 1-19.

64 Cf. J.Wagemann, Die Stellung des Apostels Paulus neben den Zwölf in den ersten zwei Jahrhunderten (BZNW 26), Giessen 1926; but, against Wagemann's reconstruction of Peter and Paul in Acts, cf. W.Mundle, "Das Apostelbild der Apostelgeschichte", ZNW 27 (1928), 36-54.

65 In spite of the similarity of the theological themes between Acts and the Pastoral Epistles, it is not probable that Luke is the author of the Pastoral Epistles, cf. N.Brox, "Lukas als Verfasser der Pastoralbriefe?", JAC 13 (1970), 62-77; Kümmel, Introduction, 374 and n.24; against, C.F.D.Moule, The Birth of the New Testament, London 1962, 175, 220f; idem. "The Problem of the Pastoral Epistles : A Reappraisal", BJRL 47 (1964/65), 430-452 = idem. Essays in New Testament Interpretation, Cambridge / London / New York / New Rochelle / Melbourne / Sydney 1982, 113-132; A.Strobel, "Schreiben des Lukas ? : Zum sprachlichen Problem der Pastoralbriefe", NTS 15 (1968/69), 191-210; S.G.Wilson, Luke and the Pastoral Epistles, London 1979; further, J.D.Quinn, "The Last Volume of Luke : The Relation of Luke-Acts to the Pastoral Epistles", in Perspectives. The linguistic and theological similarities

belongs to the stream of the synoptic tradition, as is clear from the Third Gospel. However, the most interesting thing is that the synoptic tradition, in its later development, coalesced with the Pauline tradition, outside the schools of Paul, namely, in Acts.

To summarize: the date of the composition of Acts is not earlier than the death of Paul, nor the fall of Jerusalem: some theological motifs are close to those at the turn of the century, but the second century theory must be rejected because the author of Acts is not an early Catholic, though he belongs to the third generation. Thus it is best to put the date of Acts in the 90's.⁶⁶ It can be deduced from this that the author must have received his information about Paul not by direct contact with him but through traditional material, because it seems likely that Acts is not acquainted with the Pauline Epistles.

65 (continued)

should not be ascribed to the common authorship of the Pastoral Epistles and Luke-Acts, but to the common framework of the age and the locality. Similarly, the parallel motifs between Ephesians and Acts should be also ascribed to the common framework of the age and the locality, cf. Käsemann, "Ephesians and Acts", SLA, 288-297; R.P.Martin, "An Epistle in Search of a Life-Setting", ExpTim 79 (1967/68), 296-302. It is not certain where Acts was written except the fact that it was outside Palestine. However, it is less likely that it was Antioch or Rome, because any source theories are problematical, cf. ch.3. Further, cf. H.Chadwick, "The Circle and the Ellipse : Rival Concepts of Authority in the Early Church" (Inaugural Lecture), Oxford 1959 = idem. History and Thought of the Early Church, London 1982, 3-17, has pointed out that Rome is thinking of Christendom as a circle now centred upon itself and that the Eastern Churches think rather of an ellipse with two foci. Acts belongs to the latter tradition with two foci, depicting the transition and expansion of the word of God from Jerusalem to Rome.

66 Thus Barrett, NT Essays, 86, "It is probable that Acts was written towards the end of the first century"; idem. "Corpus", 4; Vielhauer, Geschichte, 407; Kämmel, Introduction, 185f, does not exclude the possibility of the date between A.D.90 and 100.

CHAPTER 3

SOME METHODOLOGICAL PRESUPPOSITIONS

Three methodological principles guide our investigation of Pauline tradition in Acts, that is, historical criticism, form criticism, and redaction criticism.¹

The first axiomatic principle is historical criticism: that is, criticism which is concerned with the value of texts as evidence for reconstructing "what actually happened". There are

1 For a survey of the investigation in Acts, cf. Haenchen, Acts, 14-50; W.W.Gasque, A History of the Criticism of the Acts of the Apostles, (BGBE 17) Tübingen 1975; for a survey of the recent studies of Acts, cf. E.Grässer, "Die Apostelgeschichte in der Forschung der Gegenwart", ThR 26 (1960), 93-167; idem. "Acta-Forschung seit 1960", ThR 41 (1976), 141-194, 259-290, ThR NF 42 (1977), 1-68; C.K.Barrett, Luke; W.C.van Unnik, "Luke-Acts, A Storm Center in Contemporary Scholarship", SLA, 15-32; Fr. Bovon, Luc le Théologien, Vingt-cinq ans de recherches (1950-1975), Neuchatel / Paris 1978; U.Wilckens, "Interpreting Luke-Acts in a Period of Existentialist Theology", SLA, 60-83 = idem. Rechtfertigung als Freiheit: Paulus-Studien, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1974, 171-202; I.H.Marshall, "Recent Study of the Acts of the Apostles", Exp.Tim. 80 (1968/69), 292-296; W.G.Kümmel, "Luc en accusation dans la théologie contemporaine", EThL 46 (1970), 256-281 = "Lukas in der Anklage der heutigen Theologie", ZNW 63 (1972), 149-165 = Das Lukas-Evangelium: Die redaktions- und kompositionsgeschichtliche Forschung ed. G.Braumann, WdF vol. 280, Darmstadt 1974, 416-436; E.Plümacher, "Acta-Forschung 1974-1982", ThR 48 (1983), 1-56, ThR 49 (1984), 105-169.

two main sources for information about the life and career of Paul in the New Testament, namely, the Pauline Epistles and the Book of Acts.² But how are they treated as sources for our investigation? How is Acts evaluated as a source for the study of Paul?³ There are three rules concerning the relation between the Pauline Epistles and the Book of Acts. Firstly, the Pauline Epistles and Acts are to be used successively, not simultaneously, that is, the Pauline Epistles should be given priority over the Book of Acts as source material. Although biographical elements in the Epistles are not many and are sometimes fragmentary, concise, compressed and coloured by apologetic motives, the authentic Pauline letters are primary and first-hand documents, representing a fixed point for our investigation, by which we can trace the real and

- 2 The so-called Western text of Acts is, on the whole, secondary, and this only emphasizes the value of the primary text. For the Western text, P.H.Menoud, "The Western Text and the Theology of Acts", *BSNTS* 2 (1951), 19-32; W.Thiele, "Ausgewählte Beispiele zur Charakterisierung des 'westlichen' Textes der Apostelgeschichte", *ZNW* 56 (1965), 51-63; R.P.E.Hanson, "The Provenance of the Interpolation in the 'Western' Text of Acts and Acts Itself", *NTS* 12 (1965/66), 211-230; E.J.Epp, The Theological Tendency of Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis in Acts, Cambridge 1966; A.F.J.Klijn, A Survey of the Researches into the Western Text of the Gospels and Acts, Pt.2 1949-69 (Suppl. NovTest 21), Leiden 1969; C.M.Martini, "La tradition textuelle des Actes des Apôtres et les tendances de l'Église ancienne", Les Actes, 21-35; M.Wilcox, "Luke and the Bezan Text of Acts", Les Actes, 447-455; C.K.Barrett, "Is there a Theological Tendency in Codex Bezae?", Text and Interpretation : Studies in the New Testament Presented to M.Black, edd. E.Best, R.McL.Wilson, London / New York 1979, 15-27; M.Black, "The Holy Spirit in the Western Text of Acts", New Testament Textual Criticism Its Significance for Exegesis : Essays in Honour of B.M.Metzger, edd. E.J.Epp, G.D.Fee, Oxford 1981, 159-170.
- 3 For a classification of the evaluation of Acts as source material for the study of Paul, cf. A.J.Mattill, Jr., "The Value of Acts as a Source for the Study of Paul", Perspectives, 76-98.

historical figure of Paul. These are not merely the earliest documents in the New Testament, but are also directly derived from ~~the~~ person himself who was involved in the matters concerned. On the other hand, "Acts is less trustworthy than the Epistles",⁴ though it is in part a straightforward narrative of Paul's life. This is because Acts was written more than one generation or nearly four decades later than the genuine Pauline Epistles by an anonymous third person who had less knowledge of Paul than his companions and eyewitnesses, as we have discussed in the previous chapter. Thus it is not right to say that the Epistles are the primary source for the knowledge of Paul's theological thought, character and religious experiences on the one hand, while Acts is ^{the} leading and primary source for Paul's chronological and biographical data on the other. Acts is secondary to the Epistles in the "external" sphere as well as in the "internal" one.⁵ In other words, "neither the theology of Paul nor the chronology of his career, as found in Acts, can be made to line up with the Pauline Epistles."⁶

Secondly, if Acts gives some information about Paul which cannot be checked by the Epistles, or if any discrepancies between the Epistles and Acts do exist, these are due either to the

- 4 A. Schweitzer called this principle the "Tübingen axiom", Paul and His Interpreters, ET London 1912, 126; cf. F.C. Baur, Paul the Apostle of Jesus Christ, His Life and Work, His Epistles and His Doctrine, ET London / Edinburgh 1876, vol.1, 5, "For the history of the Apostolic Age the Pauline Epistles must in any case take precedence of all the other New Testament writings as an authentic source."
- 5 J. Knox, Chapters in a Life of Paul, (New York 1950) London 1954, 30-43, esp. 33, "We may, with proper caution, use Acts to supplement the autobiographical data of the letters, but never to correct them."
- 6 Quotation from A.T. Kraabel, "The Disappearance of the 'God-fearers'", *Numen* 28 (1981), 113-126, p.118.

traditions in Acts or to the author's editorial work. On the other hand, the agreements between the Epistles and Acts should be ascribed to the traditional material, and this testifies to its trustworthiness, but this does not mean that the Epistles and Acts should be harmonized or synthesized, ^{has} ^{been} as ^{usually} ^{done} in the tradition of the church.

Thirdly, if there is no evidence in the authentic Pauline Epistles, only in the Deutero-Pauline ones, priority should be given to the Deutero-Paulines over Acts. This is because the Deutero-Pauline letters were produced by the schools of Paul, which must have preserved more reliable information about Paul than anywhere else, while Acts was written outside of these Pauline schools as we have discussed in the previous chapter.

However, this principle of the priority of the Epistles does not exclude the fact that when it is interpreted critically, Acts is the only useful and valuable source for earliest Christianity.⁷ The rule "Acts is less trustworthy than the Epistles" does not necessarily mean that Acts is less trustworthy than the other Hellenistic histories. In short, this may be epitomized as follows: "If there is any discrepancy and we have to choose, we must follow Paul".⁸

Let us take the problem of the Jerusalem visits as an example of how the application of this principle works out. The Paul of

7 Haenchen, "The Book of Acts as Source Material for the History of Early Christianity", SLA, 258-273 = idem. Die Bibel und Wir : Gesammelte Aufsätze, vol.2, Tübingen 1968, 312-337.

8 Quotation from C.K.Barrett, Freedom, 10; cf. T.W.Manson, "The Problem of the Epistle to the Galatians", BJRL 24 (1940), 59ff = Studies in the Gospel and Epistles, ed. M.Black, Manchester 1963, 169-189, esp. 171.

the letters reports three Jerusalem visits: the first visit in Gal. 1:18-24, the second one in Gal. 2:1-10, and the third one on the occasion of the collection for the Jerusalem church in Rom. 15:23-32, 1 Cor. 16:1-4, cf. 2 Cor. 8-9, while Acts mentions five Jerusalem visits in Acts 9:26-30, 11:27-30 and 12:25, 15:1-29, 18:22, 21:15-26:32. In particular, Acts describes two Jerusalem visits prior to the Apostolic Council, while Paul records one visit. How can we explain such discrepancies? How many times did the historical Paul visit Jerusalem? It is right to say with J.Knox that Paul means there were "not simply three visits but three visits only".⁹ But this does not solve the complicated problem of the Jerusalem visits. There seems to be no dispute about the identity of the first visit in Gal. 1:18-24 with that in Acts 9:26-30. But it has been disputed which Jerusalem visit in Acts is identical with the second visit in Gal. 2:1-10. There are four possible explanations for this problem.

- (1) The visit in Gal. 2 is identical with that in Acts 11,
- (2) The visit in Gal. 2 is identical with those in Acts 11, 15,

9 J.Knox, Chapter, 52; similarly, W.Riddle, Paul : Man of Conflict : A Modern Biographical Sketch, Nashville 1940; P.S.Minear, "Jerusalem Fund and Pauline Chronology", ATHR 25 (1943), 389-396; C.H.Buck, "The Collection for the Saints", HThR 43 (1950), 1-29; J.C.Hurd, Jr., The Origin of 1 Corinthians, New York 1965; idem. "Pauline Chronology and Pauline Theology", Christian History and Interpretation : Studies Presented to J.Knox, ed. W.R.Farmer, C.F.D.Moule and R.R.Niebuhr, Cambridge 1967, 225-248; C.H.Buck and G.Taylor, Saint Paul : A Study of the Development of His Thought, New York 1969; R.Jewett, Paul's Anthropological Terms : A Study of Their Use in Conflict Settings, Leiden 1971; idem. Dating Paul's Life, London 1979; G.Lüdemann, Paulus der Heidenapostel Bd. 1 : Studien zur Chronologie (FRLANT 123), Göttingen 1980. But their reconstruction of the chronology of Paul is problematical, in spite of the methodological correctness.

(3) The visit in Gal. 2 is identical with that in Acts 15,

(4) The visit in Gal. 2 is identical with that in Acts 18.

The first view includes the presuppositions that the council of Acts 15 is subsequent to that in Gal. 2, which was still in the future at the time of composition of Gal. and that Paul's second visit had a double purpose, which is mentioned in Gal. 2 and Acts 11. Further, according to this theory, Acts does not report anything about the council in ch. 11 because it was a private one.¹⁰ But it seems quite odd and unnatural to maintain that there were two councils of the same kind, although one was private and the other public, reaching the same conclusion at nearly the same time with the same persons. Moreover, this conjecture is based on the earlier date of the Galatians, which is problematical. Alternatively, if the later date theory of the Galatians is admitted, it is difficult to explain why Paul does not mention the public council in it. This harmonizing theory overlooks the difference of context and situation between Gal. 2 and Acts 11. The "second" visit in Acts is not necessarily identical with the "second" visit in the Pauline Epistles.

10 Cf. e.g. W.M.Ramsay, St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen, London 1875, 48-60; C.J.Cadoux, "A Tentative Synthetic Chronology of the Apostolic Age", JBL 56 (1937), 177-191; F.F.Bruce, The Acts of the Apostles, (London 1951) Michigan 1979, 38; idem. "Galatian Problems (Autobiographical Data)" BJRL 51 (1968/69), 292-309; idem. Paul: Apostle of the Free Spirit, Exeter 1977, 148-159, 173-187; G.Caird, The Apostolic Age, (London 1955) London 1962, 201-209; W.L.Knox, The Acts of the Apostles, Cambridge 1948, 49; C.S.C.Williams, The Acts of the Apostles, London 1957, 24-30; E.E.Ellis, "Pauline Studies in Recent Research", idem. Paul and His Recent Interpreters, Grand Rapids 1961, 11-34; C.H.Talbert, "Again: Paul's Visits to Jerusalem", NovTest 9 (1967), 26-40; I.H.Marshall, The Acts of Apostles, Leicester 1980, 204f.

The second case is based on the source theory, which maintains that the same event is described in two ways due to the different sources used, or to a modification of the source theory. In other words, Acts 11 and 15 are doublets, or Acts 13-14 is editorially inserted into a previously unified account of a Jerusalem visit.¹¹ This theory is sometimes combined with the first and the third theory, but it still overlooks the difference of the two accounts in Gal. 2 and Acts 11. Moreover, any source theory in Acts is problematical and any theory ^{based} upon it is unconvincing.

The third case is more convincing, because the persons involved in the council are on the whole the same, especially Peter and James the brother of the Lord on the Jerusalem side (Gal. 2:9 / Acts 15:7,13), and Paul and Barnabas on the Antiochene side (Gal. 2:9 / Acts 15:2,12); moreover, the subject at issue is the same, that is, whether Gentiles should be circumcised or not (Gal. 2:4 / Acts 15:5). Further, the results of the council in the two accounts correspond with each other on the basic points that

11 Cf. e.g. E.Schwartz, "Zur Chronologie des Paulus", Nachrichten von der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaft zu Göttingen: Philologisch-historische Klasse, Göttingen 1907, 262-299 = Gesammelte Schriften, vol.5, Berlin 1963, 124-169; E.Meyer, Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums, vol.3, Stuttgart / Berlin 1923, 169-173; J.Jeremias, "Untersuchungen zum Quellenproblem der Apostelgeschichte", ZNW 36 (1937), 205-221; K.Lake, "The Chronology of Acts", Beg. vol.5, 445-474; A.D.Nock, St. Paul, London 1938, 111-117; C.H.Dodd, "Chronology of the Acts and the Pauline Epistles", Oxford Helps to the Study of the Bible, edd. A.W.F.Blunt et al, Oxford 1931, 195-197; P.Benoît, "La deuxième visite de saint Paul à Jérusalem", Bib. 40 (1959), 778-792; K.F.Nickle, The Collection: A Study in Paul's Strategy (SBT 48), Naperville 1966, 51-59; S.Dockx, "Chronologie de la Vie de Saint Paul depuis sa Conversion jusqu'à son séjour à Rome", NovTest 13 (1971), 261-304; A.Suhl, Paulus und seine Briefe: Ein Beitrag zur paulinischen Chronologie, Göttersloh 1975.

circumcision was not required of Gentile Christians (Gal. 2:5f. / Acts 15:6-8,28), and that Paul's mission was both recognized by the authorities in Jerusalem (Gal. 2:2 / Acts 15:12) and approved by them (Gal. 2:7-9 / Acts 15:13-19). Thus it is likely that Paul's "second" visit to Jerusalem in the Epistles is to be identified with his "third" visit in Acts.¹² But this solution also raises some questions. Firstly, how can the famine-relief visit in Acts 11 be explained? Is it fiction or fact? It seems likely that the author of Acts uses tradition in the account of the famine-relief visit because it is difficult to think that the author invented the name of Agabus and the situation of the

12 Cf. e.g. J.B.Lightfoot, S.Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, London 1891, 123f; E.D.W.Burton, The Epistle to the Galatians, Edinburgh 1921, 115ff; O.Linton, "The Third Aspect : A Neglected Point of View : A Study in Gal. I-II and Acts IX and XV", StTh 3 (1949/50), 79-95; M.Dibelius, Studies in the Acts of the Apostles, ET London 1956, 93-101; E.Fascher, "Paulus (Apostel)", Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl. vol.8 (1956), 431-466; A.Schlatter, Die Apostelgeschichte, Stuttgart 1958, 179f; J.Munck, Paul and the Salvation of Mankind, ET (London 1959) Atlanta 1977, 87-134; J.Cambier, "Le Voyage de S.Paul à Jerusalem en Act. ix, 26ss et le Schéma Missionnaire Théologique de S.Luc", NTS 8 (1961/62), 249-257; H.Schlier, Der Brief an die Galater, 12th ed. Göttingen 1962, 66-78; D.Georgi, Die Geschichte der Kollekte des Paulus für Jerusalem, Hamburg / Bergstedt 1965, 91-96; G.Ogg, The Chronology of the Life of Paul, London 1968, 43-57, 72-88; E.Haenchen, Acts, 375-379; G.Bonkham, Paul, ET London / Sydney / Auckland / Toronto 1971, 31-42; H.Conzelmann, Die Apostelgeschichte, Tübingen 1972, 95f; W.G.Kümmel, Introduction, 180; Ph.Vielhauer, Geschichte, F.Miassner, Der Galaterbrief, Freiburg / Basel / Wien 1974, 127ff; H.D.Betz, Galatians, Philadelphia 1979, 81-83; M.Hengel, Acts and the History of Earliest Christianity, ET London 1979, 111-126; H.Köster, Einführung, 537-539; J.Roloff, Die Apostelgeschichte, Göttingen 1981, 225-227; G.Schneider, Die Apostelgeschichte, vol.2, Freiburg 1982, 93f; C.K.Barrett, Freedom, 111, n.11.

famine.¹³ But it is also true that Paul paid only one visit to Jerusalem prior to the Apostolic Council. Therefore it is plausible that the author painted the role of Paul into the tradition of the famine-relief visit in order to stress Paul's relation with the Jerusalem church.¹⁴ Secondly, how can the discrepancies between Gal. 2 and Acts 15 be explained, particularly the problem of the so-called Apostolic Decree? The controversy about circumcision is settled at the Apostolic Council in Acts 15 by assuming the observance of the Apostolic Decree; but Gal. 2 does not mention it. Is it fiction or fact? Did the Decree originate in the Apostolic Council? The priority of the Pauline letters over Acts should be also maintained at this point. Thus it is quite right to say with Dibelius that "we have only one account of the meeting between Paul and those in authority in Jerusalem, that of Paul in Gal. 2".¹⁵ However, this does not imply that the account in Acts is totally fictitious, and it seems more likely that the author has utilized a tradition about the Decree which must have originated after the Apostolic

13 Cf. Josephus, Ant. iii, 15, 2; xx, 2, 6; K.S.Gapp, "The Universal Famine under Claudius", HThR 28 (1935), 258-265; Suhl, Paulus, 57-64; Jewett, Dating, 34.

14 It is not likely that the famine-relief visit in Acts 11 is a reflection of the later collection to the Jerusalem church, because the famine took place regularly in Palestine not only due to meteorological reasons but also due to religious reasons, cf. J.Jeremias, "Sabbathjahr und neutestamentliche Chronologie", ZNW 27 (1928), 98-103 = idem. Abba : Studien zur neutestamentlich Theologie und Zeitgeschichte, Göttingen 1966, 233-238; against, R.W.Funk, "The Enigma of the Famine Visit", JBL 75 (1956), 130-136; G.Strecker, "Die sogenannte zweite Jerusalemreise des Paulus", ZNW 53 (1962), 67-76; Haenchen, Acts, 375-379; Conzelmann, App. Jewett, Dating, 34.

15 Quotation from Dibelius, Studies, 100.

Council.¹⁶ Other minor differences should be ascribed to the editorial work of the author.

The fourth view is highly unlikely¹⁷ because its methodological scepticism is too extreme to admit the fact that there are some similarities in the events that happened sequentially both in the Epistles and Acts.¹⁸ Moreover, this view is most improbable simply because it ignores the fact that the co-worker of Paul is Barnabas in Gal.2:1-10, who separated from Paul, both in Gal. 2:11-14 and Acts 15:36-41. It is impossible for Barnabas to appear in Acts 18:22.¹⁹

Thus only the third view maintains the priority of the Pauline Epistles over Acts, without ignoring the historical value of Acts as a supplement to the primary source. The first two views are in fact motivated by an apologetic approach, and the fourth by a liberal one, rather than a historical-critical one.

The second axiomatic principle is form criticism. Form criticism aims to discover the preliterate traditions underlying the text, especially by seeking out the formal patterns and the Sitz im Leben of the community which has introduced modifications into traditions. The question about sources in Acts has been

16 Cf. ch.8, n.5, ch.9, n.36.

17 Cf. n.9.

18 Cf. Th.H.Campbell, "Paul's Missionary Journeys as Reflected in his Letters", JBL 74 (1955), 80-87; Kummel, Introduction, 252-255.

19 J.Knox's reconstruction of Paul's chronology is based on two crucial points: firstly, the identification of the "fourteen years" in Gal. 2:1 with that in 2 Cor. 12:1, cf. J.Knox, "Fourteen Years Later, a Note on the Pauline Chronology", JR 16 (1936), 341-349; idem. "The Pauline Chronology", JBL 58 (1939), 15-40, which he later gave up, cf. Chapter, 78, n.3, secondly, the immediateness of the collection to the Jerusalem church after Gal. 2:10. But it is not necessarily so, because famine happened often in Palestine, cf. n.14.

raised as in the case of the Third Gospel, but recent studies tend to regard it negatively.

Firstly, the Semitisms in the first part of Acts are not due to an Aramaic source or to Greek translation of an Aramaic document, as C.C.Torrey has conjectured.²⁰ Most of the Semitisms are now attributed to the mimesis of the Septuagint language,²¹ and "mistranslations" would be attributed to Aramaisms.²² This is because Torrey's theory would contradict the fact that most of the formal and informal quotations from the Old Testament are not based on the Massoretic text or on the Targums, but agree with the Septuagint.²³ Moreover, it would not explain the fact that there are some Semitisms even in the second part of Acts.²⁴ However, this does not exclude the fact that there are some Aramaic

- 20 Cf. C.C.Torrey, The Composition and Date of Acts (HTS 1), Cambridge (Mass.) 1916; his theory is based on historical and theological difficulties rather than linguistic ones, cf. R.A.Martin, "Syntactical Evidence of Aramaic Sources in Acts i-xv", NTS 9 (1964/65), 38-59.
- 21 Cf. H.F.D.Sparks, "The Semitisms of St.Luke's Gospel", JThS 44 (1943), 129-138; idem. "The Semitisms of Acts", JThS NS 1 (1950), 16-28; idem. "Some Observations on the Semitic Background of the New Testament", BSNTS 2 (1951), 33-42; E.Plümacher, Lukas als Hellenistischer Schriftsteller, (SUNT 9), Göttingen 1972, 32-79.
- 22 Cf. M.Black, An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts, 3rd. ed. Oxford 1979; M.Wilcox, The Semitisms of Acts, Oxford 1965. In contrast to translation theory and imitation theory, F.L.Horton, Jr., "Reflections on the Semitisms of Luke-Acts", in Perspectives, suggests a Synagogue Greek theory.
- 23 Cf. W.K.L.Clarke, "The Use of the Septuagint in Acts", Beg. vol.2, 66-105; E.Haenchen, "Schriftzitate und Textüberlieferung in der Apostelgeschichte", ZThK 51 (1954), 154-167 = idem. Gott und Mensch : Gesammelte Aufsätze, vol.1, Tübingen 1965, 157-171; G.D.Kilpatrick, "Some Quotations in Acts", Les Actes, 81-97, thinks of "testimonia" based on the LXX for some quotations from O.T. However, M.Wilcox, Semitisms, 20-55, thinks nine quotations are influenced by the Targums.
- 24 E.g. *καὶ ἰδοὺ* Acts 16:1, 20:22,25, 27:24; *ἐν μεσοῦ* with genitive, Acts 17:22, 27:21 and so on.

elements in some part of the earlier speeches in Acts.²⁵

Secondly, the "two parallel sources" theory in the earlier part of Acts, which is represented by Harnack,²⁶ collapses when it is examined precisely: for we find that there is a logical continuity and development of themes and that they are not mere repetitions of the same event.²⁷

Thirdly, the Antiochene source theory has been even more disputed. Bultmann criticized Haenchen, who emphasized in his commentary the independent creativity of the author, by saying that Luke utilized the Antiochene source at least in Acts 6:1-8:4, 11:19-30, 12:25.²⁸ But Haenchen argued against Bultmann that it is improbable that a community, which did not give up the imminent expectation of the parousia, would record its own origin.²⁹

Moreover, the Antiochene source theory rests upon the presupposition that the author was a man of Antioch, following the ancient ecclesiastical tradition which can be traced back to the

25 C.H.Dodd, The Apostolic Preaching and its Development, (London 1936), London 1963, 19f; M.Black, Aramaic Approach, 272; M.Wilcox, Semitisms; J.W.Bowker, "Speeches in Acts", NTS 14 (1967/68), 96-111; E.E.Ellis, "Midrashic Features in the Speeches of Acts", idem. Prophecy and Hermeneutic in Early Christianity (WUNT 18), Tübingen 1978, 198-208.

26 Harnack conjectured two sources in Acts chs.2-5: Jerusalem A (Acts 3:1-5:16) and Jerusalem B (Acts 2:1-47, 5:17-42).

27 J.Jeremias, "Quellenproblem".

28 R.Bultmann, "Zur Frage nach den Quellen der Apostelgeschichte", New Testament Essays : Studies in Memory of T.W.Manson, ed. A.J.B. Higgins, Manchester 1959, 68-80, = idem. Exegetica, ed. E.Dinkler, Tübingen 1967, 412-423. Harnack, conjectures it in Acts 6:1-8:4, 11:18-30, 12:25-15:35, cf. Kümmel, Introduction, 174f, and J.Jeremias, "Quellenproblem", in Acts 6:1-8:4, 9:1-30, 11:19-30, 12:25, 13:1-14:48, 15:35-39, H.H.Wendt, "Die Hauptquellen der Apostelgeschichte", ZNW 24 (1925), 293-305, in Acts 6:1-8:4, 9:1-30, 11:19-30, 12:25-14:23, 15:33ff. But Bultmann diminishes it.

29 E.Haenchen, "Quellenanalyse und Kompositionanalyse in Acts 15", Judentum Urchristentum, Kirche : Festschrift für J.Jeremias, ed. Eltester, (BZNW 26), Berlin 1960, 153-164.

end of the second century and that he might have been able to gain access to the document in the archives of the church in Antioch. But it is not certain whether the author was from Antioch or not. Further, it is difficult to separate the Antiochene source from the author's composition in terms of the language and style in the narrative section. If we accept this presupposition, it might contradict the fact that there are few geographical and topographical details and personal episodes in the descriptions of Antioch in Acts 11 in comparison with those in Jerusalem in Acts 1-6, those in the regions around the Aegean Sea in Acts 16-20, and those in and around the Mediterranean Sea in Acts 27-28. Thus it may be concluded that the account of Acts 11 is due to the Antiochene tradition, likewise Acts 7 is based on the Stephen's tradition.

Fourthly, many questions have been raised in connection with the "we" passages, where the stylistic change from the third person to the first person plural appears (Acts 16:10-17, 20:5-15, 21:1-18, 27:1-28:16, but 11:28D is secondary). This is neither explained by the traditional eye-witness view (because the author is not a companion of Paul as we have discussed in the previous chapter), nor merely by the "we" source theory (because a source is not discernible within the text between the "we" passages and the rest of Acts in terms of the language and style as Harnack has proved). There are two possible explanations of this problem: firstly, stylistic revision of the source or eye-witness report, or secondly, the author's pure literary invention. In the first case, the question must be raised why the author should alter a written source in every respect except the person of the verbs or

why the author maintained a consistent style except in the person of the verb. In the second case, the question would be why the author utilized the first person plural at random with abrupt beginnings and endings.

Dibelius has made a step forward towards solving this problem by the Itinerary theory. The author used, according to Dibelius, the Itinerary in the middle section of Acts (Acts 13:4-14:28, 15:36-21:18)³⁰ which is the "information about the stations ⁱⁿ the journey, the hosts, the preaching and the result of the preaching, the founding of the communities, disputes and either voluntary or forced departures".³¹ Dibelius' hypothesis is based on the conviction that: "We cannot imagine that these records, with their concise and impartial style were written down with the purpose of edifying or of entertaining. Nor are they colourful enough to be

30 Dibelius earlier finds the Itinerary in Acts 13:1-14:28, 15:35-21:16, cf. Studies, 5f, 69f; but later corrects this to find it in Acts 13:4-14:28, 15:36-21:18, cf. Studies, 104f, 197f, 198 n.15. (He omits four speeches in Acts 13:16-41, 14:15-17, 17:22-31, 20:18-35 and five isolated stories in Acts 13:8-12, 14:8-18, 16:25-34, 19:14-16 and 20:7-12 from the Itinerary.) Dibelius also ascribes the three formal renunciations of the Jews in Acts 13:46f, 18:6, 28:25-28 and the description of Athens in 17:18-21 as well as that of Antioch in 13:1-3 to the author, cf. Studies, 199 n.16; later he favours the editorial work in the sections of Acts 18:24-28 and 19:23-40, cf. Studies, 199 n.16, 211 n.12 and omits the sections in 16:6-10 and 20:1-3 from the Itinerary, cf. Studies, 209. Dibelius thinks the "Itinerary" is a literary form based on Norden's *Ἱστορικὴ* hypothesis, cf. E. Norden, Agnostos Theos : Untersuchungen zur Formengeschichte religiöser Rede, (Leipzig 1913) Leipzig / Berlin 1923, 311-332; Lucian, Quomodo hist. conscri, 48. But it apparently is a modification of the old "we" source theory, that is, an expansion of the source theory from "we" passages in Acts 16:10-17, 20:5-15, 21:1-18 to the "we" section in Acts 13-21.

31 Dibelius, Studies, 69.

regarded as the local traditions of individual communities".³²

On the other hand, Dibelius separates Acts 27-28 from the Itinerary, following Norden, although the story of the sea-voyage to Rome is written in the "we" style. This is because, according to Dibelius, its character is quite different from the other "we" sections, for it does not mention Paul's missionary activities, establishing the communities and so on. Further Paul does not appear much in this section. Dibelius thinks that the sea-voyage narrative in Acts 27-28 is originally ascribed to the ancient literary tradition, and has nothing to do with Paul, though the author inserted what related to Paul in it.³³

Haenchen limited the Itinerary theory to the so-called second and third missionary journeys.³⁴ In the second missionary journey, Haenchen admits direct or indirect use of a source from Acts 16:10 onwards, which he conjectures to be recollections by Timothy; but at the same time, following Dibelius, he excludes from these recollections the narratives of the possessed slave in

32 Dibelius, Studies, 69. Similarly, H.Cadbury, The Making of Luke-Acts, (London 1927) London 1958, 60f, 135, 144f, 156f; O.Bauernfeind, Die Apostelgeschichte (Leipzig 1939), Tübingen 1980, 7-9; A.D.Nock, "The Book of Acts", Gnomon 25 (1953), 497-506 = idem. Essays on Religion and Ancient World, vol.2, Oxford 1972, 821-832, maintain the Itinerary theory like Dibelius.

33 Dibelius, Studies, 213, "one of those literary descriptions of a voyage which had already become the convention in Greek literature". Similarly, Conzelmann, ApG. 150, esp. 156f; E.Plttmacher, "Lukas als griechischer Historiker", Pauly-Wissowa suppl. vol.14 (1974), 235-264; V.K.Robbins, "By Land and By Sea : The We-Passages and Ancient Sea Voyages", Perspectives, 215-242.

34 Cf. E.Haenchen, "Das 'Wir' in der Apostelgeschichte und das Itinerar", ZThK 58 (1961), 329-366 = idem. Gott und Mensch : Gesammelte Aufsätze, = JThC 1 (1965), 65-99; idem. Acts, 81-90, 502f, 586-588, 604f.

Acts 16:16-18, the liberation of Paul and Silas from the prison in 16:19-34, and the scene and the speech at the Areopagus in ch. 17. In the third missionary journey, Haenchen thinks that the author revised a source of Paul's travelling companion more freely, but he also thinks, following Dibelius, that the descriptions of Ephesus in Acts 18:24-19:40 and the revival of Eutychus in 20:7-12 are taken from the other traditions. On the other hand, Haenchen rightly criticizes Dibelius' theory in the so-called first missionary journey because it does not show a single trace of the Itinerary and it is written with a tradition that Paul met difficulties in his missionary activities in the regions of "Antioch, Iconium and Lystra" (cf. 2 Tim. 3:11), into which the author inserted a few anecdotes (Acts 13:4-12, 14:7-13 and 14:19f). Further, Haenchen takes a different view about "we" in Acts 27-28 from Dibelius and Conzelmann, although he accepts the highly literary character of Acts 27-28. It is convincing to acknowledge traditional materials behind Acts 27-28; in this respect, Haenchen is right, particularly in his appeal to the similarity of the descriptions in Acts 20-21 and Acts 27-28.³⁵ But it is difficult to maintain a written source theory in Acts 27-28, either an Itinerary, a travelling diary or whatever it is, because "any companion keeping a travel-diary might well have lost it in the shipwreck".³⁶

35 Haenchen, "We". But Haenchen, "Acts 27", Zeit und Geschichte : Dankesgabe an R. Bultmann zum 80. Geburtstag, ed. E. Dinkler Tübingen 1964, 235-254, thinks the recollections of an eyewitness rather than the Itinerary lie behind Acts 27.

36 Quotation from A.D. Nock, "The Book of Acts", idem. Essays, vol. 2, 823, n. 12.

G.Schille is totally opposed to the Itinerary theory.³⁷

The significant points of his criticism are as follows. There are three different kinds of descriptions of the halting places in Acts: some are lively and colourful (as in Pisidian Antioch, Athens, Corinth and Ephesus), some in stereotyped patterns (as in Thessalonica and Berea), and others take only a few words (as in Salamis, Perge and Derbe). This classification of the halting places argues against the stylistic uniformity of the Itinerary theory. Furthermore, Schille points out the uniformity of the style between the journey sections in Acts 13-21, where the itinerary is conjectured, and those in chs.8-12 and chs.22-28, where the Itinerary is not conjectured. Thus Schille rejects the Itinerary theory, and attributes the traditional materials in Acts 13-21 to the complex of traditions.

J.Dupont advanced Schille's criticism against the Itinerary theory and concluded that some characteristic features of the Itinerary as defined by Dibelius are editorial ones.³⁸ Dupont's criticisms are these, which are based on Cadbury's analysis. Firstly, geographical details, particularly those in the central section of Acts are quite similar to those in the journey section of the Third Gospel in 9:51-19:28, although the narrative in Acts provides more extensive information. Secondly, the topographical touches to locate towns, cities and places such as "a city of

37 Cf. Schille, "Die Fragwürdigkeit eines Itinerars der Paulusreisen", ThLZ 84 (1959), 165-174; A.Ehrhardt, "Construction and Purpose of the Acts", StTh 12 (1958), 78 n.3 = idem. The Framework of the New Testament Stories, Manchester 1964, 101, n.2, criticizes the Itinerary theory from very different reasons.

38 J.Dupont, The Sources of Acts, ET London 1964, 75-168.

Galilee called Nazareth" (Lk. 1:26) and "Tarsus in Cilicia ... no mean city" (Acts 21:39) are typical of the Lukan style. Thirdly, the author is much interested in the descriptions of the lodgings, halting places and hospitalities. From these observations, Dupont answers the question why "we" is employed in some part of Acts, by saying that it is not due to the Itinerary but to the author's editorial work. Further, when we consider the Itinerary more seriously,³⁹ we are faced with more crucial and puzzling questions. If the author had made use of an Itinerary (a travel-diary or whatsoever it is), why are the references to the dates of the journey or to the period of a stay very few in Acts, except three cases in Acts 17:2, 18:11 and 19:8-10 (cf. 20:31)? Why are there not any descriptions about obstacles such as rivers and mountains in the land-journeys, and why is there so little about the halting stops in the land-journeys, except for the two in Macedonia in Acts 17:2? Why does Acts not mention the travelling time or distance to the next station, as is usual in Itineraries? Thus it may be concluded that the "we" of Acts is not a proof text for a travel-diary, notes, memoirs or an Itinerary; rather, it is a literary technique of the author in order to stress the eyewitness character of his authority. However, this solution may inevitably raise a question why "we" appears abruptly and at random, and disappears without expectation. However, it is too superficial simply to observe that "we" starts and ceases abruptly, because the first person plural is embedded in the carefully thought-out and meticulously planned work. The appearance of "we" is confined

39 Cf. W. Kubitschek, "Itinerarien", Pauly-Wissowa, vol.9 (1916), 2308-2363.

to the latter half of Acts. It ^{encloses} ~~er~~ the highlight of Paul's missionary activity in Macedonia, Achaia and Asia ^{between} Acts 16:10-17 and 20:5-15, and symmetrically holds Paul's climactic apologetic scenes in Acts 21-26 between Acts 21:1-18 and 27:1-28:16.⁴⁰ Further, "we" does not disappear unexpectedly, as is shown in Acts 16:17 and 21:18 where Paul and "we" are clearly separated;⁴¹ when ^{the} spotlight is on Paul, "we" disappears (as attested by the appearance of the third person singular in the middle of "we" passages in Acts 20:9-11 and 27:9-14, 21-25, 31-36, 28:3-6, 8f.). Thus it may be concluded that "we" occurs exclusively on the sea-voyages and on the way to the nearest inland cities.⁴² This kind of change of person on the sea-voyages often occurs as a stylistic device in the Hellenistic literature, as Norden has pointed out, although it is difficult to see the literary genre or the literary form behind it.⁴³

So much for the case against source criticism in Acts.

M. Dibelius opened a new approach to the studies of Acts by applying the method of form criticism.⁴⁴ Dibelius isolated

40 This kind of sandwiching style is peculiarly Lukan, cf. Acts 8:1-4, 9:1, 11:19 stitches the traditional materials in Acts chs. 8, 9, 10-11 together; similarly, Acts 11:27-30 and 12:24f. ~~enclose~~ enclose the traditional materials in ch. 12 and so on.

41 Cf. Cadbury, "We' and 'I' Passages in Luke-Acts", NTS 3 (1956/57), 128-131, thinks that 28:16 can be understood in the same way; but it is not likely that 'I' in Lk. 1:3 is an indication of the "we" passages in Acts 16-28, cf. Kümmel, Introduction, 178f.

42 Haenchen, "We"; Conzelmann, Ap. g. 98f, 124, 150.

43 Thus Conzelmann, Ap. g. 1-7; Schmithals, Paul and James (SBT 46), ET London 1965, 85; Marxen, Einleitung in das Neue Testament, Güttersloh 1963, 148.

44 Dibelius, Studies, 1-25.

fourteen short stories as independent from the context by reference to the style. They consist of the six Petrine stories: the lame man at the Temple gate (Acts 3:1-10), Ananias and Sapphira (5:1-11), Simon the sorcerer (8:9-24), the raising of Tabitha (9:36-42), the conversion of Cornelius (10:1-11:18), Peter's release from prison (12:5-17); six Pauline stories Elymas (13:8-12), the healing at Lystra (14:8-18), the release of Paul and Silas from prison (16:25-34), the sons of Sceva (19:14-16), the revival of Eutychus (20:7-12) and the healings at Malta (28:1-6); and two other stories, the conversion of the Ethiopian eunuch (8:26-39), and the death of Herod (12:20-23). These narratives are classified into three forms, according to Dibelius, namely, "Novelle", "Legende" and anecdote. For example, the story of the lame man at the Temple gate is a "Novelle" which bears the typical novelistic descriptions and shares an absence of edifying motives and personal details. Typical secular anecdotes, Dibelius says, are the stories of Eutychus and the sons of Sceva, in which there is lacking a devotional and edifying motif, but instead they have humorous and comical elements running underneath. On the other hand, Dibelius thinks that most of the narratives are legendary ones, and the story of Tabitha and that of Peter's release from prison are pure examples of "Legende" in which personal interests, rather than miracles, dominate the scenes and the devotional motives run underneath in order to edify the reader. But these categories defined by Dibelius accommodate his analysis of the author's style rather than the content of tradition, or more precisely speaking, the form of the tradition. Thus it seems better to classify them into "miracle stories",

using Bultmann's terminology.⁴⁵

Haenchen and Conzelmann, though following Dibelius' line of thought, also treat the healing at the Temple gate as a miracle story, applying Bultmann's definition of forms.⁴⁶ Moreover, Haenchen classifies both the raising of Tabitha and the healing of Aeneas as miracle stories,⁴⁷ while Conzelmann categorizes the story of Ananias and Sapphira and that of Elymas as punitive miracle stories.⁴⁸ G.Theissen analyses the structure of miracle stories in the synoptic Gospels and the Book of Acts more systematically.⁴⁹ He subdivides them into six groups, exorcisms therapies, epiphanies, miracles of rescue or liberation, feeding miracles and "Nomenwunder". But this categorization is not adequate for the study of miracle stories in Acts, because the miracles of Acts 9:32-35, 9:36-43 and 14:8-18 should be included in the group of therapies. Further, it seems better to distinguish the concept of the raising of the dead from that of therapy. Moreover, the classification of "Nomenwunder" is not clear, because it has too large a range (the Sabbath conflicts, the praising of the miracle-worker, and punitive miracles).

Recently, F.Neirynck has classified the miracle stories in Acts more accurately.⁵⁰ His subdivisions are six (other than a

45 R.Bultmann, The History of the Synoptic Tradition, ET Oxford 1972, 218-244; Bultmann in an aside refers to the miracle stories in Acts but he does not analyse them systematically in it.

46 Haenchen, Acts, 201f; Conzelmann, ApG. 38.

47 Haenchen, Acts, 340-342.

48 Conzelmann, ApG. 45, 82.

49 G.Theissen, Urchristliche Wundergeschichten (SNT 8), Göttingen 1974.

50 F.Neirynck, "The Miracle Stories in the Acts of Apostles : An Introduction", Les Actes, 169-213.

summary reference to the miracle-worker), namely,

- (1) the healing miracles (Acts 3:1-10, 9:32-35, 14:8-10, 28:7f.),
- (2) the raising of the dead (9:36-42, 20:7-12),
- (3) exorcisms (16:16-18, 19:13-19, (8:18-24)),
- (4) natural miracle (28:3-6),
- (5) punitive miracles (5:1-11, 13:9-12, (8:18-24)) and
- (6) liberation from prison (5:17-21, 12:3-17, 16:25-34).

This classification of the miracle stories in Acts is helpful for the student of Acts, because it is not only well fitted to the miracle stories in the synoptic tradition (although the last two categories are not found in it), but also it suits the Hellenistic background.⁵¹ These pre-literary stories consist of two parallel Petrine stories (Acts 3:1-10, 5:1-11, 5:17-21, (8:18-24), 9:32-35, 9:36-42, 12:3-17) and Pauline stories (19:9-12, 14:8-10, 16:16-18, 16:25-34, 19:13-19, 20:7-12, 28:3-6, 28:7f.). It is true to say that Paul's missionary activity had some miraculous dimensions

51 Cf. e.g. H.D.Betz, Lukian von Samosata und das Neue Testament (TU 76), Berlin 1961; idem. "Jesus as Divine Man", Jesus and the Historian, Festschrift in Honor of E.C.Colwell, ed. F.Th.Trotter, Philadelphia 1968, 114-133; D.Georgi, Die Gegner des Paulus im 2 Korintherbrief (WMANT 11), Neukirchen 1964; idem. "Socioeconomic Reasons for the 'Divine Man' as a Propagandistic Pattern", Aspects of Religious Propaganda in Judaism and Early Christianity, ed. E.S.Fiorenza, Notre Dame / London 1976, 27-42; M.Hadas and M.Smith, Heroes and Gods, London 1965; M.Smith, "Prolegomena to a Discussion of Aretologies : Divine Men in the Gospels and Jesus", JBL 90 (1971), 174-199; J. Achteimer, "Gospel Miracle Tradition and the Divine Man", Interpretation 26 (1972), 174-197; H.Kee, "Aretalogy and Gospel", JBL 92 (1973), 402-422. See further, R.Reitzenstein, Hellenistische Wundererzählungen, Leipzig 1906; L.Bieler, Theios 'Aner : Das Bild des "göttlichen Menschen" in Spätantike und Frühchristentum, I,II, (Wien 1935/36) Darmstadt 1976.

(1 Cor. 2:4, Gal. 3:5, 1 Thess. 1:5),⁵² but the miracle stories in Acts show a more developed stage of tradition, which is clear from their literary forms. Furthermore, this view is supported by the fact that Paul had a rather negative attitude towards miracle-workers (as shown in 2 Cor. 10-13). Thus it is safe to say that the miracle stories in Acts were transmitted to the author of Acts, in a form which may be called "personal legends", because of their legendary character.⁵³ The Sitz im Leben of these miracle stories was to demonstrate the superiority of Peter and Paul over rival disciples or rival miracle workers, as in the synoptic tradition. However, the miracle stories in Acts are different from those in the synoptic tradition in that they show the process of localization.

But are these all of the floating fragments of tradition? It may be assumed that the author made use of formless "historical

52 Paul uses the word, *δύναμις* (sg.), in 1 Cor. 2:4, 1 Thess. 1:5, Gal. 3:5 (pl.), but never uses it with *σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα* in these cases. However, Paul utilizes *δυνάμεις* (pl.) with *σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα* against his opponents in 2 Cor. 12:12, cf. 2 Thess. 2:9; Acts 2:19, 22, 43, 4:30, 5:12, 6:8, 7:36, 8:6, 13, 14:3, 15:12; John 2:11, 23, 3:2, 4:48, 54, 6:2, 14, 26, 30, 7:31, 9:16, 11:47, 12:18, 37, 20:30. Nevertheless, Paul combines *δύναμις* with *πνεῦμα* in 1 Cor. 3:5, 1 Thess. 3:5, but never with *σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα* as his opponents in 2 Cor. 12:12. Thus this fact implies that Paul was not a miracle worker but might have some charismatic power such as healing as indicated by the plural expression of *δυνάμεις* in Gal. 3:5; further, W. Grundmann, "δύναμις κτλ", TDNT vol. 2, 284-317; G. Friedrich, "δύναμις κτλ", EWNT vol. 1, 860-867.

53 The words "personal legends" are borrowed from Roloff's conception, but the content is the same as Plümacher's "Paulusvulgata" of the divine man legends, however, a little different from Roloff's content in the sense that the liberation from prison at Philippi, the punitive miracle at Ephesus and the healing miracle at Malta are also ascribed to tradition, cf. ch. 1, n. 32, 33. We call Pauline personal legends "the Pauline legends" for short.

stories" or "historical narratives"⁵⁴ of the disciples of Jesus like that of Stephen (Acts 6:1-8:3) and that of Philip (Acts 8:4-40, 21:8). In the case of Paul, it is more certain, because there are areas in Acts which overlap with the Pauline Epistles. The historical narratives contain at least Paul's background,⁵⁵ pre-conversion period,⁵⁶ the conversion and call,⁵⁷ the earliest years after the conversion and call,⁵⁸ the so-called first missionary journey,⁵⁹ the second missionary journey,⁶⁰ ^{and} the third missionary journey.⁶¹ These historical narratives may be called "personal traditions" because ^{of} their historical character.⁶² But ~~these~~ "personal traditions" must have also included some

54 Bultmann calls this form "historical stories and legends", cf. Synoptic Tradition, 244-317; Dibelius categorizes it as "legends of the saints", From Tradition to Gospel, ET 1967 New York, 104-132; V. Taylor classifies it as "narrative-tradition" or "stories about Jesus", The Formation of the Gospel Tradition, 2nd ed. London 1945, 142-167.

55 Jewish background, Acts 21:39, 22:3 / Rom.11:1, 2 Cor.11:22, Phil.3:5; Acts 23:6, 26:5 / Phil.3:5; Acts 22:3; Hellenistic background, Acts 9:11, 21:39, 22:3 / cf. Gal.1:21; Acts 18:3 / cf. 1 Cor.4:12, 9:6, 2 Cor.11:7-11, 27, 1 Thess.2:9, 4:11; Acts 21:39 / cf. Gal.1:21; Roman background, Acts 7:58, 13:9 / Rom.1:1 etc; Acts 16:37-39, 21:39, 22:25-29, 23:27. Cf. ch.4.

56 Acts 9:1f, 13f, 21, 22:4f, 26:9-11 / Gal.1:13f, 1 Cor.15:9, Phil.3:6. Cf. ch.5.

57 Acts 9:3-19a, 22:6-16, cf. 22:17-21, 26:12-18 / Gal.1:15f, 1 Cor.9:1, 15:8, cf. 2 Cor.4:6, Phil.3:7f. Cf. ch.6.

58 Acts 9:19b-30 / Gal.1:17-21, 2 Cor.11:32f. Cf. ch.7.

59 Acts 13-14 / 2 Tim.3:10f, cf. 2 Cor.11:25. Cf. ch.8.

60 Acts 15:36-18:22 / 1 Thess.chs.2-3, Phil.1:30, 4:15f, 1 Cor.1:14-16, 2:1-5, 4:12, 9:1-18, 2 Cor.1:19, 11:7-10. Cf. ch.9.

61 Acts 18:23-20:16 / 1 Cor.16:1-12, 2 Cor.chs.8-9, Rom.15:25-29, cf. 1 Cor.15:32, 2 Cor.1:8-2:17. Cf. ch.10.

These similarities should not be ~~due~~ to the possibility that ^{ascribed} the author of Acts could get acquainted with the Pauline Epistles. This is clear from the fact that there are some mistakes and differences in the descriptions of Paul in Acts, in spite of agreements.

62 The words ^{are} borrowed from Roloff, but "personal traditions" in this thesis also include Roloff's "Itinerar", cf. ch.1, n.33; they are similar to Plümacher's "Paulusvulgata" which exclude the divine man legends. Cf. ch.1, n.32. We call Pauline personal traditions "the Pauline traditions" for short.

information about the co-workers of Paul.⁶³ The Sitz im Leben of these personal traditions was originally a controversial situation, but later these historical narratives were firmly placed at the topos of the veneration and admiration of the religious heroes.

Besides these "trans-local traditions" (Petrine personal legends, Pauline personal legends; Stephen's traditions, Philip's traditions, Pauline personal traditions), there must have been "local traditions" behind the descriptions of local communities in Acts.⁶⁴ This is because it seems impossible to write a history of earliest Christianity nearly one generation or two later with so much detail, so lively and full of precise descriptions of and proper names of local communities, without such traditional material. The local community traditions might have contained the list of names (at Jerusalem in Acts 1:13, at Antioch in 13:1 and

63 Barnabas, Acts 4:36f, 13:2,7,43,46,50, 14:12,14,20, 15:2,12, 22,25,35,36,37 / Gal.2:1,9,13, 1 Cor.9:6; Silvanus/Silas, Acts 15:22,27,32,40, 16:19,25, 17:4,10,14,15, 18:5 / 2 Cor. 1:19, 1 Thess.1:1, cf.2 Thess.1:1; Timothy, Acts 16:1-3, 17:14,15, 18:5, 19:22 / Rom.16:21, 1 Cor.4:17, 16:10, 2 Cor.1:1,19, Phil.1:1, 2:19, 1 Thess.1:1, 3:2,6, Phlm.1, cf.Col.1:1, 2 Thess.1:1, 1 Tim.1:2,18, 6:20, 2 Tim.1:2, Heb. 13:23; Aquila and Priscilla, Acts 18:2-3,18,26 / Rom.16:3, 1 Cor.16:19, cf.2 Tim.4:19; Apollos; Acts 18:24-28, 19:1 / 1 Cor.1:12, 3:5,6, 4:6, 16:12, cf.Tit.3:13; John Mark, Acts 12:12,25, 13:5,13, 15:37,39 / Phlm.24, cf.Col.4:10, 2 Tim. 4:11, 1 Pet.5:13.

Cf. E.E.Ellis, "Paul and his Co-Workers", *NovTest* 17 (1971) 437-452 = idem. Prophecy and Hermeneutic in Early Christianity, Tübingen 1978, 3-22; W.-H.Ollrog, Paulus und seine Mitarbeiter : Untersuchungen zu Theorie und Praxis der Paulinischen Mission (WMANT 50), Neukirchen-Vluyn 1979.

64 For the difference between "trans-local traditions" and "local traditions", cf. R.Scroggs, "The Sociological Interpretation of the New Testament : The Present State of Research", *NTS* 26 (1980), 167-179, esp. 172, However, Petrine and Pauline personal Legends, Stephen's tradition and Philip's tradition show some sort of localization.

around the Aegean Sea in 20:4) and anecdotes of local people with some topographical details (at Jerusalem, the ascension in Acts 1:9-11, the death of Judas and the election of Matthias in 1:16-26, the Pentecost in 2:1-13, cf. 11:3 the death of James the son of Zebedee in 12:1f, James the brother of Jesus at the Apostolic Council in ch.15; at Caesarea, the conversion of Cornelius in chs.10-11, the death of Herod in 12:19-23; cf. Antioch, the origin of the community and the origin of the word, *Χριστιανοί* , in 11:19-26, Agabus and the Famine-relief fund to Jerusalem in 11:27-30, 12:25, 21:10f.; at Philippi, the conversion of Lydia in 16:13-35,40, the conflict with the Philippians in 16:19-24, 35-39, the conversion of the gaoler in 16:27-34; at Thessalonica, the conflict with Thessalonians at the house of Jason in 17:5-9; at Athens, the conversion of Dionysius and Damaris in 17:34; at Corinth, Titius Justus and Crispus 18:7f, the conflict with Corinthians and Sosthenes in 18:12-17, at Ephesus, the conflict with Demetrius and Ephesians in 19:23-40, "the disciples of John the baptist" in 19:1-7). These local traditions were transmitted at the households where the local communities met, that is, presumably, at the households of the "first fruits" of the regions,⁶⁵ for the edification of the believers.

These are the floating fragments of tradition in the narrative section of Acts.⁶⁶ But how could the author have access to the

65 Cf. W.A.Meeks, The First Urban Christians : The Social World of the Apostle Paul, New Haven / London 1983, 75-77.

66 On the other hand, in the speech sections, the author must have utilized a set of the Old Testament quotations, namely, "testimonia", cf. C.H.Dodd, According to the Scriptures, London 1954; the kerygmatic Jesus Tradition, cf. C.H.Dodd, Apostolic Preaching and Its Development, (London 1936) London 1963; and hymns and prayers.

traditions? There are three possible explanations.

- (1) The author collected the traditional material by himself for his planned work, as an eyewitness and by visiting the local communities.
- (2) The author gained access to the traditional material by compiling the transmitted traditions and further by personal contacts with people from the Pauline school or from local people who visited the Christian centre where he was.
- (3) The author collected the traditions partly from the transmitted material and partly from his own experience.

The first view is based on the Herodotean and Thucydidean tradition of historiography, in which the historian's actual participation in the events and experience as an *αὐτόπτης* is primarily significant.⁶⁷ This view is maintained by Haenchen⁶⁸ and Barrett⁶⁹ but criticized by Kümmel.⁷⁰ But it is clear from the preface to the Gospel, in which the historian's style and tradition of historiography is most exposed, that the author (*καμολί* in Lk.1:3) is consciously distinguished from *οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτέπαται* in Lk.1:2, who transmitted the traditional material, as mentioned *παρέδοσαν* in Lk.1:2. As it is widely

- 67 Herodotus, ii, 29 and 44; Thucydides, i, 22, 1f, cf. F. Jacoby, "Herodotos", Pauly-Wissowa, vol.2 (1913), 205-520, esp. 250; O. Luschkat, "Thukydides der Historiker", Pauly-Wissowa, suppl. vol.12 (1971), 1085-1354, esp. 1181; Polybius, xii, 28a, 7, cf. K. Ziegler, "Polybios", Pauly-Wissowa, vol.21 (1952), 1440-1578, esp. 1563; Diodorus, i, 39, 8; Josephus, Ap. i, 53f; Lucian, Quom. hist. conser. 47 etc.
- 68 Haenchen, "We"; idem. Acts, 81-90.
- 69 Barrett, "Corpus", 4.
- 70 Kümmel, Introduction, 178.

acknowledged that Luke-Acts are the two parts of a complete historical work so that it seems likely that the author's attitude toward the historiography was not changed in the composition of the second part. Furthermore, if the author travelled around the local communities in order to collect his information, it is most likely that he would have discovered the fact that Paul wrote letters to the local communities and that he would have read at least some of them. However, this is hard to reconcile with the fact that there is no trace of any reference to the Pauline letters in Acts, or any mention of Paul's letter-writing, as we have discussed in the previous chapter.⁷¹

The second view is based on the Isocratean and Ephorean tradition of historiography.⁷² In this case, the historian is not an *αὐτόπτης* of the events but a compiler of the tradition and a rhetorical reviser of his epitome. The author of Acts stands in this strand of tradition of historiography, which is apparent not only from his conscious distinction of himself from *οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς*

71 In this point, W.O.Walker, Jr., is right to correct Barrett's view, cf. ch.2, n.50, ch.3, n.69.

72 Ephorus, FGH 70, F 110, cf. E.Schwartz, "Ephoros", Pauly-Wissowa, vol.6 (1909), 2-16; R.Laqueur, "Ephorus", Hermes 46 (1911), 161-206; G.L.Barber, The Historian Ephorus, Cambridge 1935; G.Schepens, "Éphore sur la Valeur de l'Autopsie (FGrHist 70, F 110 = Polybe xii, 27,2)", Ancient Society 1 (1970), 163-182; idem. "Historiographical Problems in Ephorus", Historiographia Antiqua : Commentationes Lovanienses in honorem W.Peremans septuagenarii editae (Symbolae 6), Leuven 1977, 96-118; R.Laqueur, "Theopompos", Pauly-Wissowa, vol.5A, 2 (1934), 2176-2223; W.Kroll, "Kallisthenes", Pauly-Wissowa, vol.10 (1919), 1674-1726; Theopompos, FGH 115, F 342; Timaeus in Polybius, xii, 4c, 3f, xii, 17-22, xii, 25f, 3, xii, 28a, 10; Lucian, Quom.hist. conscri, 29; idem. Ver.hist. i, 4. "Accuracy and relevance" are not exclusively found in the Thucydidean tradition, cf. Thucydides, i, 22, 1f, but also in the Ephorean tradition, cf. Ephorus, FGH 70, F 9.

ἀντόπται in Lk.1:3, but also from παρακολουθήσει in Lk.1:3.⁷³

Since the author revised Mark, Q, and Lukan special material in the composition of the Gospel, it seems likely that he would also have compiled the traditional material and investigated it thoroughly from the beginning in the composition of Acts.

The third view is also possible because the author's geographical knowledge from Caesarea to Jerusalem is accurate, and the topographical details in and around Jerusalem are rich,⁷⁴ in spite of the fact that his geographical knowledge of Palestine is in general poor;⁷⁵ this implies that the author had an experience of travelling along ^{the} pilgrim way from Caesarea to Jerusalem. The author's geographical knowledge of the regions around the Aegean Sea and around the Mediterranean is also accurate and precise, which suggests that he might have some travelling experience in these regions.

The third axiomatic principle is redaction criticism.

Redaction criticism is concerned with the interaction between the inherited tradition and later interpretation, with how the author transformed and modified his traditional material;

73 The verb, παρακολουθεῖν, means "to investigate", cf. Klein, "Lukas 1:1-4", S. Brown, "The Role of the Prologues in Determining the Purpose of Luke-Acts", Perspectives, 99-111, esp. 106, but it does not signify "to participate" here, (against Cadbury, "Commentary on the Preface of Luke", Beg. vol.5, 489-510, esp. 502; A.J.B.Higgins, "The Preface to Luke and the Kerygma in Acts", Apostolic History and the Gospel : Festschrift for F.F.Bruce, Exeter 1970, 78-91.

74 Cf. M.Hengel, "Luke the Historian and the Geography of Palestine in the Acts of Apostles", idem. Between Jesus and Paul : Studies in the Earliest History of Christianity, ET London 1983, 97-128, 190-210.

75 Cf. C.C.McCown, "Gospel Geography, Fiction, Fact and Central Section", JBL 57 (1938), 51-66; Conzelmann, "Zur Lukasanalyse", ZThK 49 (1952), 16-33; idem. Theology, 18-94.

in other words, it is involved with "what the author intended to say". The author of Luke-Acts is not only the compiler, collector and transmitter of the traditions; he is also the author in the literal sense, the story-teller whose genius is particularly shown in Acts. This is because he had no predecessors or models to follow in the composition of Acts, by contrast with the Gospel in which the author utilized Mark, Q and Lukan special material. Thus it seems quite plausible that the author allowed himself more freedom than in the Gospel. Accordingly, both the Gospel and Acts begin with a preface⁷⁶ and a dedication,⁷⁷ as was the literary custom of Hellenistic historiography. Moreover, the author employed the literary devices of the letter-form⁷⁸ and the speech-form,⁷⁹ which are highly artificial devices for informing the reader about the innermost thoughts and motives of a character, as in Thucydides.⁸⁰ In general, the literary elements in Acts should not be ascribed to tradition, but to the author's literary

76 Cf. P.Wendland, Die urchristlichen Literaturformen, Tübingen 1912, 325; Cadbury, Making, 194-201; E.Norden, Die Antike Kunstprosa, vol.2, Stuttgart 1958, 483; Plümacher, Hellenistischer Schriftsteller, 9.

77 Cf. Cadbury, Making, 201f; Plümacher, Hellenistischer Schriftsteller, 9.

78 Acts 15:23-29, 23:26-30, cf. 9:2, 15:30, 22:5, 28:21. Cf. Cadbury, Making, 190f; Plümacher, Hellenistischer Schriftsteller, 10.

79 Acts 1:16-22, 2:14-40, 3:12-26, 4:9-12 and 19f, 5:29-32, 10:34-43, 11:5-17, 15:7-11 (Peter); 13:16-41, 14:15-17, 17:22-31, 20:18-35, 22:1-21, 24:10-21, 26:2-27, 27:21-27, 28:17-20 (Paul); 7:2-53 (Stephen); 15:13-21 (James); 5:35-39 (Gamaliel); 19:25-27 (Demetrius); 19:35-40 (town-clerk in Ephesus); 24:2-8 (Tertulus); 25:24-27 (Festus). Cf. Cadbury, Making, 184-190; idem. "The Speeches in Acts", Beg. vol.5, 402-427; Dibelius, Studies, 138-185.

80 Thucydides, i, 22, 1.

technique.⁸¹ Another characteristic feature found in Acts is what may be called "dramatic episode style",⁸² which is a literary style of Hellenistic historiography. It seems likely that Acts is written to appeal to the public taste and interest by a rhetorical technique as in Ephorus and Duris,⁸³ rather than to a closed circle in search of historical exactitude, as in Thucydides and

81 Cf. N. Peterson, Literary Criticism for New Testament Critics, Philadelphia 1978.

82 This expression is taken from Haenchen, Acts, 107, n.1; cf. J. de Zwaan, "The Use of the Greek Language in Acts", Beg. vol.2, 30-65, esp. 64f, "There is also a generally recognized picturesqueness and dramatic power in his style and a movement in the narrative which makes it sometimes proceed by leaps and bounds. This is perhaps not only due to the individual character of the author, but it may have had even a deeper cause. The same is to be observed in Vergil, and there it is signalized as making Alexandrian influence. As a reaction against the compact uninterrupted style, pathetic effects and an episodic composition, meant to give a dramatic movement to the whole, were preferred. Plutarch appreciated these characteristics in history, and Luke seems to be in this stream."; Cadbury, Making, 235, "Many narratives in Luke and Acts possess undoubted dramatic quality."

Cf. esp. Plümacher, Hellenistischer Schriftsteller.

83 For a sketch of Greek historiography, cf. J. Bury, The Ancient Greek Historians, London 1909; E. Schwartz, "Über das Verhältnis der Hellenen zur Geschichte", Logos 9 (1920), 171-187 = idem. Gesammelte Schriften, vol.1, Berlin 1938, 47-66; *ichte* idem. "Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichte bei den Hellen", Die Antike 4 (1928), 14-30 = idem. Gesammelte Schriften, vol.1, Berlin 1938, 67-87; F. Jacoby, "Griechische Geschichtsschreibung", Die Antike 2 (1926), 1-29 = Abhandlungen zur Griechischen Geschichtsschreibung von F. Jacoby, ed. H. Bloch, Leiden 1956, 73-99; M. Grant, The Ancient Historians, London 1970; A. Momigliano, "Greek Historiography", History and Theory 17 (1974), 1-28 = Legacy of Greece, ed. M. I. Finley, Oxford 1981, 115-184. H. Strasburger, "Umblick im Trümmerfeld der griechischen Geschichtsschreibung", Historiographia Antiqua : Commentationes Lovanienses in honorem W. Peremans septuagenarii editae (Symbolea 6), edd. T. Reckmans et al., Leuuaen 1977, 3-52; C. W. Fornara, The Nature of History in Ancient Greece and Rome, Berkeley / Los Angeles / London 1983. Cf. esp. B. L. Ullman, "History and Tragedy", TAPA 73 (1942), 25-53; F. W. Walbank, "Tragic History", BIC 2 (1955), 4-14; idem. "History and Tragedy", Historia 9 (1960), 216-234; O. C. Brink, "Tragic History and Aristotle's School", PCPS 186 (NS 6) (1960), 14-19.

Polybius. This is attested by the fact that Acts is full of wondrous stories (θαυμαστά, τέρατα) and fearful (φόβος) elements, as are the Gospels.⁸⁴ In this sense, the purpose of Luke-Acts is to offer the security of the Gospel (Lk.1:4, ἀσφάλεια) in a dangerous polemical situation (κίνδυνος); the rhetorical and epideictic scenes are there to arouse the emotions of reverence and praise at the disciples' good fortunes, and to warn them by telling of their enemies' misfortune. All this is for the sake of the reader's own security and insecurity,⁸⁵ particularly in Acts. Thus the author of Acts employs the dramatic episode style with vivid, picturesque and illustrative scenes (ἐνάργεια)⁸⁶ in order to persuade the reader. However, it seems likely that the author intends to construct a dialectical relation between the past and the present to confront the current polemical problem, as shown in Ephorus' words, τὰ τὲ παλαιὰ καὶνῶς διελεθῆναι καὶ περὶ τῶν νεωστὶ γενομένων ἀρχαίως εἰπεῖν⁸⁷ rather than the eternal truth as represented by Thucydides' statement,

84 θαυμάζειν , Acts 2:7, 3:12, 4:13, 7:31, 13:41; Θάμβος , Acts 3:10; ἐξιστάναί , Acts 2:7,12, 8:9,11,13, 9:21, 10:45, 12:16; φόβος , Acts 2:43, 5:5,11, 9:31, 19:17; φοβεῖσθαι , Acts 5:26, 9:26, 10:2,22,35, 16:38, 18:9, 22:29, 23:10, 27:17,24, 29. ἐμφοβος , Acts 10:4, 16:8, 24:25.

85 On the other hand, W.C. van Unnik, "Remarks on the Purpose of Luke's Historical Writing (Luke 1:1-4)", ET Sparsa Collecta : The Collected Essays of W.C. van Unnik, pt.1 (Suppl. NovTest 29), Leiden 1973, 6-15, reads ἀσφάλεια in Lk.1:4 in relation to ἀλήθεια ; but fails to relate it with κίνδυνος .

86 ἐνάργεια (illustratio, evidentialia) is the technical force of bringing the subject matter vividly before the eyes of the reader, cf. Aristotle, Poet., 1455a, 24; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, De Lysia, 7, Her., iv, 53, 68; Quintilian, vi, 2,39, viii, 3,64; Lucian, Quom. hist. conscri. 50f. Cf. W.C. van Unnik, "Luke's Second Book and the Rules of Hellenistic Historiography", Les Actes, 38-60, esp. 55-57.

87 Ephorus, FGH 70, F 9, cf. Isocrates, Paneg. 8.

κῆγμα τε ἐς αἰεὶ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀγώνισμα ἐς τὸ παρακρῆμα ἀκούειν ᾧ ἴσκειται.⁸⁸

In other words, Acts seems to stand in the stream of the Ephorean and Durian tradition of historiography rather than the Thucydidean and Polybian tradition, that is, the historiography of Acts is closer to rhetorical or tragic history, in which history is a kind of art rather than science.⁸⁹

There are some basic grammatical rules of historiography in Acts, which become clear in the light of those in the rhetorical or tragic school of historiography.

(a) The plot (*ὑπόθεσις*) of the Book of Acts, that is, the course of Heilsgeschichte, summarized in the preface in Acts 1:8 as in the prologos of Greek tragedy, is guided by divine

86 Thucydides, i, 22, 4. Cf. Lucian, Quom.hist.conscri. 5.

89 The Ephorian rhetoric history was revived by Sallust, Livy, Dionysius of Halicarnassus and others, cf. A.H.McDonald, "The Style of Livy", JRS 47 (1957), 155-172; Plümacher, Hellenistischer Schriftsteller. Tragic history was represented by the works of Duris who introduced the Peripetic rules of tragedy into historiography, Duris, FGH 76, F 1; E.Schwartz, "Duris", Pauly-Wissowa, vol.5 (1905), 1853-1856; R.B.Kebric, In the Shadow of Macedon: Duris of Samos (HEFT 29), Wiesbaden 1977; Polybius, xii; E.Schwartz, "Timaios' Geschichtswerk", Hermes 34 (1899), 481-493; R.Laqueur, "Timaios", Pauly-Wissowa, vol.6a, 1, 2, (1937), 1076-1203; K.Sacks, Polybius on the Writing of History, Berkeley / Los Angeles / London 1981, 144-170; J.Kroymann, "Phylarchos", Pauly-Wissowa, suppl. vol.8 (1956), 471-489; Cicero, Ep.ad Fam. v, 12; A.Guillemin, "La Letter de Cicéron a Luccéus (Fam., v.12)", Revue des Études Latines 16 (1938), 96-103; E.Plümacher, "Die Apostelgeschichte als historische Monographie", Les Actes, 457-466; idem. "Lukas als griechischer Historiker", Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl. vol.14 (1974) 235-264. Thus Aristotle's distinction between tragedy (*μῦθος*) and history (*ἱστορία*) was blurred by the Peripatetic school of historiography, cf. Cicero, de inv. i, 27, Auct. ad Her. i, 12f; K.Barwick, "Die Gliederung der Narratio in der rhetorischen Theorie und ihre Bedeutung für die Geschichte des Antiken Romans", Hermes 63 (1928), 261-287.

interventions and human foresight⁹⁰ (as in Thucydides *τύχη, γνώμη*).⁹¹ But in Acts, the miraculous elements (*θαυμαστά*) dominate these divine intervention scenes.⁹² Thus the course of history is not determined by the rational law of cause and effect, but by supernatural intervention and foresight. In other words, this kind of historiography is concentrated on activities (*πράξεις*) in the course of life (*βίος*) like Greek tragedy.⁹³ Further, the inward experience guides the outward activity, but not vice versa.⁹⁴

(b) The dramatic effect is not only shown by the speeches,⁹⁵

90 The divine intervention scenes, cf. Acts 1:9-11, 2:1-4, 5:19f, 8:26,29,39, 9:3-6 (par.), 9:10-16 (par.), 10:3-6 (par.), 10:10-16 (par.), 12:7-10, 13:2, 16:6-10,25f, 18:9f, 22:17-21, 23:11, 27:23f. The human foresight scenes, Acts 5:35-39, 11:28, 19:21f, 21:11.

91 Cf. F.M. Cornford, *Thucydides Mythistoricus*, London 1907, 82-109.

92 *Θαυμάσια* or *θαυμαστά*, cf. Theopompus, FGH 115, F 64-76; Aristotle, *Poet.*, 1452a, 4, 1460a, 12, 1460a, 17, D.W. Lucas, *Aristotle Poetics*, Oxford 1968, 126, "Tales of narrow escapes give pleasure because they are *θαυμαστά*," 228, "τὰ θαυμαστά awaken curiosity."; Thucydides' criticism against *λογογράφοι* such as Herodotus, Thucydides, i, 21, 1; Polybius' attack on marvellous tales (*τέρατα*) Polybius, ii, 56, 10, xv, 34, 1; attack on thrilling tales (*ἐκπληκτικά*), ii, 56, 10, xv, 36, 3-11. Josephus' criticism against *θαύματα* and *πάθος* in historiography as contradiction to the law of history, *B.J.* i, 4, cf. i, 12. Lucian criticizes the tragic history, *Quom. hist. conscri.* 6-13.

93 The course of life is determined by destiny as in Greek tragedy. Thus history is close to biography. But the genre of Acts is not biography, because *ἐπιχειρεῖν, διήγησις, πραγμάτα, αὐτόπτης, ἀκριβῶς, καθεξῆς* in 1k.1-4 and *ἔκ πρώτου λόγου, ποιεῖν τε καὶ διδάσκειν* in Acts 1:1 are technical terms employed in the prefaces of histories.

94 Activities (*πράξεις*) in Aristotle are not purely external ones but inward processes which work outward, cf. S.H. Butcher, *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art*, London 1895, 310-340. Further, the divine interventions and human foresights that lead the course of history are chiefly inward experiences which bring outward activities, cf. n.89.

95 Thucydides, i, 22, 1.

but by the narrative-speech cycle (ἔργα - λόγοι or ἔργα - ἀντίλογοι cycle)⁹⁶ as in Thucydides.⁹⁷ This is summarized in Thucydides' preface (i,22,if, *πραχθέντων* , *λεχθέντων* cf. Polybius, xii,25b,1, xiv,1a,3) for Thucydides regarded history as consisting of activities (*πράξεις*) and speeches (*λόγοι*) and it is also seen in the preface of Acts (1:1, *ποιεῖν τε καὶ διδάσκειν*). But in Acts the miraculous elements (*θαυμαστά*) that attract the attention of the reader are sometimes employed as an introduction to the speech, as in the Peripatetic school of historiography.⁹⁸

(c) History is composed of three sections, namely, the beginning, the middle and end (*ἀρχή* , *μέσον* , *τελευτή*).⁹⁹ But it forms an organic unity (*ὅλον*) as in Greek tragedy.

This view is represented in the preface in Acts 1:8,

ἔσεσθέ μου μάρτυρες ἐν τε Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ ἐν πάσῃ τῇ

96 ἔργα - λόγοι or ἔργα - ἀντίλογοι cycle in Acts; 2:1-4 / 2:5-13, 2:14-42; 3:1-10 / 3:11-26 / 4:1-4 / 4:5-7,8-12, 13-18,19-22, 4:23-31; 5:17-21a / 5:21b-28,29-33, 5:34-40; 6:8-10 / 6:11-15, 7:1-53 / 7:54-8:1a; 8:9 / 8:10 / 8:11-13, 8:14-17 / 8:18f,20-24, 8:26 / 8:27f / 8:29 / 8:30,31a,31b-33, 34,35 / 8:36b / 8:38-40; 9:1-3,4,5a,5b-6 / 9:7-9 / 9:10a,10b, 11f,13f,15f / 9:17a / 9:17b / 9:18; 10:1-3a / 10:3b,4a,4b-6 / 10:7f, 10:9-12 / 10:13,14,15 / 10:16,17-19 / 10:20,21,22 / 10:23a,23b-25 / 10:26-29,30-33,34-43 / 10:44-48, 11:1-3 / 11:4-17 / 11:18; 21:15-26 / 21:27-29 / 21:30-36 / 21:37a, 37b-38,39, 21:40-22:21,22-24,25,26,27a,27b,28a,28b / 22:29, 22:30 / 23:1,2,3,4,5f,7f,9 / 23:10 / 23:11 / 23:12f / 23:14f / 23:16 / 23:17,18,19,20f,22-24 (25-30) / 23:31-33 / 23:34f, 24:1-9,10-21,22f,24-26 / 24:27-25:3 / 25:4f,6f,8,9,10f,12, 13-21,22a,22b,23-27, 26:1-23,24,25-27,28,29,30f,31.

97 V.J.Hunter, Thucydides: The Artful Reporter, Toronto 1973; K.Adshead, "Thucydides and Agathias", History and Historians in Late Antiquity, edd. B.Croke, A.M.Emmett, Sydney / Oxford / New York / Toronto / Paris / Frankfurt 1983, 82-87.

98 Aristotle, Rhet.1415b,2; Dionysius of Halicarnassus De Lysia. 24, Ad Pomp.6; Aristides, Or.38. Cf. Acts 2:1-4, 3:1-10. 5:17-21a, 14:7-14.

99 Aristotle, Poet.1451a.

Ἰουδαίᾳ καὶ Σαμαρείᾳ καὶ εἰς ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς .¹⁰⁰ Further, the activities capable of the dramatic effect would happen between persons who are either friends, enemies or indifferent to one another (φίλοι , ἐχθροί , μηδέτεροι).¹⁰¹ This trichotomy of the dramatis personae is also seen in Acts.¹⁰²

(d) The transition of the narrative (μετὰβασίς) is not only smooth and linked like a chain¹⁰³ but it also shows contrasting epideictic scenes in order to instruct the reader by examples of praise and blame (παραδείγματα).¹⁰⁴ Moreover, significant scenes are duplicated (ἔμφασίς)¹⁰⁵ or exaggerated (ὑπερβολή)¹⁰⁶ for the sake of dramatic effect. On the other hand, less essential things are skipped over, if there is lack of traditional material (τάχος).¹⁰⁷

100 Three divisions of Acts; Jerusalem (the twelve Apostles), chs.1-5, Judaea and Samaria (the seven Hellenists), chs.6-12, from Antioch to Rome (Paul and his co-workers), chs.13-28 may correspond to the geographical trichotomy of the preface in Acts 1:8.

101 Aristotle, Poet.1453b,15-17.

102 Gentile people become the friends of Christianity, the Jewish authorities and Diaspora Jews become its enemies and Roman authorities are indifferent ones in general, cf. Θεομάχος in Acts 5:39 (26:14); Θεόφιλος , Lk.1:3, Acts 1:1, indifferent feelings, cf. οὐ βούλομαι Acts 18:15, μηδενός , Acts 19:40, οὐδεμίαν Acts 25:17, οὐδεμίαν Acts 25:18.

103 Lucian, Quom.hist.conscri. 55.

104 παραδείγματα , Ephorus, FGH 70, F 42, " δεῖν δὲ τὰναντία καὶ λέγειν καὶ παραδείγματα ποιῆσθαι "; Aristotle, Rhet. 1358b,2; Xenophon, Hel.v,1,4, v,3,7; Philistus of Syracuse, FGH 556, T 16a; Polybius, viii,10,7; Cicero, Ep.ad Fam. v,12,4; Quintilian, iii,7,i. Cf. Acts 4:36f / 5:1-11, 8:9-24 / 8:26-40, 12:1-4,19-23 / 12:5-18, 17:1-9 / 17:10-12 etc; Josephus, Ant.xviii,3,2; cf. B.Justus, "Zur Erzählkunst des Flavius Josephus", Theokratia II : Festgabe K.H.Rengstorf, Leiden 1973, 107-136.

105 ἔμφασίς (significatio), Cicero, Ep.ad Fam.v,12,3; Quintilian, iii,2,11, viii,6,15, ix,2,64. Cf. Acts ch.9 / ch.22 / ch.26; ch.10 / ch.11.

106 ὑπερβολή or μετ' ἀξίως , Quintilian,viii,6,67-76.

107 τάχος , Lucian, Quom.hist.conscri. 56. Cf. Acts 16:6f, 18:22f, 20:2f.

(e) The most powerful elements in dramatic effect are the sudden reversal of a hero's fortune (*περιπέτεια* or *μεταβολή*) with Tyche as the deus ex machina, either from good to bad or from bad to good, which is the subject matter of praise or blame,¹⁰⁸ and the recognition scene (*ἀναγνώρισις*).¹⁰⁹ These are the characteristic features of tragic history and also seen in Acts. Furthermore, tragic history consists of complication (*δυσίς*) and dénouement (*λύσις*) of the plot as in Greek tragedy, that is, the tying and untying of the knot, which means from the beginning up to the point of sudden change of the fortune and from the reversal of the fortune to the end.¹¹⁰

The author uses such "dramatic episode" style to make vivid and picturesque scenes out of a comparatively small amount of traditional material.

To sum up : historical criticism is needed to correlate the Pauline Epistles and Acts and to investigate the historical facts; form criticism, in place of source criticism, is necessary to

108 *περιπέτεια* or *μεταβολή* , Isocrates, Paneg. 60, 120; Aristotle, Poet. 1450a, 35, 1451a, 13, 1452a, 22, 1455a, 22; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Ep. ad Pomp. 3, 12, De Thuc. 13-19; Cicero, Ep. ad Fam. v, 12, 4, 6, Rhet. Her. i, 13. Cf. Acts ch. 9, ch. 10.

109 *ἀναγνώρισις* , Aristotle, Poet. 1450a, 35, 1452a, 29, 1454b, 21ff (recognitions by signs), 1454b, 30ff (recognitions by speaking), 1455a, 1ff (recognitions by memory). Cf. Acts 9:4f (par.), 16:37f, 21:37-39, 22:25-29 (recognitions by speaking); Acts 10:19, 11:16, 15:7-9, 15:14 (recognitions by memory).

110 *δυσίς* and *λύσις* , Aristotle, Poet. 1455b, 24ff. Cf. Acts chs. 1-8 (from conflict to persecution, *δυσίς*); chs. 11-28 (from persecution to expansion, *λύσις*) and further the reversal of the fortune of hero in ch. 9 (from persecutor Paul to witness) and the change of fortune of the hero in chs. 10f (from the Jewish evangelism of Peter to Gentile evangelism) make the turning points of Acts, which are skillfully tied to make a knot in Acts 15.

inquire^{into} the traditional material; and redaction criticism is called for to trace the way in which traditional material is woven into a historical narrative and in order to discern the author's intention behind the story-telling.

PART II

CHAPTER 4
THE BACKGROUND

Paul rarely mentions his background in his letters, but in three cases he briefly touches upon it for an apologetic purpose (Rom.11:1, 2 Cor.11:22 and Phil.3:5). In Acts, on the other hand, there are comparatively numerous references to Paul's background. These are about his Jewish background ("a Jew" in Acts 21:39, 22:3; "a Pharisee" in 23:6, 26:5; education in Jerusalem in 22:3, cf. 26:4; 23:16; 21:40, 22:4, 26:14, Jewish name, 7:58, etc.), Hellenistic background ("a man of Tarsus" in 9:11, 21:39, cf. 22:3; 9:30, 11:25; 23:34; "a citizen of Tarsus" in 21:39; profession in 18:3, cf. 20:34f), and Roman background (double name in 13:9; Roman citizenship in 16:37-39, 22:25-29, 23:27, cf. 25:9-12, 21, 25, 26:32, 27:24, 28:19).

(i) The Background in the Pauline Epistles

It is interesting to note that Paul, when he defends himself against his opponents, and refers to his Jewish background, uses a threefold (Rom.11:1, 2 Cor.11:22) or a fourfold expression

(Phil.3:5) in order to stress his Jewishness.

However, Paul does not use the word Ἰουδαῖος in these three fragmentary references to his own religious background, although he employs it, when he refers to his race in general terms, in Gal.2:15, ἡμεῖς φύσει Ἰουδαῖοι . The word Ἰουδαῖος tends to signify the racial aspect and it was at first utilized by non-Jewish people to refer to Jewish people in a disrespectful and contemptuous way, but later Hellenistic Jews adopted this expression to identify themselves in everyday usage.¹ Paul must be following this common usage in Gal.2:15. But at the same time, he employs it with a negative tone in his letters, especially when he incorporates dualistic thinking, which stresses the outward and physical appearance of the Jewish way of life under the Law as represented by the observance of circumcision, the Sabbath and the food laws (e.g. Rom.2:28f. ὁ ἐν τῷ φανερῷ Ἰουδαῖος / ὁ ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ Ἰουδαῖος ; cf. Gal.2:14, Ἰουδαϊκῶς βῆν , Ἰουδαῖζειν ; 1 Cor.10:18 Ἰσραὴλ κατὰ σάρκα). To avoid such a negative tone, Paul calls himself, Ἑβραῖος in 2 Cor.11:22 and Phil.3:5, Ἰσραηλίτης in Rom.11:1 and 2 Cor.11:22, σπέρμα Ἀβραάμ in Rom.11:1 and 2 Cor.11:22, (ἐκ) φυλῆς Βενιαμίν in Rom.11:1 and Phil.3:5, and περιτομῇ ὀκταήμερος in Phil.3:5.

The word Ἑβραῖος is an archaic name for the Jewish people, but it is more dignified, select and polite term than Ἰουδαῖος , erasing the depreciatory element.² However, this word has two

1 G. von Rad, K.G.Kuhn, W.Gutbrod, "Ἰσραὴλ , Ἰουδαῖος , Ἑβραῖος κτλ ", TDNT vol.3, 356-391; D.Georgi, Gegner, 51-60.

2 K.G.Kuhn, W.Gutbrod, "Ἰσραὴλ , Ἰουδαῖος , Ἑβραῖος ", 367f.

aspects. Firstly, when it stands in contrast to Gentiles, the racial aspect is stressed, as in the case of Ἰουδαῖος;³ but secondly, when it is used in contrast to other types of Jews, such as Ἑλληνιστής, a Greek-speaking Jew (Acts 6:1, 9:29), a linguistic aspect⁴ or geographical connection with Palestine arises,⁵ that is, it refers to an Aramaic-speaking Jew or a Palestinian Jew.⁶ The phrase Ἑβραῖος ἐξ Ἑβραίων in Phil.3:5 signifies a Hebrew, an offspring of Hebrews, that is, a pure blooded Jew, not a proselyte. Here however, it does not necessarily imply a Palestinian Jew or Aramaic-speaking Jew because in this case it is not compared with another type of Jew. Furthermore, even Diaspora Jews identified themselves as "Hebrews", according to the inscriptions in Corinth and others⁷ and Greek speaking Jews called themselves "Hebrews" in some

- 3 Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich, Ἑβραῖος (1); C.K.Barrett, A Commentary on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, London 1973, 293.
- 4 Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich, Ἑβραῖος (2); Lietzmann, 1.2 Kor., 150, 211; E.Lohmeyer, Die Briefe an die Philipper, an die Kolosser und an Philemon, Göttingen 1964, 130; The linguistic difference has been pointed out since Chrysostom (Hom.14, on Acts 6:1, Migne, PG vol.60, 113).
- 5 H.Windisch, Der zweite Korintherbrief, Göttingen 1970, 350f; M.Dibelius, An die Philipper, Tübingen 1937, 67f; R.Bultmann, Der zweite Brief an die Korinther, Göttingen 1976, 215f.
- 6 C.F.D.Moule, "Once More, Who were the Hellenists", ExpTim 70 (1958/59), 100-102, thinks that a Hebrew was a bilingual by saying that the Hellenists were "Jews who spoke only Greek" and the Hebrews, "Jews who, while able to speak Greek, know a Semitic language", similarly, M.Hengel, Between, 10. It seems also likely that the Hellenists in Acts were "Greek-speaking Jews of the Diaspora, living in Jerusalem", cf. G.Schneider, "Stephanus, die Hellenisten und Samaria", Les Actes, 215-240, esp. 217-222; G.Theissen, The Social Setting of Pauline Christianity, ET Edinburgh 1982, 107.
- 7 The inscription of συναγωγή Ἑβραίων at Corinth, cf. Deissmann, Licht vom Osten, Tübingen 1923, 11f.n.8; with a Roman tomb inscription, cf. C.K.Barrett, The New Testament Background: Selected Documents, London 1956, 51f.

cases.⁸ Nevertheless, "Hebrew" may refer to the Jews who had distinctive attitudes towards the Jewish culture and customs.⁹

The word Ἰσραηλῆτης is inclined to emphasize a religious aspect rather than a racial one, namely, "God's people".

In Hellenistic Judaism it was employed in prayers and biblical expressions. This word was particularly connected to Jewish religious history implying the inward Jewish life, that is, the faith, in contrast with Ἑβραῖος which touches upon the outward side.¹⁰ Further, the phrase σπέρμα Ἀβραάμ stresses Jewish superiority to Gentiles in terms of salvation history,¹¹ similarly, φυλῆς Βενιαμίν denotes tribal superiority among the Israelites.

This is the reason why Paul prefers to employ the words, Ἑβραῖος, Ἰσραηλῆτης, σπέρμα Ἀβραάμ and φυλῆς Βενιαμίν to Ἰουδαῖος for his self-identification, ^{for} part of which he adopted his opponents' usage as seen in 2 Cor.11:22.

Paul also mentions himself as "Pharisee" in Phil.3:5f. that is,

8 E.g. J.A.1:7; Justin, *Dial.*1,3; the titles of πρὸς Ἑβραίων and τὸ καθ' Ἑβραίων εὐαγγέλιον; Eusebius, *H.E.*ii,4,2 (Philo), *Prae.Evāg.*viii,8,34 (Aristobulus).

9 M.Black, *The Scrolls and Christian Origins*, London 1961, 79; E.E.Ellis, "The Circumcision Party and the Early Christian Mission", *Prophecy and Hermeneutic*, Tübingen 1977, 116-128, esp. 118, n.3; cf. J.B.Lightfoot, *Saint Paul's Epistle to the Philippians*, London 1891, 147, "Ἑβραῖος signified one who spoke Hebrew and retained Hebrew customs."

10 Georgi, *Gegner*, 61.

11 σπέρμα Ἀβραάμ cf. Ps.Sol.9:17, 18:4; Rom.4:13, Gal.3:7,16 29. φυλῆ Βενιαμίν implies that Paul was not a representative of the Jewish authoritative circles, namely, the tribes of Levi and Judah but a lay scribe, cf. Test.Judah, chs.21,25; Test.Reuben, ch.6; Test.Issachar, ch.5; Test.Dan, ch.5; Jubil. 30:18-23, 31:13-22, 31:28, 32:3-8, 45:16; cf. M.Friedländer, *Geschichte der Jüdischen Apolgetik als Vorgeschichte des Christentums*, (Zürich 1903, Leipzig 1906) Amsterdam 1973, 131-192.

a zealous Pharisee who persecuted the Church and blameless without any spot as far as religion is concerned.

These are Paul's own references to his background, which stresses his Jewish connections.

(ii) The Historical Core of the Tradition in Acts

Paul's background in Acts mentions not only his Jewish side but also his Hellenistic and Roman sides.

On the Jewish side, it is clear that Acts is based on tradition, because Acts says that Paul is a Jew in 21:39 and 22:3, and a Pharisee in 23:6 and 26:5. Paul does not mention his education in Jerusalem in his letters, in contrast to Acts 22:3, but it is likely that he had training in Jerusalem (cf. Gal.1:14, Phil.3:6) for specialist study of the Torah in Pharisaism was concentrated in Jerusalem in the pre-70 period.¹² Furthermore, Paul as a Jew would certainly have a Jewish name (Acts 7:58, 8:1a,3, 9:1,8,11,22,24, 11:25,30, 12:25, 13:1f,7,9, cf. 9:4,17, 22:7,13, 26:14) as well as his Roman name. "Saul" would be a likely choice for his family regarded itself being of the tribe of Benjamin¹³ and, presumably, proud of it. This may fit in with the fact that a Hebrew name was sometimes replaced by a Greek or Latin name in terms of the similarity of pronunciation.¹⁴ Of the Hellenistic side of Paul's background, there is no mention in the

12 Schürer, History, ET rev. ed, vol.2, 329-336; Hengel, Between, 148,n.123, 185,n.58.

13 Cf. J.Knox, Chapter, 34; Köster, Einführung, 530.

14 E.g. Symeon/Simon (2 Pet.1:1 / Mk.3:16 etc.); Silas/Silvanus (Acts 17:4 etc. / 1 Thess.1:1); Joseph/Justus (Acts 1:23).

Pauline Epistles. But it is needless to think that the author invented proper names such as Tarsus for his birth place (Acts 22:3, cf. 9:30, 11:25), "a native of Tarsus" (Acts 9:11, 21:39) and "of Cilicia" (Acts 21:39, 22:3, 23:34) like the case of his Jewish name.¹⁵ Paul's profession is explicitly mentioned as *σκηνοποιός* in Acts 18:3.¹⁶ But it would not contradict the facts that Paul did manual work at least in Thessalonica (1 Thess.4:11), Corinth (1 Cor.9:6) and Ephesus (1 Cor.4:12) and that Paul and his co-workers worked very hard (1 Cor.4:12, 2 Cor.11:27) day and night (1 Thess.2:9) in order to gain their daily bread by themselves (2 Cor.11:7-11, 1 Thess.2:9), though sometimes they had received a gift from the believers (2 Cor.11:9, Phil.4:15-17). It is also difficult to maintain that the author coined the information about Paul's artisanship.

Of the Roman side of Paul's background, the Pauline letters mention nothing except his Roman name "Paul". In particular, there is no reference to his Roman citizenship in the Epistles, which ^{seem to} give a different picture from Acts 16:37-39, 22:25-29,

15 J.Knox, Chapter, 34.

The later tradition preserved in Jerome, de Viris Illustribus, 5 (Migne, PL, vol.23, 640) is secondary, "Paulus apostolus, qui ante Saulus, extra numerum duodecim apostolorum, de tribu Benjamin et oppido Judaeae Giscalis fuit, quo a Romanis capto, cum parentibus suis Tarsum Ciliciae commigravit, a quibus ob studia legis missus Hierosolymam, a Gamaliele viro doctissimo cujus Lucas meminit, eruditus est." This is because, if Paul was born in Gishcala in Galilee, it would contradict the fact mentioned in Acts 22:3 that he was born in Tarsus. Furthermore, Gishcala was not captured by Romans at the time of Pompey but at the time of Titus, cf. Josephus, B.J. iv, 21, 1. Thus it is anachronistic.

16 Paul's artisanship should be ascribed to Hellenistic background rather than Jewish one, cf. R.Hock, The Social Context of Paul's Ministry : Tentmaking and Apostleship, Philadelphia 1980.

and 23:27.¹⁷ A single Roman name or a double-name (Paul/Saul) does not necessarily imply the three names which was the normal custom of a Roman citizen,¹⁸ for the usage of a double-name was usual for a Diaspora Jew from the time of Alexander the Great¹⁹ as well as the usage of single Latin name. Further, 2 Cor.11:25 is not a proof text against the historicity of Acts about Paul's Roman citizenship.²⁰ The words, *τῶν ἐπαβδίσων* in 2 Cor.11:25 apparently refer to the technical sense of the official rods of the Roman lictors,²¹ and we know that a Roman citizen was protected from official punishment, execution and torture without trial if he invoked the ancient right of provocatio by the Lex Julia and the Lex Porcia.²² But, if Paul was a Roman citizen, it is likely that 2 Cor.11:25 can be explained by the fact that Paul did not state his citizenship as in Acts 16:22,²³ or that he was punished in spite of his declaration after a trial or without a trial by the coercitio of a governor in order to keep the peace

17 The word *ῥωμαῖος* alone means a Roman citizen in the technical sense in the early Empire as in Acts 16:21,37, 22:25, 23:27, 28:17; John 11:48; cf. A.N. Sherwin-White, Roman Society and Roman Law in the New Testament, Oxford 1963, 180.

18 For tria nomina, Cadbury, Book, 69-71; Sherwin-White, Roman Society, 153f.

19 E.g. Alexander Jannaius, Barsabas Justus, John Mark, Simon Niger, Flavius Josephus; these double names have nothing to do with Roman citizenship, cf. Strack-Billerbeck, vol.2, 687 and 712; E.Fascher, "Paulus (Apostel)", Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl. vol.8 (1956), 431-466, esp. 433.

20 Against, Köster, Einführung, 531.

21 Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich, *ἐπαβδίσων*; Th.Mommsen, "Die Rechtsverhältnisse des Apostels Paulus", ZNW 2 (1901), 81-96, esp. 89, n.1.

22 Cicero, Pro Rab. iv,12; Livy, x,9,4; Sentiae Pauli, v,26,1; cf. Beg. vol.4, 201; Sherwin-White, Roman Society, 57-60; Haenchen, Acts, 634, n.4; Conzelmann, Apg. 102f.

23 Haenchen, Acts, 504; while, Th.Mommsen, "Rechtsverhältnisse", doubts the historicity of the accounts in Acts 16:22.

of the city.²⁴ Indeed, the account of the flogging in Philippi has some historical background, which is attested by Paul's own word (1 Thess.2:2, *ἰβριδοείδεσ*). At the same time, it is quite clear that there is some distance between Acts and Paul, because Acts mentions only one flogging by the Roman lictors, while Paul refers to five Jewish floggings and three Roman ones (2 Cor.11:24f).²⁵ Moreover, the Roman citizenship in Acts is unlikely to be fictitious, for false claims to Roman citizenship were punished by death.²⁶ In addition, if Paul did study at Jerusalem, this would suggest that his family was of some independent means, for not many could have afforded to send their sons to Jerusalem for study of the Torah. This would make more likely that he was of some standing.²⁷ This implication is supported by the fact that he later visited Jerusalem several times and made great journeys around the Aegean Sea, independent of the church. Furthermore, Acts 21:39 says that Paul was a citizen of Tarsus, which is not mentioned in the Pauline letters; but it was not impossible to have a dual citizenship in the Julio-Claudian period.²⁸

24 Josephus, B.J. ii,3; Cicero, Ver.ii,5,62 and 161f,v,57,66; Ep.ad Fam.x,32,3; Eusebius, H.E. v,1,44 and 50; cf. Sherwin-White, Roman Society, 71-76.

25 Interestingly, 1 Clem.5:5 also retains a similar tradition.

26 Suetonius, Claud.25,3; Epictetus, Diatr.iii,24,41; cf. Beg. vol.4, 201; Cadbury, Book, 71; Haenchen, Acts, 634,n.1.

27 N.A.Dahl, Studies in Paul : Theology for the Early Christian Mission, Minneapolis 1977, 36.

28 Cadbury, Book, 80f; Sherwin-White, Roman Society, 181-184.

(iii a) The Text : The Jewish Background

Paul's Jewish background is mentioned in the final climax scenes of Acts, namely, the defence speech scenes²⁹ ("a Jew" in Acts 21:39, 22:3; "a Pharisee", in 23:6, 26:5; education in Jerusalem in 22:3) except his Jewish name (Acts 7:58 etc.).

(1) Acts 21:39, 22:3

The author places the claim of Paul that he is a Jew in the first defence scene against the Jewish people in the temple courtyard. It appears at first in the introductory dialogue between the military tribune, Claudius Lysias, and Paul in Acts 21:39 after his arrest in 21:27 and the accusation against him in 21:28, and then in the main body of his first apology in 22:3.

29 The defence speech scenes divide into two sections, namely, the Jerusalem section in Acts 21:15-23:35 and Caesarea section in Acts 24:1-26:32. The Jerusalem section consists of Paul's worship scene in the temple, which causes the charges against him later (Acts 21:15-26), the first apology before the Jewish people (21:27-22:29) and his second apology before the Jewish leaders (22:30-23:11). The Caesarea section consists of Paul's convoy scene from Jerusalem to Caesarea (23:12-35), his third apology before Roman procurator Felix (24:1-27), his fourth apology before Roman governor Festus (25:1-12) and his fifth apology before Jewish King Agrippa II (25:13-26:32). This threefold structure of apology before Jewish people, Roman authority and Jewish King is summarized in Acts 9:15 and further it corresponds to Jesus trials before the Jewish authorities (Lk.22:54-71), before Pilate (23:1-7,13-25) and before Herod Antipas (Lk.23:8-12). For the general character of the defence speeches in chs.22-26, cf. Dibelius, Studies, 211-213; P.Schubert, "The Final Circle of Speeches in the Book of Acts", JBL 87 (1968), 1-16; J.Jervell, "Paulus - der Lehrer Israels", NovTest 10 (1968), 164-190; Haenchen, Acts, 599-694; Conzelmann, ApG. 133-150; Plümacher, Hellenistische Schriftsteller, 80-92; Stolle, Zeuge; F.Veltmann, "The Defence Speeches of Paul in Acts", Perspectives, 243-256.

In the first case, the military tribune recognizes that Paul is able to command Greek and further, that he is not the Egyptian who caused a tumult,³⁰ which is a reminiscence scene of Acts 5:36f. In his reply, Paul says of himself in 21:39, ἐγὼ ἄνθρωπος μὲν εἰμι Ἰουδαῖος , making a contrast with the Egyptian.

In the second case, at the beginning of his apology against the Jewish people at the temple court, Paul says in 22:3, ἐγὼ εἰμι ἀνὴρ Ἰουδαῖος , a claim which is stressed by the fact that his apology is done in Hebrew, that is, Aramaic in 21:40 and 22:2, in contrast to his knowledge of Greek in 21:38.

However, it is interesting to note that Paul does not use Ἰουδαῖος for his religious or racial identification in his letters, but, Ἑβραῖος , σπέρμα Ἀβραάμ and φυλῆς Βενιαμίν , while on the other hand, Acts is indifferent to such contrasts, so that, for instance, the address, ἄνδρες Ἰουδαίου in Acts 2:14 is interchangeable with ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλιταί in Acts 2:22, cf. 3:12, 5:35, 13:16, 21:28. Moreover, Acts does not apply Ἑβραῖος , σπέρμα Ἀβραάμ or φυλῆς Βενιαμίν to Paul's self-identification, even though the author knows these concepts : Ἑβραῖος in Acts 6:1, σπέρμα Ἀβραάμ in Lk.1:55, Acts 3:25, 7:6, and φυλῆς Βενιαμίν in Acts 13:21. This fact implies that the information of Paul's Jewish background in Acts is derived from tradition, independent of the historical Paul.

The author of Acts edits this information, places it in the introductory dialogue between the military tribune and Paul, and repeats it at the beginning of his first apology before the

30 Cf. Jewett, Dating, 40.

fanatical Jewish people in order to stress that Paul is a real Jew. These repetitions are apparently based on the author's apologetic motive.

(2) Acts 23:6, 26:5

The author places Paul's second claim to a Jewish background (that he is a Pharisee) in his second apology before the Jewish leaders in Acts 23:6 and in his last apology before the Jewish king Agrippa in 26:5. This information agrees perfectly with that in the Pauline letters, as we have seen above : Phil.3:5 says, *κατὰ νόμον Φαρισαῖος* .

But Acts goes further than the Pauline letters in two directions. In the first case, Acts not only mentions in 23:6, *ἐγὼ Φαρισαῖός εἰμι* , but also adds, *υἱὸς Φαρισαίων* , which refers back to one more generation³¹ in order to emphasize that he is a descendant of true and zealous Pharisees. On the other hand, the Pauline letters do not explicitly refer to his parents or his family except *περιτομῇ ὀκταήμερος ... Ἑβραῖος ἔξ Ἑβραίων* in Phil.3:5. Furthermore, Acts stresses that Paul is still a Pharisee even after his conversion and call by using the present tense in 23:6, *ἐγὼ Φαρισαῖός εἰμι* . This fits well with Paul's circumcision of Timothy in Acts 16:1-3, a kind of Nazirite vow by hair cutting in 18:18, and another vow in the Temple in 21:20-26. This claim causes a dispute among the Sanhedrin and the Pharisees turn in favour of Paul at the end on

31 The expression *υἱὸς Φαρισαίων* refers back to only one generation, which is suggested by the synagogue inscription of Theodotus at Jerusalem : *Θεόδοτος Ουερετηνοῦ , ἱερεὺς καὶ ἀρχισυνάγωγος , υἱὸς ἀρχισυν(αγῶ -)γ(ο)υ , υἱὸς ἀρχισυν(α)γῶγου ... cf. Deissmann, Licht, 378-380.*

account of the teaching of the spirit, the angel and the resurrection, which recalls ^{the} scenes ^{with} the Sadducees in Acts 5:17-32 and the Pharisees in 5:33-41.

In the second case, in his last apology before the Jewish king Agrippa, Paul stresses at its beginning that he was in Jerusalem from the very beginning of his youth and, if they want to do, all the people in Jerusalem could give a testimony about his early life as a Pharisee. Paul puts it in Acts 26:5, ἔξῃσα Φαρισαῖος . But this expression, which echoes the beginning of his first apology in 22:3, seems to be an exaggeration as in 22:3.

Thus Paul in Acts is depicted as a true Pharisee both in the past and present. This is based on the author's apologetic motive, which is apparent not only from the fact that both of his claims to be a Pharisee are placed in the apologetic speeches, but also from the fact that it is repeated before the Jewish authorities and king.

(3) Acts 22:3

In his first apology against the Jewish fanatical mob, Paul of Acts refers to his education in Jerusalem after his self-

indentification as a Jew in 22:3, γεγεννημένος ἐν Ταρσῷ τῆς Κιλικίας , ἀνατεθραμμένος δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ , παρὰ τοὺς πόδας Γαμαλιὴλ πεπαιδευμένος κατὰ ἀκρίβειαν τοῦ πατρῴου νόμου .

The triad formula, γεγεννημένος - ἀνατεθραμμένος - πεπαιδευμένος , is a fixed literary unit, according to the

32 The comma should be put after ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ , not after Γαμαλιὴλ . This makes clear the triad formula, cf. W.C. van Unnik, Tarsus or Jerusalem : The City of Paul's Youth, ET London 1962, 17f = idem. Sparsa Collecta, Pt.1. 259-320.

Greco-Roman literary tradition, which shows someone's background, as van Unnik has convincingly discussed.³³ Van Unnik says that ἀνατροφή and its verb mean upbringing at home by the parents, while παιδεία and its verb refer to the instruction at school by teachers. From the analysis of these words, van Unnik concludes that Paul was both brought up and educated in Jerusalem, that is, "according to this text, Paul spent the years of his youth completely in Jerusalem."³⁴ But it seems more likely that, if the triad formula, γενημένος - ἀνατεθραμμένος - πεπαιδευμένος, is a literary fixed form in the Greco-Roman literary tradition, it should be ascribed to the author's editorial work rather than to the Pauline tradition. This view is made more convincing by the fact that the author applies this literary triad formula to the life of Moses in Acts 7:20-22, though it is not found in the corresponding Septuagint version.

... However, it seems plausible that his connection with Jerusalem is based on tradition, because Acts 23:16 mentions Paul's nephew in Jerusalem; this is perhaps due to tradition, but at the same time, the author uses this material to the full in order to make a dramatic turning point in the description of Paul's narrow escape from the Jewish plot in Acts 23:12-35. Moreover, Acts presupposes that Paul speaks Aramaic fluently in 21:40 and 22:2; if this is ascribed to tradition, this feature also underlines his connection with Jerusalem. Further, as we discussed above, Jerusalem was the only training place for Pharisees in the pre-70 period.

33 Van Unnik, Tarsus, 18-45.

34 Van Unnik, Tarsus, 44.

Moreover, Acts dates Paul's connection with Jerusalem as early as possible by applying the literary triad formula of gentle birth in Acts 22:3 (cf. 26:4f) for an apologetic purpose; his connection with Jerusalem is referred to in apology before the Jewish people in Jerusalem. The education under Gamaliel is not historically certain ³⁵ because it seems likely that it may be a reminiscence of the warning by Gamaliel in Acts 5:34-39 (cf. 21:28).

(iii b) The Text : The Hellenistic Background

Paul's Hellenistic background is found chiefly in the defence speech sections ("Tarsian" in Acts 9:11, 21:39, 22:3, "a citizen of Tarsus" in 21:39) except for mention of his profession (Acts 18:2).

(1) Acts 9:11, 21:39, cf. 22:3

Acts is the only book in the New Testament which explicitly mentions Tarsus as Paul's birth place.³⁶ The word *Ταρσεύς* occurs twice in Acts 9:11 and 21:39.³⁷

In the former case, it is employed to introduce Paul to a Jew in Damascus, Ananias; while in the latter case, it is found in the introductory dialogue between the military tribune, Lysias, and

35 Paul's pre-conversion thinking was dominated by Jewish apocalyptic eschatology rather than orthodox rabbinism, cf. e.g. E.Käsemann, "Die Anfänge christlicher Theologie", ZThK 57 (1960), 162-185 = EVB vol.2, 82-104; idem, "Zum Thema der urchristlichen Apokalyptik", ZThK 59 (1962), 257-284 = EVB vol.2, 105-131, etc.; further, A.Schweitzer, Mystik.

36 For Tarsus, W.M.Ramsay, The Cities of St. Paul, London 1907, 245-314; W.Ruge, "Tarsos", Pauly-Wissowa, vol.4a (1932), 2413-2439. Later literature rarely mentions about "the man of Tarsus", e.g. Ascension of James in Epiphanius, Haer. xxx,16; The Apocalypse of Paul, 1.

37 Cf. *Ταρσεύς* in Acts 9:30, 11:25, 22:3 and 21:39D. The comma should be put after *της Κιλικίας*, not before it, which predicates *Ταρσεύς* as in 22:3.

Paul immediately before Paul's first defence speech. Particularly from the second case, it is apparent that Paul's Hellenistic background is connected with ^{the} Jewish one, namely, *Ἰουδαῖος*, *Ταρσεύς τῆς Κιλικίας*, which stresses ^{that he was} a Diaspora Jew. This connection of Jewish and Hellenistic background is implied in 9:11 (cf. 9:13) and explicitly mentioned in the triad literary formula in 22:3.

Thus, in the conflict scenes, Paul is introduced not only as a Jew but also as a Diaspora Jew. This is repeated in 21:39 and 22:3. This second element of Paul's background prepares the way for the third one, that is, his Roman background, which rescues Paul out of the ultimate Jewish-Christian conflict in Acts.

(2) Acts 21:39

Acts mentions Paul's Tarsian citizenship once in Acts 21:39. It appears in Paul's reply to the military tribune as the third element of the threefold expression, *Ἰουδαῖος*, *Ταρσεύς τῆς Κιλικίας*, *οὐκ ἀσήμενος πόλεως πολίτης*,³⁸ which increasingly stresses his Hellenistic background in order to make distinction from the pseudo-Messianic Egyptian. This apparently makes a contrast with the triad literary formula in 22:3 which increasingly emphasizes the connection with Jerusalem before the Jewish fanatical people.

(3) Acts 18:3, cf. 20:34f.

Acts explicitly mentions Paul's profession as *σκηνοποιός* like

38 *οὐκ ἀσήμενος πόλις* is a literary litotes; Euripides, *Ion*.8, Strabo, viii,6,15 etc.; cf. Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich, *ἀσήμενος*; Conzelmann, *ApG.* 133; Schneider, *ApG.* vol.2, 319, n.12.

Aquila, in the middle of Paul's mission around the Aegean Sea on the occasion of his encounter with Aquila and Priscilla.³⁹

The word σκηνοποιός means either "saddler", that is, "leather-worker", or "weaver",⁴⁰ but the former is preferable because the latter ^{trade} was looked down on by Jews⁴¹ and it is difficult to fit in well with Paul's comparatively high social status.⁴²

This is repeated in the farewell speech in Acts 20:34f, which gives an impression to the reader that Paul usually worked with his hands for his daily bread anywhere.

(iii c) The Text : The Roman Background

Paul's Roman background chiefly ^{appears} in the defence speech

- 39 Priscilla is the diminutive form of Prisca in Rom.16:3, 1 Cor.16:19, 2 Tim.4:16. Presumably Aquila and Priscilla were active Christians and expelled from Rome by the Claudius' edict in A.D.49 cf. Suetonius, Vita Claud. 25,4, "Iudaeos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantis Roma expulit"; Dio Cassius, lx,6,6f; Orosius, Historia contra paganos, vii,6, 15f; J.Benko, "The Edict of Claudius of A.D.49 and the Instigator Chrestus", ThZ 25 (1969), 406-418; Jewett, Dating, 36-38, 126-128; Lidemann, Paulus, vol.1, 181-195.
- 40 Beg. vol.4, 223; W.Michaelis, "σκηνοποιός", TDNT vol.8, 393f; R.Silva, "Eran, pues, de oficio, fabricantes de tiendas", Estudios Biblicos 24 (1965), 123-134; Hock, Social Context, 20f.
- 41 Cf. J.Jeremias, "Zöllner und Sünder", ZNW 30 (1931), 293-300, esp. 299.
- 42 It seems likely that Paul's ethical attitude towards his teaching of not expecting rewards (1 Cor.9:1-18, 2 Cor.11:7, 1 Thess.2:9) is parallel to the Socratic tradition against Sophists or the Cynic-Stoic idea of self-sufficiency, cf. A.Plummer, The First Epistle to the Corinthians, Edinburgh 1914, 180f; idem. The Second Epistle of St.Paul to the Corinthians, Edinburgh 1925, 303; Barrett, 1 Cor. 200-210; idem. A Commentary on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, London 1973, 281; H.D.Betz, Lukian, 114, n.3; esp. Hock, Social Context.

scenes (Roman citizenship, Acts 16:37-39, 22:25-29, 23:27, cf. 25:9-12, 21, 25, 26:32, 27:24, 28:19) except for his double name (Acts 13:9).

(1) Acts 13:9

The author at first utilizes Paul's Jewish name, Σαῦλος, from Acts 7 : 58 to 13:9 and then changes to use his Roman name, Παῦλος, from Acts 13:9 onwards except the vocative address in the conversion and call in chs. 22 and 26.

In Acts 13:9 the author changes to employ Paul's Roman name with Σαῦλος δὲ ὁ καὶ Παῦλος. The expression ὁ καὶ is equivalent to ὁ (ἐπι-) καλούμενος or ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς,⁴³ but it is not necessary to take it as a technical formula to denote a signum.⁴⁴ Thus it seems more likely that this expression is editorial. However, if Paul was a Roman citizen, the Latin name Paul ^{may} have ^{been one} of his tria nomina (praenomen, nomen, and cognomen)⁴⁵ which for a Roman citizen was customary. If that is the case, Paul must have used his double name not from this occasion, nor from his conversion, but from his very early days.

43 Cf. Blass-Debrunner-Rekopf, ss. 268, 2 and n.4. Ignatius begins each letter with Ἰγνάτιος ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος but this does not mean that he has a tria nomina, cf. Bruce, Acts, 257. ὁ καλούμενος, Acts 1:23, 10:18, 12:12, 13:1, 15:37; ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς, Acts 4:36, 12:25.

44 G.A.Harrer, "Saul Who is Called Paul", HThR 37 (1940), 19-34, says that the apostle's cognomen was Paul and signum Saul, appealing that ὁ καὶ is a technical formula to signify signum. But Saul must have been a signum regardless of ὁ καὶ.

45 Sherwin-White, Roman Society, 152-162; G. Bornkamm, "Paulus", RGG (3), vol. 5, 167; Haenchen, Acts, 399, n.1 and others suggest that Paul was a cognomen; while on the other hand, Cadbury, Book, 69-71; Conzelmann, Apg. 82; Schneider, Apg. vol. 2, 42, n.3 wonder whether Paul was a cognomen or praenomen.

It is less likely that Paul inherited his Roman name from Ser⁽ⁱ⁾gius Paulus⁴⁶ and more likely that the author shifts to ^{using} utilize his Roman name ^{rather than} his Jewish name, corresponding to the shift of Paul's career from Jewish communities in Jerusalem, Damascus and Antioch to ^{the} much wider Gentile world.⁴⁷ Further, the author uses the archaic name of Σαρδύλ in the vocative address in Acts 9:14,17, 22:7, 26:14. This is a Septuagint^{al}ism.

- (2) Acts 16:37-39, 22:25-29, 23:27, cf. 25:9-12,21,25, 26:32, 27:24, 28:19

Roman citizenship functions to rescue Paul out of ultimate conflict and it brings a narrow escape to Paul (Acts 16:37-39, 22:25-29, 23:37) and in the end its privilege guides Paul to Rome (Acts 25:9-12,21,25, 26:32, 27:24, 28:19).

Paul's provocatio of his Roman citizenship first appears in Acts 16:37-39 and then in 22:25-29. Both bring narrow escapes out of conflict scenes. In the first case, Paul was arrested, flogged with rods and put in gaol in Acts 16:19-24 which forms a ring structure with Acts 16:35-39, inserting the legendary intervention scene of the liberation from prison (Acts 16:25f.) and the conversion of the gaoler due to the local community tradition (Acts 16:27-34). This narrative has some historical

46 The inheritance theory is seen as early as Jerome, de Viris Illustribus, 5 "Cumque primum ad praedicationem ejus Sergius Paulus proconsul Cypri credidisset, ab eo quod eum Christi fidei subegerat, sortitus est nomen Paulus ..." (Migne, PL vol.23, 646).

47 Cadbury, Making, 225; Hanson, Acts, 141; cf. Origen, Commentariorum Epistolum S.Pauli ad Romanos Praefatio, "Paulus autem appellatus esse, cum Graecis et gentibus leges ac Praecepta conscribit" (Migne, PL vol.14, 836-838).

core which is attested not only by the fact that, as we discussed above, Acts agrees with the Pauline Epistles in broad outline (Acts 16:11-40 / 1 Thess.2:2; *ῥαβδίζε-εν* Acts 16:22 / 2 Cor.11:25), but also by the topographical details (*ἀγορά* in 16:19; *φυλακὴ* in 16:23f.) and political and administrative details (*οἱ στρατηγοὶ* in 16:20,22,35f,38; *αἱ ῥαβδίζου* in 16:35,38; *ὁ δεσμοφύλαξ* in 16:23). Nevertheless, as the descriptions of Philippi are skillfully dramatized,⁴⁸ particularly the accusation of Paul in 16:20 and Paul's claim to Roman citizenship and its recognition in 16:37f., should be ascribed to the author. This is because both make a dramatic contrast by the link words, *Ἰουδαῖοι ὑπάρχοντες* in 16:20 and *ἀνθρώπους Ῥωμαίους ὑπάρχοντας* in 16:37. Paul and Silas were flogged and put in goal by the Gentiles for being Jews, propagating the "strange" customs on the one hand, and they were rescued by the Romans for being Romans on the other. This accusation of being Jews is apparently based on anti-Jewish sentiment⁴⁹ and the role of Roman citizenship is employed in order to dispose of it.

In the second case, the mention of Roman citizenship occurs in the first defence speech section, after Paul's failure to persuade the fanatical Jerusalem mob, in the dialogue between the military tribune, Lysias, and Paul in Acts 22:25-29, which forms

48 The ring structures are seen in 16:14f./16:40 and 16:19-24/16:35-39. The contrast scenes are found in 16:14f./16:16-18 and 16:25-34/16:35-39. It is the author's interpretation that the Gentiles expulsion of Paul is for the sake of business (*ἐργασία*) in 16:19 as in 19:25.

49 Anti-Semitism in the Roman antiquities was mainly due to the strangeness of the Jewish people, cf. J.N.Sevenster, The Roots of Pagan Anti-Semitism in the Ancient World, (Suppl. NovTest 41), Leiden 1975. Cf. ch.11, n.13.



a ring structure with the dialogue between the same two in 21:36-39. Before the main body of his first apology, Paul stresses his Diaspora-Jewish background with the threefold expression, Ἰουδαῖος , Ταρσεύς τῆς Κιλικίας , οὐκ ἀσήμευ πόλεως πολίτης . After the first apology, which started with his self-introduction, emphasizing the connection with Jerusalem, ἀνὴρ Ἰουδαῖος , γεγεννημένος ἐν Ταρσῶ τῆς Κιλικίας , ἀνατεθραμμένος δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ... but resulted in failure to settle down the Jerusalem people, Paul speaks to the centurion, and he to the tribune that Ῥωμαῖός ἐστιν , which is further strengthened by ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ γεγέννημαι in 22:28. Thus Paul escapes the whipping because the Roman authorities recognize Paul's Roman citizenship. The φοβός motif dominates in the recognition scene in 22:29 as in 16:38. In this sense Paul is different from the original apostles in Jerusalem who are called ἀγραμματοὶ καὶ ἰδιῶται in 4:13, and further Jesus himself, and then Paul's trial scene in Jerusalem would show ^a different development from those in Lk.22-23, Acts 4-5 and Acts 6-7. Paul is rescued from the Jewish plot after his second apology for being a Roman as summarized in 23:27 and after divine intervention in 23:11, Paul appeals to the privilege of appellatio in his fourth apology before Festus in 25:10f, which is emphatically repeated in 25:21,25, 26:32, and further, after the divine intervention in 27:24, in 28:19. In this way, the privilege of Roman citizenship rescues Paul out of the Jewish-Christian conflict as ^{out of the} Gentile-Jewish conflict in ch.16; ^{the} image of Paul as a Roman citizen implies anti-Jewish tendencies.

(iv) The Tradition and Composition in Acts

Paul reveals briefly his Jewish background in threefold or fourfold expressions in order to defend his unique understanding of the Gospel and his apostleship (Rom.11:1, 2 Cor.11:22, Phil.3:5). But Acts, based on the Pauline tradition, stresses not only the Jewish background but also the Hellenistic and Roman background; this implies a new development, though not an innovation, ~~and~~ a new theological problem.

On his Jewish background, Acts stresses that Paul is a real Jew, a real Pharisee, not only in the past but even in the present. Particularly, Paul's connection with Jerusalem is ~~insisted~~^{on} for an apologetic purpose. His Jewish name is employed for the first time in the descriptions of his activities among the Jewish communities in Jerusalem, Damascus and Antioch. These features show Judaizing tendencies ~~of~~ the new situation.

Paul's Hellenistic background in Acts is connected with his Jewish one, which is inclined to show Paul as a Diaspora Jew, a Jew of some standing. Both Jewish and Hellenistic backgrounds work together for ~~the~~ defence of ^{his} Jewishness against the author's contemporary opponents. There was an anti-Pauline tradition in Jewish Christianity, accusing Paul of being "a Hellene", that is, a Gentile⁵⁰ and that he is "an apostate from the Law"⁵¹ and

50 Ascension of James in Epiphanius, Haer. xxx,16,6-9; cf. Hennecke-Schneemelcher-Wilson, vol.2, 71. According to Strecker's reconstruction, Anabathmoi Iakobou, that is, the Ascension of James, is dated before A.D.150, Judenchristentum, 253f..

51 Ireⁿaeus, adv. haer. i,26,2; "apostolum Paulum recusant, apostatam eum legis dicentes".

"lawless",⁵² which has parallel in Acts.⁵³

Paul's Roman background has a different role in the Book of Acts. It has anti-Jewish tendencies, as seen (typically) in the Gentile-Jewish and Jewish-Christian conflict in chs.16 and 21f. Roman citizenship⁵⁴ is the key concept which shows Paul as a respectable Jew of higher social status. This is the only thing that can rescue Paul from the anti-Pauline attack.

Thus Paul's background in Acts is also employed for the service of ^{Luke's} apology ^{for him} in the new situation, and both Judaizing and anti-Jewish tendencies are seen in it.⁵⁵

52 Pseudo-Clem. Ep. Petr. 2.

53 Paul is accused of his teaching against the Jewish people, the Law and the Temple in Acts 21:28 (cf. 21:21, 24:6) like Stephen who is a accused of his teaching against the Temple and the Law in Acts 6:13f. Gentile Christianity, whose figurehead is Paul, is the crucial point of the disturbance. This is attested by the fact that Paul is called πρωτοστάτης τῆς τῶν Ναζωραίων αἰρέσεως. Paul is the only representative of Christianity.

54 Roman citizenship is not connected with the religio licita motif, cf. C.K.Barrtt, Luke, 63.

55 On the other hand, Klein, Apostel, thinks "Nivellierung" of Paul's Jewish background.

CHAPTER 5
PRE-CONVERSION PERIOD

Paul's pre-conversion period is mentioned in his letters only en passant and for an apologetic purpose (Gal.1:13f,22, 1 Cor.15:9, Phil.3:6), while in Acts, it is repeatedly referred to, and chiefly in connection with his conversion and call (Acts 7:58b, 8:1a,3, 9:1f,13f,21, 22:4-6, 26:10-12).

(i) Pre-Conversion Period in the Pauline Epistles

In his testimony in Gal.1:13f, Paul's pre-conversion life is mentioned as that of a persecutor, by the two verbs, *διώκειν* and *πορθεῖν*. Paul does not refer to his pre-conversion life in any more detail, except to add the adverbial phrase,

καθ' ὑπερβολήν.¹ He does not mention how or when he persecuted,

1 The phrase, *καθ' ὑπερβολήν*, is a classical usage, which is only found in the Pauline Epistles in N.T. cf. Rom.7:13, 1 Cor.12:31, 2 Cor.1:8, 4:14; G.Delling, "Zum steigerunden Gebrauch von Komposita mit *ὑπέρ* bei Paulus", *NovTest* 11 (1969), 127-153.

though he explains briefly the reason for his persecuting activity by saying that he was zealous for his ancestral tradition, that is, a zealot for the Law and oral tradition (Gal.1:14, cf. Phil.3:6). The object of his persecution is expressed as ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ (Gal.1:14, 1 Cor.15:9, cf. Phil.3:6), which does not necessarily signify the Jerusalem church, but implies, firstly, the eschatological people of God, namely, God's Israel, and, secondly, the collective Christian community at large.² Moreover, Paul does not explicitly mention where he persecuted or whether he persecuted Hebrews or Hellenists. But it seems likely that his activity was limited to the Damascus area, and did not include Jerusalem;³ probably he had already left Jerusalem and come to Damascus, presumably, ^{because of a} for the Messianic expectation.⁴ This is attested by the fact that Paul was not

2 In the Pauline letters, ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ does not denote the Jerusalem church but the Church in general, cf. 1 Cor.1:2, 10:32, 11:22, 15:9, 2 Cor.1:1; 1 Tim.3:5,15.

3 Paul seems to have been living in Damascus, not in Jerusalem, for^o considerable period, immediately before his conversion and call. This is implied by his own words in Gal.1:17, ἀλλὰ ἀπῆλθον εἰς Ἀραβίαν, καὶ πάλιν ὑπέστρεψα εἰς Δαμασκόν. On the other hand, Acts, in which Jerusalem is Paul's persecuting area, uses the verb ὑποστρέφειν for his return to Jerusalem in Acts 22:17, ἐγένετο δέ μοι ὑποστρέψαντι εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἀνήλθον εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, in contrast to Gal.1:17f, cf. J.Knox, Chapter, 36.

4 The Messianic redemption was not only connected with Jerusalem but also with Damascus, cf. 1 Enoch, 6:6, 13:7; 2 Enoch, 13:4; Test.Levi, 2:3-5; N.Wieder, "The 'Land of Damascus' and Messianic Redemption", JJS 20 (1969), 86-88. This is the context in which the Damascus Document of the Qumran community should be interpreted. For Damascus, I.Benzinger, "Damaskos", Pauly-Wissowa, vol.4 (1901), 2042-2048; Schürer, History, rev.ET vol.2, 127-130.

personally⁵ known to the churches in Judaea⁶ prior to the first Jerusalem visit (Gal.1:22). Furthermore, it is likely that Paul persecuted the Hellenist Christians because of their disobedience to the Law and the Temple (cf. Acts 6:13f) and their criticism against the Law and the Temple (cf. Acts 7:2-53). If the above hypothesis is accepted, Paul would have been involved in the persecuting activity against those Hellenists who came to Damascus.

Paul's pre-conversion period as a persecutor is schematically repeated in more abridged form in 1 Cor.15:9, ἐδίωξα τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, and in Phil.3:6, κατὰ σήλας διώκων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

(ii) The Historical Core of the Tradition in Acts

It is certain that Paul's pre-conversion period in Acts is based on a reliable tradition. This is evident from the fact that, in the description of Paul as a persecutor, the two original

5 τῷ προσώπῳ in Gal.1:22 may mean either literally "by sight" or figuratively "personally", though recent commentaries are inclined to take the latter meaning. But even in the latter case, it is difficult to take that Paul persecuted the church in Jerusalem without being known to the believers. This is not contradicted by the view that Paul was not known to the Hebrew Christians at Jerusalem, Hengel, Acts and History, nor by the view that Paul was not known as a Christian, H.D.Betz, The Epistle to the Galatians, Philadelphia 1979, 80. Thus R.Bultmann, "Paulus", RGG (2), vol.4, 1019-1045, esp. 1020; Haenchen, Acts, 297, 625; idem. "Source", SLA, 264f; Bornkamm, "Paulus", RGG (3), 168; idem. Paul, 29; H.Conzelmann, Geschichte des Urchristentum (GNT 5), Göttingen 1978, 65.

6 "Judaea" in Gal.1:22 includes "Jerusalem" as in Rom.15:31, 2 Cor.1:16, 1 Thess.2:14. It is a later feature of thought to distinguish "Jerusalem" from "Judaea", particularly, during or after A.D.66-70 period; cf. Mk.1:5 (=Mt.3:5), 3:7f (=Lk.6:17), 4:25, Lk.5:17, Acts 1:8.

verbs, *διώκειν* and *πορθεῖν* are retained in Acts⁷ as well as in the rumour about Paul preserved in Gal.1:23. Furthermore, the noun, *σηλωτής*, which depicts Paul as an enthusiastic Pharisee and gives that as his motive of persecution activity, is also found in Acts 22:3, *σηλωτής ὑπάρχων* (cf. Gal.1:14, *σηλωτής ὑπάρχων* and Phil.3:6, *κατὰ σῆλος*); in addition, some other expressions, such as *ἐν τῷ ἔθνει μου* in Acts 26:4 (for his attachment to the Jewish society), and *περισσῶς* in Acts 26:11b (for his passionate attitude towards the tradition and its consequent result in persecution) are derived from the Pauline tradition (cf. Gal.1:14, *ἐν τῷ γένει μου* and *περισσοτέρως*).⁸

However, the tradition of Paul's pre-conversion period is more developed and elaborated by the author's editorial work.

Particularly, it is connected with the Stephen tradition, and thus linked to the region of Jerusalem.

(iii a) The Text : Introducing Young Saul

Paul appears as Saul in the very beginning at the scene of the stoning of Stephen in Acts. However, Paul in the Epistles does not say anything about the stoning of Stephen, not even in Gal.1:13f, or in mentioning the rumours about himself in Gal.1:23.

7 *διώκειν*, Acts 9:4f, 22:4,7f, 26:11,14f; *πορθεῖν*, Acts 9:21. But it is in Acts that *διώκειν* becomes a specialized term to signify only Christian persecution, cf. Acts 7:52; 1 Clem.4:9, Ign.Mag.8:2, Tr.9:1. Cf. Ph.-H.Menoud, "Le sens du verbe *πορθεῖν*", Gal.1:13,23, Acts 9:21", Apophoreta : Festschrift für E.Haenchen zu seinem siebenzigsten Geburtstag (BZNW 30) edd. W.Eltester, F.H.Kettler, Berlin 1964, 178-186.

8 Lüning, Saulustadition, 54-61.

Nevertheless, it is certain that the narrative of Stephen in Acts, which forms a ring structure (Acts 6:8-15, and 7:54-8:3) around ^{the} Stephen speech in Acts 7:2-53, is based on a tradition about Stephen. As has been observed, the narrative after the main body of the speech consists of two interwoven stories, one about Stephen, questioned before the Sanhedrin (Acts 7:55f, 58a) and his martyrdom (7:59f), the other about Saul (7:58b, 8:1a); but it has been disputed whether the description of Saul is editorial⁹ or is already embedded in the tradition.¹⁰

But it seems likely that both Acts 7:58b and 8:1a are editorial work for the following reasons. Firstly, as has been observed, the repetition of *λεθε βολαι* both in 7:58a and 59 implies the insertion of the picture of Saul into a Stephen tradition.¹¹ Secondly, this view is strengthened by the fact that the description of Saul here is quite different from the tradition which portrays him as a persecutor (cf. Acts 8:3, 9:1f, 22:4-6, 26:10-12). Saul is not yet a persecutor at this stage and only after the scene of stoning of Stephen does he become such in

- 9 Dibelius thinks that Luke is using an old account in the story of Stephen and that he has inserted three notes, namely, the presence of Paul at the scene of the stoning of Stephen, his agreement and active part in the persecution, Studies, 59, n.1 and 208. This view is maintained by J. Bihler, "Der Stephanusbericht (Apg. 6:8-15 und 7:54-8:2)", BZ 3 (1959), 252-270, esp. 260; Klein, Apostel, 115; Haenchen, Acts, 293, 295-299; Conzelmann, Apg. 58-60; Löning, Saulustradition, 19-25; Schneider, Apg. vol. 1, 471f; Roloff, Apg. 58-60.
- 10 Cf. Beg. vol. 4, 85; Burchard, Zeuge, 26-31, says that at least 7:58b is due to the tradition; Hengel supports Burchard, Between, 143, n. 80.
- 11 In addition to the reference cited by Klein, Apostel, 115, n. 547, Dibelius, Studies, 207, n. 1, "7:58b, also, is obviously an insertion, as the repetition of in 7:59 shows".

Acts 8:3.¹² Thirdly, it is the author's peculiar style, following the Hellenistic tradition of historiography, to make a connection for the purpose of making a gradual transition in the narrative. The section of Acts 7:58b-8:3 thus forms a connecting link which joins the Stephen tradition with the Saul tradition in ch.9, and further links this with the Antiochene tradition in ch.11 (see Acts 11:19) in a ring structure.¹³ Fourthly, this view may be supported by the Lukan evidence in terms of the language and style.¹⁴

It is interesting to note that, when he introduces Saul into the scene of Stephen's story, the author depicts him as νεανίας . The word, νεανίας , denotes, according to Bauer, the age from 24 to 40.¹⁵ But νεανίας here in Acts refers to a comparatively young man as in the other cases in Acts. For, in the story of Eutychus, νεανίας in 20:9 is interchangeable with παῖς in 20:12; while, in the case of Paul's nephew, νεανίας in 23:17 is equivalent to its diminutive form νεανίσκος in 23:22. As we have seen above, Saul, a Diaspora Jew, was, according to Acts, brought up (22:3) and spent his youth from the very beginning in Jerusalem (26:4), being educated at the feet of Gamaliel (22:3,

12 Burchard, Zeuge, 26f.

13 Dibelius, Studies, 10 and 208; Haenchen, Acts, 295-299; Löning, Saulustradition, 19-25.

14 παρὰ τοῦς πόδας in Lk.7:38, 8:35,41, 17:16, Acts 4:35,37, 5:2, 7:58, 22:3; Mt.15:30 νεανίας only in Acts 7:58, 20:9, 23:17. Introducing the proper noun with καλούμενος, Lk.1:36, 6:15, 7:11, 8:2, 9:10, 10:39, 19:2,29, 21:37, 22:3, 23:33, Acts 1:12,23, 3:11, 7:58, 8:10, 9:11, 10:1, 13:1, 15:22,37, 27:8,14,16; Rev.1:9, 12:9, 16:16. The periphrastic conjugation in 8:1a is Lukan favourite style, cf. Blass-Debrunner-Rehkopf, ss.353; Moulton, Proleg. 225-7,249. ἀνάριτες is a hapaxlegomenon in N.T.

15 Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich, νεανίας .

cf. $\pi\alpha\iota\varsigma$ in Lk.2:43). However, Saul's first appearance as $\nu\epsilon\alpha\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$ is placed at the scene of the stoning of Stephen. This is a well-thought^{out} and a very dramatic and picturesque introduction of Paul into the Book of Acts.

In Acts 7:58b, the witnesses of Stephen's blasphemy against the Temple and the Law take off their outer garments in order to throw stones more effectively.¹⁶ This scene, as well as the stoning in Acts 14:19, is depicted not as an official stoning but rather as close to a lynching. The people put their clothes at the feet of Saul. The depiction "at the feet of" may imply some sense of authority as in the other cases.¹⁷ But Saul here is apparently not a judge of the Sanhedrin, for he is described as $\nu\epsilon\alpha\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$. It is not certain from this verse whether Saul is pictured as on-looker who happens to be there and is forced to keep the clothes of the witnesses,¹⁸ or an on-looker who waits around and watches the spectacle voluntarily.¹⁹ However, the force of Acts 22:20 would seem to indicate the latter.²⁰

In Acts 8:1a, the image of $\nu\epsilon\alpha\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$ is more fully depicted: Saul gives approval to killing of Stephen, which implies some authoritative power. The verb $\sigma\upsilon\nu\epsilon\upsilon\delta\omicron\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ has a strong sense in Luke-Acts,²¹ that means, Saul is not merely an on-looker or eyewitness, but he is actually more or less taking a part in the

16 According to mSanh. 6:4, the witnesses do not take off their outer garments but the criminal is stripped, though covered in front, cf. W.Michaelis, " $\lambda\iota\theta\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$ κτλ. ", TDNT vol.4, 267f.

17 Cf. n.14, $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$ τοὺς πόδας .

18 Beg. vol.4, 85.

19 Thus Burchard, Zeuge, 27, wonders.

20 Haenchen, Acts, 293, n.1.

21 Cf. Lk.11:48; Klein, Apostel, 116f.

stoning. Saul is depicted as one of the enemies of Christianity, with the noun ἀναιρέσις, who are typically described by its verb ἀναίρειν.²²

Another vivid picture of Saul, who keeps the clothes of the witnesses and giving approval ^{the} of killing Stephen, is effectively repeated in Acts 22:20.

Thus the attitude of the "young Saul" is progressively intensified in Acts 7:58b and 8:1a and in the end Saul becomes the persecutor in 8:3. The picture of Saul in Acts 7:58b and 8:1a is not due to tradition but to the author's editorial work in order to link the Pauline tradition with Stephen tradition; at the same time, the author intends to strengthen Paul's connection with Jerusalem and to depict him as a real Jew for the ^{sake of his} apologetic purposes.

(iii b) The Text : Saul the Persecutor

Paul's pre-Christian days as a persecutor are portrayed in Acts 8:3 and 9:1f. for the first time.²³ It is repeated both in

22 The verbal expression is seen in 26:10. The verb, ἀναίρειν is a peculiar word which depicts the Jewish opponents in Acts, cf. Acts 2:23, 10:39, 13:28 (against Jesus); 5:33, 12:2 (against the apostles); 22:20 (against Stephen); 9:23,24,29, 23:15, 21,27, 25:3 (against Paul). It is at first utilized in Lk. 22:2 (cf. Mt.2:16, 2 Thess.2:8, Heb.10:9; Ign.Eph.12:2). Another verb, ἀποκτείνειν, is also schematically connected with the Jewish opponents, cf. Lk.11:47f, Acts 7:52 (against prophets); Lk.13:31, Acts 3:15 (against Jesus); Acts 21:31, 23:12,14 (against Paul). This usage is taken from the synoptic tradition, cf. Lk.9:22 (=Mk.8:31), 18:33 (=Mk.10:34), 20:14f. (=Mk.12:7f.) and the author extends it to describe the opponents repeatedly.

23 Acts 8:3 is linked with 9:1f, because of the author's technique of linking in the ring structure.

the first apology before the Jewish people in Jerusalem in 22:4f, and in the last apology before King Agrippa and the procurator Festus in 26:9-11. This picture of Saul the persecutor is summarized in the mouth of Ananias in 9:13b-14 and in the mouth of the disciples at Damascus in 9:21. This summary of the persecutor is also repeated in the Temple vision story in 22:19.

(1) Acts 8:3, 9:1f, cf. 9:13f,21

Immediately after the stoning of Stephen, a great persecution is launched against the Jerusalem church in Acts 8:1; the "young Saul" who, a moment ago, was only watching the clothes of the witnesses and approving of killing Stephen, suddenly becomes the only persecutor in the Book of Acts from 8:3 to his conversion and call (cf. 9:31).²⁴ Correspondingly, the word *νεανίας* disappears. The chief reason for this jump of the description of Saul is that the author begins to employ the Pauline tradition from 8:3.²⁵

At the first half of 8:3, the formula in the tradition that Paul persecuted and destroyed the church is introduced, but the author chooses a more vivid and emotional word, *λυμαίνεσθαι*,²⁶

24 Cf. Haenchen, *Acts*, 294; Conzelmann, *Apog.* 59; Löning, *Saulustradition*, 23f; Schneider, *Apog.* vol.1, 480 and n.79.

25 Cf. Burchard, *Zeuge*, 47-49; Löning, *Saulustradition*, 23f. However, Conzelmann, *Apog.* 59, thinks that it is due to the editorial work.

26 *λυμαίνεσθαι* is a hapaxlegomenon in N.T. which refers to literally, "physical injury" and figuratively, "insult", but, according to W.Michaelis, TDNT vol.1, 312, "This is a more forceful term than *ἔδωκα* in 1 Cor.15:9, or even *ἐπέρθειν* in Gal.1:13, cf.1:23". Klein explains that *πορθεῖν* is used in a more objective sense than *λυμαίνεσθαι*. *Beg.* vol.4, 88 says that this verb has an image of mangling by wild beasts. Interestingly, *λυμαίνεσθαι* is employed in reference to the contemporary anti-Jewish pogrom in Alexandria, cf. Philo, *Leg. ad Caium*, 134; *Beg.* vol.4, 88; Conzelmann, *Apog.* 59.

instead of *διώκειν* or *παρθεῖν*, in order to emphasize the persecution. Then, the object of the persecution is mentioned as *ἡ ἐκκλησία*: this does not refer to the whole Church with its eschatological implication, *ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ* as in Gal.1:13, 1 Cor.15:9, but signifies the concrete church, namely, the Jerusalem church, as is clear from the context in 8:1, and from its explicit mention in 9:21, and 26:10.²⁷

The second half of 8:3 depicts vividly his persecuting activity, but it seems likely that the imprisonment motif in it may be due to tradition, because it is preserved in every account and even in small summaries.

However, the author adds to, and alters tradition in four points. Firstly, the setting of *κατ' οἴκου* as well as *κατὰ τὰς συναγωγὰς* in Acts 22:19 and 26:11 is an editorial addition because the phrase *κατὰ* with the accusative indicates Luke's sense of regular topographical extension.²⁸ Secondly, *σύρειν* is a Lukan verb which is employed at the critical moment when Jewish hatred of Christians began.²⁹ Thirdly, the phrase *ἄνδρες τε καὶ γυναῖκες* is exclusively a Lukan expression in the New Testament.³⁰ Hinting at a special interest in the role of

27 Cf. Löning, Saulustradition, 24, n.26.

28 *κατ' οἴκου* appears only in the Pauline letters in N.T. other than Acts; 1 Cor.16:19, Phlm.2, Col.4:15. *κατ' οἴκου* here may mean the area in contrast to the Temple as in Acts 2:46, 5:42 (opp. *ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ*) or it may imply "in private, privately" as in Acts 20:20 (opp. *δημοσία*), cf. Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich, *οἶκος* . 1, a, α.

29 Acts 8:3, 14:19 and 17:6. Other usages in N.T. do not have this colour, cf. Klein, Apostel, 119.

30 Acts 5:14, 8:3, 12, 9:2, 22:4.

women,³¹ an interest which may also account for his mentioning by name several couples, usually (but not always) man and wife.³²

Fourthly, although the imprisonment motif may be in the tradition, the phrase *παράδίδου εἰς φυλακὴν* is a reminiscence of the prophetic words of Jesus in Luke 21:12,³³ and it is assumed that the author tries to show that the imprisonment scenes in Acts are the fulfillment of the prediction of Jesus.

In this way, the author modifies the tradition in order to give a picturesque and vivid account of the persecution. Thus, the image of the persecutor is intensified ; he is portrayed as an enemy of Christianity.

After an interpolation of almost one chapter (Acts 8:4-40), the story of Saul is resumed in 9:1 : this is clear from the fact that *οἱ δὲ*³⁴ and *ἐτε*³⁵ refer to the persecution activity in 8:3. But 9:1 is editorial, in terms of the language and motif, for it narrates the transition of Saul's persecution activity from Jerusalem (8:3) to Damascus (9:2), the image of the persecutor being strengthened here also. Saul turns out to be furious, one full of threatening and murderous intentions. The word

31 Lk. chs. 1f. (Elizabeth and Mary); 10:38-42 (Martha and Mary); 8:1-3, 23:49,55, 24:10,22-24,33, Acts 1:14 (women followers of Jesus, including Jesus' mother Mary); 9:32-35 (Ananias); 9:36-43 (Dorcas), 12:12 (Mary, mother of John Mark), 16:13-15 (Lydia), 21:8 (daughters of Philip). For the author's interest in the women converts, cf. ch.9, n.85. Cadbury, Making, 263-265, esp.263, says : "His interest in the role of women is also related to that of the poor, slaves, sinners, Samaritans and foreigners, in general, socially despised classes."

32 Acts 5:1-11 (Ananias and Sapphira); 17:34 (Dionysius and Damaris); 18:2 (Aquila and Priscilla), 25:13,23, 26:30 (Agrippa and Bernice) etc.

33 Schneider, Apg. vol.1, 480, n.78.

34 Bruce, Acts, 196; Conzelmann, Apg. 64; Marshall, Acts, 167.

35 Haenchen, Acts, 319; Löning, Saulustradition, 21f; Burchard, Zeuge, 43.

ἀπειλή³⁶ does not refer to "warning"³⁷ but "threatening"³⁸ and φόνος³⁹ to "murder" or "killing", the first of these two being repeated in Acts 26:11 and the second in 26:10.⁴⁰ On the other hand, the verb ἐμπνέειν does not reflect the Old Testament usage,⁴¹ but, as P.W. van der Horst exhaustively testifies, the author is following the tradition of the Greco-Roman literature, which is seen, for instance, in the description of the persecutor Pentheus by Euripides : θυμὸν ἐκπνέων (Bacch. 620).⁴² This furore motif repeatedly appears in the descriptions of the Jewish enemies of Christianity.⁴³

The object of the persecution appears as οἱ μαθηταί τοῦ κυρίου in 9:1 and τινες τῆς ὁδοῦ ὄντες in 9:2.⁴⁴ It is clear from the context that the former expression also refers to

- 36 The word ἀπειλή only appears in Acts 4:29, 9:1 and Eph.6:9 in N.T. Its verb ἀπειλεῖν is twice seen in N.T.; Acts 4:17 and 1 Pet.2:23. Its compound verb προσπειλεῖσθαι is a hapaxlegomenon in N.T.; Acts 4:21.
- 37 Strack-Billerbeck, vol.2, 261-264; Jeremias, "Quellenproblem", 209-211.
- 38 Haenchen, Acts, 319. n.1; Klein, Apostel, 121, n.581; Burchard, Zeuge, 43, n.9.
- 39 This word is used with στάσις in the description of Barabbas in Lk.23:19 (=Mk.15:7).
- 40 Haenchen, Acts, 319; Schneider, ApG. vol.2, 25, n.25.
- 41 Thus Beg. vol.4, 99 and Bruce, Acts, 196 both cite Ps.18:15 (LXX 17:16), ἀπὸ ἐμπνεύσεως πνεύματος ὀργῆς σου . Cf. 2 Sam. 22:16, ἀπο πνοῆς πνεύματος θυμοῦ ἀτότου and 2 Macc. 9:7, πῦρ πνέων τοῖς θυμοῖς ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους.
- 42 P.W. van der Horst, "Drohnung und Mord schnaubend", NovTest 12 (1970), 257-269; Schneider, ApG. vol.2, 25, n.25.
- 43 Lk.4:28, ἐπλήσθησαν θυμοῦ ; Acts 5:17, 13:45, ἐπλήσθησαν ἡλίου ; Acts 17:5, ἡλῶσαντες cf. Acts 7:9, 19:28, πλήρεις θυμοῦ . On the other hand, the Gentile expulsion is interpreted with ἐργασία cf. ch.4, n.44.
- 44 The author has a habit of changing the designation for Christians. In the descriptions of the persecutor Saul, there are following variations such as : οἱ μαθηταί τοῦ κυρίου , τινες τῆς ὁδοῦ ὄντες , οἱ ἄγιοι , οἱ ἐπικαλούμενοι τὸ ὄνομα , cf. Cadbury, "Names for Christians and Christianity in Acts", Beg. vol.5, 375-392.

Christians. Neither phrase implies the eschatological community, but it is interesting to note that the former one is found only in the four Gospels and Acts, the latter only in Acts.⁴⁵

The authorised letter motif in 9:2 may be also in tradition, because it is retained in every account (22:5, 26:10b, cf. 9:14) and further this element is preserved in the tradition of Jewish Christianity.⁴⁶

The image of the persecutor Saul repeatedly appears in the words of Ananias (9:13f.) and those of the disciples in Damascus (9:21). The author has summarized both, but on the one hand, in 9:14 the letter motif is retained and on the other in 9:21 the original verb used to refer to the persecution, *περθεῖν*, is still preserved. however, the object of the persecution is

45 The word *εὐμαθηταί* may be taken from the synoptic tradition and the author applies it broadly to the Christians in general, Acts 6:1f,7, 9:1,19,25f,38, 11:26,29, 13:52, 14:20,22,28, 15:10, 16:1, 18:23,27, 19:1,30, 20:1,3; 21:4,16. This generalization is also seen in Ign.Eph.1:2, Tr.5:2, Mag.9:2, Rom.4:2, 5:3, Polycarp Phil.7:1 etc. Cf. K.H.Rengstorf, "μαθητής", TDNT vol.4, 415-460; P.Nepper-Christensen, "μαθητής", EWNT vol.2, 915-121. On the other hand, Christianity was called the Way. The absolute usage of *ἡ ὁδός* is found in Acts 9:2, 19:9,23, 22:4, 24:14,22 and the one with dependent genitive *κυρίου* or *θεοῦ* occurs in 18:25f. The absolute usage of the Way could originate from Qumran (1 QS 9:17f, CD 1:13, cf. CD 2:6, 1 QS 4:22, 8:10,21, 9:5,11,21, 10:21, 1 QM 14:7, 1 QH 1:36, 1 QSa 1:28) as suggested by J.A.Fitzmyer, "Jewish Christianity in Acts in the Light of the Qumran Scrolls", *SLA* 237-257, and others, cf. Burchard, *Zeuge*, 43 n.10. But we are not sure because Acts lacks the dualistic thinking for the usage of *ἡ ὁδός*, which is characteristic in the Qumran scrolls. However, it seems very probable from the indication in Acts 24:14 that the Way was a designation for Christianity employed first by non-Christians, like *Χριστιανός*, but later adopted by Christians as their own designation; thus, W.Michaelis, "ὁδός", TDNT vol.5, 42-96; S.V.McCasland, "The Way", *JBL* 77 (1958), 222-230; Haenchen, *Acts*, 320.

46 Pseudo-Clementine, *Rec.i*,71.

mentioned as οἱ ἅγιοι⁴⁷ and in 9:14 as οἱ ἐπικαλούμενοι τὸ ὄνομά σου⁴⁸.

(2) Acts 22:4f,19

In the apologetic speech before the people of Israel, the portrait of the persecutor Saul turns up again. It is significant to note, before our analysis of the image of the persecutor, that the picture of the persecutor is linked with that of Saul's Jewish background, as in the Pauline letters (Gal.1:13f.) and moreover the noun *ζηλωτής* is retained in it, as in Paul's letters. Nevertheless, the image of the persecutor Saul is more radical in 22:4f.

The picture in 22:4f. is almost the same as that in 8:3, 9:1b-2. The order of description, the language and the style nearly correspond with each other. The schematical formula also reappears in 22:4a, and the original verb *διώκειν* is preserved instead of *λυμαίνεσθαι*. On the other hand, this formula is intensified by adding *ἄχρι θανάτου*, which means "up to the

47 In contrast to οἱ μαθηταί, οἱ ἅγιοι is a common word for Christians in the Pauline letters: Rom.1:7, 1 Cor.1:2, 2 Cor.1:2, Phil.1:1 and others. Outside the Pauline and Deutero-Pauline Epistles, this usage occurs 14 times in Rev, four times in Acts, twice in Heb, once in Jude and Mt. In Acts, this word is interestingly applied to the believers in Palestine: Acts 9:13,32,41, 26:10, cf. Beg. vol.4, 103; Haenchen, Acts, 324, n.4.

48 οἱ ἐπικαλούμενοι τὸ ὄνομα is a technical term for Christians in the Pauline letters; 1 Cor.1:2, cf. Rom.10:13 (=Joel, LXX 3:5). Outside the Pauline letters, this usage only occurs in Acts, but it is also limited to the Palestinian Christians; Acts 9:14,21, 22:16, cf. 2:2 (=Joel, LXX 3:5). This usage is also seen in 1 Clem.52:3, 64:1 etc. Cf. Conzelmann, ApG. 65; Schneider, ApG. vol.2, 29, n.61.

point of death".⁴⁹ Here there emerges another image of the murderer which is already indicated in 8:3, *λυμάνεσθαι*, and 9:1a, *φόνος*. It is clear that this image of the murderer comes out from the acute generalization of the single incident of Stephen, due to a connection between Pauline tradition and Stephen's tradition.

Saul's action in imprisoning Christians is repeated in 22:4b, but the verb *δεσμύειν*⁵⁰ replaces *σύρειν* in order to give a more vivid picture.⁵¹ The letter motif follows on, but the scene of the Sanhedrin is introduced in 22:5,⁵² which may have been taken from the synoptic tradition.⁵³ According to this account, the authorized letters are issued by the whole of the Sanhedrin, not by the High Priest as in 9:2a. This picture may presuppose that Saul had been one of the members of the Sanhedrin; if that is so, this represents a still more radical presentation of Saul. The letter motif here, introducing the Sanhedrin scene, gives the reader an impression that the persecutor is a successor of the enemies of Christianity who accused the Apostles and Stephen before the Sanhedrin (Acts 4:5-21, 5:17-35, 6:8-15). The author incorporates the witness motif in 22:5, saying that the High

49 Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich, *θάνατος*, 1a. This and similar expressions such as *μέχρι θανάτου* and *ἕως θανάτου* "do not always involve actual death," *Beg.* vol.4, 279. Cf. 1 Clem.4:9, *ζηλῶς ἐποίησεν Ἰωσήφ μέχρι θανάτου διωχθῆναι*; Barnabas 5:11, *διώκειν ἐν θανάτῳ*.

50 *Beg.* vol.4, 279; Haenchen, *Acts*, 625.

51 *δέειν* in Acts 9:26,14,21b, 22:5c; *δέσμος* in Acts 16:25, 27, 23:18, 25:14,27, 28:16f.

52 *τὸ πρεσβυτέριον* is the Sanhedrin as in Lk.22:26, cf. Bruce, *Acts*, 401.

53 The word *συνεδρίον* is taken from Mk.15:1, into Lk.22:26 and the author employs it in Acts 4:15, 5:21,27,34,46, 6:12, 15, 22:30, 23:1,6,15,28, 24:20.

Priest and the whole Sanhedrin bear witness⁵⁴ to Saul's conduct. This witness motif in turn strengthens Saul's connection with Jerusalem and the image of the persecutor. The punishment motif is added at the end of the description of the persecutor in 22:5; *ἵνα τεμωρηθῶσιν* . This addition recalls for the reader another image of the enemies of the apostle in Acts 4:21; *τὸ πᾶς κολάσωνται αὐτούς* .⁵⁵

In the Temple vision story Paul in Acts refers to his pre-Christian life, but his activity of imprisonment is summarized in one verb *φυλακίσθην* ⁵⁶ with another punishment motif *δέρειν* , which is a reminiscence of the passion narrative.⁵⁷ In 22:19 the area of Saul's activities in Jerusalem is not mentioned as *κατ' οἴκου* in 8:3a, but it is expanded into *κατὰ τὰς συναγωγὰς* . Christians are signified as *οἱ πιστεύοντες ἐπὶ σε* , but it is not yet fixed as a title for them.⁵⁸

(3) Acts 26:9-11

In the apologetic speech before Agrippa and Festus, Paul in Acts confesses again his pre-conversion life. The verse 26:9 corresponds to 8:3a and 22:4a, but the formula referring to the persecution is generalized in two ways.⁵⁹ Firstly, the verbal expression *λυμαίνεσθαι* or *διώκειν* is replaced by *ἐκνυθίσθαι*

- 54 The B text reads *ἐμαρτύρει* while the D text *μαρτυρήσει* .
 55 *κολάσειν* is a hapaxlegomenon in N.T. Cf. Diog. 5:16, 6:9, 7:8, 10:7, M. Polycarp 2:4.
 56 *φυλακίσθην* is a hapaxlegomeon in N.T. Cf. Clem. 45:4.
 57 Lk. 22:63, different from Mk. 14:65.
 58 Cadbury, *Beg.* vol. 5, 382.
 59 This kind of generalization is already seen in Acts 9:13b, *κατὰ τοὺς ἁγίους ἐποίησεν*.

πράξει .⁶⁰ Christians and their enemies stand opposed to each other, according to the lukan expression.⁶¹ Secondly, the persecutor Saul is not described here as acting against the church at Jerusalem, Christians or the Way, but against τὸ ὄνομα Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Ναζωραίου, which is an indication of the real presence of the Lord in Acts.⁶²

Acts 26:10f, being parallel to 8:3, 9:1f, and 22:4b-5, have the imprisonment and letter motifs, but the image of the persecutor is more detailed and intensified in various ways. Firstly, Saul's activities of imprisonment are not limited to κατ' οἴκους in Jerusalem but extended to κατὰ πάσας τὰς συναγωγὰς, as in 22:19, and furthermore an addition of πᾶς to 22:19 is another exaggeration. Secondly, the commission from the High Priests⁶³ is not limited to the synagogues in Damascus, as in the two former accounts, but it is also applied to Jerusalem. This is a further expansion of the sphere of his activity. Thirdly, the persecutor has been transformed into a real murderer in the act ^{of} casting a vote against Christians with the expression:

60 ἀναντίος here signifies hatred as in 1 Thess.2:15, cf. Schneider, APG, vol.1, 372, n.39.

61 Lk.14:17, οἱ ἀντικείμενοι αὐτῷ ; 20:17, οἱ ἀντιλέγοντες ; 21:15, ἀντιστῆναι, ἀντεπεῖν, οἱ ἀντικείμενοι, different from Mk.13:15; Acts 6:10, ἀντιστῆναι ; 7:51, ἀντιπίπτει ; 13:8, ἀντίστατο ; 13:45, ἀντέλεγον ; 18:6, ἀντιπασσομένων ; 28:19, ἀντιλεπόντων ; 28:22, ἀντιλέγεται .

62 Cf. S.New, "The Name, Baptism and Laying on of Hands", Beg. vol.5, 121-140; H.Bietenhard, "ὄνομα κτλ", TDNT vol.5, 242-283; L.Hartmann, "ὄνομα", EWNT vol.2, 1268-1277. The name is provoked at healing and exorcism (Acts 3:6,16, 4:7,10,12,30, 9:34, 16:18, 19:13,17) at baptism (2:38, 8:16, 10:43,48, 19:5), at preaching (4:17f, 5:28,40f, 8:12, 9:15f.) and with conviction (9:27f.).

63 The High Priest here occurs in plural as in 9:14 and 9:21b, in contrast to the singular expression in 9:1 and 22:5a. This is another exaggeration.

ἀναιρουμένων τῶν αὐτῶν , a situation which has been prepared for in 8:1a,3, 9:1, 22:4a. This image also presupposes that Saul is one of the members of the Sanhedrin and he is not only full of rage to punish Christians but also kills them. This is another generalization from the single incident of Stephen. Fourthly, various verbs are employed to give a climax to the picture in order to emphasize his persecuting activities. *τυμωρεῖν* , which appeared in 22:5, is also repeated here: a new verb, *βλασφημεῖν* , is inserted, which is reminiscent of the passion narrative ⁶⁴ and is applied to the description of the enemies of Christianity in Acts, ⁶⁵ and the *furor* motif, *ἐμυρίεσθαι* , ⁶⁶ is introduced. These verbs are used in order to interpret and to make vivid the content of the original verb *διώκειν* .

(iv) The Tradition and Composition in Acts

Paul briefly mentions his persecuting activity in his Epistles, stating that he persecuted the Church and tried to destroy it because of his zeal for ancestral tradition, namely, the tradition about the Law and the Temple.

The accounts of Paul's pre-conversion period as the persecutor is certainly based on tradition as we discussed above. The primitive stage of the tradition is preserved in the rumour in Gal.1:23⁶⁷ and Paul himself must have confronted the charge in the

64 Lk.22:65, 23:39, cf. Mk.15:29.

65 Acts 13:45, 18:6.

66 *ἐμυρίεσθαι* is a hapaxlegomenon in N.T.

67 *ὅτι* in Gal.1:23 is a recitative, cf. Lightfoot, Gal. 86; Schier, Gal. 63, n.5; Betz, Gal. 51, n.217; esp. E.Bammel, "Gal.1:23", ZNW 59 (1968), 108-112.

Galatian controversy and defended himself against it in Gal.1:13ff.⁶⁸ However, it is in Acts that the tradition is more elaborated and modified, which implies a more developed stage of the theological problem.

At first, the image of the "young Saul" is invented in order to make a bridge between the Pauline tradition and Stephen's tradition, and further, in order to strengthen Paul's connection with Jerusalem for apologetic purposes. Then, the image of the persecutor Saul becomes progressively more radical, account after account, in chs. 9, 22, 26.

At the same time it is generalized, to make him the only or chief persecutor in the Book of Acts, corresponding to the paradigmatic martyrdom of Stephen, the only or chief persecuted one.⁶⁹ These features are intended to ^{show that} Saul was a real Jew, a law-abiding Jew, an enemy of Christianity, by various literary motifs.⁷⁰ They seem to correspond to the anti-Pauline tradition in Jewish Christianity which preserved a radicalized image of Paul in Jerusalem, as an enemy of Christianity⁷¹, in

68 ἠκούσατε in Gal.1:23 does not signify that the people of Galatia heard the story of Paul's pre-Christian life directly from Paul himself, so Lightfoot, Gal. 81; Burton, Gal. 55; Mussner, Gal. 78; Burchard, Zeuge, 49. If that is so, Paul does not need to defend himself. Thus it seems more likely that they heard it indirectly from the rumours or Paul's opponents, thus, O.Linton, "The Third Aspect : A Neglected Point of View", StTh 3 (1950/51), 79-95; Betz, Gal. 67, n.103. On the other hand, Schlier, Gal. 49 and Bruce, Gal.90, admit both direct and indirect channels.

69 According to 1 Thess.2:14, the persecution was not limited to Jerusalem or one specific person, but to the churches in Judaea, which Acts does not mention.

70 Klein summarizes the image of the persecutor Saul, "Perhorreszierung seines Tuns".

71 Pseudo-Clem. Rec. 1, 70, "homo quidam inimicus"; Ep. Petr. ad Jac. 2 and 3, "ἐχθρὸς ἀνθρώπου".

contrast to the contemporary Pauline tradition of Paul's pre-conversion period.⁷² Thus it seems likely that there are Judaizing tendencies in Paul's pre-conversion period in Acts.⁷³

72 1 Tim.1:13, τὸ πρότερον ὄντα βλάσφημον καὶ διώκην καὶ ὑβριστήν .

Cf. Acts of Peter (Actus Vercellensis ch.2), "Tunc blasphemus eram, modo autem blasphemor; tunc eram persecutor, modo ab allis persecutionem patior; tunc inimicus Christi, modo amicus oro esse" (Lipsius-Bonnet, vol.1, 47) and n.71.

73 On the other hand, Klein, Apostel, thinks "Perhorreszierung" of Paul's persecuting activity in Acts.

CHAPTER 6

THE CONVERSION AND CALL

Paul mentions his ultimate religious experience briefly in a compressed expression on a few occasions as part of his apology in order to defend his unique understanding of the Gospel and Apostleship (1 Cor.9:1, 15:8, Gal.1:12,25f, Phil.3:7f, cf. 2 Cor.4:6). On the other hand, Paul's conversion and call are repeatedly mentioned in Acts with vivid and picturesque scenes as one of the significant turning points in the Heilsgeschichte (Acts 9:3-19a, 22:6-16, 26:12-18, cf. 22:17-21).

(i) The Conversion and Call in the Pauline Epistles

Paul explicitly refers to his unique experience in 1 Cor.9:1, 15:8, Gal.1:12,15f, Phil.3:7f. and it is also implied in 2 Cor.4:6.¹ Paul does not mention anything that prepared his

1 Rom.7 is not a biographical section, cf. W.G.Kümmel, Römer 7 und die Bekennerung des Paulus, (Leipzig 1929) München 1974, esp. 74-138; R.Bultmann, "Römer 7 und die Anthropologie des Paulus", Exegetica : Aufsätze zur Erforschung des Neuen Testaments, ed. E.Dinkler, Tübingen 1967, 198-209; P.Althaus, Der Brief an die Römer, Göttingen 1970, 79-81; Wilkens, Röm. 101-121; O.Michel, Der Brief an die Römer, Göttingen 1978, 224f; Käsemann, Röm.192f.

conversion and call, for he was blameless^e concerning the Law and he was involved in persecuting activity owing to his zealousness for his ancestral tradition (Phil.3:6). Yet he experienced a total change of values by encounter with Jesus Christ without any preparation or any presupposition of psychological development (Phil.3:7f.).

Paul expresses his conversion and call experience, firstly, by employing eschatological language in Gal.1:12, ἀποκάλυψις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ and in Gal.1:16, ἀποκαλύψαι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐμοί . The word ἀποκάλυψις and its verb ἀποκαλύψαι signify a disclosure of the hidden truth at the eschatological turning point,² that is, the unveiling of Jesus Christ³ the son of God, as the hidden truth at the eschatological critical moment. The phrase ἐν ἐμοί in Gal.1:16 may be equivalent of the simple dative ἐμοί .⁴ Nevertheless, Paul normally employs ἀποκαλύψαι with the dative but without ἐν⁵ which implies that ἐν ἐμοί here places some stress Paul's inward experience.⁶ At the same time,

2 Gal.3:23f,28f, 4:4; 1 Cor.1:7, 2 Thess.1:7, 1 Pet.1:7,13, cf. 4 Ezra 7:28; A.Oepke, "ἀποκαλύπτω κτλ", TDNT vol.3, 563-592, esp. 583; K.Kertelge, "Apokalypsis Jesou Christou : Gal.1:12", Neutestament und Kirche : Für R.Schnackenburg, ed. J.Gnilka, Freiburg / Basel / Wien 1974, 266-281; T.Holtz, "ἀποκαλύπτω κτλ", EWNT vol.1, 312-317.

3 Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ in Gal.1:12, is objective genitive, which is apparent from Gal.1:16, so Burton, Gal. 41ff; Stuhlmacher, Evangelium, 71; Mussner, Gal.68; J.D.G.Dunn, Jesus and the Spirit, London 1978, 108.

4 Blass-Debrunner-Rehkopf, ss.220,1; Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich, ἐν , IV,4; Stuhlmacher, Evangelium, vol.1, 82, n.1; A.Oepke, Der Brief des Paulus an die Galater, Berlin 1973, 60f; Mussner, Gal. 86f; Betz, Gal. 71, n.148.

5 1 Cor.2:10, 14:30, Phil.3:15; cf. Eph.3:5.

6 Lietzmann, An die Galater, Tübingen 1971, 8; Burton, Gal. 50f; G.S.Duncan, The Epistle of Paul to the Galatians, London 1934 27f; Schlier, Gal. 55; Dunn, Jesus, 105, 387 n.39.

this eschatological revelation of Jesus Christ, that is, the content of the Gospel of crucifixion and resurrection,⁷ the knowledge of Jesus Christ,⁸ is directly connected with Paul's commission to carry out the Gentile mission, namely, apostleship, in Gal.1:16, ἵνα εὐαγγελίσωμαι αὐτοὺς ἐν ἔθνεσιν .⁹ Paul's consciousness of a call is modeled on that of the servant of Jahweh in the Second Isaiah and Jeremiah which is attested by the quotation from Is.49:1 and Jer.1:5 in Gal.1:15.¹⁰ In other words, the conversion and call are one and the same experience for Paul, or more precisely, the Damascus experience¹¹ in the Pauline Epistles is a call rather than a conversion,¹² and it might have

7 Gal.1:1, cf. Rom.1:4, 1 Cor.15:3-7, Phil.2:6-11.

8 Phil.3:8, cf. Eph.4:13, 2 Pet.3:18.

9 This connection of commission with conversion may be more strengthened by adding 1 Cor.9:16 as a reference to Paul's conversion and call experience, cf. E.Käsemann, "Eine paulinischen Variation des 'Amor Patri'", ZThK 56 (1959), 138-154 = EVB vol.2, 223-239. In that case, it also intensifies *the impression* that Paul was involved in missionary activity from the very beginning after the conversion and call experience. However, the call to ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν in Gal. 1:16 is not yet expanded into ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν in Rom.1:5, ἐν τοῖς λαοῖς ἔθνεσιν in Rom.1:13, cf. εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη in Rom.16:26, which happened after the incident at Antioch. Thus Paul received the commission to the Gentile mission, but not the universal mission, at Damascus. The commission at Jerusalem in Acts 22:17-21 is secondary.

10 Cf. J.Munck, Paul and the Salvation of Mankind, ET Atlanta 1977, 11-35; T.Holtz, "Zum Selbstverständnis des Apostels Paulus", ThLZ 91 (1966), 321-330; J.Dupont, "The Conversion and its Influence on his Understanding of Salvation by Faith", Apostolic History and the Gospel : Biblical and Historical Essays presented to F.F.Bruce on his 60th Birthday, edd. W.W.Gasque, R.P.Martin, Exeter 1970, 176-194; K.Kertelge, "Das Apostelamt des Paulus, seiner Ursprung und seine Bedeutung" BZ NF 14 (1970), 161-181.

11 It is apparent that the conversion and call is connected with "the land of Damascus", but it seems likely from Gal.1:17 that it took place "in Damascus" rather than "on the way to Damascus".

12 Cf. K.Stendahl, Paul Among Jews and Gentiles, London 1977, 7-23.

been closer to a shift from one sect of Judaism to another.¹³

Thus the conversion and call are for Paul the decisive eschatological experience, which is based on ^αtradition of inwardness; its seeing is not physical perception,¹⁴ for ἀποκαλύψεις does not signify "vision" in this context.¹⁵

Secondly, Paul mentions his inward experience by applying visionary language in 1 Cor.9:1, οὐχὶ ἴδυσθαι τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν ἑώρακα and in 1 Cor.15:8, ὡφθη καὶ μοί. But it is interesting to note that Paul does not give any detail—there is nothing more than these expressions, even though he tries to describe his visionary experience ὀπτασία καὶ ἀποκαλύψεις in 2 Cor.12:1-10.¹⁶ This would suggest that the Damascus experience is not an objective outward sensory event which can be observed by others, but more likely that it is a subjective inward visionary experience which can be perceived only by the seer,¹⁷ and, further, it should be distinguished even from ὀπτασία καὶ ἀποκαλύψεις in 2 Cor.12:1. This view is also supported by the fact that Phil.3:7f. does not refer to any visionary element,¹⁸ in

13 Betz, Gal. 64-66 and 69.

14 Against K.H.Rengstorf, Die Auferstehung Jesu, Witten (Ruhr) 1960, 117-127.

15 D.Lührmann, Das Offenbarungsverständnis bei Paulus und in paulinischen Gemeinden, Neukirchen 1965, 40f, 73.

16 Dunn, Jesus, 108, "He (=Paul) is unable to affirm more than the bare that of the experience - 'I saw Jesus' - but that he is able to affirm in all good conscience." S.Kim, The Origin of Paul's Gospel, (Tübingen 1981) Grand Rapids 1982, 55f, does not distinguish Paul's own inward experience from the outward one in Acts, because he does not make any distinction between the accounts in Acts and Paul's own references in the Epistles.

17 W.Schmithals, The Office of Apostle in the Early Church, ET London 1977, 25; Dunn, Jesus, 104-109; Betz, Gal. 71.

18 Lührmann, Offenbarungsverständnis, 74.

contrast to the repeated mention of vision in Acts. Thus the Damascus experience is an inward visionary experience and its seeing is not mental perception.¹⁹

Thirdly, Paul's inward experience of conversion and call is also reflected in 2 Cor.4:6, *ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ὁ εἰπὼν· ἐκ σκότους φῶς λάμπει, ὃς ἔλαμψεν ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν πρὸς φωτισμὸν τῆς γνώσεως τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν προσώπῳ Χριστοῦ*. But it is here that the conversion terminology is interpreted with a cosmological expression, which has developed in Jewish liturgical tradition,²⁰ relating conversion with creation and further, with transition from darkness to light. Here Paul particularly mentions an inner illumination which takes place in the heart, *ὃς ἔλαμψεν ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν*; with this conversion terminology, he asserts that there is a new creation in the heart²¹ that reflects the glory of the Lord,²² the image of God.²³ Thus the conversion and call is a spiritual inner illumination²⁴ and its seeing is visionary perception rather than physical or mental perception.²⁵

19 Against, W. Michaelis, "ὄραω κτλ" TDNT vol.5, 315-382, esp. 355-361.

20 It must have been related to the Jewish liturgy, cf. Test. Levi 19:1, *ἔλεσθε οὖν ἑαυτοῖς ἢ τὸ σκότος ἢ τὸ φῶς, ἢ νόμον κυρίου ἢ ἔργα Βελιάρ;* Test. Gad 5:7, *ἢ γὰρ κατὰ θεὸν ἀληθῆς μετάνοια ἀναίρει τὴν ἀνομίαν, καὶ φυγαδεύει τὸ σκότος, καὶ φωτίζει τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς, καὶ γνώσιν παρέχει τῇ ψυχῇ, καὶ ὁδηγεῖ τὸ διαβούλιον, πρὸς σωτηρίαν.* J.A. 8:10, *ὁ φωσποίησας τὰ πάντα καὶ καλέσας ἀπὸ τοῦ σκοτοῦς εἰς τὸ φῶς, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς πλάνης εἰς τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ ἀπὸ θανάτου εἰς τὴν ζωὴν, σὺ αὐτὸς κύριε φωσποίησον καὶ εὐλόγησον τὴν παρθένον ταύτην.* Acts 26:18 retains this conversion language, cf. Eph. 5:8, 1 Pet. 2:9, 2 Pet. 1:3; John 8:12, 12:46, 1 John 2:8; 1 Clem. 59:2.

21 2 Cor. 5:17, Gal. 6:15.

22 2 Cor. 3:16-18.

23 2 Cor. 4:4, cf. Col. 1:15.

24 Cf. U. Wilkens, "Die Bekehrung des Paulus als religionsgeschichtliches Problem", ZThK 56 (1959), 273-293; Dupont, "Conversion".

25 Thus Dunn, Jesus, 104-107.

(ii) The Historical Core of the Tradition in Acts

We assume

1. that the accounts of Paul's conversion and call in Acts are based on tradition, because Acts agrees with the Pauline Epistles in its basic points.

Firstly, Paul's conversion and call takes place without expectation or preparation, both in Acts and the Pauline Epistles; and his persecuting activity precedes the conversion and call in Acts and the Epistles.

Secondly, Acts and the Pauline Epistles refer to Damascus as the place where the conversion and call happen to Paul. Nevertheless, Acts explicitly mentions it as "on the way" (Acts 9:17,27) "near Damascus" (Acts 9:3, 22:26a, 26:12, cf. 9:8b, 22:10b,11b); while Gal.1:17, *καὶ πάντες ὑπέστρεψα εἰς Δαμασκόν* , implies that it took place "in Damascus", that is, in "the land of Damascus".

Thirdly, the crucial point of the Damascus experience is seeing the Lord and it is an individual experience of Paul both in Acts²⁶ and the Pauline Epistles. However, Acts stresses that the Damascus event reflects not only the personal experience of Paul but also an outward objective visionary event which affects others as well;²⁷ while on the other hand, the Pauline Epistles mention it as an inward eschatological illumination. Nevertheless, both Acts and the Epistles retain the verb which signifies the seeing

26 Only Paul was blinded, though others hear the voice or see the light.

27 The companion of Paul hear the voice of the Lord but see nothing in Acts 9:7, while they see the light but hear nothing in Acts 22:9.

as the radiant light or illumination (Acts 9:3b, περιήστραψεν
φῶς ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ; 22:6b, ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ περιεστράψατο
φῶς ἰκανὸν περὶ ἐμέ 26:13 οὐρανόθεν ὑπὲρ τῆν λαμπρότητα τοῦ
ἡλίου περιλάμψαν με φῶς / 2 Cor.4:6, ὅς ἔλαμψεν ἐν ταῖς
καρδίαις ἡμῶν).

Fourthly, Paul's conversion is connected with a call to the
Gentile mission both in Acts and in the Pauline Epistles (Acts
9:15, 22:14f, 22:21, 26:16b-17 / Gal.1:16, cf. 1 Cor.9:16). But
in the Pauline Epistles, the conversion and call are one and the
same experience and the commission is given directly to Paul;
in Acts, on the other hand, the conversion and call are related, *though*
different ^{and} separate, scenes, and the word of commission is given
to Paul indirectly through Ananias.

(iii) The Text

Paul's conversion and call stories are three times depicted in
Acts 9:3-19a, 22:6-26, 26:12-18²⁸ and a related Temple vision
story is given in Acts 22:17-21. The Damascus event in Acts
consists of the conversion story (Acts 9:3-9, 22:6-11, 26:12-15)
and the call story (Acts 9:10-19a, 22:12-16, 26:16-18, cf.
22:17-21).

28 Variations between the accounts are not due to the difference
of the sources, thus, H.H.Wendt, "Die Hauptquelle der Apostel-
geschichte", ZNW 24 (1925), 293-305; E.Hirsch, "Die drei
Berichte der Apostelgeschichte über die Bekehrung des Paulus"
ZNW 28 (1929), 305-312; K.Lake, "The Conversion of Paul and
Events Immediately Following It", *Beg.* vol.5, 188-195; but
these should be ascribed to the editorial work, thus E. von
Dobschütz, "Die Berichte über die Bekehrung des Paulus", ZNW
29 (1930), 144-147, and recent commentaries.

(1) Acts 9:3-19a

a. Acts 9:3-9

After the opening of the sentence written in the Septuagint style in 9:3,²⁹ the author introduces the tradition of Paul's conversion with the editorial journey motifs, *ἡγορεύεσθαι* and *ἐξήστει*, which connect the previous setting, Jerusalem, with the following setting, Damascus.³⁰ But the author objectifies the light motif as an outwardly manifested phenomenon by employing the classical literary topos of epiphany³¹ in order to describe the divine intervention as a radiant light from heaven, that is, a mighty divine apparition. This is motivated by the apologetic purpose of presenting Paul as a witness of the resurrection, which is stressed by the corporeal or physical seeing.³²

Corresponding to this divine apparition, Saul falls down to the ground in 9:4a; this motif is based on the Old Testament and Jewish epiphany stories,³³ but it also intensifies the outward

29 *ἐν* cum inf. cf. Moulton, Proleg. 214; Blass-Debrunner-Rehkopf, ss.404; Bruce, Acts, 81; Haenchen, Acts, 167, n.1. *ἐξέβητο* cum acc. et inf. cf. Moulton, Proleg. 16; Blass-Debrunner-Rehkopf, ss.408; Bruce, Acts, 117; Haenchen, Acts, 215, n.3.

30 Cf. Stolle, Zeuge, 167-170.

31 R.Pfister, "Epiphanie", Pauly-Wissowa, suppl. vol.4 (1924), 277-323, esp. 314-321; E.Pax, "Ephiphanie", RAC vol.5 (1962), 832-909, esp. 867-876; Nilsson, Geschichte, vol.2, 214-216; González, "φῶς κτλ" "TDNT vol.9, 310-358; idem. Apog. 65, "Lichterscheinung gehören zum Apparat von Epiphanien", further, H.Windisch, "Die Christusepiphanie vor Damaskus (Acts 9,22,26) und ihre religionsgeschichtlichen Parallelen", ZNW 31 (1932), 1-23, esp. 15, "Ein altes mythologisches Erzählungsmotiv liegt da zunächst in dem Bericht von der Lichterscheinung vor." Cf. ch.9, n.43.

32 This corporealization of the resurrection is also seen in Acts 1:3f.

33 Cf. Gen.17:3, Levi 9:24; Num.16:22, 20:6, Josh.5:14, Judges 13:20, 1 King 18:39, 2 Chron.7:3, Ezek.1:28, 9:8, 43:3, 44:4, Dan.8:17f; Tob.14:16, Enoch 14:14, 71:2,11; J.A.14:3.

phenomena of the Damascus event in Acts.

The author incorporates a dialogue in 9:4b-6. Although the dialogue is retained in three accounts, this dialogue should be ascribed to the author, because it is a literary device which is particularly employed in the apparition scenes in the Old Testament and in Jewish literature, namely, according to Lohfink's terminology, "apparition dialogue".³⁴

After the introductory formula, in 9:4a, the double vocative address, $\Sigma\alpha\upsilon\lambda\ \Sigma\alpha\upsilon\lambda$,³⁵ in 9:4b is written in the Septuagint form, which presupposes that Jesus spoke to Saul in Aramaic.³⁶ But it is apparent that the author has embedded the tradition into the dialogue formula, that is, the image of the persecutor Saul in Acts 9:4b, cf. 22:7b, 26:14b, $\tau\epsilon\ \mu\epsilon\ \delta\iota\omega\kappa\epsilon\iota\varsigma$; Following the human's response in 9:5a, Jesus reveals himself in 9:5b, $\epsilon\gamma\omega\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\mu\iota\ \text{Ἰησοῦς ἐν σὺν διώκεις}$. At this point the tension between Jesus and Paul dramatically heightens to its extreme, due to the literary dialogue formula.³⁷

34 G.Lohfink, "Eine alttestamentliche Darstellungsform für Gotteserscheinungen in der Damaskusberichten (Apg.9,22,26)", BZ NF 9 (1965), 246-257; idem. The Conversion of St. Paul, ET Chicago 1976, 61-69, who counts Gen.31:11-13, Ex.3:2-10, Jub.44:5, 4 Ezra 12:2-13, Apoc. Abraham 8:2-5, 9:1-5, J.A. 14:6-8 (long form); Gen.22:1f, 22:11f, 1 Sam.3:4-14, Jub.18:1f, 18:10f, Apoc. Abraham 11:3-5, 12:6f, 14:1-3, 9, 19:1-3, 20:1-3, Apoc. Moses 41, Test. Job 3:1f, Acts 9:10f. 10:3-5 (short form). On the other hand, Burchard, Zeuge, 88f, observes that this type of dialogue is not exclusively limited to the apparition scenes but also seen in secular dialogues such as in Gen.27:18f, 1 Sam.1:8 (different from MT), 3:16f, Tob.2:3S, 6:11S, J.A. 4:3-6.

35 The double vocative is often seen in Luke-Acts, cf. Lk.8:24, 10:41, 22:31.

36 The archaic form of $\Sigma\alpha\upsilon\lambda$ is utilized for King Saul in Acts 13:21.

37 But 9:5b has nothing to do with the Pauline "body of Christ" ecclesiology, cf. Haenchen, Acts, 322; Schneider, Apg. vol.2, 26 and n.38.

In 9:6, the author introduces the commission form,³⁸ but the content (commissioning Paul to be a Gentile missionary) is not given directly here (by contrast with Gal.1:16) and the Lord simply commands Paul to go to Damascus.³⁹

The effect of the divine apparition is, firstly, depicted in the description of the companions of Paul in 9:7. The noun, *οἱ συνοδευόντες*, signifies the "caravan", that is, "the party of travellers who journeyed together for protection and guide",⁴⁰ but they are not Paul's temple escort. They stand speechless,⁴¹ because of fear in 9:7a. However, these features are based on the typical features of epiphany scenes in Greco-Roman literature.⁴² This scene contradicts the later description in 26:14 that they all fall down to the ground with Paul.⁴³ Further, another assertion in 9:7b that Paul's companion hear the voice but do not see any thing also contradicts the later account that they see light but they do not hear the voice in 22:9.⁴⁴ These contradictions are clear examples that author's intention in his historiography is not the pursuit of historical truth but rather the persuasion of the reader by the dramatic effects. However,

38 Cf. T.Y.Mullins, "New Testament Commission Forms, Especially in Luke-Acts", JBL 95 (1976), 603-614; B.J.Hubbard, "The Role of Commissioning Accounts in Acts", Perspectives, 187-198.

39 *ἐπεὶ* in 9:6 is repeated in the second commission given to Ananias in 9:16, connected with the suffering motif.

40 Beg. vol.4, 101; Haenchen, Acts, 322 and n.5; Schneider, Apq. vol.2, 27, n.43; Roloff, Apq. 150.

41 *ἄφωνοι* is a hapaxlegomenon in N.T. Cf. Lk.1:20.

42 The motif of speechless^{ness} in epiphany, cf. Homer, Od. xix, 42; Euripides, Bacch. 1084f; Virgil, Aen. iv, 279f; Apuleius, Met. xi, 14; Pfister, "Epiphanie", 318. The motif of fear in epiphany, cf. Pfister, "Epiphanie", 317f.

43 Beg. vol.4, 101; Marshall, Acts, 394; cf. Haenchen, Acts, 323.

44 Beg. vol.4, 101; Conzelmann, Apq. 65; Marshall, Acts, 170, 335.

the motif of hearing the voice but not seeing the apparition is based on the Old Testament and Jewish literature.⁴⁵ Thus these descriptions of Paul's companions also stress the outwardness of the Damascus event which not only objectifies the resurrection of Jesus Christ but also heightens the witness of Paul, for apologetic purposes.⁴⁶

Secondly, the effect of the divine apparition is shown in the scene of Saul himself in 9:8f. The companions lift Saul up but Saul finds himself blind in 9:8.⁴⁷ Blindness is another feature of Greco-Roman epiphany scenes⁴⁸ which shows a manifestation of the divine power in the punitive miracle⁴⁹ as in Acts 13:4-12.

The blindness continues for three days⁵⁰ in 9:9. Meanwhile, Saul fasts⁵¹ and prays⁵², for penance; fasting and prayer (here

45 Deut.4:12; Ps.Sol.18:1; cf. Stählin, ApG. 135; Haenchen, Acts, 322, n.6; Conzelmann, ApG. 65.

46 Roloff, ApG. 150.

47 χερσαγαγεῖν is another word conventionally used for blind man, cf. Judge 16:26A, Tob.11:26S, Acts 22:11, Josephus, Ant. v,8, 12; Cf. Acts 13:11, Beg. vol.4, 101; Haenchen, Acts, 323, n.2.

48 Pfister, "Epiphanie", 317.

49 W.Nestle, "Legenden vom Tod der Gottesverächter", Archiv für Religionswissenschaft 33 (1936), 246-269; Windisch, "Christophanie", 5, "Die Blendung ist auch Strafe gedacht"; Burchard, Zeuge, 97, "Dass, sie Strafe sein soll, hat Windisch aus der Heliodorlegende erschlossen". However, Haenchen, Acts, 323; Conzelmann, ApG. 65; Schneider, ApG. vol.2, 28, n.46; Roloff, ApG. 150, do not take the blinding here as a punitive miracle.

50 The number "three" is round and conventional; cf. J.B.Bauer, "Drei Tage", Bib 39 (1958), 354-358; G.Delling, "τρεῖς καὶ ", TDNT vol.8, 216-225.

51 The phrase καὶ οὐκ ἔφαγεν οὐδὲ ἐπίεν does not mean that "he was suffering too much from the shock of his experience to eat and drink", thus, Beg. vol.4, 102, but fasting, cf. Lk.4:2, 7:33, Acts 23:12,21, thus, Haenchen, Acts, 323; Conzelmann, ApG. 65; Burchard, Zeuge, 98; Schneider, ApG. vol.1, 28; Roloff, ApG. 150.

52 Prayer is presupposed here, cf. 9:11. Cf. A.T.Trites, "The Prayer Motif in Luke-Acts", Perspectives, 168-186.

οὐκ ἐφραγεν οὐδὲ κτείνῃ) denote metanoia motifs, and Paul's piety increases, in dramatic contrast to his pre-conversion activity.⁵³ The enemy of Christianity is transformed into the friend of Christianity. This scene also has a resemblance to pre-baptismal fasting, which makes a link with the following Ananias story.⁵⁴

b. Acts 9:10-19a

The story of Ananias, that is, the commissioning story constitutes the second part of the Damascus event in Acts. It starts from Acts 9:10a and the dramatis personae change from Christ and Saul to Ananias and Saul. The author introduces Ananias with τις as usual,⁵⁵ but doubtless it is derived from tradition. The name Ananias suggests his Jewish background as in Acts 5:1 and 23:2⁵⁶ but μαθητής here refers to a Christian as shown in 9:13.⁵⁷

The author describes a visionary scene in 9:10b-14 in the dialogue form, but it is based on the "double vision" pattern in Greco-Roman literature.⁵⁸ The double vision is, according to Lohfink, "two visions or dreams correspond with each other, refer to each other, or again work together, toward a single purpose or

53 Löning, Saulustradition, 71-75.

54 Cf. 9:11b; pre-baptismal fasting, Did.7:4, Justin, Apol. 61, Tertullian, Bapt. 20, cf. Conzelmann, ApG. 65; Schneider, vol.2, and n.48.

55 τις ὄνυματι, Lk.1:5, 10:38, 16:20, Acts 5:1, 8:9, 9:10, 33,36, 10:1, 16:1,14, 18:2,7,24, 19:24, 20:9; τις, Acts 9:43, 10:5,6, 19:14, 21:16, 22:12, 24:1, 25:19, cf. Mk.15:21, John 11:1,49.

56 Cf. Haenchen, Acts, 237, n.1; Schneider, ApG. vol.1, 373, n.26.

57 Cf. 9:1,

58 Cf. A.Wikenhauser, "Doppelträume", Bib. ... 29 (1948), 100-111; K.Kerényi, Die griechisch-orientalische Romanliteratur in religionsgeschichtlicher Beleuchtung, (Tübingen 1927) Darmstadt 1962, 166f; Conzelmann, ApG. 65.

goal". The author employs this literary device at significant turning points in the Heilsgeschichte in ch.9 and in ch.10, that is, at the dramatic changes, from persecutor to witness of the resurrection, and from Jewish mission to Gentile mission, in order to depict the miraculous character of the Damascus event and the divine origin of Paul's commission to the Gentile world.

In 9:10b, Saul sees a vision⁵⁹ and the author incorporates an apparition dialogue, which Lohfink calls the short form. The author's concern is to show how miraculously both Ananias and Saul are guided to meet each other. "The street called Straight", "the house of Judas" are ascribed to tradition, as well as "Saul of Tarsus", but all these details are employed to stress that the apparition to Ananias is not a fantasy but a concrete reality like the details of "Simon surnamed Peter", and "the house of Simon the tanner whose house is near the sea" in the visionary scene in Acts 10:5f.⁶⁰ The prayer motif in 9:11b is a typical Lukan one which indicates someone's piety as in 9:9,⁶¹ but it is connected with vision in 9:12.⁶²

59 *ὄρασις* and *ὀπτασία* are "visions" given in awake, in contrast to *ὄναρ* which is given in asleep, that is, "dream". However, *ὄραμα* is not so clear; it sometimes denotes "vision" as here and sometimes "dream", cf. ch.9, n.44. *ὄρασις* occurs in Acts 2:17, Rev.4:3 (dis), 9:17; *ὀπτασία* in Lk.1:22, 24:23, Acts 26:19, 2 Cor.12:1; and *ὄναρ* Mt.1:20, 2:12f, 19, 22, 27:19 in 10:10, 11:5, 22:17, cf. ch.6, n.142.

60 Haenchen, Acts, 323, "a providentia specialissima is at work in the smallest detail"; Cadbury, Making, 251-253; idem. Beg. vol.4, 102f see the author's interest in hospitality.

61 *ἰφεῶ* in 9:11b is a Septuagintism.

62 Prayer associated with vision, cf. Lk.1:10, 3:21, 9:28, 22:43, Acts 10:3, 10:30, 22:17, cf. J.A.14:1; Haenchen, Acts, 324, n.1; Burchard, Zeuge, 99, n.164.

In 9:12 the coming of Ananias and his laying on of hands are foretold in Saul's vision, which would be outwardly manifested afterwards. Inward divine intervention effects outward human activities.⁶³ Ananias shows strong hesitation and refusal, when he is informed about Saul in 9:13, but this hesitation motif is often seen in the Old Testament commissioning scenes.⁶⁴ The disciples are called *οἱ ἄγιοι* in 9:13, which is a common term for Christians in the Pauline Epistles,⁶⁵ on the one hand, and they are also called *οἱ ἐπικαλούμενοι τὸ ὄνομά σου* in 9:14, which is again found in the Pauline Epistles,⁶⁶ on the other.

In 9:15, the assurance is given to Ananias which is also based on the Old Testament commissioning scenes and the word of commission is offered, not to Saul, but to Ananias with *πορεύου κε*. The first part of the word of commission, *σκεῦος ἐκλογῆς ἐστίν μοι οὗτος*, has some sort of tradition behind it, because *σκεῦος ἐκλογῆς* is a Hebraic genitive of quality,⁶⁷ and Paul uses similar metaphorical phrases in Rom.9:20-23.⁶⁸ Moreover, Paul applies this metaphorical word to himself and his fellow-

63 Acts 1:7f, 11, 9:15f, 11:7-10, 16:9, 18:9f, 19:21, 27:24 etc. cf. ch.3, n.94.

64 Cf. Mullins, "Commission Form", 605f; Hubbard, "Commissioning Accounts".

65 Cf. ch.5, n.47.

66 Cf. ch.5, n.48.

67 *σκεῦος ἐκλογῆς* = *σκεῦος ἐκλεκτόν*; Blass-Debrunner-Rehkopf, ss.165,1, and n.2. But it is due to LXX expressions such as *σκεῦος θανάτου* in Ps.7:14 (13), *σκεῦος ὀργῆς* in Jer.50 (27):25, cf. Haenchen, Acts, 325, n.2; Conzelmann, ApG. 65ff; against Löning, Saulustradition, 32f. Cf. C.Maurer, "σκεῦος", TDNT vol.7, 358-367, esp. 364, n.44; G.Schrenk, "ἐκλογῆ", TDNT vol.4, 176-181, esp. 179.

68 Rom.9:22, *σκεῦος ὀργῆς* and Rom.9:23, *σκεῦος ἐλέους* are both the genitive of quality, cf. Blass-Debrunner-Rehkopf, ss.165, n.2; Maurer, "σκεῦος", 364; Löning, Saulustradition, 33-35, Roloff, ApG. 151.

Christians in 2 Cor.4:7, ἐν ὄστρακίνοις σκεύεσιν ,⁶⁹ (and Paul is also familiar with ἐκλογή⁷⁰). But the phrase, σκεῦος ἐκλογῆς , is non-Pauline, which makes a sharp contrast to Pauline concepts of σκεῦος ἔλεους in Rom.9:23⁷¹ and σκεῦος ὄστρακίνα in 2 Cor.4:7.⁷² Further, the Pauline conception of ἐκλογή or ἐκλέγεσθαι is different from Lukan conception of election. On the one hand, in the Pauline letters, the noun ἐκλογή is applied to the election of all Israel (Rom.11:28), the ancestor of Israel (Rom.9:11) or the remnant of Israel (Rom.11:5,7), but it also signifies the whole Christian communities (1 Thess.1:4); and the verb ἐκλέγεσθαι is utilized to refer to Christians in general (1 Cor.1:27f cf. Eph.1:4). In Acts, on the other hand, the verb ἐκλέγεσθαι is exclusively limited to the election of the leading Christians from among the disciples in 1:2,24, 6:5, 15:22,25, although Acts is familiar with the election of the ancestors of Israel in 13:17.⁷³ Furthermore, σκεῦος ἐκλογῆς is not connected with Paul's own conception of his own election, ἀφορίσσειν ,⁷⁴ κάλειν⁷⁵ or χάρις .⁷⁶ However, σκεῦος ἐκλογῆς in Acts must have been chosen as more suitable for the polemical situation in order to underline Paul's election as the

69 Maurer, " σκεῦος ", 365.

70 Rom.9:11, 11:5,7,28, 1 Thess.1:4.

71 Against, Löning, Saulustradition, 33f.

72 Against, Maurer, " σκεῦος ", 365.

73 Cf. G.Schrenk, " ἐκλεγομαι ", TDNT vol.4, 144, 168-176, esp. 174; J.Eckert, " ἐκλεγομαι ", EWNT vol.1, 1112-1114.

74 Gal.1:15, Rom.1:1. Cf. this verb is used in Acts 13:2, not in the Damascus event, but at the beginning of the universal mission.

75 Gal.1:15, 1 Cor.15:9, cf. κλητός Rom.1:1, 1 Cor.1:1.

76 Gal.1:15, 1 Cor.15:10, Rom.1:5; cf. A.Satake, "Apostolat und Gnade bei Paulus", NTS 15 (1968/69), 96-107.

witness of the resurrection.

The second part of the word of commission, τοῦ βαστάζειν τὸ ὄνομα Ἰησοῦ, in 9:15, may have some tradition behind it, because it recalls Gal.6:17, τὰ στίγματα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματί μου βαστάζω cf. 2 Cor.4:10, πάντοτε τὴν νέκρωσιν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματι περιφέροντες.⁷⁷ But it is in Acts that the figurative sense of βαστάζειν is inclined to shift from the Pauline sense of corporally carrying the body of Christ in himself to the later nuance of verbal exaltation and confession of Christ as the witness of the resurrection.⁷⁸ This is apparent from the fact that the verb βαστάζειν is connected with ἐνώπιον ἔθνῶν τε καὶ βασιλέων υἱῶν τε Ἰσραὴλ.⁷⁹ Moreover, Paul does not use the verb βαστάζειν but εὐαγγελίσεσθαι for his call (Gal.1:15, cf. 1 Cor.9:16).

The third part of the word of commission ἐνώπιον ἔθνῶν τε καὶ βασιλέων υἱῶν τε Ἰσραὴλ is parallel to Paul's own words, in Gal.1:16, ἵνα εὐαγγελίσωμαι αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν. This threefold expression is not only reminiscent of the twofold expression in Lk.21:12 (=Mk.13:9),⁸⁰ but also of the fourfold expression in Acts 4:25-28 which summarizes the passion narrative

77 Lk.14:27 (different from Mt.10:38) has a similar metaphorical sense. Cf. F.Büchsel, "βαστάζω", TDNT vol.1, 596; W.Stenger, "βαστάζω", EWNT vol.1, 499f.

78 βαστάζειν τὸ ὄνομα Ἰησοῦ, cf. Herm.sim. 8,10,3; 9,28,5; cf. φορεῖν τὸ ὄνομα Ἰησοῦ, Herm.sim. 9,13,2 (dis); 9,13,3 (dis); 9,14,6 (dis); 9,16,3; φέρειν τὸ ὄνομα Polycarp Phil. 6:3; περιφέρειν τὸ ὄνομα Ign.Eph.7:1; cf. Büchsel, "βαστάζω", 596, n.7; Lohfink, "'Meinen Namen zu tragen ...' (Apg.9:15)", BZ NF 10 (1966), 108-115; Burchard, Zeuge, 100.

79 Against, Burchard, Zeuge, 100f, "Ausserden hat das einfache βαστάζειν bei Lukas sonst immer den Unterton des Schleppers was zu Mission nicht passt."

80 Löning, Saulustradition, 39, n.56.

in the Gospel, quoting Ps.2:1f. Thus the triple division of the people who represent the world should be ascribed to the author.⁸¹ The author intends to show that Paul is not only the Gentile missionary, but also the universal missionary who would carry out missionary activity both in the Jewish world and the Gentile world. This is an expansion of the commissioning, being intended to fit in with Paul's activity in the rest of the Book of Acts.

The fourth part of the word of commission in Acts 9:16, *ἐγὼ γὰρ ἰποδείξω αὐτῷ ὅσα δεῖ αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος μου παθεῖν*, is parallel to Paul's own motif of sufferings, e.g. in 1 Cor.4:9-13, 2 Cor.4:7-12, 6:4-10, 11:23-33, Gal.5:24, 6:17, Phil.3:10, cf. Col.1:24.⁸² Paul also mentions the divine compulsion for his ministry in 1 Cor.9:16, *ἀνάγκη γὰρ μοι ἐπίκειται*.⁸³ But it is interesting to note that Paul does not refer to his own apostolic sufferings by *πάσχειν*, particularly in the list of sufferings in 1 Cor.4:9-13, 2 Cor.6:4-12, 11:23-33, in spite of *πάθηματᾶ*⁸⁴ and *θλίψις*,⁸⁵ but he does apply it to sufferings of Christians in general in 1 Cor.12:26,

81 Cf. ch.4, n.29, further for the parallel motifs between Jesus in the Gospel and Paul in Acts, cf. A.J.Mattill, Jr., "The Jesus-Paul Parallels and the Purpose of Luke-Acts: H.H.Evans Reconsidered", *NovTest* 17 (1975), 15-46, esp. 33.

82 Käsemann, "Die Legitimität des Apostels", *ZNW* 41 (1942), 33ff = Das Paulusbild in der neueren deutschen Forschung (WdF 24), ed. K.H.Rengstorf, Darmstadt 1964, 475ff; C.K.Barrett, The Signs of an Apostle, London 1970, 41-44; Schmithals, Office, 222-224.

83 Cf. Käsemann, "Amor Fati"; W.Grundmann, "ἀνάγκη κτλ", *TDNT* vol.1, 344-347; A.Strobel, "ἀνάγκη κτλ", *EWNT* vol.1, 185-190.

84 Rom.8:18, 2 Cor.1:5-7, Phil.3:10, cf. Col.1:24, 2 Tim.3:11.

85 Rom.5:3, 8:35, 2 Cor.1:4, 8, 4:17, 6:4, Phil.1:17, 4:14, cf. Col.1:24, Eph.3:13; Schmithals, Office, 47-50.

1 Thess.2:14, Phil.1:29.⁸⁶ However, the language of sufferings in Acts 9:16a, *ὅσα δεῖ ... παθεῖν*, is a reminiscence of the passion prediction of Jesus in the Gospel in Lk.9:22 (=Mk.8:31), *δεῖ ... πολλὰ παθεῖν* rather than the Pauline terminology (*πάθηματα* and *θλίψεις*), or the Pauline term for divine compulsion, *ἀνάγκη*. This view is strengthened by the fact that a divine *δεῖ* governs not only the whole life of Jesus in Luke-Acts,⁸⁷ but also the whole life of Paul.⁸⁸ Furthermore, the concept of *πάσχειν* in Luke-Acts is a euphemism for death, as in classical usage, rather than for sufferings.⁸⁹ Similarly, *ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματός μου* in Acts 9:16 is a reminiscence of *ἔνεκεν τοῦ ὀνόματός μου* in Lk.21:12 (different from Mk.13:9) cf. Lk.21:17, Acts 5:41, 15:26, 21:13 rather than *ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ* in Phil.1:29.⁹⁰ Thus the words of commission in Acts 9:15f. are editorial, although there must have some traditional material behind it. The author intends to exhibit Paul's commission to the world-wide universal mission in a polemical situation, as a mission which carries on Jesus' ministry and expands it to the whole world, with the Jesus-Paul parallel motifs.

86 W.Michaelis, " *πάσχω* κτλ ", TDNT vol.5, 904-939, esp. 919; Löning, *Saulustradition*, 40, n.68.

87 Lk.2:49, 4:43, 13:33, 19:5; Lk.9:22, 17:25, 24:7,26, Acts 3:21; cf. Lk.22:37, 24:44. Cf. E.Fascher, "Theologische Beobachtungen zu *δεῖ* ", *Neutestamentliche Studien für R.Bultmann* (BZNW 21), Berlin 1954, 228-254; W.Grundmann, " *δεῖ* κτλ ", TDNT vol.2, 21-25; W.Popkes, " *δεῖ* ", EWNT vol.1, 668-671.

88 Acts 9:6,16, 19:21, 20:35, 23:11, 25:10, 26:9, 27:21.

89 Lk.13:2, 17:25, 22:15, 24:26,46, Acts 1:3, 3:18, 17:3, cf. Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich, *πάσχω*, 3,2,α.

90 Against Michaelis, " *πάσχω* ", 920. *πάσχειν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος*, cf. Herm.sim. 9,28,2; *πάσχειν διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος*, Herm.vis. 3,2,1; sim.9,28,3; *πάσχειν ἐνεκεν τοῦ ὀνόματος*, Herm.vis. 3,1,9; vis.3,5,2; sim.9,28,5f; Burchard, *Zeuge*, 102, n.185.

In 9:17f Ananias carries out what he has seen in the vision, but these two verses are due to the tradition, as is clear from the fact that they are written in the style of the healing miracle story. A gesture of therapy is depicted with ἐπιτιθέναι τὰς χεῖρας⁹¹ in 9:17, after Ananias comes into the house.⁹² The miracle working word, ἀνάβλεπον, is spoken to Saul. Then the author depicts the Spirit motif, which describes not only the miracle working power but also the filling with the Spirit, as with the believers in Samaria in 8:17 and Cornelius and his household in 10:44 and 11:15.⁹³

The successful accomplishment of the miracle is depicted in 9:18. The instantaneousness of the miracle is emphasized with εὐθέως,⁹⁴ and the thoroughness of the healing is demonstrated by his breaking of his fast in 9:19a.⁹⁵ Nevertheless, "the falling off of something like scales" reflects the popular origin of the tradition.⁹⁶ The baptism of Paul after his healing seems

91 Mk.5:23 (=Mt.9:18), 6:5, 7:32, 8:23,25, 16:18; Mt.19:13,15; Lk.4:40, 13:13, Acts 9:12,17, 28:8; cf. Schneider, Apg. vol.2, 30, n.67.

92 The healer first comes to the invalid, Bultmann, Synoptic Tradition, 222; the length of sickness is presupposed in Acts 9:9, cf. Bultmann, Synoptic Tradition, 221.

93 Burchard, Zeuge, 103f.

94 The instantaneousness in the miracle healing, cf. Bultmann, Synoptic Tradition, 224f; Schneider, Apg. vol.2, 31, n.72.

95 The demonstration of the cure, cf. Bultmann, Synoptic Tradition, 215, 225; Burchard, Zeuge, 104 and n.195. Acts 19:19a means breaking fasting; cf. Schlatter, Apg. 119; Stählin, Apg. 138; Williams, Acts, 124; Haenchen, Acts, 325; Schneider, Apg. vol.2, 31.

96 Tob.11:12, καὶ ἐλπίσθη ἀπὸ τῶν κύνων τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ τὰ λευκώματα cf. Beg. vol.4, 104; Haenchen, Acts, 325; Conzelmann, Apg. 66; Roloff, Apg. 152; Schneider, Apg. vol.2, 31, n.74.

to be ascribable to tradition.⁹⁷ Paul does not explicitly mentions his baptism in his letters, but it is likely that the first person plural ἐβαπτίσθημεν in Rom.6:3, and 1 Cor.12:13 includes Paul himself.⁹⁸ However, it is in Acts that Paul's baptism is described, because it represents incorporation into the Church, in order to emphasize that Paul is a subsequent believer and successor to the apostles.⁹⁹

(2) Acts 22:6-16

a. Acts 22:6-11

The conversion story is quite similar to that in ch.9 and almost a mere repetition of it. But the author makes minor alterations in the descriptions.

In this account, the divine apparition takes place, περί μεσημβρίας (22:6, cf. ἡμέρας μέσης in 26:13).¹⁰⁰ Corresponding to this explicit mention of the time, the adjective ἱκανός¹⁰¹ is added to predicate φῶς. Both of these additions are exaggerations in order to bring out the dramatic fact that the glare of the apparition was brighter than the midday sunshine.

The apparition dialogue in 22:7f. is almost the same as in ch.9, but Saul falls down to the ground before the apparition

97 Cf. E.Fascher, "Zur Taufe des Paulus", ThLZ 80 (1955), 643-648; R.H.Fuller, "Was Paul Baptized?", Les Actes, 505-508.

98 E.g. Bultmann, Theology, vol.1, 39.

99 Fuller, "Baptized?".

100 μεσημβρία is found only in Acts 8:26 in N.T. other than here. According to Cadbury, "Some Lukan Expressions of Time (Lexical Note on Luke-Acts VII)", JBL 82 (1963), 272-278, esp. 274f, the addition of the time μεσημβρία is not only to make the picture clear but also it is to be ascribed to the apparition motif in the Greco-Roman literature; cf. Burchard, Zeuge, 105, n.196.

101 ἱκανός is a Lukan favourite expression which occurs 6 times in Lk. and 16 times in Acts.

dialogue in 22:7a, which makes for greater dramatic tension than before. In the dialogue in 22:8, the Messianic title *ὁ Ναζωραῖος* is incorporated,¹⁰² correlated to the framework of the apology before Jewish people.

In 22:9, another effect of the apparition upon Paul's companions is altered: they see the light but do not hear the voice, whereas in 9:7 they hear the voice but ^{do} not see the light. This alteration clearly corresponds to the emphasis of the light in the second account, but at the same time this means the stress on the apparition dialogue is decreased.

The reason for the blindness is explicitly mentioned in 22:11, but this added explanation also stresses the external phenomenon of the apparition, that the *φόφα*¹⁰³ of the apparition light caused the blinding.

b. Acts 22:12-16

In the second account of the Ananias story, the double vision and the apparition dialogue in the first account are omitted, but, correspondingly, another miraculous event, that is, the Temple vision story is added in 22:17-21.

In 22:12, Ananias is introduced to the scene, but the author stresses that Ananias is a good Jew, by adding a brief profile of him in the words *εὐλαβῆς κατὰ τὸν νόμον*¹⁰⁴ and *μαρτυρούμενος*

102 Cadbury, "The Titles of Jesus in Acts", Beg. vol.5, 354-375, esp. 356f; O'Neill, Theology, 140.

Ναζωραῖος is taken from the synoptic tradition, cf. Mt.2:23, 26:71, Lk.18:37, cf. John 18:5,7, 19:19; *Ναζωρηγός* in Mk.1:24, 10:47, 14:67, 16:6, Lk.4:34, 24:19.

103 *φόφα* is not only connected with *φῶς* as in Lk.2:32, but also with *ἐφουσία* as in Lk.4:6 (cf. with *δύναμις* in Mt.6:36).

104 *εὐλαβῆς* occurs only in Luke-Acts in N.T.; Lk.2:2, Acts2:5, 8:2, 22:12.

ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν κατοικούντων Ἰουδαίων .¹⁰⁵ This is correlated to the framework of the apologetic speech before the fanatical Jewish people in Jerusalem.

The author emphasizes the commissioning scene in 22:13ff by omitting the miraculous elements, namely the double vision and the apparition dialogue. The word of commission is inserted into the healing scene and given to Paul by Ananias, not to Ananias by Christ as in the first account: that is, Acts 22:13ff depict the commissioning scene of Paul, by contrast with the indirect commission scene of Ananias in Acts 9:10-16.

In the commissioning word in 22:14, the author stresses the Judaizing tendencies by the phrase, ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν¹⁰⁶ and the Messianic title ὁ δίκαιος,¹⁰⁷ and intensifies the external phenomenon of the Damascus event by adding the verbs ὁρᾶν and ἀκούειν into the word of commission. These features are apparently based on the apologetic motives that the Damascus event is a Jewish religious phenomenon and that it is an objective external appearance which can be perceived by the eye and by the

105 μαρτυρεῖσθαι here signifies "to be well spoken of or to be in good reputation", Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich, *μαρτυρέω*, 2b; cf. Acts 6:3, 10:22, 16:2, 1 Tim. 5:10, Heb. 11:2, 4, 39; 1 Clem. 17:1f, 19:1, 44:3, 47:4, Ign. Phila. 5:2, 11:1, Eph. 12:2.

106 ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν occurs only in Acts in N.T.; Acts 3:13 (=Ex. 3:15), 5:30, 7:32 (=Ex. 3:6), cf. Burchard, *Zeuge*, 107, n. 205; Haenchen, *Acts*, 626, "The Jewish flavour is strengthened by the expression, 'the God of our fathers' and the description of Jesus (his name is avoided) with the old Messianic title of honour 'the Just One'".

107 Lk. 23:47, Acts 3:14, 7:52; cf. *Beg.* vol. 4, 83, 104; O'Neill, *Theology*, 141-143; Moule, "Christology", 177f; Haenchen, *Acts*, 206, n. 2; Conzelmann, *ApG.* 39; Burchard, *Zeuge*, 108, n. 210; Schneider, *ApG.* vol. 1, 319, n. 45, 469, n. 217; Roloff, *ApG.* 75.

ear, but differentiated from the inward vision which can be perceived by the heart. The verb for election, προχειρίσειν¹⁰⁸, corresponds to σκευὴς ἐκλογῆς in 9:15 but the author explicitly mentions the purpose of the choice with γινῶναι τὸ θέλημα¹⁰⁹.

In 22:15, the further role of Paul is predicted as μάρτυς in place of βεβαιῆσαι in the former account. The word, μάρτυς, is the key concept of the disciples in the Book of Acts;¹¹⁰ μάρτυς does not signify "martyr" in the Book of Acts, but simply "witness",¹¹¹ that is, "witness of the resurrection". However, the later technical sense of "martyr" occurred soon afterwards.¹¹² This "witness" of the resurrection seems to have been an apologetic conception against contemporary heretics who denied the resurrection.¹¹³ Thus the author stresses here that Paul's commission is ^{as} "witness" of the resurrection, which is different from (ἵνα εὐαγγελίσωμαι αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν in Gal.1:16. The μάρτυς motif is connected with the verbs ὁρᾶν and ἀκούειν in 22:15, which stress the external objective appearance of the

108 προχειρίσειν occurs only in Acts in N.T.; Acts 3:20, 22:14, 26:16.

109 γινῶναι τὸ θέλημα is a common Jewish expression, Beg. vol.4, 280; Haenchen, Acts, 626, and n.8; Conzelmann, ApG. 135, interprets the will of God as the whole plan of salvation.

110 H.Strathmann, "μάρτυς κτλ", TDNT vol.4, 474-514; H.Braun, "Zur Terminologie der Acts von der Auferstehung Jesu", ThLZ 77 (1952), 532-536 = idem. Gesammelte Studien zum Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt, Tübingen 1967, 173-177; Klein, Apostel, 156-158; Burchard, Zeuge, 130-135; Löning, Saulustradition, 137-144; Stolle, Zeuge, 130-135.

111 Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich, μάρτυς, 2, c.

112 Cf. Acts 22:20.

113 Cf. the motif of μάρτυς against the Docetic-Gnostic heretics in John 19:35, 21:24, 1 John 1:2, 3 John 12; Käsemann, "Ketzler und Zeuge", ZThK 48 (1951), 292-311 = EVB vol.1, 168-187. The emphasis of resurrection appearance with ὁρᾶν and ἀκούειν in Acts 22:14f is parallel to 1 John 1:1-5. The Docetic-Gnostics denied the resurrection, cf. Justin, De Resurrectione, 2.

resurrected Christ as in the previous verse.

The healing scenes in 22:13 and 22:16 are more or less the same as in the former account. However, the instantaneousness of the accomplishment of the miracle is depicted with *αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ* in 22:13, in place of *εὐθέως* in 9:18, which is a Septuagint^{al}ism.¹¹⁴ On the other hand, the author introduces the classical question formula, *καὶ νῦν τί μέλλεις*,¹¹⁵ in 22:16, as the beginning of baptism, cf. Acts 8:36, *τί κωλύει με βαπτισθῆναι*; 10:47, *μήτι τὸ ὕδωρ δύναται κωλύσαι τις τοῦ μὴ βαπτισθῆναι τούτους*.

At the end of the account, the author adds more words in the baptism scene, concerning the remission of sins and calling the name of the Lord, cf. 2:38. This is intended to stress Paul's incorporation into the Church.

(3) Acts 26:12-18

In the third account in the apologetic speech before King Agrippa II the author makes big alterations in the description of the Damascus event, for dramatic effect. The role of Ananias, which is still retained in the second account, disappears and the blinding and healing scenes, as well as the baptism, are erased. Thus the apparition story and the commissioning story fuse into one and the word of commission is directly given to Saul from Christ as in the Temple vision story in 22:17-21.

114 Cf. Haenchen, *Acts*, 626 and n.5.

115 Sophocles, *Antig.* 449; *Beg.* vol.4, 281; Haenchen, *Acts*, 627, n.2; Conzelmann, *Apg.* 64 and 135, thinks the ritual formula of initiation behind this expression.

lies

a. Acts 26:12-15

The apparition scene and the apparition dialogue are retained in the third account. The introduction shows a direct connection with the previous story with ἐν οἷς .¹¹⁶ The author inserts the reference to the persecuting activity and the authority given to Saul with μετ' ἐξουσίας καὶ ἐπιτροπῆς τῆς τῶν ἀρχιερέων ¹¹⁷ in 26:12. This addition emphasizes the dramatic change from the persecutor to the witness of the resurrection.

The apparition scene is more vividly and richly painted than the former two accounts. The time of the scene is explicitly mentioned as mid-day like the second account but a more emphatic phrase ἡμέρας μῆσης ¹¹⁸ in 26:13, replaces περὶ μεσημβρίας in 22:6, and the place of the scene is more vividly mentioned as κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν in 26:13, instead of ἐγγίσειν in 9:3a, and 22:6a. The word, ἐξαίφνης, to show the abruptness of the apparition in 9:3b and 22:6a, is erased¹¹⁹ and instead the moment of seeing is stressed by adding the verb ὄραν in 26:13. The phrase ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ in 9:3b and 22:6b is ^{further} elaborated by οὐρανόθεν in 26:13.¹²⁰ The apparition light is more emphatically depicted by adding the phrase, ὑπὲρ τὴν λαμπρότητα

116 Lk.12:1, Acts 24:18; cf. Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich, οἷς, I,11,c, "ἐν οἷς" connects with the situation described in what precedes under which circumstances = under these circumstances in the situation created by what precedes!; Beg. vol.4, 318; Haenchen, Acts, 685; Conzelmann, ApG. 148; Burchard, Zeuge, 109; Schneider, ApG. vol.2, 373.

117 ἐξουσίαν παρὰ τῶν ἀρχιερέων in Acts 9:14, 26:10, but ἐπιτροπή, which is a hapaxlegomenon in N.T. is added here.

118 ἡμέρας μῆσης occurs only here in N.T.

119 Burchard, Zeuge, 109.

120 The word, οὐρανόθεν, is finer expression than ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, cf. Burchard, Zeuge, 109.

τοῦ ἡλίου ,¹²¹ than ^{bj} φῶς ἱκανόν in 22:11¹²² and ^{the} more emphatic verb, περιλάμπειν , in 26:13 substitutes ^{for} περιαστράπτειν in 9:3b and 22:6b.¹²³

Corresponding to the emphasis of the light, the companions of Paul all fall down to the ground in 26:14, in sharp contrast to the standing scene in 9:7.¹²⁴ In the third account, it is explicitly mentioned that Christ spoke in Hebrew, namely in Aramaic, which is already indicated by the double archaic vocative, Σαούλ , Σαούλ in 9:4b and 22:7b (cf. 21:40, 22:2). The apparition dialogue is a repetition of that in 9:4f, without the additions in 22:7-10. Nevertheless, the author adds a Greek proverb as the climax in 26:14b, σκληρόν σοι πρὸς κέντρα λακτέειν.¹²⁵

121 λαμπρότης is a hapaxlegomenon.

122 Haenchen, Acts, 685; Burchard, Zeuge, 109; Roloff, ApG. 352.

123 περιλάμπειν means "to shine around", cf. Lk.2:9 and περιαστράπτειν "to flash around", Acts 9:3, 22:6, according to Beg. vol.4, 318.

124 Haenchen, Acts, 685, "but since in vv.12ff the figure of the disciple Ananias and the blinding and healing of Paul are omitted, the objectivity of the event can be demonstrated only by having all of them struck down."

125 Cf. Pinder, Pyth.ii, 94ff; Aeschylus, Agam. 1624; Prom. 322f; Euripides, Iphig.Taur. 1396; Bacch. 794f; Frag. 664; Julian, Or.viii. 2466 etc.; Ktimmel, Römer 7. 155-157; Windisch, "Christusepiphanie"; L.Schmid, "κέντρον", TDNT vol.3, 663-668; Dibelius, Studies, 188-191; A.Vögel, "Lukas und Euripides", ThZ 9 (1953), 415-438; Lohfink, Conversion, 77f; Stolle, Zeuge, 176, n.43; further, Beg. vol.4, 318; Williams, Acts, 264; Haenchen, Acts, 685, n.3; Conzelmann, ApG. 149; Schneider, ApG. vol.2, 373 and n.52. But this proverb is not a quotation from Euripides, against, Stählin, ApG. 308; Roloff, ApG. 352; but taken from a popular proverb, thus, Vögel, "Lukas", 436f; Haenchen, Acts, 685, n.3; Conzelmann, ApG. 149. The proverb means: it is senseless and useless to resist against the mighty force, οὐ συμφεφέρει τῇ τύχῃ ἀνθρώπων οὐτα διαμάχεσθαι (Scholion 173a to Pinder, Phyth. ii, 174) cf. Ktimmel, Römer 7. 154; Haenchen, Acts, 685; Conzelmann, ApG. 149; Schneider, ApG. vol.2, 373, n.54. But this is not found in O.T. and Jewish literature, against Marshall, Acts, 395, although goads were also used in the Semitic culture to drive beasts of burden, cf. Ps.Sol. 16:4, Philo, Decal. 87, thus, Schmid, "κέντρον", 664f; Lohfink, Conversion, 78.

This proverb is connected with the classical literary topos of *θεομαχία* from which it springs.¹²⁶ Thus the author skillfully creates the dramatic tension by adding the classical proverb in the end of the apparition dialogue and at the same time the author portrays Saul as *θεομάχος*, which recalls the warning of Gamaliel in 5:38f. In this way, the author impresses on the reader the mighty divine apparition: God protects and rescues Christians in their *extremity*. Further, this Greek proverb is highly literary in order to appeal to the educated upper class people,¹²⁷ which correspond to the framework of this apologetic speech before the King Agrippa II.¹²⁸ Another minor alteration is the addition of the Christological *title of honor* *κύριος* in the dialogue in 26:15 as in 22:10. This addition gives a stronger sense of *the* piety of Saul.

b. Acts 26:16-18

By the omission of the Ananias story in the third account, the word of commission is directly given to Saul which increases the significance of the commissioning. At the beginning of the word

126 Cf. Windisch, "Christusepiphanie"; Nestle, "Legenden vom Tod"; J.C.Kamerbeck, "On the Conception of THEOMACHOS in Relation with Greek Tragedy", *Mnemosyne* (IV series) 1 (1948) 271-283. *θεομάχος* in Acts 5:39, *θεομάχων* in Acts 23:9 (v.l.); cf. Euripides, *Bacch.* 45, 325, 1255f.

127 Haenchen, *Acts*, 691, thinks that this Greek proverb is "high-class Greek expressions"; similarly, Lohfink, *Conversion*, 78.

128 The author is not only interested in the lower social strata but also the higher social strata, which is attested by the descriptions of higher or ruling people such as ^{the} Ethiopian eunuch (Acts 8:26-39), Cornelius (chs.10f), Sergius Paulus (13:6-12), Lydia the purple dealer (16:14f, 40), Dionysius and Damaris (17:34), Galio (18:12-17), Claudius Lysias (chs. 21-23), Felix and Drusilla (ch.24), Festus (ch.25), Agrippa and Berenice (chs.25f).

of commission in 26:16a, after ἀλλὰ ἀναστῆθι, the author adds the solemn archaic expression, στῆθι ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας σου, quoted from the Septuagint version of Ezek.2:1.¹²⁹ This insertion makes the scene a reminiscence of the Old Testament call scene. The purpose of the apparition is more expanded than before in 26:16b-18 with εἰς τοῦτο κτλ.¹³⁰ This divine apparition is described with ὤφθην as in 1 Cor.15:8, cf. 9:1. As such, it is not distinguished from other apparitions such as in 16:9f, 18:9f, 22:17-21, 23:11, 27:23f, but fits into a series, as is apparent from the combination of ὧν τε εἶδές με (which refers to the Damascus event) and ὧν τε ὀφθησομίσα (which refers to the future apparitions) in 26:16b. Thus in Acts the unique eschatological visionary experience is transformed into one of several apparition visions;¹³¹ this is attested by ὀπτασία in 26:19, that summarizes the Damascus event, because while ὀπτασία runs parallel to ὀπτασίαι καὶ ἀποκαλύψεις in 2 Cor.12:1, it is different from ἀποκάλυψις in Gal.1:12,15f. Thus ὀπτασία in 26:19 suggests that the apparitions in Acts may be connected with Paul's opponents' conception of apostleship rather than with Paul's own conception of his Damascus experience.

The witness motif is strengthened not only by adding the verb ὀραῖν but also by connecting μάρτυς with ὑπηρέτης in 26:16. The word ὑπηρέτης is not ^{exclusively} a Lukan word,¹³² but it is in Luke-

129 Cf. 4 Ezra 4(6):13, 2 Baruch 13:2, J.A. 14:11; Burchard, *Zeuge*, 110, n.222.

130 εἰς τοῦτο cum inf. cf. Blass-Debrunner-Rehkopf, ss.402,2 and ss. 390.

131 Cf. Acts 16:9f, 18:9f, 22:17-21, 23:11, 27:23f.

132 1 Cor.4:1, Acts 13:5; cf. Schürer, *History*, rev. ET, vol.2, 238.

Acts that the word ὑπηρέτης is connected with the witness motif as typically seen in Lk.1:2, οἱ αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπηρέται γεόμενοι τοῦ λόγου.¹³³ In this sense, Saul is chosen to be not only the witness of the resurrection but also the minister of the word like the original apostles,¹³⁴ although he is not counted as an apostle in Acts except in 14:4,14. This intensification of the concept of the witness is a weapon in the polemical situation for an apologetic purpose.

In 26:17, the author introduces a prediction of divine protection which will rescue¹³⁵ Paul out of the hands of Jews and Gentiles. This phrase is based on the Old Testament quotation from Jer.1:7f cf. 1 Chron.16:35, but the author adds to the quotation, ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ, which corresponds to the image of the universal missionary in 9:15b and 22:15. This prediction of divine protection supplements the prediction of sufferings in 9:16. Thus the main theme of Paul's activity in Acts is predicted in the word of commission: Paul will be the witness of the resurrection before both the Jews and the Gentiles, will suffer persecutions but will be rescued from the hands of ^{both} Jews and Gentiles. This is apparently differs from Paul's own word, in Gal.1:16, εἶνα εὐαγγελίσωμαι αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.

The author incorporates the conversion-initiation motif in 26:18, which is written in paraphrased quotations from Isa.42:7.

133 οἱ αὐτόπται and ὑπηρέται are the same persons, which is clear from καὶ ... γεόμενοι and the omission of the article before ὑπηρέται.

134 Beg. vol.4, 319; Roloff, Apg. 353; Schneider, Apg. vol.2, 374, n.56.

135 ἐξαιρεῖσθαι here means "to rescue", cf. Acts 7:10,34, 12:11, 23:27.

and 42:16, in place of the baptism scene in the former two accounts. This substitution corresponds to the commissioning scene directly given to Paul in the third account. Both features underline Paul's independent initiation into missionary activity, whereas the two earlier accounts show him in a more subordinate role. In this sense, the commissioning scene in the third account is coincidentally closer to the original call experience in Gal.1:15f. This, however, is not due to the tradition, but is based on the editorial work, which is correlated to the framework of this apologetic speech before the Jewish King Agrippa II, and to the usage of the Septuagint¹ language in the word of commission which occurs only in this third account.

(4) Acts 22:17-21

The Temple vision story in Acts 22:17-21 is another variation of the Damascus event, although there is no reference to the conversion in it. But the call scene dominates the story. This story is placed in the framework of Paul's apology before the angry Jewish crowd at Jerusalem, being intended to defend Paul's connection with Jerusalem, particularly in relation to his call to the Gentile mission,¹³⁶ but it presupposes the Paul's first missionary activity in Jerusalem in Acts 9:26-30. Both Acts 9:26-30 and 22:17-21 are based on traditional material, as is attested by Paul's own word in Rom.15:19, *ὥστε με ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ*

¹³⁶ Haenchen, *Acts*, 109, 628-631. Conzelmann, *ApG.* 135, thinks that this story is a variation of the Damascus event, while Burchard, *Zeuge*, 161-168, disagrees with this view. According to Schneider, *ApG.* vol.2, 322, the author did not bring this story in ch.9 because the initiation of the Gentile mission should be given to Peter.

κύκλω 137 μέχρι τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ πεπληρωκένα τὸ εὐαγγέλιον
 τοῦ Χριστοῦ . But it is in Acts that the literary topos
 of the Temple vision¹³⁸ is employed for an apologetic purpose,
 which corresponds to the omission of the double vision in the
 Damascus event in the second account. The view that the Temple
 vision story here is a variation of the Damascus event is
 confirmed by the fact that the summary of the persecution and the
 word of commission are repetitions of the former account of the
 Damascus event, which emphasizes the dramatic change from
 persecutor to witness.

In 22:17, Paul returns to Jerusalem and goes up to the Temple
 for prayer like the Jews and the first Jewish Christians at
 Jerusalem. There is no break between pre-conversion and post-
 conversion Paul as far as his practice of Judaism is concerned.¹³⁹
 But this picture may contradict Paul's own words in Phil.3:7f;
 particularly, if Paul had persecuted the Hellenists who denied the
 necessity of Temple worship and the full observance of the Law,
 and had then turned completely to a new life, guided by the Spirit
 in the heart. Paul might have ceased Temple worship like other
 Hellenists. This would mean that the picture of his prayer in the

137 κύκλω in Rom.15:19 may mean either "in a circle",
 that is, "from Jerusalem as far round to Illyricum" or
 "round about", that is, "from Jerusalem and around it to
 Illyricum", if that is the case, "around Jerusalem" includes
 Arabia, Damascus or Judaea. But the latter is preferable.

138 Cf. Lk.1:8-11; Betz, Lukian, 43. Cf. O.Betz, "Die Vision des
 Paulus im Temple von Jerusalem. Apg. 22:17-21 als Beitrag
 zur Deutung des Damaskuserlebnisses", Verborum Veritas:
Festschrift für G.Stählin zum 70. Geburtstag, edd. O.Böcher,
 K.Haacker, Wuppertal 1970, 113-123, thinks that the
 background of this pericope is Isa. ch.6.

139 Schneider, Apg. vol.2, 323.

Temple would be editorial, to show ^{and to stress,} ~~the~~ ~~importance~~ in the framework of an apology against the Jewish mob in Jerusalem, ~~that~~ Paul's piety¹⁴⁰ to the Temple and Jerusalem even after the Damascus event. The author is also in favour of depicting ~~the~~ divine intervention as the response to prayer.¹⁴¹ Paul falls into a trance¹⁴² and is visited by a divine being in the Temple. The theological motive for repeating the commissioning scene, which this time is placed in the Temple, is that ^{the} Jerusalem Temple is a symbolic place for the Jewish people and the history of Israel and that ~~the~~ would fit in well with the continuity from Judaism to Christianity, and from the Jewish mission to the Gentile mission.¹⁴³

The external phenomenon of the apparition is again emphasized by the verbs *ὄραν* and *λέγειν* in 22:18a, of which the witness motif, *μαρτυρία*, in 22:18b consists. The one who appears commands Paul to leave Jerusalem soon¹⁴⁴ because of the Jewish plot (which is parallel to 9:29).

The word of commission in 22:21 emphasizes the Gentile mission

140 Cf. Trites, "Prayer Motif".

141 Lk.3:21, 9:29, 22:41, Acts 9:40, 10:9-11,30, 11:5, 16:25f, 28:8; cf. Schneider, *Apg.* vol.2, 323,n.51.

142 *ἔκστασις* is a trance, a state of being brought about by God, in which consciousness is wholly or partially suspended, cf. Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich, *ἔκστασις*, 2; A.Oepke, "ἔκστασις κτλ" *TDNT* vol.2, 449-460; M.Lattke, "ἔκστασις", *EWNT* vol.1, 1025-1027. Cf. n.59.

143 O.Betz, "Vision", 114f; Conzelmann, *Apg.* 135.

144 *σπένδειν* (intr.) occurs only in Luke-Acts in N.T.; Lk.2:16, 19:5f, Acts 20:16, 22:18; cf. 1 Clem.33:1, M.Polycarp, 6:2, Herm.sim. 9,3,2. *σπένδειν* (trans.), in 2 Pet.3:12.

σπένδειν is often used in LXX.

ἐν τάχει and *διότι* are also Septuagintisms, cf. Haenchen, *Acts*, 627,n.5.

with εἰς ἔθνη μακρὰν;¹⁴⁵ the omission of the Jewish mission in this verse, in spite of the mention of the Jewish mission in 9:15 and 26:17, reflects the rejection of Paul by the Jews in Jerusalem (cf. 9:29, 22:18). This revised commission to the Gentile world reflects the programme of Acts 1:8, ἕως ἑσχατοῦ τῆς γῆς cf. Acts 2:39, πάντες τοῖς εἰς μακρὰν and 13:47, ἕως ἑσχατοῦ τῆς γῆς . This revision of the commission also shows the theme of Paul's activity in Acts that Paul first goes to the Jewish society and then proceeds to the Gentiles only when he has been rejected by the Jews.

(iv) The Tradition and Composition in Acts

Paul's unique religious experience is an inward eschatological illumination which accompanies the call and conversion at the same time. On the other hand, the conversion and call story in Acts are certainly based on tradition, and ^{its} original form must have been a punitive ~~and~~-healing miracle story^s. But the author transforms the ^{story} into dramatic scenes by applying literary topoi and literary devices, in order to stress the Damascus event as the external objective phenomenon, and emphasizes ever more strongly that Paul is a witness of the resurrection, regardless of historical consistency in the successive descriptions. There are two reasons for this emphasis. One was to stress the validity of

145 (τὰ) ἔθνη in Luke-Acts has idiomatic sense for the Gentiles in contrast to the Jewish people, cf. Lk. 2:32, Acts 4:27, 14:5, 15:14, 26:17, 23; Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich, ἔθνος , 2; Beg. vol.4, 113, 319.

Paul's witness against those heretics who denied the incarnation and rejected the resurrection on the docetic theory as typically show by the heretics in the Johannine literature;¹⁴⁶ the second was to refute the idea (preserved in the anti-Paulinism tradition ~~that~~ ^{where} Paul is condemned under the mask of Simon Magus) that Paul had only seen ^a vision (ὄραμα) of the resurrection.¹⁴⁷ Thus the apparition story in Acts shows anti-gnostic tendencies.

The word of commission in Acts also stresses, in successive accounts, the witness of the resurrection which is perceived by the eye and the ear, not by the heart; this corresponds to the more developed polemical situation rather than to the historical situation. The word of commission also summarises the theme of Paul's action in the Book of Acts as divinely foretold: this concept governs the whole of Paul's life as the witness of the resurrection. Thus the commissioning story in Acts also shows the objectifying and external tradition against the gnostic tendencies. The theological tendencies in the descriptions of the conversion and call in Acts are anti-gnostic rather than mediating, ^{in purpose and function.}¹⁴⁸

146 Cf. n.113.

147 Pseudo-Clementine, Hom. xvii, 13, 1f; 14, 3, 16, 2 and 6; 17, 15; cf. Strecker, Judenchristentum, 191-196; Lüdemann, Paulus, vol. 2, 248-251.

148 Against, Klein, Apostel, 144-159, "Mediatisierung des Bekehrten".

CHAPTER 7

THE EARLIEST YEARS AFTER THE CONVERSION AND CALL

The events immediately after the conversion and call are recounted in Gal.1:17-21 and 2 Cor.11:32f on the one hand, and in Acts 9:19b-30 on the other.

(i) The Earliest Years after the Conversion and Call in the Pauline Epistles

There is some dispute about Paul's earliest years after his conversion and call, especially over the text in Gal.1:17-21, in which he states that he went to Arabia, without making any contact with the Jerusalem authorities, soon after his unique religious experience. There is a great consensus today that "Arabia" means the Nabataean kingdom of Arabia, which was situated east of Palestine, across the Jordan, and south of Damascus; it included Hellenized Aramaic speaking caravan cities such as Petra, the residence of the Nabataean king of Aretas IV at the time of Paul, and Bostra, the later capital of the Roman province

of Arabia.¹

- 1 Cf. e.g. Lake, "Conversion"; Haenchen, Acts, 334; Bornkamm, Paul, 26-30; Betz, Gal. 73f; Bruce, Paul, 81f. For the Nabataean kingdom, Th.Mommsen, Römische Geschichte, Bd.5, (Leipzig 1885) Wien / Leipzig 1933, 330-341; C.A.H. vol.11 (1936), 613-648; J.Starcky, "The Nabataeans: A Historical Sketch", BA 18 (1945). 84-106; A.H.M.Jones, The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces, 2nd ed. Oxford 1971, 290-293; G.W.Bowersock, "A Report on Arabia Provincia", JRS 61 (1971), 219-242; idem. Roman Arabia, Cambridge (Mass.) 1983; Schürer, History, rev. ET vol.1, 574-586. It has been disputed whether Damascus was governed by the Nabataeans at the time of Paul's flight from Damascus or not. Damascus was brought under Roman rule by Pompey (Josephus, Ant.xiv,2,3; B.J.i,4,2), but the imperial coins for the reigns of Caligula and Claudius are not found. Further, Paul says that he escaped out of the hands of the "ethnarch" of King Aretas at Damascus (2 Cor. 11:32f). From these facts, there are three possible ways of explaining the link between Damascus and the Nabataean Arabs, cf. Cadbury, Book, 19-21;
- (1) The Nabataean king Aretas governed Damascus from Petra. (Cf. e.g. K.Timpel, "Damaskos", Pauly-Wissowa, vol.4, 1901, 2042-2048, esp. 2046; Schürer, History, rev. ET vol.1, 581f; Jewett, Dating, 30-33, thinks that this is "anchoring a chronology".)
 - (2) There was a substantial Arab population in Damascus besides Syrians and Jews (Josephus, Ant.xiv,2,3) and the "ethnarch" supervised the Arab population under Roman rule. (Cf. e.g. K.Lake, The Earlier Epistles of St.Paul, London 1911, 320ff; Burton, Gal. 57; Bruce, Paul, 81f; Betz, Gal. 74.)
 - (3) Damascus was not controlled by the Nabataean Arabs at all, neither did the "ethnarch" of Aretas have a residence in Damascus because he was a sheikh of Arabian tribes. (cf. e.g. Lake, Beg. vol.5, 193; Haenchen, Acts, 332,n.2 and 333-336; idem. "Source", SLA, 268f.)

However, the absence of the coins is hardly sufficient to justify the conjecture that the Nabataean Arabs ruled Damascus, because it might be by chance. Moreover, it is clear from Gal.1:17, *ἀλλὰ ἀπέλθον εἰς Ἀραβίαν, καὶ πάλιν ὑπέστρεψα εἰς Λαμασκόν* that Paul himself does not consider Damascus as part of Arabia (in spite of the view of Justin, Dial. 78, *Δαμασκός τῆς Ἀραβικῆς γῆς ἢ καὶ ἄστυ*). Further, it is weak to conjecture that the "ethnarch" means a "sheikh" for this view is based on the hypothesis that the Nabataeans were besieging the city from outside. This hypothesis is unreasonable, because, if it were true, it would have been more natural for Paul to lie low in Damascus than to attempt an escape through enemy lines. Thus it is assumable that the Nabataean Arabs in Damascus acquired the privilege of living under jurisdiction of "ethnarch", that is, their own chief magistrate under Roman rule, as Jews in Alexandria (Josephus, Ant.xiv,7,2; xix,5,2; cf. "alabarch" in Alexandria, Josephus, Ant.xviii,6,3; xviii,8,1; xix,5,1; xx,7,3; "archon" in Antioch, Josephus, B.J.vii,3,3, and that in Idumaea and Gaza, Josephus, Ant.xv,7,9).

Paul does not state the purpose of his stay in Arabia, but it is less likely it was for prayer and meditation in the solitude afforded by the desert, more likely that it was to engage in missionary activity in the cities of this region, following the words of commission in Gal.1:15f.² It is also very reasonable to conjecture that Paul's missionary activity to the Aramaic speaking Nabataeans, that is, the Gentiles adjacent to the Holy Land and Land of Damascus, provoked opposition without producing any fruitful missionary result. This is suggested by the fact that the ethnarch of Aretas tried to capture Paul at Damascus when he went back there from Arabia (2 Cor.11:32f). Furthermore, Paul does not mention his activity in Arabia or Damascus anywhere else in his letters and there is no trace of letter writing to these regions, which may imply his failure in these regions. If that is so, Paul must have learned something from this failure, for later he confined his missionary activity within the Roman Empire and within chiefly Greek speaking regions. The length of his stay in Arabia is not certain other than the fact that it was not longer than "three years",³ cf. Gal.1:18. But, if the above mentioned hypothesis is accepted, the period of his activity in Arabia was

2 Lake, Bege. vol.5, 192; Bultmann, "Paulus", RGG (2), vol.4, 1019-1045, esp. 1023; Nock, Paul, 82-85; Knox, Chapter, 77; Dibelius-Kümmel, Paul, 49; Schlier, Gal. 58; ~~Steh~~ Stehlmacher, Evangelium, vol.1, 84; Haenchen, Acts, 334; Bornkamm, Paul, 27; Mussner, Gal. 92, n.66; Betz, Gal. 96; Bruce, Gal. 96. On the other hand, Lightfoot, Gal. 87-90; Burton, Gal. 55-57; Duncan, Gal. 24f, maintain the traditional view. If that is the case, Paul must have visited Petra, a great mercantile and cosmopolitan city, the centre of the Nabataeans.

3 "Three years" actually means about two years, according to the ancient calculation; similarly, "fourteen years" in Gal. 2:1 means about thirteen years.

not short.

Paul went up to Jerusalem for the first time "three years" after his conversion and call, presumably on his way from Damascus after his flight, in order to make acquaintance with Cephas and others and also make inquiries.⁴ It is not clear what subject they discussed, but it seems less likely that Paul consulted with Cephas about the regions referred to in Gal.2:7-9: if so, there would have been no need to hold another meeting of the same kind "foreteen years" later.⁵ Moreover, the issue of circumcision need not been raised at this stage, for the Arabs practised circumcision, as universally as the Egyptians and the Jews.⁶ It seems more likely that Paul would have put some practical questions about mission, if Peter had been successful at Jerusalem and around it⁷ and Paul had failed in Arabia and Damascus.

- 4 Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich, ἵστορέω, "to visit for the purpose of coming to know someone"; Liddell-Scott-Jones, ἵστορέω, I,3, "to visit a person for the purpose of inquiry." G.D.Kilpatrick "Galatians 1:18, 'ISTORESAL KEPHAN", New Testament Essays : Studies in Memory of T.W.Manson, Manchester, interpret it "to get information from", similarly, J.D.G.Dunn, "The Relationship Between Paul and Jerusalem According to Galatians 1 and 2", NTS 28 (1982), 461-478; against Kilpatrick-Dunn hypothesis, O.Hofius, "Gal.1:18 'ISTORESAL KEPHAN", ZNW 75 (1984), 73-75, but against Hofius, Dunn, "Once Again 'ISTORESAL KEPHAN", ZNW 76 (1985), 138f.
- 5 Against E.Haenchen, "Petrus-Problem", NTS 7 (1961), 187-197, esp. 187-189 = idem. Gott und Mensch : Gesammelte Aufsätze, Tübingen 1967, 55-67.
- 6 Cf. Josephus, Ant.i,12,2; xviii,10,3.
- 7 Cullmann, Peter : Disciple, Apostle, Martyr, EFT (London 1953) Cleveland / New York 1961, 40-55, thinks that James and Peter divided the two functions - church administration and the missionary work - gradually. Against Cullmann, Haenchen, "Petrus-Problem", conjectures that two functions were divided from the very beginning of Jerusalem church and the missionary activity started after the persecution recorded in Acts ch.12. On the other hand, F.Hahn, Mission in the New Testament (SBT 47), EFT London 1965, 48f, thinks that Peter had the two-fold task from the very beginning and that Paul visited Peter in connection with Peter's missionary activity.

That this first visit to Jerusalem was informal and a private one is suggested not only by the verb *ἰσορῶν* but also by the fact that Paul did not meet any other apostles, only James the brother of the Lord,⁸ and that the period of his stay in Jerusalem was only a fortnight. Therefore it is unlikely that he carried out any missionary activity in Jerusalem or around it, which is suggested by Gal.1:22. The oath in Gal.1:20 implies that Paul's opponents at Galatia might have accused him of having contact with Jerusalem immediately after the conversion and call, and therefore of not being directly called by the Lord.

After the visit to Jerusalem, Paul went to other neighbouring regions of Palestine in the north, and then to his homeland, the regions of Syria and Cilicia.

(ii) The Historical Core of the Tradition in Acts

The description of Paul in Acts soon after his conversion and call is quite different from Paul's own statement in the Epistles. However, it is certain that the picture of Paul in Acts is partly based on tradition because the geographical framework of the narrative agrees with the Pauline letters.

Acts says nothing about Paul's stay in Arabia, because the author was uninformed about it, or perhaps because he did not wish to dwell on a failure, or perhaps because it did not fit into the plan of the book, from Jerusalem to Rome. But there are some

8 *εἰμή* in Gal.1:19 may mean either "apart from" or "but", however, the latter is preferable, cf. 1 Cor.9:5, 15:7.

traces of tradition. Firstly, Acts rightly informs us of Paul's stay in Damascus (Acts 9:19b-22), although it is described as a Jewish mission immediately after his conversion and call, not a Gentile mission in Arabia from Damascus (Gal.1:17). Secondly, it is clear that the flight from Damascus (Acts 9:23-25) is based on tradition, which corresponds to that in 2 Cor.11:32f, though the details differ. Thirdly, the first Jerusalem visit after the flight from Damascus tallies with the statement of Paul. However, the public Jewish mission at Jerusalem (Acts 9:26-29) is different from making the personal acquaintance of, and contact with, Cephas (Gal.1:18f). Fourthly, embarkation for Tarsus after leaving Jerusalem (Acts 9:30) and then moving to Antioch (Acts 11:25f) approximate to Gal.1:21.

(iii) The Text

(1) Acts 9:19b-22

The first glimpse of Paul after the conversion and call at Damascus in 9:19b is when he joins the local Christian community and stays with other deiciples for a certain period.⁹ This picture of togetherness harmonizes well with the scenes of the

9 *ἡμέρας τινας* in 9:19b is an ambiguous time expression as in Acts 10:48, 16:12, 24:24, cf. 15:36, 25:13. Similarly, *ἡμέρας ἱκανάς* in Acts 9:43, 18:18, cf. 9:23, 27:7; *πολλὰς ἡμέρας* in Acts 1:5, 16:18, cf. 21:10, 25:14; *χρόνον* in Acts 15:33, 19:22, cf. 27:9; *χρόνον οὐκ ὀλίγον* in Acts 14:28; *χρόνον τινα* in Acts 18:23.

These expressions are due to the author's habit of introducing a note of time at the beginning or at the end of a story. These expressions may imply that the author was ill or uninformed of the length of the period.

first disciples at Jerusalem in Acts¹⁰ and further with those of Paul arriving at cities.¹¹

Immediately afterwards, in Acts 9:20, Paul preaches in the synagogues that Jesus is the son of God. This is a typical setting and scene of Paul in Acts, which is repeated later.¹²

Paul in Acts is a customary synagogue-goer like Jesus in the Gospel.¹³ Such a heavily schematic description of Paul's

activity in Acts is not totally due to the author, but based on some historical background, attested by 1 Cor.1:20 and

2 Cor.11:24.¹⁴ Yet in Luke-Acts, the synagogue and the Temple are schematically placed as the setting for (Christian) preaching and teaching,¹⁵ until, in Acts, the synagogue becomes the setting for

- 10 Cf. ὁμοθυμαδόν Acts 1:14, 2:46, 4:24, 5:12; ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ 2:1, 2:44,47; ὅμοῦ 2:1; συνηγμένοι 4:31; καρδία καὶ ψυχὴ μία 4:32.
- 11 ἐγένετο μετὰ τῶν ... μαθητῶν cf. ἡ μετ' αὐτῶν in Acts 9:28; μεθ' ἡμῶν ... ἐγενόμην 20:18; ἐπεμείναμεν αὐτοῦ 21:4, ἐμείναμεν ... παρ' αὐτοῦ 21:7; παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐπείναται 28:14, cf. Burchard, Zeuge, 137 and n.l.
- 12 Acts 13:5,14, 14:1, 17:1,10,17, 18:4,19, 19:8, cf. 16:13.
- 13 κατὰ τὸ εἰωθές, Lk.4:16, Acts 17:2. Cf. ch.9, n.75.
- 14 Though the commission given to Paul in Gal.1:15f and the region agreed with the pillars at Jerusalem in Gal.2:9, are to the Gentiles (thus, G.Bornkamm, "The Missionary Stance of Paul in 1 Corinthians 9 and in Acts", SIA, 194-207; against, W.Schmithals, Paul and James (SBT 44), ET Naperville 1965), the fact that Paul received forty lashes less one five times (2 Cor.11:24) indicates that Paul intended to stay in his Jewish status, but presumably he was expelled during "the fourteen years" in Syria and Antioch. The author of Acts was perhaps uninformed of it. cf. Goppelt, Apostolic and Post-Apostolic Times, 74, "This must have taken place before the beginning of his work in Antioch, because after this time he no longer appeared before the courts of the synagogue," and Barrett, 2 Cor. 296f.
- 15 Jesus at the synagogue; Lk.4:16 (=Mk.1:39), 4:33 (Mk.1:23), 4:44 (=Mk.1:39), 6:6 (=Mk.3:1), 13:10. Jesus at the Temple; Lk.2:46, 19:47, 20:1 (different from Mk.11:27), 21:37, 22:53 (=Mk.14:49). Peter at the Temple, Acts 3:1, 5:21,42.

the separation between Judaism and Christianity.¹⁶ This pattern apparently has parallels with Jesus at Nazareth in the Third Gospel.¹⁷ The author summarizes the preaching in 9:20b, but the formulation *οὗτος ἐστίν* is Lukan,¹⁸ based on the synoptic tradition,¹⁹ although the Christological title *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ* occurs often in the Pauline Epistles.²⁰

The reaction of the Jews who heard it is described with the astonishment motif, using the verb *ἐξίστασθαι*²¹ in 9:21. This gives a dramatic element to the scene, but it is rooted in the tradition.²² The same astonishment motif is also found in the descriptions of the reaction of the Jews at the scene of the first sermon of Jesus at Nazareth²³ and at the first miraculous incident in the Jerusalem church.²⁴ The question put in the mouth of unbelieving Jews: *οὐχ οὗτός ἐστιν*, is paralleled in both beginning.²⁵ This creates a dramatic tension. The repetition of

16 Acts 13:46f, 18:5f, 19:8f, cf. 14:1f, 17:1-5.

17 Lk.4:16-30, which is editorially placed as the inauguration of Jesus' mission in the Third Gospel.

18 Formulation *οὗτος ἐστίν* with Christological title, Acts 9:22, 10:36, 17:3, cf. 4:11, 10:42. The Christological title *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ* occurs in Lk.1:35, 4:3,9,41, 8:28, 22:70 and Acts only here. For the Christological title in Acts, e.g. H.J.Cadbury, "The Titles of Jesus in Acts", *Beg.* vol.5, 354-375; Conzelmann, *Theology*, 170-172; O'Neill, *Theology*, 117-145; C.F.D.Moule, "The Christology of Acts", *SLA*, 159-185.

19 Lk.1:32, 9:35 (=Mk.9:7), cf. Mt.3:17 (different from Mk.1:11 =Lk.3:22).

20 Rom.1:3f,9, 5:10, 8:3,29,32, 1 Cor.1:9, 2 Cor.1:19, Gal.1:16, 2:20, 4:4,6, 1 Thess.1:10, cf. Eph.4:13.

21 Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich, *ἐξίστασθαι*, 2,b, "the feeling of astonishment mingled with fear caused by events which are miraculous, extraordinary and difficult to understand".

22 Lk.2:47, 8:56 (=Mk.5:42), 11:14 (=Mt.12:23), cf. Mk.2:12, 6:51.

23 Lk.4:22, *ἐθαύμαζον*.

24 Acts 2:7, *ἐξίσταντο δὲ καὶ ἐθαύμαζον*; 2:12 *ἐξίσταντο δὲ πάντες καὶ διεποροῦντο*.

25 Lk.4:22, *οὐχὶ υἱὸς ἐστίν ... Ἰωσήφ οὗτος*; Acts 2:7, *οὐχὶ ἰδοὺ πάντες οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ λαλοῦντες Γαλιλαῖοι*;

the persecuting activity of Paul impresses on the reader that the conversion and call is a miraculous incident and that it is hard for the Jews at Damascus to believe it.²⁶

In 9:22, Paul is strengthened to speak up against the suspicious Jews, which is a parallel to the scene of Jesus' inaugural sermon at Nazareth and that of Peter at Jerusalem. Moreover, this power motif seems to be Lukan.²⁷ Paul in Acts speaks with the spiritual strength of an outstanding orator like Peter and Stephen.²⁸ This image repeatedly occurs later,²⁹ though it contradicts Paul's reputation among his opponents that Paul as a speaker was feeble and unimpressive.³⁰ The Jews at Damascus are confounded as Paul proves from the Scriptures³¹ that οὗτος ἐστὶν Χρῆστος again as in 9:20. This dramatic reaction of the people is a favourite with the author, and repeatedly occurs in Acts.³²

As we have seen above, the details of Paul's mission at Damascus are historically unreliable, because they are

26 Roloff, *ApG*. 153.

27 This motif of power implies the Holy Spirit. ἐνεδυναμοῦτο here may refer to the spiritual strength in contrast to the physical one. The D text makes it clear by adding τῷ λογῷ. The motif of power and the Holy Spirit are closely connected with each other in Luke-Acts; Lk.1:17, 4:14,36, Acts 1:8, 10:38.

28 Acts 4:8, πλησθεὶς πνεύματος ἁγίου εἶπεν ; 6:10, καὶ τῷ πνεύματι ᾧ ἐλάλει.

29 Particularly in speeches, cf. παρρησιάζεσθαι Acts 9:27f, 13:46, 14:3, 19:8, 26:26; παρρησία 28:31. *Bev.* vol.4, 106, says the meaning of παρρησιάζεσθαι "possibly may imply some kind of inspired utterance". But the motif of παρρησία is related to Hellenistic historiography.

30 2 Cor.10:10, cf. Haenchen, *Acts*, 114.

31 Cf. Lk.24:44-46.

32 συνέειν and its Hellenistic form συνήυνεν only occurs in Acts in N.T. συνέειν Acts 21:27; συνήυνεν Acts 2:6, 9:22, 19:32, 21:32; cf. συγχυσίς Acts 19:29, διακορεῖν Lk.9:7, Acts 2:12, 5:14, 10:17.

reconstructed with ^a motif taken from the synoptic tradition and modified with Lukan theme and motifs, in order to demonstrate that it is an inaugural ^{approach to} the Jews.

(2) Acts 9:23-25

A note of time in 9:23: ἐπληροῦντο ἡμέραι ἰκαναί shows the ambiguity of the duration of time on the one hand, and the beginning of the new stage on the other.³³ The author introduces a new keynote in this section, that is, the Jewish plot against Paul. The hardened Jews plot to kill him.³⁴

In 9:24, Paul detects a Jewish plot against him, but it is not yet dramatized as in the scene of Acts 23:16-30. The fact is, that Paul in Acts always confronts a Jewish plot against him from the very beginning of his missionary career to the end.³⁵

This is a stereotyped picture of Paul in Acts, based on anti-Jewish sentiment, although it has some historical background.³⁶

It becomes much more clear when compared with 2 Cor.11:32f, because there Paul does not actually escape from the Jews, but from the hands of the ethnarch of Aretas, the Nabataean Arabs. The idea in Acts 9:24 that a Jewish plot was the cause of the flight from Damascus is probably not historical, and further it

- 33 ἡμέραι ἰκαναί cf. n.9. The verb πληροῦν refers to the end of a certain period and the beginning of a new stage, which is a peculiar time expression in Luke-Acts; Lk.21:24, 22:16, Acts 7:23,30, 9:23, 24:27, cf. συμπληροῦν Lk.9:51, Acts 2:1.
- 34 The verb συμβουλεύεσθαι here means "to plot", cf. βουλεύεσθαι Acts 5:33. There ~~are~~ similar anti-Jewish tendencies described with βουλεύεσθαι in John 11:53, 12:10.
- 35 ἐπιβουλῇ Acts 9:24, 21:3,19, 23:30, cf. Acts 13:50, 14:19, 17:5,13, 18:12, 21:27, 23:12,20,27, 24:18, 25:24.
- 36 1Thess.2:15, 2 Cor.11:26, " κινδύνους ἐκ γένους ".

shows the author's anti-Jewish tendencies,³⁷ presumably for the purpose of his apology.

It is clear from 9:24 that the author connecting phrase $\xi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\ \kappa\alpha\iota$, the wording and the motif of the story are almost identical with 2 Cor.11:32f.³⁸ However, the details of the scene and the atmosphere of the event are not same as each other. Acts states that the Jews were watching the gate of Damascus;³⁹ while, according to Paul in the letters, the ethnarch of Aretas had soldiers on guard ^{around} the city.⁴⁰ The military nuance in 2 Cor.11:32 is not found in Acts. The time designation $\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\varsigma\ \tau\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \nu\upsilon\kappa\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ is added to the tradition to give a more vivid and dramatic

- 37 Lake, beg. vol.5, 194, "it looks very much like an example of the tendency to give a Jewish basis to all hostility to Paul"; Haenchen, Acts, 331, "Luke uses a later tradition in which Jews appear as Paul's (customary) enemies", 335, "But once the motives of the mysterious person (i.e. the ethnarch of Aretas) had become a source of puzzlement, it is not surprising that his role of persecutor should have been transferred to Paul's eternal enemies, the Jews. It seemed to Luke that it must have been their hostile scheming which provoked Paul's flight to Jerusalem." Schneider, ApG. vol.2, 36, "Wahrscheinlich resultiert die lukanische Vorstellung, dass Saulus wegen jüdischer Nachstellungen aus Damaskus fliehen musste, aus analogen Nachrichten seiner Quellen, vielleicht auch aus einer entsprechenden lukanischen Tendenz." The anti-Jewish theological tendencies in the D text are well known, cf. Menoud, "Western Text"; Epp, Theological Tendency; but this theological tendency is not exclusively for the Western text, cf. Barrett, "Theological Tendency?".
- 38 R.P.C.Hanson, The Acts, Oxford 1967, 116, "The reliability of Luke's source of information at this point is confirmed by the striking coincidence."
- 39 Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich, and Liddell-Scott-Jones, $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\tau\eta\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$, "watch closely, observe carefully".
- 40 Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich, $\varphi\rho\sigma\upsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$, "to guard"; Liddell-Scott-Jones, $\varphi\rho\sigma\upsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$, "to keep watch (over), guard (with garrisons)". Lake, Beg. vol.5, 193, " $\varphi\rho\sigma\upsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ is a common word for besieging a city though it can mean 'to guard' or 'to garrison'", cf. n.l.

picture.⁴¹ The purpose of the watch, ^{which} in 2 Cor.11:32 to capture Paul, is ^{is} in Acts intensified: the purpose is now to kill him.

In 9:25, the author also incorporates the motif of help into the tradition, in order to show the intimate relationship and togetherness feeling between Paul and the disciples at Damascus.⁴² The night scene is another interpolation to manufacture dramatic tension.⁴³ Then the author comes back to the tradition with *διὰ τοῦ τείχους* which is exactly the same as in 2 Cor.11:33, but the further detail *διὰ θυρίδος* in 2 Cor.11:33 disappears in Acts.⁴⁴ The climax scene *χαλάσαντες ἐν πυρίδι* is also in the tradition.⁴⁵

The flight from Damascus is apparently based on tradition, but the author introduces the Jewish plot as its cause, to follow the conflict scene between the Jews and Paul at Damascus in Acts 9:20-22. The colourless tradition is enlivened and dramatized by the hand of the author, in order to make a sharp contrast between Paul and the unbelieving Jews. Furthermore, the

41 Cf. Lk.2:37, Acts 20:31, 26:7. "Day and night" in Luke-Acts implies religious zealotry.

42 *οἱ μαθηταί* means Christians as in 9:19b and 9:26, and *αὐτοῦ* in the text should be read as *αὐτόν* as in the later corrected manuscripts, cf. Haenchen, *Acts*, 332, n.3; Conzelmann, *ApG.* 67; Hanson, *Acts*, 116f; Roloff, *ApG.* 156; Schneider, *ApG.* vol.2, 32, n.i.

43 The night scenes are only employed for the miraculous escapes in Acts 5:19, 9:25, 12:6, 16:25,33, 17:10, 23:23, 27:27; and the divine apparitions in Acts 16:9, 18:9, 23:11, 27:23, cf. Lk.2:8.

44 *διὰ θυρίδος* is also seen in the Old Testament flight scenes, Josh.2:15, 1 Sam.19:12. It is clear that Acts is not based on O.T. stories by the fact that it does not record *διὰ θυρίδος*, which makes *διὰ τοῦ τείχους* ambiguous.

45 *καταχαλαῖν* in Josh.2:15 and *κατάγειν* in 1 Sam.19:12. The word for basket, *σπυρίς* in Acts 9:24, is different from *σπυρίνη* in 2 Cor.11:33.

atmosphere of the same event feels different between Paul and Acts. Acts provides here the first example of a miraculous escape depicting Paul as the victor, while in the context of 2 Cor.11 the flight from Damascus shows an outstanding example of humiliation and weakness.⁴⁶

(3) Acts 9:26-30

After the flight from Damascus Paul goes to Jerusalem for the first time, but no note of time is given in 9:26. However, it is presupposed here that the first Jerusalem visit was not long after the conversion and call from Acts 22:17-21, which disagrees with "three years" in Gal.1:18. Such a contradiction may be caused by the author's editorial work, but by the fact that the author utilizes the tradition which has similarities with the propaganda against Paul in Galatia.⁴⁷

Arriving at Jerusalem,⁴⁸ Paul in Acts here also tries to associate with the disciples at Jerusalem as at Damascus in 9:19b. The verb κολλᾶσθαι denotes intimate companionship,⁴⁹ which make an ideal scene of togetherness, but the disciples at Jerusalem are afraid of him. This hesitation motif (ἐφοβῶντο), which corresponds to the astonishment motif (ἐξίσταντο) in 9:21, occurs often in Luke-Acts.⁵⁰ This also intensifies the divine origin of the conversion and call of Paul in Acts. The disciples

46 C.K.Barrett, New Testament Essays, 95-97; idem. 2 Cor. 304.

47 O.Linton, "The Third Aspect", 83.

48 παραγίνεσθαι occurs 28 times in Luke-Acts out of 36 occurrences in N.T.

49 Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich, κολλάω, 2, b, α, "to associate with on intimate terms".

50 Lk.1:18, 34, 9:34, 9:45 (=Mk.9:32), 24:37, Acts 9:13, 10:14, 17-19.

at Jerusalem, like the Jews at Damascus, cannot believe that Paul has turned to Christ.

Then the author abruptly introduces the role of Barnabas in 9:27. There is no explanation of how Paul and Barnabas made acquaintance with each other.⁵¹ Barnabas becomes a bridge-builder between Paul and Jerusalem, as was Ananias between Paul and Damascus. These figures were added to the tradition in the process of its circulation and were employed by the author for the purpose of edification.⁵² From here, Paul in Acts has a curious partnership with Barnabas,⁵³ for the Lukan picture of Barnabas seems to be exaggerated and schematized, although it is based on some historical background.⁵⁴ Barnabas brings Paul to the

51 Haenchen, Acts, 332, "How Barnabas happens to be better informed than the Apostles is not explained."

52 Barnabas was one of the significant figures in the earliest Church history. But we do not know him well. Gal.2:1,9 and 13 say that Barnabas was an Antiochene delegate with Paul, cf. Acts 13:1. 1 Cor.9:6 says that Barnabas and Paul were self-sufficient missionaries. According to the local community tradition at Jerusalem (or at Antioch) in Acts 4:36, Barnabas was a Diaspora Jew, a Cypriot. From these facts, it is possible to think that Barnabas was driven out from Jerusalem at the time of the great persecution (Loisy). But according to Acts 4:37, Barnabas was very close to the collegium of the twelve apostles and further he must have been in Jerusalem even after the great persecution, separated from the Hellenists (Conzelmann). If Barnabas was a Levite as mentioned in Acts 4:36, the latter is preferable.

53 Acts 11:30, 12:25, 13:2,7,43,46,50, 14:12,14,20, 15:2 (bis), 12,22,25,36,37.

54 Gal.2:1,9,13, 1 Cor.9:6. But if Barnabas was an Antiochene delegate, depicting Barnabas as a Jerusalem delegate in Acts 11:22,25f will contradict the fact, cf. Beg. vol.4, 141. If so, the picture of Barnabas as a Jerusalem delegate in Acts reflects the author's theological bias. Interestingly, Barnabas in Acts is connected with the regions of Jerusalem (Acts 4:36f, 9:27, 11:22,30, 12:25, ch. 15), Syria and Cilicia (11:22-26,30, 12:25, 13:1-3, 14:26-28, 15:37), Cyprus (13:4-12, 15:39) and Anatolia (13:13-14:25) as Peter and Philip in Acts are exclusively bound to the region of Palestine, and John Mark to the regions of

apostles, supposedly more than one or two, presumably twelve, and assumes the role of mediator by narrating what happened to Paul on the way to Damascus and then in Damascus as if he were with Paul.⁵⁵

The author uses here the technique of repetition, stressing the audio-visual apparition with the verb of ἴδειν and λαλεῖν, and further Paul's witness with παρηγοιάσθαι.

After the persuasive words of Barnabas, Paul is accepted by the Jerusalem disciples without conflict, in contrast to the preceding Damascus scene, and, further, makes a close association with them. The togetherness is described by the phrase καὶ ἦν μετ' αὐτῶν, paralleling 9:19b. The expression εἰσπορευόμενος καὶ ἐκπορευόμενος⁵⁶ taken from the Septuagint, is peculiar to the author and implies a close religious and social relationship with the apostles at Jerusalem and a comparatively long stay there. It might be thought to contradict Paul's own statement that he is independent of Jerusalem and was not taught by the Jerusalem authorities (Gal.1:1,12). At the same time it is interesting to

54 (continued)

Jerusalem (12:12), Antioch (12:25, 15:37) and Cyprus (13:5-13, 15:39). Barnabas disappears after the beginning of the second missionary journey like Peter in Acts 12:17.

But the people at Corinth must have known something about him (1 Cor.9:6) as well as the people in Asia (Col.4:10) and the later tradition found him at Rome (Acts of Peter, ch.4; Pseudo-Clementine, Hom.i.9-16; ii,4). But it is surprising to note that there is no room for the Gentile Titus in Acts, in contrast to the Jew Barnabas.

55 The subject of διηγῆσθαι is Barnabas, otherwise the role of Barnabas is weakened. διηγῆσθαι often occurs in Luke-Acts, Lk.9:39 (different from Mk.5:19), Lk.9:10 (different from Mk.6:30), Acts 8:33, 9:27, 12:17.

56 This is a Septuagintism, cf. Num.27:17, Deut.28:6, 31:2, 1 Sam.18:13,16, 29:6, 2 Sam.3:25, 1 Kings 3:7, 2 Chron.1:10 cf. John 10:9. Cf. Beg. vol.4, 14 and 106; Haenchen, Acts, 332; Burchard, Zeuge, 148 and n.54; Schneider, App. vol.1, 219, n.62.

note that this expression may demonstrate the continuity between Jesus and Paul, because the same expression is employed for the election of the twelfth apostle in place of Judas.⁵⁷ The scene of public missionary activity described by the verb *παρησιάζεσθαι* is parallel to 9:20-23, but quite different from *ἱστορήσαι Κηφᾶν* in Gal.1:18.⁵⁸

In 9:29, Paul not only evangelizes but also confronts the rejection of the Jews - in this case, the Hellenists.⁵⁹ The disciples accept Paul but the Hellenists harden their hearts. But this is the author's scheme, because the verb *λαλεῖν* and *συζητεῖν* both appear in Acts 6:9f, and remind the reader of the Stephen scene. Furthermore, it is interesting to notice that the first activity of Stephen and of Paul in Jerusalem, as well as of Peter, is to discuss with the Hellenists.⁶⁰ The author repeats the motif of the Jewish plot with the verb *ἀνατρέχειν* as in the Damascus scene. Paul nearly shares the fate of Stephen, but is inevitably delivered, until he comes to Jerusalem at the end, by his fellow-workers in 9:30 as in 9:25, and according to the later account in 22:17-21 by the divine miraculous vision. Utilizing this description, the author again makes a sharp contrast between Christians and non-believing Jews, and demonstrates that God favours the Christians by their miraculous escapes from perils.

After the escape from Jerusalem, Paul's fellow-workers bring him down to the port of Caesarea and send him off to Tarsus by

57 Acts 1:21, *εἰσηλθεν καὶ ἐξῆλθεν*.

58 Hanson, *Acts*, 117; Conzelmann, *ApG.* 67.

59 The A text reads *Ἑλληνας* in stead of *Ἑλληνοστίας*. But it is not correct.

60 Acts 2:5-13, 6:9f.

boat.⁶¹ But this picture of an escort to the sea after the escape⁶² and the mention of places of embarkation and disembarkation are due to the author's custom.⁶³ The journey to Tarsus and then to Antioch correspond to Gal.1:21, but Gal.1:21 may suggest a land journey.⁶⁴ At least it is fair to say that Paul is not interested in a detailed description of the journey there, whereas Acts has a special interest in the sea-voyage.

Thus the first visit to Jerusalem in Acts is based on tradition but the author modifies it with his own theme and motifs.

(iv) The Tradition and Composition in Acts

Paul mentions that immediately after the conversion and call he went to Arabia, presumably, for the purpose of a Gentile mission, and then returned to Damascus. After the flight from Damascus, which implies failure in Arabia and Damascus, he visited Jerusalem for a fortnight to see Cephas, and then proceeded to the regions of Syria and Cilicia.

Acts bases its description of these succeeding events on tradition. The primitive stage of the tradition is preserved in the rumours of the Jewish Christians in Judaea in Gal.1:23 that the persecutor is evangelizing the faith which he tried to

61 ἐξαποστέλλειν here and Acts 17:14 implies sailing by boat.

62 Acts 17:14f, cf. 14:20, 17:10, 21:16.

63 Acts 13:4f,13, 14:25, 16:11, 18:18f,21f, 20:6,13-16, 21:1-3, 27:2-8, 28:1,11f, cf. Beg. vol.4, 107.

64 Haenchen, Acts, 333; Burchard, Zeuge, 149, n.57; Schneider, ApG. vol.2, 40, n.61.

destroy. A more developed stage of tradition can be traced in the propaganda against by the Judaizers in Gal.1:13-21 that

"Paul has received this Gospel from men who were Christians before him, and has been taught by them; he is thus not an immediate Apostle of the Lord. Soon after his conversion he went to Jerusalem and there visited the Apostles and remained in their company for a longer time."⁶⁵ Acts takes over some such tradition

together with the tradition of Paul's flight from Damascus. This is because Acts stresses Paul's dramatic change from persecutor to evangelist

by the use of the verbs *κηρύσσειν* and *πορθεῖν* in Acts 9:20f, parallel to the rumour in Gal.1:23, which is depicted with

εὐαγγελίσσειν and *διώκειν / πορθεῖν*. Further, Paul in Acts soon joins the local Christian community in Damascus and

immediately goes up to Jerusalem to have close fellowship there, and then Paul preaches Christ both in Damascus and Jerusalem.

Thus the author of Acts develops the tradition against the contemporary polemical situation with schematized theme, which depicts the ideal transition from Jewish mission to Gentile mission as follows:-

(1) A mission to the Jews mainly at the synagogue

(Acts 9:20-22,29: this theme is continuously seen in the missionary journeys, Acts 13:5,14,44, 14:1, 16:13, 17:1-4,10,17, 18:4,19,26, 19:8)

(2) Rejection by Jews, particularly heightened by the

Jewish plot (Acts 9:23,29; similarly, Acts 13:45,50, 14:2,4f,19, 17:5-9, 18:12, 20:3, 23:12-15)

⁶⁵ Hypothetical reconstruction of the propaganda by omitting the negatives in Gal.1:11-19, quotation from, Linton, "The Third Aspect", 83.

- (3) His miraculous escape from the Jewish plot or expulsion
(Acts 9:24f,30, 22:17-21; similarly, Acts 13:50, 14:6,20,
17:10,13-15, 20:3, 23:16-30).⁶⁶

Thus, persecutor becomes the persecuted in the end, which is typically depicted with the verb ἀναπεῖν (Acts 8:1a / 9:23,29). There is a principle of "first the Jews, then the Gentiles" (cf. Acts 13:46, 18:6, 20:26, 28:28)⁶⁷ behind this programmatic scheme. The motive of this scheme is anti-Jewish sentiment, which is clearly seen in the descriptions of Paul's flight from Damascus in Acts. Such anti-Jewish sentiment is different from Paul's own pro-Jewish sentiment which can be seen behind the programme of Heilsgeschichte (Rom.9-11, cf. 1 Thess.2:14-16).⁶⁸

- 66 Peterson, Literary Criticism, 83, "the rejection of God's agents by God's people in connection with God's sanctuaries (synagogues and temple) is the plot decisive by which the movement of the narrative as a whole is motivated"; Meeks, Urban Christians, 26, "Unfortunately we cannot simply accept the Acts picture of the mission as a direct, factual account. The pattern of beginning always in synagogue accords ill with Paul's own declarations that he saw his mission as primarily or even exclusively to the Gentiles." Similarly, Haenchen, Acts, 333-336; further, J.Cambier, "Le Voyage de S.Paul à Jérusalem en Act.IX.26ss. et le Schéma Missionnaire Théologique de S.Luc", NTS 8 (1961/62), 249-257.
- 67 "First the Jews, then the Gentiles" is also seen in the Pauline Epistles, cf. Rom.1:16, 11:16-19. But the Gentile mission is to arouse the jealousy, according to Rom.11:11. Thus, there is another order for Paul, that is, "first the Gentiles, then the Jews", cf. Rom.11:12-14,24, and the "the first Jews, then the Gentiles" is not so much schematized in the Pauline Epistles as in Acts. Further, there is no such order in Paul's missionary maxim in 1 Cor. 9:20f.
- 68 Anti-Jewish sentiment in 1 Thess.2:14-16 is not a later interpolation, cf. 2 Cor.ch.3, but it implies apocalyptic aspect ahead of historical catastrophe of Israel, cf. E.Bammel, "Judenverfolgung und Naherwartung: Zur Eschatologie des Ersten Thessalonicherbriefes", ZThK 56 (1959), 294-315; O.Michel, "Fragen zu 1 Thessalonicher 2:14-16: Antijüdische Polemik bei Paulus", Antijudaismus im Neuen Testament ? (Abhandlung zum christlich-jüdischen Dialog 2), München 1967, 50-59.

The theological tendencies in the descriptions of the earliest years after the conversion and call in Acts are not subordinating tendencies,⁶⁹ not continuity tendencies,⁷⁰ but rather anti-Jewish tendencies which see continuation from Jesus through Peter and Stephen to Paul.⁷¹

69 Against, Klein, Apostel, 162-166, cf. 185, 211, "Subordinierung unter die vorgeordnete".

70 Against, Burchard, Zeuge, 160f.

71 Later development of the tradition of this section can be traced in Acts of Paul, ch. 1:

CHAPTER 8

THE FIRST MISSIONARY JOURNEY

Paul does not mention his so-called first missionary journey in the Epistles, except for his departure to "Syria and Cilicia" in Gal.1:21, and part of what is referred to in 2 Cor.11:25 and 2 Tim.3:10f. Acts, on the other hand, explicitly narrates Paul's missionary journey in the regions of Cyprus and Anatolia in Acts 13:1-14:28 before the account of the Apostolic Council.

(i) The Missionary Activity in Syria and Cilicia in the Pauline Epistles

There has been much debate about the "fourteen years" (Gal.2:1) between Paul's first and second visit to Jerusalem, since Paul himself is silent about the period, apart from one mention of the fact that he went to the regions of "Syria and Cilicia" in Gal.1:21, *ἔπειτα ἦλθον εἰς τὰ κλίματα τῆς Συρίας καὶ τῆς Κιλικίας* . "Syria and Cilicia" signifies territories around Antioch and Tarsus, that is, Syria proper and Cilicia

proper.¹

It is significant to note that Paul stayed in the regions of Syria and Cilicia during the fourteen years before the second visit to Jerusalem.² But this does not exclude the possibility

1 Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich and Liddell-Scott-Jones, "κλίμα", signify "region" or "district", cf. Rom.15:23, 2 Cor.11:30. κλίματα τῆς Συρίας καὶ τῆς Κιλικίας here does not refer to the official province of Syria which includes the region of Judaea as in Mt.4:24, Lk.2:2. "Cilicia" is divided into two regions, the western mountainous part (Cilicia Tracheia) and the eastern plain (Cilicia Pedias); the latter was attached to the province of Syria under the reign of Augustus in 27 B.C. and the former was incorporated into the province of Galatia until the reuniting of the two parts of "Cilicia" in A.D.72, cf. Suetonius, Vita Vesp. 8; Mommsen, Römische Geschichte, Bd. 5, 305-330; W.Ruge, "Kilikia", Pauly-Wissowa, vol.11 (1922) 385-390; C.A.H. vol.10 (1934), 279, 621, vol.11, 602-605, 617; E.M.B.Green, "Syria and Cilicia", ExpTim 71 (1959/60), 52f; Jones, Cities, 191-214. The word, κλίμα, may signify "territory" of the province, cf. W.M.Ramsay, Historical Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, London 1899, 278-280; Moulton-Milligan, 348; Betz, Gal. 79, n.220.

However, it is difficult to say which territories κλίματα τῆς Συρίας καὶ τῆς Κιλικίας precisely refer to, but it may designate, according to traditional usage, the territories around Antioch, that is, Coele-Syria which excluded Phoenicia and around Tarsus, that is, Cilicia Pedias; the former included the tetrapolis of Antioch, Seleucia, Laodicea and Apamea and the latter included Tarsus, Anazarbus, Mallus, Adana, Soli-Pompeiopōlis and so on. It is likely that the regions of "Syria and Cilicia" did not include Cyprus, which was incorporated into the province of Cilicia in 58 B.C. but constituted as an imperial province in 27 B.C. and as a senatorial province in 22 B.C.

2 One can hardly hold that the missionary activity in Anatolia, Macedonia and Greece should not be placed before the Apostolic Council in order to solve the chronological problem. This is because Gal.1:22 says nothing about the regions of Macedonia and Greece, or even Galatia, to which the letter is addressed. On the contrary, Paul stays in the regions of Syria and Cilicia. Moreover, the second visit to Jerusalem in the Pauline Epistles is presumed to start from Antioch, not from Macedonia or Greece, before the incident at Antioch. The presence of Barnabas supports this view; the presence of Titus does not necessarily mean the beginning of the second Jerusalem visit is connected with Greece, against, J.Knox, Chapters, 74-88; Jewett, Dating, 75-85; Lüdemann, Paulus, vol.1, 58-110. It is also improbable that Luke put the first missionary journey in the wrong place, before the Apostolic Council, because this hypothesis creates a

that Paul might have paid short visits to the surrounding areas such as Cyprus and Anatolia as indicated by his later missionary activity. Nevertheless the bases of his missionary activity were

2 (continued)

chronological difficulty. For it seems chronologically difficult to accommodate the first missionary journey between the periods of the incident at Antioch (c.A.D.49) and Paul's arrival at Thessalonica (c.A.D.50), against, Jeremias, "Quellen", 220; Bultmann, "Paulus", 172; or more cautiously to put it between the periods of the Apostolic Council (c.A.D. 48) and the incident at Antioch, against, Bornkamm, "Paulus", 172; idem. Paul, 43-48; Kasting, Anfänge, 106; Haenchen, Acts, 439. This is because it gives a false picture of Paul's missionary activity to suppose that he moved rapidly from one place to another leaving half-taught converts behind him; Paul stayed in one place until he had established a firm foundation of a Christian community. Thus it must have taken more than one year to cover the regions in Cyprus and Anatolia. Further, the sea was navigable for the ordinary passengers from spring to autumn. According to W.M.Ramsay, "Roads and Travel (in N.T.)", Dictionary of the Bible, extra vol. 375-402, esp. 376, "The sea was closed from 10 Nov. to 10 March; but perfectly safe navigation was only from 26 May to 14 September", 377, "The road and lofty ridge of Mount Taurus is for the most part really dangerous to cross in winter, owing to the deep snow obliterating the roads", cf. Acts 13:14, 14:24, 16:1, 18:23. Thus, if the so-called first missionary journey is historically true, it allows only one or two weeks for each station, because it must have taken 6 weeks to cover the sea-voyages and land-routes in Acts chs. 13f without taking rest. But this is difficult to fit in with Paul's missionary practice. It is also untenable to put the date of the Apostolic Council earlier to solve the chronological difficulty, because an earlier date is problematical, against, Hahn, Mission, 82, 86-94; Georgi, Geschichte, 92f; Vielhauer, Geschichte, 76f. It is in some sense right to say with Oepke, Gal. 66, "Paulus berichtet summarisch. Die sog. erste Missionsreise bleibt unerwähnt"; similarly, Lietzmann, Gal. 9; Mussner, Gal. 97ff; Ogg, Chronology, 37; Hengel, Between, 50, "For about fourteen years his activity was limited to the Roman province of Syria and Cilicia to which, according to Acts 13 and 14, we must add nearby Cyprus and immediately adjacent areas of Asia Minor". It is in another sense to say that the so-called first missionary journey is a "model journey", cf. Ph.H.Menoud, "Le plan des Actes des Apôtres", NTS 1 (1954/55), 44-51; Conzelmann, Apq. 80f; although part of it is based on the tradition about missionary expeditions to Cyprus and Anatolia. Thus we come to the two independent expedition theory, cf. Köster, Einführung, 534, 541.

in Syria, that is, Antioch, and in Cilicia, that is, Tarsus. It seems likely that Paul carried on the Gentile mission, on the basis of his own words in Gal.2:2, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὁ κηρύσσω ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, (presumably together with other Hellenists) in the synagogues; this would seem to be indicated by the fact that Gentile Christians and Jewish Christians shared the table-fellowship until the people from James in Jerusalem came to Antioch, cf. Gal.2:11-13. Paul's missionary activity in the regions of Syria and Cilicia was fruitful, in contrast to that in Arabia and Damascus, but Paul proceeded one more step and raised the issue of circumcision. Paul carried out a circumcision-free mission to defend the rights of the Gentile converts.³ However, this unique understanding of the Gospel gave rise to the Apostolic Council. Paul and Barnabas went to Jerusalem, taking Titus with them, in order to defend the freedom of the Gentiles; and the Jerusalem authorities, James, Cephas and John, admitted the circumcision-free mission at Antioch (Gal.2:1-10). But when Cephas came to Antioch, Paul ^{at Antioch} ~~reproached~~ ^{reproached} Cephas in ~~the presence of James~~ negotiation, on the ground that Cephas had withdrawn from table-fellowship with the Gentiles after the arrival of the people from James, who presumably called for a more scrupulous observance of the laws concerning table-fellowship.⁴ The fact that Barnabas and others followed Cephas implies a split between Jewish Christians

3 K.Stendahl, Paul Among Jews and Gentiles and Other Essays, London 1976, 2, "such a doctrine of justification by faith was hammered out by Paul for the very specific and limited purpose of defending the rights of Gentile converts".

4 J.D.G.Dunn, "The Incident at Antioch (Gal.2:11-18)", JSNT 18 (1983), 3-57, esp. 31-36.

and Gentile Christians. Moreover, the fact that Paul left Antioch and that he does not mention the regions of Syria and Cilicia later in his letters, even in connection with the collection may imply that his rebuke of Peter was unsuccessful. Further, this setback may have been the stimulus which led Paul to become an independent missionary of the Antiochene community, along with Barnabas, with a view to a world-wide mission particularly in the West.⁵ It is in this context that Paul must have suffered forty lashes less than one, five times (2 Cor.11:24),⁶ and been expelled from the synagogue. The fact that Paul received forty stripes five times indicates that he insisted on remaining in the Jewish sphere. Nevertheless, Paul must to some extent have alienated himself from the synagogue and turned to the Gentile world.

(ii) The Historical Core of the Tradition in Acts

The reference to Paul's stay in Antioch and his teaching there in Acts 11:26 and 13:1 agrees with Paul's own words in Gal.1:21

5 Hahn, Mission, 82; Kästing, Anfänge, 106; Hengel, Between, 50,52; Dunn, "Incident", 39. Paul ignores his missionary activity, prior to his independent activity in the West, in Arabia, Damascus, "Syria and Cilicia". This is why Paul uses the phrase, "ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου", in Phil.4:15, for the mission in the West as the true beginning of his independent mission. Thus the phrase in Phil.4:15 does not necessarily imply that Paul went to Macedonia, Achaia and Asia before the Apostolic Council, against, Lüdemann, Paulus, vol.1, 139-148.

The so-called Apostolic Decree seems to have prevailed in the regions of Syria and Cilicia after the incident at Antioch, cf. M.Simon, "The Apostolic Decree and Its Setting in the Ancient Church", BJRL 52 (1972), 437-460.

6 L.Goppelt, Apostolic and Post-Apostolic Times, ET London 1970, 74; Barrett, 2 Cor. 296f.

and 2:11. The fact that Paul was a companion of Barnabas at Antioch is also based on tradition,⁷ as is indicated by Gal.2:1,9, 13. According to the tradition in Acts, Paul and Barnabas were "prophets and teachers" in the Antiochene church.⁸ But it is surprising to notice that Acts knows nearly nothing about the mission in the regions of Syria and Cilicia outside Antioch. Yet the mission in these regions is presupposed in the reference to the Apostolic Decree in Acts 15:23,41, cf. 16:4, though it is not described in Acts. Instead of describing the mission in those regions, the author depicts the so-called first missionary journey in Acts 13-14. Thus the geographical framework of the account in Acts extends beyond Syria and Cilicia. Nevertheless, it seems likely that the first part of the first missionary journey is based on a tradition about an expedition to Cyprus, and the second part on one about Anatolia, the memory of which is preserved in 2 Tim.3:10f.⁹ However, in 2 Tim.3:10f, the co-worker

- 7 The tradition in Acts 13:1 does not state clearly who was a teacher and who was a prophet at Antioch, which implies that the function of the prophets and teachers were not yet separated as in later Pauline communities, cf. Rom.12:6-8, 1 Cor.12:28, 14:26,29; Eph.4:11; cf. Did.15:1f. Paul's visionary experience in 2 Cor.12:2-4 falls within the middle of the "fourteen years" in Syria and Cilicia, which fits in well with the tradition in Acts 13:1 that Paul was a prophet-teacher at Antioch. It seems right to conjecture that Pauline charismatic ecclesiastical office has developed from the Antiochene ecclesiastical tradition, cf. H. von Campenhausen, Ecclesiastical Authority and Spiritual Power in the Church of the First Three Centuries, ET London 1969, 70.
- 8 Barnabas seems to have been an outstanding representative of the Antioch church from the list of names in Acts 13:1, cf. ch.7, n.52 and n.54.
- 9 The missionary expedition to Cyprus and that to Anatolia seems to have been different ones. According to Acts 11:19, Phoenicia, Cyprus and Antioch formed one ecclesiastical region, like the region of Judaea, Galilee and Samaria in Acts 9:31. The expedition to Cyprus was presumably based on

of Paul is not Barnabas as in Acts 13-14, but Timothy, although the suffering motif and the mention of Antioch, Iconium and Lystra, as well as its order, are the same.¹⁰

(iii) The Text ¹¹

(1) Acts 13:2f

The missionary journey is initiated by the worshipping and fasting scenes in 13:2, which are editorial reconstructions, reflecting the author's contemporary situation rather than the historical one. The verb *λατρουρεῖν*, which is employed for the ritual and cultic sacrificial service in the Septuagint,¹² is

9 (continued)

the relatives of the Hellenists or those of the Diaspora Jews from Cyprus like Barnabas as is indicated in Acts 4:36 and 11:19f. On the other hand, the expedition to Anatolia was probably connected to Tarsus rather than Antioch, and independent of Barnabas, as indicated in 2 Tim. 3:10f. If so the reasons for Paul's sufferings in Anatolia may be (1) this expedition was unsupported by Hellenists or their relatives, and (2) that his understanding of the Gospel was more radical than during his visit to Cyprus.

10 Haenchen, *Acts*, 433, is right to say that "2 Tim. 3:10f proves that among the Pauline congregations there was current a tradition according to which Paul had had to endure persecution and suffering in the three towns (named according to the order of the first missionary journey). This tradition was also known to Luke, and probably formed the backbone for his account of the journey in Asia Minor."

11 Dibelius, *Studies*, 5f, thinks that the "Itinerary" starts from Acts 13:4 and is also employed in 13:13, 14:6f, 20f. Bultmann, "Quelle", 421-423, observes it in 13:3f, 13, 43f, 48f, (52?), 14:1-6, 21-26; Vielhauer, *Geschichte*, 76, n. 9, conjectures it in 13:3f, 13, 42f, 14:1, 5-7, 21f, 24f; Roloff, *Adg.* 192, reads it in 13:1f, 4f, 13-14a, 43-45, 49-52, 14:1f, 4-7, 21, 22a, 24-27.

12 *λατρουρεῖν* was originally used for the public worship and unpaid state service in ancient Greece, while the LXX usage for the ritual service is seen in 2 Chron. 13:10, Ezek. 40:46, Dan. 7:10 (Θ), Sap. 18:21, Test. Levi 3:5, Test. Ase. 2:2, etc. and Heb. 8:6. Cf. *λατρουρία* 1k. 1:23, Heb. 8:6, 9:21; *λατρουρός* Heb. 1:7, 8:2.

applied to Christian worship in a new sense for the first time, and this is the only case in the New Testament where it does signify Christian worship. Paul uses the same verb in a much wider sense, meaning "to perform a missionary service", ^{which is far} removed from the original sacrificial and cultic ^{sense}, and also applies it to the non-cultic sphere.¹³ Nevertheless, the verb in Acts 13:2 had not yet developed the technical sense of "to perform liturgy".¹⁴ The connection of fasting¹⁵ with receiving revelation and further with prayer¹⁶ reflects the later Judaizing features of Christianity in the years after A.D.70 and at the

- 13 Rom.15:27, cf. λειτουργία, 2 Cor.9:12, Phil.2:17,30; λειτουργός Rom.13:6, 15:16, Phil.2:25.
- 14 For Christian worship, 1 Clem.44:3, Did.15:1, Herm.sim. 9,27,3; cf. H.Strathmann, "λειτουργέω κτλ", TDNT vol.4, 215-231; F.Hahn, The Worship of the Early Church, ET Philadelphia 1976, 37,n.12; H.Balz, "λειτουργία", EWNT vol.2, 858-861.
- 15 It has been disputed whether fasting was practiced from the earliest Christianity since the days of Jesus, thus, B.Reike, "Die Fastenfrage nach Luk.5:33-39", ThZ 30 (1974), 321-328; J.Zmijewski, "νηστεύω κτλ", EWNT vol.2, 1144-1147; or whether it was introduced to early Christianity later, thus, J.Behem, "νηστεύω κτλ", TDNT vol.4, 924-935; A.Klee, "The Question about Fasting", NovTest 11 (1959), 161-173; S.G.Hall / J.H.Crehan, "Fasten Fasttage III, Biblisch und Kirchen-historisch", TRE vol.11 (1983), 48-59, esp. 48-50. Cf. Klee, "Question", 171, "the early churches view on fasting was closer to that of the Jews, than to the view of Jesus"; Hahn, Worship, 37,n.12, "But this, especially in connection with Christian fasting, is characteristic of the idea of worship toward the close of the first century".
- 16 The combination of fasting and receiving revelation is only seen in Acts in N.T; Acts 9:9,11, 10:10, 13:2; cf. Herm.vis. 2,2,1; 3,1,2; 3,10,6f; sim.5,1-3. The combination of fasting and prayer, which strengthens prayer, occurs only in Acts in N.T; Lk.2:37, Acts 9:9,11,13:3, 14:23; cf. Did.1:3, 8:1-3, Pol.Phil.7:2, Herm.vis.2,2,1; 3,1,2; 3,10,6f; further, Mk.9:29 (v.l.), Mt.17:21 (v.l.), Acts 1:14 (v.l.), 10:30 (v.l.), 1 Cor.7:5 (v.l.). Cf. Cadbury, Making, 269, "It is in Luke's writing only that we get the frequent combination of fasting and prayer"; Beg. vol.4, 142, "The combination is a common one in Judaism".

turn of the century.

However, it is in Acts that the Judaizing ritual language is combined with the Spirit motif: the Holy Spirit initiates the Gentile mission¹⁷ by taking the initiative to appoint Barnabas and Paul out of the five.¹⁸ This divine election by the Holy Spirit should be ascribed to the author,¹⁹ although the verb, ἀφορίσκειν agrees with the word of commission given to Paul in Gal.1:15. In this way Acts describes that Paul received commission three times. But it is a Lukan feature to depict the ideal gradual transition from the Jewish mission to the Gentile mission: the general commission both for the Jews and Gentiles is given at first in Acts 9:15f, 22:14f, 26:16-18, then the second commission for the Gentiles is added only after the failure of the Jewish mission in Damascus and Jerusalem in Acts 22:17-21, further the third commission for the Gentile world is illustrated again at the initiation scene of the missionary journeys here.²⁰ Nevertheless, these commissioning scenes are different from Paul's

- 17 Such an initiation motif connected with the Holy Spirit is especially Lukan, cf. Acts 2:1-4, 8:15,26,29, 10:44, 11:15, 16:6f, 19:6,21, 20:28 etc. Cf. G.W.H.Lampe, "The Holy Spirit in the Writings of St. Luke", Studies in the Gospels : Essays in Memory of R.H.Lightfoot, ed. D.E.Nineham, Oxford 1955, 159-200, esp. 196, "Above all the Spirit operates in the Church's mission, the content of whole preaching it supplies and of which it is both the driving force, so that the preaching of the gospel in the Spirit cannot be withstood and guide that appoints missionaries and directs their course."
- 18 Cf. J.Jeremias, "Paarweise Sendung im Neuen Testament", New Testament Studies : Studies in Memory of T.W.Manson, ed. A.J.B.Higgins, Manchester 1959, 136-143.
- 19 The connection of the divine election with the Holy Spirit, cf. Acts 1:2, διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου αὐτὸς ἐπέλεξετο .
- 20 τὸ ἔργον ὃ προσκέκλημαι αὐτοὺς in Acts 13:2 as well as τὸ ἔργον in Acts 14:27b and 15:38 refer to the mission to the Gentile world. Cf. Haenchen, Acts, 396, "the divine decision has already been taken before it is made manifest".

claim to be an apostle to the Gentile immediately after his call in Gal.1:15-17.

Following the divine commission, the human authorization scene is depicted in 13:3, namely, the laying on of hands. After fasting and prayer, the laying on of hands is mentioned, but it is not yet developed into a technical term to designate ordination. However, it is different from a mere blessing; it is a consecration of the representatives of the Antiochene church, as in Acts 6:6.²¹ These elements are another feature of Judaizing language, for by this act, Paul as well as Barnabas are recognized as missionaries to the Gentile world in Acts, which is far from Paul's own statement in Gal.1:1.

(1) Acts 13:4-12

The first missionary journey starts from 13:4 with *μὲν οὖν*.²² The expression *ἐκπεμφθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος* is a repetition of the initiation motif of the Holy Spirit at the very beginning of the journey, whereby Paul and Barnabas are not sent

21 D.Daube, The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism, London 1956, 224-246; Haenchen, Acts, 396 and n.3; Conzelmann, Apg. 81; Marshall, Acts, 216; Roloff, Apg. 194; Schneider, Apg. vol.2, 115. Against, S.New, "The Name, Baptism, and the Laying on of Hands", Beg. vol.5, 121-140, esp. 137f; Williams, Acts, 155; Dibelius, Studies, 6,n.13; Käsemann, RGG (3), vol.2, 1277; Klein, Apostel. 168-173; cf. Strack-Billerbeck, vol.2, 647-661. It is not ordination because the Antiochene leaders were not Rabbis and further Symeon, Lucius and Manaen were not higher rank than Barnabas and Paul, cf. G.Sevenster, "De wijding van Paulus en Barnabas", Studia Paulina in honorem J.de Zwaan, edd. J.N.Sevenster and W.C.van Unnik, Haarlem 1953, 188-201.

22 A new beginning of the scene with *μὲν οὖν* is a Lukan favourite style; Acts 1:6,18, 2:41, 5:41, 8:4,25, 9:31, 11:19, 12:5, 13:4, 14:3, 15:3,30, 16:5, 17:12,30, 19:32,38, 23:18,22,31, 25:4,11, 26:4,9, 28:5. Cf. Beg. vol.4, 7, "a favourite formula of Acts in opening a new story which is nevertheless connected with what goes before."

out by human commission but by the divine one.²³ The missionary journeys are not only initiated by the Holy Spirit but also guided by it.²⁴

The journey motif, *κατέρχασθαι*, in 13:4 shows a movement towards the coast, like *κατάγειν* in 9:30.²⁵ Seleucia was the port of Antioch, but the mentioning of it here is not due to the Itinerary, because there is no information about missionary activity or founding a community, no names of any converts or hosts. But it is due to the author's special interest in ports, as we have already seen in 9:30.

Then they sail to Cyprus,²⁶ but the author does not describe the sea-voyage to Salamis in detail as in 16:11, 20:13-16, 21:1-8, and 27:1-28:16. This is because the author's habit is to mention the embarkation and disembarkation ports as in 9:30.²⁷

The first preaching in the Jewish synagogues at Salamis in 13:5 is editorial, because it makes a clear contrast to the story of the Gentile proconsul Sergius Paulus in 13:6-12, which is due to the Pauline personal legend, in order to show "first the Jews

23 *ἐκπέμπειν* occurs only in Acts 13:4 and 17:10 in N.T.

24 Acts 16:6f, 19:21, 20:22f.

25 *κατέρχασθαι* Lk. 4:31 (different from Mk. 1:21, Mt. 4:13, John 2:12) Acts 13:4, 18:22, 19:1, 21:3; *κατάγειν*, Lk. 5:11, Acts 9:30, 27:3, 28:12; cf. Bruce, *Acts*, 254.

26 *ἀποπλεῖν* occurs only in Acts in N.T.; Acts 13:4, 14:46, 20:15 27:1, and the first three cases with *ἐκείθεν*.
It is about 230 km from Seleucia to Salamis, and it would take about two days by ship because the average speed of the ancient ship is supposed to be 100 km per day during the summer season, while M.P. Charlesworth, *Trade Routes and Commerce in the Roman Empire*, Cambridge 1926, 258, thinks "100 miles per diem".

It is certain that there were strong Jewish communities and synagogues in Cyprus, cf. Philo, *Leg. ad Gaium*, 282; Josephus *Ant.* xiii, 10, 4; 1 Macc. 15:23.

27 Acts 13:13, 14:25f, 16:11, 18:18f, 18:21 etc.

then the Gentiles".²⁸ Moreover, the picture of the Jewish mission at the synagogue is schematic,²⁹ and the language of the proclamation is a stereotyped one.³⁰

At the end of 13:5, the author consciously adds a note about John Mark from tradition: they should take him with them as a helper.³¹ This note and that in 13:13 prepare the way for the Lukan explanation of the separation of Paul and Barnabas in 15:36-41.

The author incorporates the personal legend at Paphos in 13:6-12, but it is interesting to note that he mentions only two large cities in Cyprus, both of them ports; one, the commercial centre, and the other, the administrative centre, that is, the seat of the proconsul.³² Presumably it is the author's intention to mention Salamis and Paphos as representing the region of Cyprus.³³ In 13:6a, the author connects the two ports with a

28 Roloff, ApG. 179f; Schneider, ApG. vol.2, 118.

29 Cf. ch.7,4.

30 *κατήχησον τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ* cf. various schematic conceptions for proclamation, Conzelmann, Theology, 218-225.

31 Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich, *ὑπηρέτης*, cautiously distinguishes the "servant, helper, assistant" (Acts 13:5) from the "minister" (Lk.1:2). *ὑπηρέτης* was a servant of the congregation of the synagogue, cf. Lk.4:20, Schröter, History, rev. ET vol.2, 438; B.T.Holmes, "Luke's Description of John Mark", JBL 54 (1935), thinks that *ὑπηρέτης* was the one who looked after the document. Mark presumably became the fellow-worker of Paul again in Phlm 24, Col.4:10, 2 Tim.4:11 and later tradition identifies Mark and Silvanus as fellow-workers of Peter at Rome in 1 Pet.5:13; for John Mark, Ollrog, Paulus, 47-49.

But John Mark in Acts is exclusively bound to the regions of Jerusalem, Antioch and Cyprus, cf. ch.7, n.54.

32 For Cyprus, E.Oberhummer, "Kypros, 1", Pauly-Wissowa, vol.12 (1925), 59-117; Jones, Cities, 363-373.

33 Orac. Sybill. iv, 128ff; v, 450ff; cf. Beg. vol.4, 143.

journey motif *σεῖρεσθαι*,³⁴ but does not mention the halting places.³⁵

Thus the author combines the tradition about the expedition to Cyprus in the company of John Mark with the Pauline legend at Paphos to compose his account of the missionary activity in Cyprus; the tradition and the legend are linked by journey motifs, and the gap is filled by the Jewish mission at Salamis (described in general terms), in order to make a balance - "first the Jews then the Gentiles". It is also significant that Acts 13:4-12 is the first and last description of the mission to Cyprus.

(3) Acts 13:13f

The journey resumes from 13:13f, which connects the legend in Cyprus with Paul's sufferings in Anatolia.³⁶ They set sail³⁷ from Cyprus to Asia Minor and the author mentions, as usual, the ports of embarkation and disembarkation. This is not due to the Itinerary, but the author's own interest, because the details of

34 The same journey motif is seen in Lk.9:6, 17:11, Acts 8:4, 40, 9:32,38, 10:38, 11:19, 13:6,14, 14:24, 15:3,41, 16:6, 18:23,27, 19:1,21, 20:2. The D-text reads *περιελάθωντων αὐτῶν*, instead of *σεῖρεσθαι*, which insists going about from place to place.

35 It would take about five days to cross the island from Salamis to Paphos, which is nearly 150 km, passing Citium, Amathus and Curium. The average speed for a normal walker would be 30 km per day, cf. Charlesworth, *Trade Routes*, 43; Suhl, *Paulus*, 112; Jewett, *Dating*, 138f, n.54; while, W.M.Ramsay, "Roads", 388, estimates 16 miles per day.

36 Conzelmann, *ApG.* 82, "Reise-Erlebnisse fehlen in den ApG. bis auf die letzte Reise."

37 Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich, *ἀνάγω*, 3, "to put out to sail", in this sense only occurs in Luke-Acts in N.T.; Lk.8:22, Acts 13:13, 16:11, 18:21, 20:3,13, 21:1,2, 27:2,4,12,21, 28:10,11. It is about 320 km from Paphos to Attaleia and it would have been three days' voyage.

the voyage are not described and there is no mention of the names of the hosts and converts, the preaching, the results of the preaching or the founding of the community. The reason why the author incorporated the region of Pamphylia is presumably because of the Jewish population there ³⁸ and Perge as well as Attaleia represents that region, like Salamis and Paphos in Cyprus.

After leaving Cyprus, the leadership changes and Paul takes the initiative, which is signified by the words *ὁ περὶ Παύλον*. Correspondingly, the order of *Βαρνάβας καὶ Σαῦλος* turns into that of *Παῦλος καὶ Βαρνάβας* except a few cases.³⁹ These facts apparently reflect the author's tendency to depict Barnabas as leader in the regions of Syria and Cyprus, until Paul gradually gains independence from Barnabas, particularly when entering Asia Minor.

The author inserts a note about John Mark's ^{pre} ~~pre~~ return to Jerusalem in 13:13, which will be the Lukan cause of the separation between Paul and Barnabas.⁴⁰

From 13:14 the author uses the tradition about Paul's ministry and sufferings in Pisidian Antioch, Iconium and Lystra, which is parallel to 2 Tim. 3:10f. Perge and Pisidian Antioch are connected with a journey motif, *διέρχεται*.⁴¹ It is clear that Pisidian

38 Cf. Acts 2:10. For Pamphylia, W. Ruge, "Pamphylia", Pauly-Wissowa, vol. 18, 3 (1949), 354-407; C.A.H. vol. 11, 590-597; Jones, *Cities*, 123-146.

39 *Βαρνάβας καὶ Σαῦλος* Acts 11:30, 12:25, 13:2, 7; *Παῦλος καὶ Βαρνάβας* 13:43, 46, 50, 15:2 (his), 22, 35; *Βαρνάβας καὶ Παῦλος* 14:14, 15:12, 15.

40 Cf. n. 31.

41 Cf. n. 34. The technique is already seen in the journey section in the Third Gospel (Lk. 9:51-19:28), esp. 9:51f, 17:11, 19:28.

Antioch is not the next station after Perge.⁴²

(4) Acts 13:42-51

In line with his usual custom, Lake shows Paul going first to the synagogue, in Pisidian ^{Antioch;} there was presumably a large Jewish community there.⁴³ The author has a comparatively small amount of tradition other than the one parallel to 2 Tim. 3:10f, so that he creates the mission speech with its setting and reaction in 13:13-50. This is the first and the last speech given to the Diaspora Jews in Acts.⁴⁴ The reaction of the audience essentially shows the same pattern of thought as seen in 9:19b-30, but the author inserts the principle of the transition from the Jewish to the Gentile mission, that is, "first the Jews, then the Gentiles", in 13:46-49. But it is interesting to note that the proselytes appear for the first time among the audience at the synagogue in 13:43,⁴⁵ though they stand on the Jewish side in contrast to the

42 Pisidian Antioch, Ἀντιόχεια ἡ Πισιδία, is not Antioch of Pisidia as the D text reads, Ἀντιόχεια τῆς Πισιδίας, but Antioch near Pisidia, Ἀντιόχεια ἡ πρὸς Πισιδίαν, as Strabo, xii, 3, 31; xii, 6, 4; xii, 8, 14, properly called it; cf. Beg. vol. 4, 148; Bruce, Acts, 260; Haenchen, Acts, 407, n. 5; Marshall, Acts, 222. It is more than 160 km from Perge to Pisidian Antioch, and it would have taken more than five days from Perge to Pisidian Antioch, passing, possibly, Adada and Limnai, but it is not easy to trace the road from Perge to Pisidian Antioch, cf. K. Lake, "Paul's Route in Asia Minor", Beg. vol. 5, 224-240, esp. 224f. Pisidian Antioch was given the status of a Roman colony with the designation Colonia Caesarea in 6 B.C. For Pisidian Antioch, W.M. Ramsay, Cities, 245-314; W. Ruge, "Phrygia (Topographies)", Pauly-Wissowa, vol. 20, 1 (1941), 781-868; J. Friedrich, "Phrygia (Geschichte)", Pauly-Wissowa, vol. 20, 1, 882-891; Jones, Cities, 123-146.

43 Cf. Josephus, Ant. xii, 3, 4.

44 U. Wilkens, Die Missionsreden der Apostelgeschichte : Form- und traditions-geschichtliche Untersuchungen (WMANT 5), Neukirchen-Vluyn 1961, 50-55.

45 There is no mention of the proselytes or "God-fearers" in the synagogues at Damascus in 9:20 and at Salamis in 13:5.

believing Gentiles in 13:48-50.⁴⁶ At the expulsion in 13:51, the author adds a mention of the Jewish contemptuous gestures towards the rejecting Jews. Such an attitude towards the persecuting Jews contradicts Paul's missionary practice in 1 Cor.4:12 and his paraenetic teaching in Rom.12:14. Thus it is clear that Paul's contemptuous gestures against the Jews are due to the author, who takes them from the synoptic tradition in order to make clear the parallel with the twelve or seventy travelling disciples of Jesus.⁴⁷ At the same time this picture shows not only anti-Jewish tendencies but also the Judaizing tendencies of the image of Paul in Acts.⁴⁸

(5) Acts 14:1-5

The mission and persecution at Iconium in 14:1-5 is also based on the tradition parallel to 2 Tim.3:10f. They are not due to the Itinerary because Iconium is not the next station after Pisidian Antioch,⁴⁹ and there is no mention of the names of the hosts or

46 On the other hand, the "God-fearers" in Macedonia in 16:14, 17:4,12 and Achaia in 18:7, cf. 17:17 are converted and stand on the side of Christians, which depicts the gradual transition from the Jewish mission to the Gentile mission.

47 Lk.9:5 (=Mk.6:11), Lk.10:11 (=Mt.10:14).

48 The gesture of shaking off the dust is rooted in the strict Jew's act of purification against Gentile defilement, cf. Strack-Billerbeck, vol.1, 571; H.J.Cadbury, "Dust and Garment", Beg. vol.5, 269-277.

49 Iconium is about 140 km away from Pisidian Antioch and it would have been five days' journey to get there from Pisidian Antioch. Iconium must have been ethnically a Phrygian city, Xenophon, Anab. i,2,19; Pliny, N.H. v.145; cf. Beg. vol.4, 160; Bruce, Acts, 276; Haenchen, Acts, 418, n.l. But administratively it must have been a Lycaonian city, Strabo, xii,6,1; Pliny, N.H. v.95; cf. Jones, Cities, 123-146. On the other hand, Conzelmann, ApG. 86, thinks that a part of Iconium was Phrygian and another part, Lycaonian. The Emperor Claudius gave the three Lycaonian cities the right to add his name; Claudiconium, Claudio-Derbe, and Claudio-Laodiceia, and Iconium was made a

converts. Moreover, the description of going to the synagogue, preaching and being rejected is more abridged than the earlier one in Pisidian Antioch, and is schematic as well. It is interesting to note that there is also a summary of Paul's miraculous work in 14:3, which prepares the reader for a more elaborate picture in 14:7-14, and that the author visualizes the motif of persecution, *διωγμός* in 13:50, preparatory to the stoning in 14:5, which is linked to 14:19.

(6) Acts 14:6-20a

The mission at Lystra in 14:6f is also based on the tradition parallel to 2 Tim.3:10f, not to the Itinerary,⁵⁰ but the author expands the area by adding to the tradition "Derbe and its neighbouring region".⁵¹ The author adds a geographical note that

49 (continued)

Roman colony by Hadrian, Colonia Hadriana Augusta Iconiesium. For Iconium, W.M.Ramsay, Cities, 315-382.

50 It is about 40 km from Iconium to Lystra, that must have been one and half days journey. Lystra was made a Roman colony by Augustus, like Pisidian Antioch, as Colonia Iulia Felix Germina Lustra. These two Roman colonies were linked together by a military road which did not pass through Iconium. The site of Derbe has been disputed, cf. H.M.Ballance, "The Site of Derbe", Anatolian Studies 7 (1957), 147-151; idem. "Derbe and Faustropolis", Anatolian Studies 14 (1964), 139f; B.van Elderen, "Some Archaeological Observations on Paul's First Missionary Journey", Apostolic History and the Gospel : Biblical and Historical Essays Presented to F.F.Bruce, edd. W.W.Gasque and R.P.Martin, Exeter 1970, 156-161. But Derbe seems to be nearly 100 km away from Lystra, that would have been three days journey and it was not the next halting stop to Lystra. For Lystra, W.M.Ramsay, Cities, 405-435; and for Derbe, W.M.Ramsay, Cities, 383-404; further, W.Ruge, "Lykaonia, 2", Pauly-Wissowa, vol.13 (1927), 2253-2265; Jones, Cities, 123-146.

51 The D text emphasizes it with τὴν περιχώρον δὴν . ἡ περιχώρος does not mean "country side", but "neighbouring region", cf. Lk.3:3, 4:14,37, 7:14, 8:37, Mk.1:28, Mt.3:5, 14:35, Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich, περιχώρος . This means the region of Isauria which included Old and New Isauria, cf. Strabo,xii, 6,2.

Lystra and Derbe are Lycaonian cities in 14:6; both represent the region of Lycaonia. The brief reference to preaching in 14:7 is the author's but here the synagogue is not mentioned, as in Paphos; this prepares the reader for the following episode. Then the author employs the Pauline personal legend at Lystra in 14:8-13, and then composes a short speech, 14:14-18. This account makes a sharp contrast with the mission speech at the synagogue in Pisidian Antioch, and this symmetric construction reflects the author's conception, "first the Jews, then the Gentiles"; Paul in Acts first appears as an outstanding orator among the Jews at the synagogue and then as a miracle-worker among the Gentile outside the synagogue. This pattern of thought is not only seen in the descriptions in Cyprus but also in Anatolia. Interestingly, Paul is depicted, in a typical Jewish gesture, as rending his garments ⁵² against the Gentiles in 14:14. This is another feature of the Judaizing tendencies of the image of Paul in Acts.

At the end of the account at Lystra in 14:19f, the author uses a schematic "expulsion motif" when he describes the Jews in the neighbouring districts as chasing Paul ⁵³ and persecuting him. The stoning is due to the tradition, which agrees with Paul's own witness in 2 Cor.11:25, ⁵⁴ although Paul does not mention the place

52 Mk.14:63 (=Mt.26:65), cf. Num.14:6, Judith 14:19, Ep.Jer. 30, 2 Macc.4:38; Cadbury, "Dust", 271f.

53 Cf. Acts 17:13, 21:27.

54 Compared with the list of Paul's suffering in 2 Cor.11:23-33, Paul's sufferings in Acts are relatively few: Acts does not recount the five occasions of "forty lashes less one", three shipwrecks before the sea-voyage to Rome, perils of rivers, perils of robbers, perils of cities, perils of the desert, the perils of falsebrothers. A number of imprisonments and three floggings by Romans are both reduced to one. By contrast, Acts mentions numerous perils from Jews and much

of his stoning. However, the topographical note, ἔξω τῆς πόλεως in 14:19, should be ascribed to the author because it is a reminiscence to the Stephen's story, ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἑλιθοβόλων in Acts 7:58 (cf. Lk.4:29); there is a parallel with Stephen's suffering but Paul is inevitably rescued and miraculously saved. Paul's sufferings in Anatolia are not connected with Timothy as in 2 Tim.3:10f. If 2 Tim.3:10f is more trustworthy, then the author of Acts must have transposed the tradition of Paul's suffering on the missionary expedition to Anatolia, with Timothy, into those on the first missionary journey with Barnabas.⁵⁵ It is significant to note that the sufferings in Acts 13-14 and 2 Tim.3:10f are connected with the journey motif, but this idea is not developed in the Pauline epistles (cf. 1 Cor.4:9-13, 2 Cor.4:7-12, 2 Cor.6:4-10, 11:23-33 or in Rom.8:35) because Paul's understanding of suffering is there motivated by eschatology.⁵⁶

(7) Acts 14:20b-28

After the mission and persecution at Lystra, Paul and Barnabas come to Derbe in 14:20b-22. The author presumably knows about Derbe, at least from the list of names in 20:4, but it is apparent that he was ill-informed so that the abridged kerygmatic preaching formula of 14:6 is repeated here. But it is to be noted that

54 (continued)

less frequent perils from the Gentiles. On the other hand, both the stoning and flight from Damascus are recorded once both in Acts and 2 Cor. ch.11. Interestingly, Paul's sufferings are also recorded in 1 Clem. 5:6, in which seven times of imprisonment, exile and stoning are mentioned.

55 It is unlikely that 2 Tim.3:10f is dependent on a knowledge of Acts, because the co-worker of Paul is not Barnabas but Timothy in 2 Tim.3:10f, against, Williams, Acts, 173.

56 Rom.5:3-5, 2 Cor.4:16-18, 1 Thess.3:3f,7; cf. Barrett, Sings, 42f.

Derbe is the last station on the first missionary journey and the verb for instructive teaching, μαθητεύσειν,⁵⁷ appears for the first time after the verb of preaching. This indicates the author's rule in depicting the missionary journey, that is, first preaching, then teaching. Then Paul and Barnabas go back to visit Lystra, Iconium, Pisidian Antioch, in the reverse order of the tradition,⁵⁸ as if nothing dangerous had happened there, instead of going straight back to Syrian Antioch through the Cilician Gates. This return journey is depicted, for the purpose of teaching, in stereotyped expressions, namely, strength⁵⁹ and encouragement.⁶⁰ The double visit to the mission fields, the first for preaching and the second for teaching, is not historical, but editorial, because this feature recurs throughout the missionary journeys in Acts.⁶¹ Paul in the Epistles does not

57 Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich, μαθητεύσειν, 3, "to make a disciple or teach". μαθητεύσειν in this sense occurs only in Acts 14:21 and Mt. 28:19 in N.T.; cf. Ign. Rom. 3:1; (passive) "to become a disciple", Mt. 13:52, 27:57, cf. Ign. Eph. 3:1, 10:1, Ign. Rom. 5:1.

58 Schneider, *Apog.* vol. 2, 165.

59 ἐπιστηρίψαι occurs only in Acts in N.T.; Acts 14:22, 15:32, 41. But στηρίξαι occurs both in the Pauline letters (Rom. 1:11, 16:25, 1 Thess. 3:2, 13) and in Acts (18:23).

60 Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich, παρακαλέω, 2, "to exhort, encourage" which is also employed by Paul in 2 Cor. 10:1, 1 Thess. 2:12, 3:2, 5:11.

61 The double visit of a mission field: Cyprus, 13:4-12, 15:39; Perge, 13:13, 14:25; Pisidian Antioch, 13:14-52, 14:21; Iconium, 14:1-5, 14:21; Lystra, 14:6-20, 14:21; "Phrygia-Galatia", 16:6, 18:23; Troas, 16:8-11, 20:5-21; Philippi, 16:12-40, 20:1; Thessalonica, 17:1-9, 20:1; Beroea, 17:10-14, 20:1; Athens, 17:15-34, 20:2; Corinth, 18:1-17, 20:2; Ephesus, 18:18-21, 18:24-19:41. In Acts the first visit is chiefly for preaching and the second for teaching (strengthening and encouraging the disciples); preaching is not mentioned in "Phrygia-Galatia" and Troas, but is presupposed on the second visit. The author's concern is at first for proclamation, not education, so that the chief events occur on the first visit to Cyprus, Anatolia,

have such a clear missionary strategy.⁶²

Interestingly, the paraenetic exhortation deduced from Paul's sufferings at Antioch, Iconium and Lystra in 14:22, *διὰ πολλῶν θλίψεων δεῖ ἡμᾶς εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ*, has a similarity to that in 2 Tim.3:12, *πάντες δὲ οἱ θέλοντες ἵκῃν εὐσεβῶς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ διωχθήσονται*. Both are written in general terms, not in situational language,⁶³ and the persecution is not limited to the apostles and the witnesses, but it is expanded to include Christians in general,⁶⁴ which reflects the contemporary situation of both Acts and the Pastorals. This parallelism also indicates the theological trend of asking Christians to learn Paul as the model of their own sufferings.⁶⁵

In 14:23, the institution of elders outside Palestine is

61 (continued)

Macedonia and Achaia on the first and second missionary journey, cf. J.C.Hurd, Jr., *Origin*, 28-31, "If, however, the account in Acts of Paul's missionary journey is examined, a striking fact appears; although Paul may visit a city several times, his adventures occur only on one of his visits, chiefly the first." But the author later insists on instruction on the second visit to Asia on the third missionary journey.

62 E.g. Paul does not distinguish preaching and teaching on his visit to Thessalonica; both proclamation, *ἐκηρύξαμεν* in 1 Thess.2:9 and exhortation, *παρακαλῶντες*, in 1 Thess. 2:12, occur on one and the same visit. On the other hand, Paul has sent his co-worker Timothy to the mission field instead of going himself, in order to strengthen and encourage the believers, cf. 1 Thess.3:2,13.

63 The generalization is seen in *δεῖ ἡμᾶς* and *πάντες δὲ οἱ θέλοντες*. Both *εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ* and *ἵκῃν εὐσεβῶς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ* designate "to live a Christian life", cf. Conzelmann, *ApG.* 89, "es wird nicht auf das „Kommen" des Gottesreiches geblickt, sondern auf den irdischen Weg zu diesen und den Eingang in dasselbe beim Tode", similarly, idem. *Theology*, 113-119.

64 Haenchen, *Acts*, 436; Conzelmann, *ApG.* 89, "eine allgemeine Lebensregel."

65 Col.1:24, Eph.3:13, 2 Tim.1:8,12f, 2:3,9f, 4:6-8, 1 Clem.5:5-7, Ign.Eph.12:2.

described for the first time in Acts. The verb for election, $\chiειροτονεῖν$, is Pauline,⁶⁶ but $\πρεσβυτέρου$, that is the elder system, is un-Pauline, because the Pauline communities were organized by the charismatic triad apostolate (apostle-prophet-teacher).⁶⁷ Thus the institution of presbyters by the hand of Paul and Barnabas⁶⁸ is not historical, but a reflection of the situation of the Lukan church or the Pauline churches in Asia Minor in the post-70 period,⁶⁹ whose church order shows the process of Judaization. The practice of prayer and fasting is a Lukan pious motif, which also reveals another Judaizing feature.⁷⁰ At the same time, it may show the transition of the teaching office from the travelling prophets and teachers to the local

66 2 Cor.8:19, cf. Ign.Phila.10:1, Sm.11:2, Pol.7:2; Did.15:1.

67 1 Cor.12:28-30, Eph.4:11, cf. Rom.12:6-8, 1 Cor.12:7-11. $\ἐπισκόπος$ and $\διακόνου$ in Phil.1:1 might have been "overseers or guardians" and "helpers" of the Pauline communities, which are parallel to $\ἀρχιουραγῶν$ and $\ὑπηρέται$, though not yet developed into technical terms. There are no mention of the presbyter in the list of the charismatic apostolate in 1 Cor.12:28-30 and Eph.4:11. The presbyter here shows a step forward to the transformation of the charismatic triad apostolate (apostle-prophet-teacher) to the institutionalized triad ecclesiastical office (bishop-presbyter-deacon). Cf. G.Bornkamm, "πρέσβυς κτλ", TDNT vol.6, 651-683; J.M.Ross, "The Appointment of Presbyters in Acts xiv 23", Exptim 63 (1951/52), 288f; E.Nellessen, "Die Presbyter der Gemeinden in Lycaonien und Pisidien (Apg.14:23)", Les Actes, 493-498.

68 Here the appointment is not connected with the imposition of hands as in 13:3 and 16:6; while Stählin thinks that it is presupposed here, Apg. 196. The appointment of the elders here is not an ordination, against, Klein, Apostel, 175f.

69 Goguel, Church, 137 and n.4; Campenhausen, Ecclesiastical Authority, 77, Haenchen, Acts, 436; Conzelmann, Apg. 89; Hanson, Acts, 152; Roloff, Apg. 220; Schneider, Apg. vol.2, 164, 166.

70 Cf. ch.6, n.52 and ch.8, n.16.

church elders,⁷¹ which is also seen in the Pastoral Epistles.⁷²

This is another reflection of the Lukan church situation.

In 14:24, Paul and Barnabas go through⁷³ the region of Pisidia. The fact that Pisidia is not explicitly mentioned on the onward journey in 13:14 indicates that the author is not very interested in that region and is not familiar with it, either.⁷⁴ Thus without the recording of any *events*; in Pisidia, soon afterwards Paul and Barnabas come back to the region of Pamphylia.

however, the author shows a little more interest in this region than for Pisidia, so that Perge is mentioned again in 14:25, but it does not go beyond the abridged summary of the missionary activity, as at Iconium in 14:1, *κατήσαντες τὸν λόγον*. It is apparent that this summary is not based on the Itinerary because there is no mention of the founding of any community, the names of the hosts and the converts or topographical details. At the end of the journey, Paul and Barnabas arrive at the port of Attaleia to sail to Antioch,⁷⁵ but Attaleia is not mentioned on the onward journey.⁷⁶

71 Did.15:1, cf. Streeter, The Primitive Church, London 1929, 144-152.

72 The elder system is also presupposed at Ephesus in Acts 20:17 and the elders in the Pastors in 1 Tim.5:17,19 and Tit.1:5. The transition of the teaching office is typically expressed by *παρατιθεῖναι* in Acts 14:23, 20:32, 1 Tim.1:18, 2 Tim.2:2 cf. *παραθήκη* 1 Tim.6:20, 2 Tim.1:12,14. *παρατιθεῖναι* in 1 Cor.10:27 does not have such a technical nuance.

73 Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich, *ἑξέρχουμαι*, 1, "to go through" as in 13:6,14, but not "to go about".

74 For Pisidia, Jones, Cities, 123-146.

75 For similar expressions to arrive at a port, cf. 9:30, 16:8, 18:22, 25:6.

76 The author sometimes does not mention the name of a port in order to avoid repetition; Perge instead of Attalia in 13:13, Antioch instead of Seleucia in 14:26, Philippi instead of Neapolis in 20:6. But, according to Strabo, xiv,4,2, it was navigable up to Perge on the river Cestrus, presumably changing boats at Attaleia.

In 14:26 Paul and Barnabas set sail for Antioch,⁷⁷ and thus the author depicts a circular journey, and emphasizes it by the reference to the beginning of the journey in 13:1-3.⁷⁸ The description of Paul and Barnabas at the Antiochene church in 14:27, *συναγαγόντες τὴν ἐκκλησίαν*, corresponds to the first ideal one in 11:26, *συναχθῆναι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ*, but the motif of reporting the missionary activity as well as that of coming back to the initial point are modelled after the sending ^{of} the disciples in the synoptic tradition.⁷⁹ Further, in the concluding words which show the success of the first missionary journey, a Pauline metaphorical expression, *θύραν ἀνοίγειν*, is employed, but *θύρα πίστεως* is un-Pauline.⁸⁰ Moreover, Paul does not apply such expressions to Cyprus or Anatolia, only to Ephesus and Troas.⁸¹ And the author adds an editorial link which depicts a pause in the ideal scene, staying and discussing together with the

77 It is about 560 km from Attaleia to Seleucia, that is, five or six days' sea-voyage.

78 τὸ ἔργον ὃ ἐπέτελεσαν in 14:26, cf. εἰς τὸ ἔργον ὃ προσκέκλημαι αὐτούς in 13:2.

The words for commission, *παράδοδομένοι τῇ χάριτι τοῦ θεοῦ*, refer back to the laying on of hands in 13:3. The divine initiation and guidance in 13:2 and 4 are summarized with *ὅσα ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς μετ' αὐτῶν* in 14:27. Haenchen, *Acts*, 437, "The very cautious expression *ὅθεν ἦσαν* κτλ. avoids attributing to men the initiation of the missionary journey" Conzelmann, *ApG.* 89, "26f, Redaktioneller Abschluss, anknüpfend an 13:1-3".

79 Lk.9:10 (=Mk.6:30), Lk.10:17.

80 Paul's fixed expression is *θύρα μοι ἀνοχθῆναι* in 1 Cor.16:9, 2 Cor.2:12, cf. *θύρα τῶ λόγων* in Col.4:3, but not *θύραν ἀνοίγειν*; in the genuine Pauline Epistles the subject is not God as in Acts 14:27, Col.4:3, cf. Rev.3:8. Rev.4:1, may indicate the apocalyptic origin of this metaphor, cf. Test. Levi, 18:10, *καί γε αὐτὸς ἀνοίξει τὰς θύρας τοῦ παραδείσου*.

81 This metaphorical expression must have been prevalent in Asia, cf. 1 Cor.16:9, 2 Cor.2:12, Col.4:3, Rev.3:8.

disciples.⁸² But the time note, χρόνον οὐκ ὀλίγον,⁸³ shows an ambiguous lapse of time, which indicates that the author does not know the precise time sequence after the conversion and call of Paul. This scene also appears at the end of the narrative of the Apostolic Council in 15:35.

In this way, the author programmatically narrates the purpose of the first mission journey, namely, the success of the Gentile mission, which is prepared for in the Cornelius story in ch.10 and approved by the Apostolic Council in ch.15.

(iv) The Tradition and Composition in Acts

Paul of the letters says that he spent "the fourteen years" between his first and second visit to Jerusalem in the regions of Syria and Cilicia, presumably travelling around in those regions for the Gentile mission with Barnabas. Moreover, Titus must have been one of the Gentile converts. Further, it is probable that Paul and Barnabas made a short expedition to Cyprus, the homeland of Barnabas, taking John Mark with them, and later another expedition to Anatolia with Timothy. But Paul did not at that time hold the world-wide view of the mission before the Apostolic Conference at Jerusalem and the incident at Antioch.

However, Acts depicts the so-called first missionary journey

82 διατρίβειν often occurs in Acts in N.T.; Acts 12:19, 14:3, 15:35, 16:12, 20:6,14; John 3:22, 11:54. Conzelmann, *ApG.* 90, says of verse 28, "eine der lukanischen Pausen".

83 Cf. ch.7, n.9. ἄχ ὀλίγος is the author's favourite litotes, cf. Acts 12:18, 14:28, 15:2, 17:4,12, 19:23,24, 27:20. Other example of litotes, cf. Acts 14:17, 17:27, 19:11, 20:12, 21:39, 26:19,26, 28:2, Blass-Debrunner-Rehkopf, ss, 495,2 and n.9.

with Barnabas, based on, not the Itinerary, but the personal tradition that Paul preached, and was persecuted, at Pisidian Antioch, Iconium and Lystra, which has a parallel in 2 Tim.3:10f.⁸⁴ The author also utilizes the Pauline legends at Paphos and Lystra and the Pauline tradition about John Mark. Then the author connects these traditions with the journey motif, as in the central section of the Third Gospel, and modifies them with the schematic descriptions of the preaching, its result and ^{the} reaction. In this way, the geographical framework of the missionary activity in Acts during "the fourteen years" is extended beyond the regions of Syria and Cilicia. On the other hand, the chronological framework of the accounts in Acts remains ambiguous as in those of the earliest years after the conversion and call.

The author's depiction of the mission consists in ~~s~~chematic elements as we have seen in ch.7, namely, preaching to the Jews, rejection by the unbelieving Jews and expulsion from the synagogues, but two rules of the description are found in the first missionary journey. The first principle shows the process of the expansion of the mission, that is, "first the Jews then the Gentiles" (Acts 13:46f).

84 It is remarkable to notice that most cities in Asia Minor mentioned in Acts are parts or near the coast (Tarsus, Attaleia, Perge, Troas, Assos, Ephesus, Miletus, Patara, Myra) besides Pisidian Antioch, Iconium, Lystra and Derbe which are given through tradition. It is surprising that Acts does not mention the inland Pauline communities such as at Colossae, Laodicea, Hierapolis and in Galatia, if the north Galatian theory is accepted.

- (1) The Gospel is preached to the Jews at the synagogue at first (Salamis in 13:5, Pisidian Antioch in 13:14-52, Iconium in 14:1-7).
- (2) Miraculous events are performed among the Gentiles outside the synagogue afterwards (Paphos in 13:6-12, Lystra 14:8-20).

This structure of presentation is repeated both in Cyprus and Anatolia, but Paul and Barnabas are rejected by the Jews both among the Jewish communities and the Gentiles ones, and the proselytes stand on the Jewish side in the first missionary journey. Thus the expansion of Christianity proceeds. The first rule of depiction shows not only anti-Jewish sentiment, as we have seen in ch.7, but also Judaizing tendencies, typically illustrated by the Jewish gesture of shaking off the dust, taken from the synoptic tradition, and the gesture of rending the garments, presumably taken from the Septuagint.

The second rule of depiction is concerned with the process of the ministry, which is described in the double visit of the mission field.

- (1) The first visit on the outward journey is to preach the gospel to the Jews at the synagogues and to the Gentiles outside the synagogues, ^{a practice} which is extended by the travelling missionaries (13:4-14:21a).
- (2) The second visit on the return journey is to teach the believing Jews and Gentiles, which is the purpose of appointing local elders (14:21b-23).

Thus the author makes a circular journey modelled after the sending of the disciples in the synoptic tradition. But the

author insists on the aspects of proclamation rather than education. However, it is the latter which reflects the Lukan contemporary ecclesiastical situation, that is, Judaization of the church order. Both the initiation and termination of the first journey to Cyprus and Anatolia (Pamphylia, Phrygia, Lycaonia) stress the divine initiative and guidance, but they are described with the Judaizing elements. Thus both preaching and teaching in the first missionary journey show Judaizing tendencies. The theological tendencies in the first missionary journey are not subordinating ones,⁸⁵ but Judaizing ones,⁸⁶ together with anti-Jewish undertone.

85 Against, Klein, Apostel, 162-184, cf. 202, "Subordinierung unter die vor geordnete".

86 Further, the development of tradition of this section can be traced in Acts of Paul chs. 2-6.

CHAPTER 9

THE SECOND MISSIONARY JOURNEY

Acts narrates the so-called second missionary journey (Acts 15:36-18:22), which corresponds with the references to the mission in the regions of Macedonia and Achaia in the Pauline Epistles (1 Thess.chs.2-3, Phil.1:30, 4:15f, 1 Cor.1:14-16, 2:1-5, 4:12, 9:1-18, 2 Cor.1:19, 11:7-10).

(i) The Missionary Activity in Macedonia and Achaia in the Pauline Epistles

For Paul's missionary activity in Macedonia and Achaia, our knowledge is more accurate because the earliest letter was composed in this period. It may be assumed that, after the Apostolic Council and the incident at Antioch, Paul left the regions of Syria and Cilicia and proceeded to the regions of Macedonia and Achaia; this implies that Paul was not only defeated at Antioch but also established himself as an independent

missionary, not subject to the Antiochene church.¹ Paul's unique missionary method seems quite like that of self-supported Cynic missionary philosophers, who persuaded the people in public at the market place.² Paul's first target must have been to acquire the friendship of some people in the higher social strata who could provide their houses as meeting places.³ In this sense Paul's missionary practice for the Gentiles was ahead of the synagogue-based Jewish Christian mission.⁴

- 1 Cf. B.W.Bacon, "Peter's Triumph at Antioch", JR 9 (1929), 204-223; P.Holtz, "Die Bedeutung des Apostelkonzils für Paulus", NovTest 16 (1974), 110-148; M.Hengel, Between, 50; Dunn, "Incident", 38f.
- 2 A.J.Malherbe, "Gentle as a Nurse", NovTest 12 (1970), 203-217; idem. Social Aspects of Early Christianity, Baton Rouge / London 1977; R.F.Hock, "Paul's Tentmaking and the Problem of His Social Class", JBL 97 (1978), 555-564; idem. Social Context. Cf. S.Dill, Roman Society From Nero to Marcus Aurelius, London 1925, 334-383; Malherbe, "Self-Definition Among Epicurians and Cynics", Jewish and Christian Self-Definition, vol.3, Self-Definition in the Graeco-Roman World, edd. B.F.Meyer and E.P.Sanders, London 1982, 46-59.
- 3 For the significance of the house churches, cf. F.V.Filson, "The Significance of the Early House Churches", JBL 58 (1939), 109-112; E.A.Judge, The Social Pattern of the Christian Groups in the First Century, London 1960, 30-39; Malherbe, Social Aspect, 60-91; Theissen, Social Setting, 83-91; Meeks, Urban Christians, 74-110. S.K.Stowers, "Social Status, Public Speaking and Private Teaching: The Circumstances of Paul's Preaching Activity", NovTest 26 (1984), 59-82. Cf. A.Strobel, "Der Begriff des 'Houses' im griechischen und römischen privatrecht", ZNW 56 (1965), 91-100.
- 4 Synagogue based Jewish Christianity is seen in James 2:2, cf. Heb.10:25; Epiphanius, Haer. 30, 18. The Stephanite party must have been originally synagogue oriented, cf. Acts 6:9, 9:2, 11:19f; 13:5, cf. ch.8, n.31. But the Pauline communities were distinctively different from the synagogue oriented Christianity, cf. K.Holl, "Der Kirchenbegriff des Paulus in seinem Verhältnis zu dem der Urgemeinde", idem. Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte, vol.2 (Tübingen 1928), Darmstadt 1964, 44-67.

It is likely that on the way to the West Paul became seriously ill during the journey in "Galatia"⁵ and was forced to stay there for a considerable period. Meanwhile, the Galatian Pauline communities were founded as a result of his preaching (Gal.4:12-15, cf. 3:1-5).⁶ Paul advanced to Macedonia, presumably sailing across the Aegean Sea from Troas, which is mentioned several years later on his other journey to Macedonia (2 Cor.2:12f).⁷

- 5 It has been disputed whether "Galatia" designates the province or the territory, but scholars today tend to be in favour of the territory hypothesis, namely the so-called north Galatian theory. This is because ἡ Γαλιατία usually denotes the region of Galatia proper, not the province of Galatia, and οἱ Γαλιαταῖοι (Gal.3:1) definitely refers to the inhabitants of Galatia proper. Further, Paul is accustomed to use the names of territories rather than provinces. For instance, "Syria and Cilicia" (Gal.1:21) are not the Roman provinces, as we discussed above, cf. ch.7, n.1; "Arabia" (Gal.1:17) is not the province name because this region was not instituted as a Roman province at that time, similarly "Judaea" (Rom.15:31, 2 Cor.1:16, Gal.1:22, 1 Thess.2:14); the names of province and territory were one and the same for "Macedonia" (Rom.15:26, 1 Cor.16:5, 2 Cor.1:16, 2:13, 7:5, 8:1, 11:9, Phil.4:15, 1 Thess.1:7f); however, "Asia" (Rom.16:5, 1 Cor.16:19, 2 Cor.1:8) and "Achaia" (Rom.15:26, 1 Cor.16:15, 2 Cor.1:1, 9:2, 11:10, 1 Thess.1:7f) may refer to the territory or the province, though the former is preferable because of the above examples.
- 6 Local languages were spoken in Asia Minor (cf. Acts 14:11) even^{or} later periods, which implies that Paul's converts must have been comparatively educated people or wealthy tradesmen who could speak Greek, cf. K.Holl, "Das Fortleben der Volkssprechen in Kleinasien in nachchristlicher Zeit", idem. Gesammelte Aufsätze, vol.2, 238-248.
- 7 Paul visited Roman colonies such as Lystra, Pisidian Antioch, possibly Germa in Galatia, Troas, and further Philippi and Corinth, presumably because, if Paul was a Roman citizen, he could enjoy at least the privileges of freedom from the taxes and tariffs and the same rights as the citizen in an Italian city, cf. E.Kornemann, "Coloniae", Pauly-Wissowa, vol.4, 511-588. Paul's other missionary strategy was to visit metropolises such as Thessalonica, Corinth and Ephesus in terms of trade and commerce, from which satellite communities were built up along the trade roads, as those in Colossae, Laodicea, Hierapolis from Ephesus further in Beroea from Thessalonica and in Nicopolis from Corinth.

Paul stayed at Philippi prior to Thessalonica and there founded the first Pauline community in Europe but was confronted with sufferings and maltreatment (1 Thess.2:2, Phil.1:30). The length of his stay in Philippi was not long enough to build a large community as in Corinth or in Ephesus, but sufficient to form strong . . . bonds of friendship.

Paul went from Philippi to Thessalonica (1 Thess.2:1f), and it is clear that he preached to the Gentiles (1 Thess.1:9f). Meanwhile, he gained his daily bread with his hands (1 Thess.2:9), and formed a community, along with Silvanus and Timothy (1 Thess. 1:1, 3:2,6). The Philippians supported Paul by sending him gifts not once but twice (Phil.4:16), which implies that his stay in Thessalonica was ^{for} several months.

After establishing a community in Thessalonica, Paul moved south into Achaia. In Athens, he became anxious about the Thessalonians, presumably hearing that they were troubled by their fellow countrymen (1 Thess.2:14-16 cf. 1:6); he therefore sent Timothy to Thessalonica in order to strengthen and encourage them when his plan to revisit them was abandoned (1 Thess.2:17-3:5). It seems likely that the Athenian mission was not successful (1 Cor.2:3).

While Paul was in Corinth, Timothy returned from Thessalonica and reported their faith and love (1 Thess.3:6-10), and their inquiries about brotherly love (1 Thess.4:9, $\kappa\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$), the dead (4:13, $\kappa\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}$), and the last things (5:1, $\kappa\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$).

The original stage of founding the Corinthian community was performed by Paul, Silvanus and Timothy (2 Cor.1:19, cf. 1 Thess. 1:1) and Paul must have encountered . . . Aquila and Priscilla

(1 Cor.16:19, Rom.16:3-5). Paul preached Christ (1 Cor.1:17,23, 2:2, 2 Cor.4:5) and his resurrection (1 Cor.15:1-11), but not in words of worldly wisdom (1 Cor.1:17, 2:1,4f, 3:1f). He also worked with his hands for his bread (1 Cor.4:12, 9:6-19, 2 Cor.11:7, 12:13) and the Philippians again sent him a gift (2 Cor.11:8-11, Phil.4:15). The community consisted of Gentile Christians (1 Cor.12:2), most of them were from the lower classes (1 Cor. 1:26-31), though there were some of the higher classes⁸ and also Jewish Christians (1 Cor.7:18f, Rom.16:21). The period of Paul's stay in Corinth was long enough to establish a flourishing community. Then Paul proceeded to Ephesus (1 Cor.16:8). It is unlikely that Paul went to Jerusalem without offering the collection because in the Pauline Epistles only one visit to Jerusalem is mentioned, and that in connection with the collection (Rom.15:19,25f,31, 1 Cor.16:3).

(ii) The Historical Core of the Tradition in Acts

The author of Acts doubtless employs a number of local community traditions in the accounts of the second missionary journey through Macedonia and Achaia, as is clear from the fact that the descriptions of the founding of communities are more detailed, with proper nouns and topographical notes, than for the

8 N.A.Dahl, "Paul and Possessions", Kirke og Kultur 52 (1947) = idem. Studies in Paul, Minneapolis 1977, 22-39; Judge, Social Pattern, 49-61; Malherbe, Social Aspects, 29-59; Theissen, Social Setting, 69-119; Meeks, Urban Christians, 51-73.

regions of Syria and Cilicia ⁹ and less schematic than for the regions of Cyprus and Anatolia. That means the author is more familiar with the regions of Macedonia and Achaia. It is also assumed that the geographical movement of Paul in Acts is based on the Pauline tradition because it fits well with the Pauline Epistles. Firstly, the journey from Antioch to the Anatolian highlands (Acts 15:41-16:1a) is most likely on the way from Antioch to Thessalonica, though it is not mentioned in the Pauline Epistles. Secondly, the journey to Galatia proper is not fully recounted in Acts, but the mention of this region in 16:6 (cf. 18:23) agrees with Gal.4:13. Thirdly, the missionary activity in Philippi (Acts 16:11-40) coincides with Paul's own testimony in 1 Thess.2:2. Fourthly, the movement from Philippi to Thessalonica (Acts 17:1) agrees with the words of Paul in 1 Thess.2:2. Fifthly, the journey from Thessalonica to Athens (Acts 17:13-15) is also mentioned in 1 Thess.3:1, although Beroea is not mentioned in it. Sixthly, the movement of Paul from Athens to Corinth (Acts 18:2) is presupposed in 1 Thess. Other than this geographical framework, from Syria to Achaia, Paul's co-workers in his missionary activity in Macedonia and Achaia, namely, Silvanus and Timothy (Acts 15:40, 16:1-3) are the same as those mentioned in Paul's own words (1 Thess.1:1, 2 Cor.1:19), although Acts has an inclination to stress the role of Silvanus (Acts 16:19,25,29, 17:4,10; esp. 17:14f, 18:5, cf. 1 Thess.3:2,6). The separation of Paul and

9 Cf. Williams, Acts, 187, "It is strange that Luke tells us so little of the church in Syria-Cilicia which Paul had presumably founded, cf. Gal.1:21. If Luke was a native of Antioch, which is doubtful, he would probably have said more."

Barnabas (Acts 15:36-39) is also based on tradition but it is very different from Gal.2:11-14.

(iii) The Text ¹⁰

(1) Acts 15:36-40

The author opens a new sentence with *μετὰ* and a note of time, which is one of his favourite beginnings for a narrative and denotes an unspecified period after the Apostolic council.¹¹ It is explicitly mentioned that Paul took the initiative for the second missionary journey by telling Barnabas to go back and visit the brothers again,¹² which is different from the beginning of the first missionary journey in Acts 13:1-3. The Spirit motif is not introduced at the beginning of the second one, but reserved until Acts 16:6-10, because the author would not like to connect the Spirit motif with the quarrel of Paul and Barnabas. He does not incorporate a new journey, in untouched territories, until the Spirit motif is introduced, and here Paul is only revisiting the communities established on the first journey. The motif of Paul's

10 Dibelius sees the Itinerary as reaching from Acts 15:35-18:23, cf. ch.3, n.30; similarly, Vielhauer, *Geschichte*, 387-392; Roloff, *Apg.* 239, thinks that the Itinerary is employed in Acts 16:6-8, 10b, 11-15, 17:1-4, 10-11a, 15a, 17, 34, 18:1-5a, 7f, 11. Haenchen, "We", 87, "Luke had access directly or indirectly, to the recollections of someone who had accompanied Paul at the time, but not to an itinerary. The recollections furnished the concrete statements which we have for this journey. It would be quite possible to consider Timothy as the authority."

11 Acts 21:15, 24:1, 24, 25:1, 28:11, 17, cf. *μετὰ ταῦτα* Acts 18:1, *μὲν οὖν* is employed for the same purpose in the earlier part of the book, *Beg.* vol.4, 183, Bruce, *Acts*, 305f; cf. ch.7, n.8, ch.8, n.22.

12 *Ἰ* at the beginning of the sentence is emphatic as in Lk.2:15 and Acts 13:2, cf. Blass-Debrunner-Rehkopf, ss. 451, 4, n.10.

revisiting the communities may be historical,¹³ but the author of Acts tends to stress it for edifying motives.¹⁴ The motif of preaching is repeated here with ὁ λόγος τοῦ κυρίου and καταγγέλλειν, though the appointment of elders is not mentioned, which gives an impression to the reader that the role of the elders is limited and Paul takes the initiative over the communities as well.

In 15:37 Barnabas would like to take John Mark along with them,¹⁵ but in 15:38 Paul refuses, on the ground that John Mark had deserted them in the middle of the first missionary journey. It is interesting to note that Paul does not mention John Mark's departure anywhere in the Epistles (Phlm 24, cf. Col.4:10, 2 Tim.4:11, 1 Pet.5:13); in the Pastoral Epistles on the other hand, those who had apostatized, such as Phygelus and Hermogenes (2 Tim.1:15), and Demas (2 Tim.4:10), are mentioned for the purpose of edification. Further, one of the author's peculiar features is to stress going together¹⁶ and staying together¹⁷ so that the fact that John Mark deserted Paul almost means to apostatize.¹⁸ It seems likely that the author uses the tradition about John Mark's departure to explain the separation of Paul and

13 But Paul's usual habit of revisiting the communities is based on solving some problems, cf. 1 Thess.3:2, 2 Cor.1:15-2:4, 12:14, 13:1.

14 ἐπισκέπτεσθαι often occurs in Luke-Acts, which implies an edifying motif.

15 συμπαλαβεῖν (aor.) in 15:37 and συμπαλαμβάνειν (pres.) in 15:38 differ the nuance that Barnabas wants to take Mark but Paul refuses to have an unreliable man day by day, cf. Moulton, Proleg. 130; συμπαλαμβάνειν occurs only in Acts 12:25, 15:37f, and Gal.2:1 in N.T.

16 Esp. συνέρχεσθαι cf. Acts 1:6,21.

17 Cf. Ch.7, n.10 and 11.

18 Munck, Paul, 110, "according to Acts 15:36-39, he (=Barnabas) is supposed to have fallen out".

Barnabas on the new missionary journey.¹⁹ But it is unlikely that the quarrel of Paul and Barnabas in Acts 15:36-39 and the dispute between Paul and Peter (Gal.2:11-14) are two different and subsequent events;²⁰ it is more likely that both of them refer to one and the same event. But, according to Gal.2:11-14, the separation of Paul and Barnabas took place when Paul separated from Peter and the Antiochene church. Moreover, Acts does not mention Peter's stay in Antioch, perhaps because the author of Acts is not informed about it or perhaps partly because Peter in Acts is editorially confined to the regions of Palestine. It is also unlikely that the author of Acts knows the real reason for the separation of Paul and Barnabas but tendentiously suppresses the truth, to substitute for it the relatively harmless quarrel with Barnabas.²¹ However, the author must have been informed about the dispute and separation in Acts 15:39, from a personal tradition about Paul, although he does not know the real reason. In Acts the separation of Paul and Barnabas is toned down, depicted as the quarrel of Paul and Barnabas over the matter of John Mark's premature retirement, and they only divide the mission territories without discussing the principal issues. The image of Paul in this picture shows another Judaizing tendency, because Paul in Acts is not interested in conduct free from the law.

Thus Barnabas takes Mark along with him and they set sail for Cyprus in 15:39b, which is the last mention of Barnabas and Mark in Acts; while Paul decides to take Silas with him in 15:40.

19 Haenchen, Acts, 477.

20 Bruce, Acts, 306; Williams, Acts, 187; Marshall, Acts, 257.

21 Ehrhardt, Acts, 82, "It is sufficient to say that the tradition about this quarrel was remembered for a long time by the Church."

Silas is prepared for this mission in Acts 15:22, 27, 32 (and 34 in the D text) as a Jerusalem delegate.²²

However, it is clear that the author's concern is only with Paul and Silas, because the Lukan favourite motif of choice with ἐπιλέγεσθαι²³ occurs solely in the description of this pair. The depiction that Paul and Silas are commended to the grace of the Lord by the brothers in Antioch in 15:40b, which is a reminiscence of 13:1-4 and 14:26, corresponds to the author's intention that from this point only Paul's missionary activity is mentioned.²⁴

(2) Acts 15:41-16:5

The author mentions missionary activity in the regions of "Syria and Cilicia" for the first time in Acts²⁵ but evangelization in these regions are presupposed, as in Damascus, in 9:1ff. It is interesting to note that even though Cyprus and the Anatolian highlands were evangelized in Acts 13-14, the Decree is given to the regions of "Syria and Cilicia", not to Cyprus nor to Anatolian highlands; this fact implies the editorial character of the first missionary journey. It seems likely that the author

22 The principle of sending in pairs in the synoptic tradition may be influential in it, because John Mark, who is not mentioned from the beginning of the first missionary journey, is referred to here.

23 ἐπιλέγεσθαι in this sense occurs only here in N.T. Other similar motif of choice with ἐκλέγεσθαι, that is, the choice of the witness and the church office in Acts 1:2,24, 6:5, 15:7,22,25 is different from the choice of believers in the Pauline Epistles in 1 Cor.1:27 (dis), 28, cf. Eph.1:4. Cf. ἐκλογή in Acts 9:15, and Rom.9:11, 11:5,7,28, 1 Thess. 1:4; Schrenk, "ἐκλέγω κτλ", TDNT vol.4, 144, 168-192.

24 Haenchen, "We", 80.

25 Paul's missionary activity in Tarsus is not explicitly mentioned in 9:30 and 11:25. Missionary activity in Antioch is depicted in 11:19-30, 12:24-13:2 but Antioch is differentiated from Syria in 15:23.

knows something about the churches in the regions of "Syria and Cilicia", at least through his knowledge of the Decree sent to these regions.²⁶ The author briefly depicts the ministry in the regions of "Syria and Cilicia" with a motif of journey²⁷ and a motif of edification,²⁸ which indicates that he is not familiar with these regions, because there is no mention of the founding of communities, or of the names of the converts and hosts.²⁹

From 16:1-3, the author incorporates a tradition about Timothy, which is parallel to 2 Tim.1:5, 3:10f,15. The tradition about Timothy's circumcision may contradict Paul's own position and statement in Gal.2:3, 5:3,11. However, it seems unlikely that the whole story is editorial more likely that the author does not know the case of Titus in Gal.2:3. It is much more likely that Timothy was not actually circumcised because circumcision was the crucial point for the theology of Paul, particularly after the Apostolic Council and the incident at Antioch. Timothy is not a special case,³⁰ because circumcision is not significant for Paul any

26 Haenchen, Acts, 475; Conzelmann, ApG. 97; Hanson, Acts, 166, "It is likely that Luke inserted this statement because the letter which he had just given in his account of the Council had been addressed to Christians in Syria and Cilicia"; Schneider, ApG. vol.2, 197f.

27 Cf. ch.8, n.34 and n.41.

28 ἐπιστηρίψαι is a motif of education as in 14:22.

29 The D text adds at the end of 15:41, παραδίδους τὰς ἐντολάς τῶν πρεσβυτέρων .

30 According to 2 Tim.1:5, Timothy's mother was a Jewess, and according to Acts 16:3, his father was a Greek. Marriage between a Jew and non-Jew was forbidden and illegal, according to the Jewish law, but the offspring of a Jewess and Gentile man was considered as a Jew, cf. Strack-Billerbeck, vol.2, 741. Nevertheless, uncircumcision of a Jew means lawless and unfaithful, which contradicts πιστῆ in Acts 16:1, cf. 2 Tim.1:5.

more.³¹ Thus the tradition about Timothy's circumcision is based on an incorrect rumour, which Paul himself is confronted with in Galatia,³² and the author represents Paul's co-worker as inoffensive to the Jews, which corresponds to Paul in Acts as a law-abiding obedient Jew.

The journey motif resumes in 16:4³³ and the purpose of revisiting the communities which were established on the first missionary journey is explicitly mentioned as giving instructions about the Decree.³⁴ It is significant to note that Paul does not refer to the Decree in discussing the food questions in 1 Cor.8-10 and Rom.14.³⁵ Thus it seems likely that the Decree in Acts is anachronistic.³⁶ Furthermore, it is tendentious to represent Paul

31 1 Cor.7:18f, Gal.5:6, 6:15, cf. Haenchen, Acts, 479-482; Conzelmann, Ap. g. 97; Ollrog, Paulus, 21; Schneider, Ap. g. vol.2, 199-201; S.G.Wilson, Law, 64f.

32 O.Linton, "Third Aspect", 86-93; Haenchen, Acts, 479-482; P.Borgen, "Paul Preaches Circumcision and Pleases Men", Paul and Paulinism : Essays in honour of C.K.Barrett, edd. M.D.Hooker and S.G.Wilson, London 1982, 37-46. But Bruce, Acts, 308; Williams, Acts, 188; Hanson, Acts, 166; Marshall, Acts, 259f think that the circumcision of Timothy was a historical event.

33 διαπορεύσει is a journey motif, which occurs often in Luke-Acts, cf. Lk.6:1 (=Mk.2:23), 13:22, (18:36), Acts 16:4; Rom.15:24. διεπορεύοντο τὰς πόλεις denotes visiting the cities which Paul and Barnabas evangelized on the first missionary journey, namely, Iconium and Pisidian Antioch, other than Derbe and Lystra which are mentioned in 16:1, cf. 14:23, 15:36.

34 The D text inserts another purpose with ἐκήρυσσον καὶ παρεδίδουσαν αὐτοῖς μετὰ πάσης παρηγοίας τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν χριστὸν.
35 Bruce, Acts, 308.

36 Simon, "Decree"; Barrett, "The Things Sacrificed to Idols", NTS 11 (1964/65), 138-152 = idem. Essays on Paul, London 1982, 40-59 esp. n.41, "Notwithstanding Acts it is difficult to believe that Paul was present when Decree was drawn up."; D.Catchpole, "Paul, James and Apostolic Decree", NTS 23 (1976/77), 428-444; S.G.Wilson, Law, 77. Further for the Apostolic Decree, cf. Haenchen, Acts, 468-472; Conzelmann, Ap. g. 92f.

as well as Silas as delegates of the Jerusalem church on account of the Decree.³⁷ In this way, the mission to the Anatolian highlands is concluded with the instruction of the Decree.³⁸ This is not only anachronistic, but also shows Judaizing tendencies.

(3) Acts 16:6-10

At the beginning of the mission to Macedonia and Greece, the route of the journey is not precisely described in 16:6-8, as its end is in 18:22f. This is presumably because the author does not have any local community tradition, which is indicated by the fact that there is no mention of founding of the communities nor the names of the converts and the hosts.

In 16:6 Paul and his co-workers go through ³⁹ "Phrygia and Galatia"⁴⁰ because they are forbidden to evangelize in the region

37 Beg. vol.4, 185.

38 The Decree was also observed in Asia Minor, which is attested by Rev.2:14,20, 9:20f, cf. Jude 11, 2 Pet.2:15.

39 It is the author's technique to employ *διέρχεται* to cross a large district as in 13:6, 14:24, 15:3,41, 16:6, 18:23, 19:1,21, 20:2.

40 It has been disputed what "Phrygia and Galatia" (Acts 16:6, *ἡ φρυγία καὶ γαλατικὴ χώρα* and 18:23, *ἡ γαλατικὴ χώρα καὶ φρυγία*) mean. There are five possible explanations.

- (1) Both of them denote one and the same region, but understood in the political sense, that is, "Phrygia Galatia" or "the Phrygian region of the Roman province of Galatia", which is identical with the region mentioned in Acts 13:49, including Pisidian Antioch, Iconium, Lystra and Derbe (e.g. W.M.Ramsay, Traveller, 104; Marshall, Acts, 261f, 302).
- (2) They signify one and the same region, but interpreted in an ethnic sense, that is, the region in which both Phrygians and Galatians were mixed, including cities such as Laodicea, Amariium, Orcistos, Nakoleia and Dorylaeum (e.g. Bruce, Acts, 309f; idem. Paul, 350; Williams, Acts, 189; Hanson, Acts, 168).
- (3) They express one and the same region in an ethnic sense, that is, the "Phrygian and Galatian region", which refers to Galatia proper, including cities such as Ancyra, Tavium, and Juliopolis (e.g. Lightfoot, Gal. 18-35; cf. Schlatter, App. 189, admits, Pessinus, Gordium and Ancyra).
- (4) They represent two different regions, that is, "Phrygia and Galatian country", but the latter denotes the region

of Asia.⁴¹ Further, Paul and his companion go towards Mysia and try to enter Bithynia.⁴² The third divine intervention takes place at Troas in 16:9f by the vision, which takes up and completes the former ~~two~~ divine instructions in 16:6f. Although

40 (continued)

(4) including Laodicea, Amorium, Orcistos, Nakoleia and Dorylaeum (e.g. Lake, "Route", 231-237; Dibelius, Studies, 200, n.18; Dibelius-Kümmel, Paul, 75; Haenchen, Acts, 483, n.1,2; Roloff, Apg. 241; Schneider, Apg. vol.2, 205 and n.11.12).

(5) They mean two different regions, that is, "Phrygia and Galatian regions", the latter referring to Galatia proper, including cities like Pessinus, Ancyra and presumably Germa, a Roman colony (Stählin, Apg. 214, 249; Zenzlmann, Apg. 97; Bornkamm, Paul, 49f; Mussner, Gal. 108; Jewett, Dating, 57-62, 138, n.52; Lüdemann, Paulus, vol.2, 170-173).

It is difficult to maintain that "Phrygia and Galatia" refers to one and the same region because it is unlikely that Φρυγία is an adjective as there is no official name, "Phrygia Galatia" in the inscriptions. Moreover, the lack of the definite article before "Galatia" in 16:6 and before "Phrygia" in 18:23 does not necessarily make the first noun an adjective as in Lk.3:1, τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ Τραχωνιτιδος χείρας. However, it is not easy to conclude which region the author precisely intends to denote with "Phrygia and Galatia". Nevertheless, it is clear that the author has an inclination to distinguish "Phrygia and Galatia" from the Lycaonian and Phrygian cities, which is why "Phrygia and Galatia" is here mentioned for the first time in Acts; and, if the author had an inaccurate geographical knowledge of central Anatolia, it is more likely that "Galatia" represents Galatia proper. But the context fits well with the Phrygian and Galatian border area adjacent to the regions of Bithynia and Mysia. It would have been about 1230 km, that is, about 40 days' journey from Antioch to Troas, passing Tarsus, Cilician Gates, Derbe, Lystra, Iconium, Pisidian Antioch, Metropolis, Dorylaeum, Germa, Ancyra and (return way) Germa, Dorylaeum.

41 The region of Asia here is apparently different from the province of Asia which included Mysia, Ionia, Lydia, Caria and Phrygia, cf. Acts 2:9f; Lake, "Route", 229f; Haenchen, Acts, 484, n.3. It seems likely that the motif of κωλύειν is employed for the purpose of skipping over regions without evangelical activities, cf. the interpolation in the D text in 17:15.

42 For Bithynia, C.A.H. vol.10, 575-580; Jones, Cities, 147-173. Mysia and Asia, Mommsen, Römische Geschichte, 255-274; C.A.H. vol.11, 580-590; Jones, Cities, 28-94.

it is historical that Paul was a visionary,⁴³ this depiction of Paul's dream is editorial, in order to tell him which way to go. The double visions and dreams in Acts provide a literary setting and function in which the divine invisible heavenly world reveals itself and intervenes in the physical visible world below; divine communication takes place in such double visions and dreams. It is explicitly recognized by the author of the Acts that the double visions and dreams are distinguished from the ordinary real world.⁴⁴ The double visions and dreams, Christophanies,⁴⁵ and angelophanies⁴⁶ are the decisive turning points in the course of Heilsgeschichte.

43 E. Benz, Paulus als Visionär, Wiesbaden 1952, has rightly pointed out that Paul was a visionary, but he does not make distinctions between Paul in the Epistles and Paul in Acts. In the Pauline Epistles, Paul was an eschatological apocalyptic visionary, as is attested by ὄπτασιαι καὶ ἀποκαλύψεις in 2 Cor.; 2:1 and κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν in Gal. 2:2, cf. Slav. Enoch, ch. 8; 2 Baruch, chs. 1-17; Test. Lev. ch. 3; Enoch 60:23, 16:12, 99:8, etc; Dunn, Jesus, 212-225 etc. But Paul in Acts is not an eschatological apocalyptic visionary because there is no ecstatic apocalyptic element or the motif of fear; Paul in Acts is also different from the theophany participator in the O.T. because God does not directly speak to Paul but indirectly through angelophanies Christophanies or dreams and further there is no element of anthropomorphism as in the O.T. cf. J. Barr, "Theophany and Anthropomorphism in the Old Testament", Vetus Testamentum Suppl. vol. 7, Leiden 1960, 31-38. Cf. ch. 3, n. 90.

44 The word ὄραμα here means "dream" which is apparent from the context, as in Acts 18:9, cf. 23:11, 27:23f; Oepke, "ὄραμα", TDNT vol. 5, 220-238; Michaelis, "ὄραμα κτλ", TDNT vol. 5, 315-382, esp. 350f; "ὄραμα", EWNT vol. 2, 1264; but not "vision", against, J. Kremer, "ὄραμα κτλ", 4, EWNT vol. 2, 1287-1293, esp. 1290; H.-W. Bartsch, "ὄραμα", EWNT vol. 2, 1285f. ὄραμα occurs only in Acts except in Mt. 17:9 in N.T.; never in the Pauline Epistles; Acts 7:31, 9:10, 12, 10:3, 17, 19, 11:5, 12:9, 16:9f, 18:9. However, this word occurs 43 times in LXX: e.g. Gen. 15:1, 46:2, Num. 12:6, Ex. 3:3 etc; cf. Test. Levi 9:3, 11:5; Test. Jud. 3:10.

45 Cf. ch. 2, n. 32.

46 Cf. ch. 2, n. 32.

The author uses the Septuagintal style for a divine apparition here with *ὡς ἐθὴ κύριος τῷ ... καὶ εἶπεν*,⁴⁷ but the divine being is here replaced by the figure of a Macedonian.⁴⁸ The night scene is also the author's interpolation.⁴⁹ The standing figure in vision is common in Luke-Acts⁵⁰ and the Macedonian invites Paul to come⁵¹ and help them.⁵² It seems likely that the words of the Macedonian, *βοήθησον ἡμῖν*, are taken from the synoptic tradition⁵³ but at the same time the initiative of Paul is much more stressed than at the beginning of the first missionary journey.

In 16:10 Paul interprets the dream like Peter in Acts 10:17-20, but, in contrast to Peter, without the help of the Spirit which stresses the initial role of Paul in the mission of Macedonia.⁵⁴ Paul understands that it is a divine call to undertake the special task of the Gentile mission as in Acts 13:2.⁵⁵ Then Paul

47 Gen.12:7, 17:1, 26:2,24, 35:9f (cf. 48:3) etc. Such a style of divine apparitions is also seen in Lk.1:11, 22:43, 7:30, 35 (angelophanies); Lk.24:34, Acts 9:17, 13:31, 26:16 (Christophanies), Acts 2:3, 7:2, 7:26 (other theophanies).

48 It is a mere speculation to discuss how Paul could recognize the man as a Macedonian, for instance, by clothes or by way of speech, because this is a literary construction. Such literary vision for the decisive turning point, cf. Suetonius *Vita Caes.* 32.

49 Cf. ch.7, n.43.

50 Lk.1:11, Acts 11:13 (angel), Acts 7:55f (the son of man).

51 The motif of hospitality with *παρακαλεῖν*, Lk.8:41, 15:28, Acts 8:31, 9:38, 16:15.

52 The request of the Macedonian is written in direct speech.

53 Cf. Mk.9:22, *βοήθησον ἡμῖν*; Mk.9:24, *βοήθει μου*.

54 For Macedonia, F.Geyer / O.Hoffmann, "Makedonia", Pauly-Wissowa, vol.14, 1, 638-771; C.A.H. vol.11, 565-570.

55 The verb *προσκαλεῖν* is seen both in 13:2 and in 16:10, and *εἰς τὸ ἔργον* in 13:2 is paraphrased as *εὐαγγελισθαι αὐτούς* in 16:10. Cf. ch.8, n.20.

and his co-workers decide to go to Macedonia.⁵⁶

(4) Acts 16:11-40

The sea-voyage from Troas to Neapolis in 16:11 is a little more precisely described than that in 9:30, 13:4, and 13:13 by adding the middle point, εἰς Σαμοθράκην⁵⁷ and the concrete time note τῆ ἐπιούσῃ,⁵⁸ instead of the usual mention of the departure and arrival ports. Only this fact implies that the author is better informed about this one than about the sea-voyages in the preceding chapters, due to the Pauline tradition.⁵⁹

In 16:12, Paul and his co-workers come from Neapolis to

- 56 The journey motif ἐξέρχεται denotes a new step in the course of the Heilsgeschichte, Acts 7:3,4,7, 10:23, 11:25, 14:20, 15:40, 16:3,10,40, 17:33, 18:23, 20:1, 21:5,8. The "we" section starts from 16:10-17, 20:5-15, 21:1-18, to 27:1-28:16. It is interesting to note that "we" appears at the beginning and end of both the second journey and the last Jerusalem visit and particularly on the sea-voyage, which gives a vivid impression to the reader of the climax of the Heilsgeschichte, cf. ch.3, n.40,41,42.
- 57 The sea-voyage motif, ἀνάστασις, cf. ch.8, n.37. εὐδραμεῖν occurs only here and Acts 21:1 in N.T. Haenchen, Acts, 493; Marshall, Acts, 265, think that they dropped anchor at Samothrace.
- 58 According to Jewett's calculation, Dating, 60, it would have been three days' voyage from Troas to Neapolis, which is about 250 km. The overnight voyage here presupposes a favourable wind and current; the reverse voyage from Neapolis to Troas in Acts 20:6 occupied five days. For the strong wind off Troas, cf. Pliny, Ep. ix, 17A.
- 59 According to 2 Cor.11:25, Paul had been shipwrecked three times before the composition of 2 Cor.10-13. If the journey routes in Acts are correct, these shipwrecks may have occurred during the sea-voyages between Asia Minor and Macedonia, Macedonia and Achaia, Achaia and Asia, presumably in early spring or late autumn. But Acts does not mention any shipwreck before the one on the way to Italy, which implies that the narrative is based on tradition, not eyewitness, nor the Itinerary.

Philippi,⁶⁰ but the author adds a comparatively long explanation of the city, that is, Philippi is *πρώτη πόλις* in Macedonia⁶¹ and a Roman colony.⁶² But this long additional explanation does not mean that the author has a special interest in this city,⁶³ but is an editorial note⁶⁴ that prepares the setting for Paul's flogging as a Roman citizen in 16:19-24, 35-39.

In 16:12b, the author mentions staying in Philippi, based on the Pauline tradition, but the language is the author's⁶⁵ and the period of stay is not precisely mentioned because it is not due to

- 60 Neapolis was the port of Philippi, the distance between them is about 16 km. Philippi was a Roman colony, Colonia Iulia Augusta Philippensis, for Philippi and Macedonia, J.Schmidt, "Philippoi", Pauly-Wissowa, vol.19 (1938), 2206-2244; W.A.McDonald, "Archaeology and St. Paul's Journey in Greek Lands", BA 3 (1940), 18-24; P.E.Davies, "The Macedonian Scene of Paul's Journeys", BA 26 (1963), 91-106.
- 61 *πρώτη πόλις* here means "geographically the first city", but not "a leading city like metropolis"; because both the "leading city" and "metropolis" were the members of a "κοινόν" in their particular provinces, but not a Roman colony, cf. Kornemann, "Coloniae", 550. The D text wrongly reads *κεφαλή*, instead of *πρώτη*, that is, the capital of Macedonia, which ignores the fact that Thessalonica was the capital of Macedonia.
- 62 This is the first and last mention of the Roman colony. It is interesting to note that Roman colonies, Pisidian Antioch, Lystra, Troas, Corinth, Ptolemais, Syracuse and Puteoli are not mentioned as such.
- 63 W.M.Ramsay, Traveller, 200-231, has conjectured that the man of Macedonia who appeared to Paul in the dream was Luke and the author's special interest in Philippi is due to the fact that Luke was a native of Philippi and proud of it.
- 64 Similar additional notes of places are seen in Lk.1:26, 4:31, 8:26, 24:13, Acts 1:12 (cf. Lk.19:29), 1:19, 3:2,11 (Palestine); Acts 13:13f, 14:6, 22:3 (cf. 21:39) (Asia Minor); Acts 27:8,12 (Crete), cf. Cadbury, Making, 241f. It is interesting to note that such additional notes to place names do not appear in cities around the Aegean Sea, on the Syrian Coast, in Cyprus and Italy, which implies that the author or the reader is familiar with these regions.
- 65 *ἑταρῆσαι* is employed for the break in the journey, which occurs only in Acts in N.T.; 12:19, 14:3,28, 15:35, 16:12, 20:6, 25:6,14, other than John 3:22, 11:54.

an eyewitness, or to the Itinerary, but to Pauline tradition and it shows the author's own expressions.⁶⁶

In this way the author adds a few more words to the tradition about Paul's arrival in Philippi but at the same time uses it as an introduction to the dramatized collection of the local tradition about Lydia (16:13-15,40), the Pauline legend about the pythoness (16:16-18), that is, against mantike, the local tradition about the accusation of Paul (16:19-24), the Pauline legend about the liberation from prison (16:25f), the local tradition about the conversion of the gaoler (16:27-34) and that of the expulsion of Paul (16:35-39).⁶⁷ The local tradition about the accusation and expulsion of Paul corresponds to 1 Thess.2:2 and Phil.1:30, and particularly, the motif of the punishment, *ραβδίσειν*, which is a technical term for the flogging by the Roman authorities,⁶⁸ is seen both in 2 Cor.11:25 and Acts 16:22, that indicates the trustworthiness of the local tradition of this section, although it may be dramatized in some way.

(5) Acts 17:1-9

In 17:1, the journey of Paul and his co-workers resumes⁶⁹ and

66 *ἡμέρας τινάς* in 16:12 and *πολλὰς ἡμέρας* in 16:18, cf. ch.7, n.9.

67 E. Plümacher, *Hellenistischer Schriftsteller*, 95-97, analyses the dramatic episode style in 16:16-40, but it seems likely that the author also constructs the dramatic scene by adding Lydia's story in 16:13-15,40, which sandwiches 16:16-40. Cf. ch.4, n.48.

68 Cf. ch.4, n.21.

69 The journey motif, *διεσεύειν*, in this sense "to go through", occurs only here in N.T. This is a parallel to Jesus' ministry in another sense "to go about" which occurs only in Lk.8:1 in N.T.

they come to Thessalonica.⁷⁰ The mention of the middle points, Amphipolis⁷¹ and Apollonia,⁷² is unusual in the description of the land-journey. However, it is unlikely that the mention of these cities is due to the Itinerary, because this is the only case to refer to the halting stops on the land-journey,⁷³ it is rather that the author is more familiar with the geography of Macedonia than that of the central Anatolia. It seems more likely that Philippi and Amphipolis represent the first district of Macedonia and Apollonia and Thessalonica the second⁷⁴ respectively. A short note about the Jewish synagogue is mentioned as usual which prepares ^{the reader for} the dramatic scene in 17:5-9.

Paul goes to the synagogue "as a usual habit" on the Sabbath in 17:2; this portrait of Paul in Acts as a synagogue-goer is a parallelism to Jesus in the Third Gospel.⁷⁵ Staying for three Sabbaths may be ascribed to the author, because it seems to be too short for Paul's actual ministry as indicated by 1 Thess.ch.2 and

70 Thessalonica was the metropolis of the province of Macedonia and the Via Egnatia and the port connected Rome with the East, cf. Charlesworth, Trade Routes, 126, "There were only two towns in Greece which could compare at all with the great cities of the Empire: both owed their prosperity to their fortunate to situation upon frequented routes rather than any resources of their own: these towns were Thessalonica and Corinth".

71 Amphipolis is about 50 km away from Philippi on the Via Egnatia, situated on the river Strymon, that is, two days' journey.

72 Apollonia is about 50 km from Amphipolis and about 60 km from Thessalonica, that is, it would have been six days' journey from Philippi to Thessalonica, cf. Jewett, Dating, 60.

73 Conzelmann, ApG. 103, "Dafals Route nur die via Egnatia in Trage kam, braucht Lk für diese Angaben keine Itinerar-Quelle."

74 Aemilius Paullus divided the province of Macedonia into four district in 167 B.C. cf. Strabo, vii, frag.47; Livy, xlv, 18-29.

75 $\kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha}$ τὸ ἐκωθός only occurs in Lk. 4:16 and Acts 17:2 in N.T.

Phil.4:16; the period of three Sabbath is parallel to the ministry in Pisidian Antioch ⁷⁶ where similar Jewish rejection took place, and the hardened Jews followed after Paul like the Jews in Thessalonica.

Paul's discussion with the Jews, which is likely to end in disputations, occurs particularly in the second journey and onwards after the Apostolic Council. ⁷⁷ This is one of the summary expressions of Paul's preaching, ⁷⁸ but the scene of reading the scriptures at the synagogue is reminiscent of Paul at Pisidian Antioch (Acts 13:15) as well as of Jesus at Nazareth (Lk.4:17). ⁷⁹ Moreover, it is a Lukan motif of scriptural witness that Christ must have suffered death and risen the dead, ⁸⁰ and that the Messiah is Jesus ⁸¹ "which I preach to you". ⁸² This is a Lukan summary of the kerygmatic mission speech. ⁸³

76 Acts 13:14, 13:42, εἰς τὸ μετὰ τὸ σάββατον, means "the next Sabbath"; 13:44, τὸ ἐρχομένῳ σαββατῷ means "the following Sabbath".

77 διαλεγέσθαι occurs often in Acts in N.T.; Acts 17:2,17, 18:4, 19, 19:8f, 20:7,9, 24:12,25; outside of Acts, Mk.9:34, Heb.12:5, Jude 9. Cf. n.65.

78 Haenchen, Acts, 507, n.2.

79 For the order of the service in the synagogue, e.g. Strack-Billerbeck, vol.4, 1, Excurses, 4-12; I.Elbogen / E.Lohse, "Gottesdienst, III. Synagogaler", RGG (3), vol.2, 1756-1761; W.Schrage, "συναγωγή", TDNT vol.7, 798-852; P.Billerbeck, "Ein Synagogengottesdienst in Jesu Tagen", ZNW 55 (1964), 143-161; Schürer, rev.ET vol.2, 447-463; cf. W.Bauer, "Der Wortgottesdienst der ältesten Christentum", Aufsätze und kleine Schriften, ed. G.Strecker, Tübingen 1967, 155-209.

80 Lk.24:26f,32,46, Acts 3:18, 26:23, cf. Conzelmann, Apg. 103.

81 Christological formulation of οὗτος ἐστίν/cf. ch.7, n.18.

82 The transition from the indirect speech to direct is also seen in Acts 1:4, 14:22, 23:22, 25:5.

83 πάσχειν is an euphemism for Jesus' death on the cross, taken from the synoptic tradition, Lk.9:22 (=Mk.8:31, Mt.16:21, cf. Mk.9:21 = Mt.17:12); it repeatedly appears in Luke-Acts as a summary of the passion and the cross, Lk.17:25, 22:15, 24:26,46, Acts 1:3, 3:18, with δεῖ in Lk.9:22 (=Mk.8:31), 17:25 and with ἴδει in Lk.24:26. However, Paul does not use πάσχειν in such a sense, - this is a later usage, Heb.9:26, 13:12, 1 Pet.3:18, cf. Schneider, Apg. vol.1, 193, n.36.

The stereotyped description of the result of the preaching in 17:4 is ascribed to the author as in 13:42. But here on the second missionary journey the shift to stress the "God-fearers" is seen in the sense that they also turn to Christ, in contrast to 13:43 and 50. It is the author's programme of description to depict the progress of the Gospel from Jews to "God-fearers" and to the Gentile, step by step: "God-fearers" are midpoints between Jews and Gentiles.⁸⁴ Correspondingly, in Thessalonica only Jews reject the Gospel and oppose Paul and the believers and "God-fearers" stand on the side of Paul, which is different from the situation at Pisidian Antioch in 13:50. Further, it is characteristic of Acts to mention the converts from the upper social classes as well as women.⁸⁵

84 The "God-fearers" appear 11 times in Acts; at first, *φοβούμενος τὸν θεόν* in Acts 10:2,22,35, 13:16,26; then *σεβόμενος τὸν θεόν* in Acts 13:43,50, 16:14, 17:4,17, 18:7; cf. *προσηλύτος* in Acts 2:11, 6:5, 13:43. *φοβούμενος τὸν θεόν* and *σεβόμενος τὸν θεόν* designate "one who is religious or pious", but not the technical terms yet, cf. L.H.Feldmann, "Jewish 'Sympathizers' in Classical Literature and Inscriptions", TAPA 81 (1956), 200-208; M.Wilcox, "The 'God-Fearers' in Acts: A Reconsideration", JSTS 13 (1981), 102-122; against, K.Lake, "Proselytes and God-fearers", *Beg.* vol.5, 74-96; Strack-Billerbeck, vol.2, 715-723. Further, Acts representation of the "God-fearers" is based on the apologetic motive; A.T.Kraabel, "The Disappearance of the 'God-fearers'", *Numen* 28 (1981), 113-126, esp. 120, "The God-fearers are a symbol to help Luke show how Christianity had become a Gentile religion legitimately and without losing its Old Testament roots", 122, "Acts' straight-line picture of the explanation of Christianity runs: Jew-Godfearer-Gentile. But that is a simplified version, for the purposes of Luke's story."; T.M.Finn, "The God-fearers Reconsidered", *CBQ* 47 (1985), 75-84, esp. 83, "Luke's straight-line trajectory, Jews / God-fearers / Gentiles, is a theological oversimplification of the complex social process".

85 Cf. Acts 8:26-40, cf.9 (parallel to ch.22 and ch.26), ch.10 (cf. ch.11), 13:6-12, 16:12-15; Haenchen, *Acts*, 507, "Luke likes to mention converts from the upper classes."

Thus the arrival of Paul and his co-workers at Thessalonica is based on the Pauline tradition but the author introduces editorial modifications to present it as an introduction to the local community tradition (17:5-9). He also introduces the Jewish plot motif into the local community tradition, which is apparent from the fact that the Thessalonians were persecuted by their fellow-country men (1 Thess.2:14f), not by the Jews, and that the persecution took place after Paul's leaving Thessalonica (1 Thess.1:6-9, 3:1-5).

(6) Acts 17:10-15

Paul and his co-workers arrive at Berea in 17:10.⁸⁶ The Pauline Epistles do not mention staying at Berea on the way from Thessalonica to Athens in 1 Thess.3:1, but the author might have known it by tradition, at least from the list of the names in Acts 20:4. The author employs the motif of help in perils as in 9:30: fellow-Christians bring them down to the next station from Thessalonica to Berea. The night scene is also editorial as in 9:25. This makes a contrast to the miraculous escape at Philippi in 16:25f. Timothy is not mentioned here or in 17:4, because Paul and Silas are significant for the author of Acts as a pair of

85 (continued)

The author also shows interest in the women converts in Acts 8:3, 13:50, 17:4,12,34; the author's role of women in general cf. ch.5, n.35 and n.36. The text, *γυναικῶν τῶν πρώτων* means either "chief women" (cf. 17:12) or "wives of the first citizens" (cf. 13:50, *πρώτοι*), cf. Bruce, *Acts*, 325: the D text interprets it clearly with *γυναῖκες τῶν πρώτων*. *ὄχι ὀλίγα* is a Lukan characteristic litotes, cf. ch.8, n.80.

for h

86 Berea is about 75 km away from Thessalonica and it would be two days' journey from Thessalonica, that is, Berea was not the next halting stop after Thessalonica; cf. Haenchen, *Acts*, 508, n.4; Jewett, *Dating*, 60. Berea was in the third district of Macedonia, cf. C.A.H. vol.11, 567.

missionary^{ies} sent from Antioch, and further Silas as one of the delegates from Jerusalem. Timothy is secondary in Acts, like John Mark on the first missionary journey.⁸⁷ It is unlikely that Timothy left Philippi later and rejoined them at Bereoa, because even at Philippi Timothy is not mentioned explicitly; only Paul and Silas are referred to in 16:19, 25, 29. Visiting the synagogue is the usual habit of description.⁸⁸ But it is stressed here with the verb of arrival, *παράγεινθεοῦ* and *ἀπέεινκε*.⁸⁹

In 17:11 an ideal scene of Paul's reception by the Jews is depicted, in contrast to the Jews in Thessalonica. But it is likely that the descriptions of Bereoa are to be ascribed to the author because there is no mention of the names of the converts, the hosts or topographical details in them. Moreover, Lukan motifs of depiction can be traced in them.⁹⁰ The Jews at Bereoa

87 Schneider, *Apq.* vol.2, 226. Silas in Acts is confined to the regions of Jerusalem (15:22, 27), Antioch (15:34,40), Macedonia (16:19,25,29, 17:4,10,14f) and Achaia (18:5). However, it is doubtful that Silas was the delegate of the Jerusalem church because the Decree was presumably not issued at the Apostolic Council. Paul mentions about Silas activity in the regions of Macedonia (1 Thess.1:1, cf. 2 Thess.1:1) and Achaia (2 Cor.1:19), but later tradition indicates his stay in Rome (1 Pet.5:12). For Silas, Ollrog, *Paulus*, 17-20. Timothy in Acts is connected to the regions of Anatolia (16:1), Macedonia (17:14f), Achaia (18:5, 19:22) and Asia (20:4). Similarly, in the Pauline Epistles Timothy's activity is connected to the regions of Macedonia (1 Thess. 1:1, 3:2,6, 2 Thess.1:1), Achaia (1 Cor.4:17, 2 Cor.1:19) and Asia (1 Cor.16:10), but Timothy's movement is more complex than Acts (Rom.16:21, 2 Cor.1:1, Phil.1:1, Phlm 1, cf. Col.1:1, 1 Tim.1:2,18, 6:20, 2 Tim.1:2, Heb.13:23?), cf. Ollrog, *Paulus*, 20-23.

88 Cf. ch.7, n.67 and ch.9, n.75.

89 *παράγεινθεοῦ* cf. ch.7, n.48, *ἀπέεινκε* in this sense occurs only here in N.T.

90 Hanson, *Acts*, 175; Roloff, *Apq.* 251.

are "more high minded"⁹¹ than those at Thessalonica so that they accept the word of God and they do not reject it. The Bereans examine the scriptures quoted by Paul day by day. This ideal scene of the Berean Jews is based on the author's own conceptions.⁹³

The result of the mission is schematized in 17:12 as in 13:43, 14:1, and 17:4, that many Jews and Greeks believe in Jesus.⁹⁴ It is a Lukan feature to make a note to mention the converts from the upper classes and the women converts as we have seen in 17:4.⁹⁵

- 91 It has been disputed whether *εὐγενής* refers to position or character, but the latter is preferable. Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich, *εὐγενής*, 2; Stählin, *ApG.* 225; Haenchen, *Acts*, 508; Conzelmann, *ApG.* 104; Schneider, *ApG.* vol.2, 226, n.47 take it "more high minded"; while, *Beg.* vol.4, 206; Bruce, *Acts*, 328; Williams, *Acts*, 198; Marshall, *Acts*, 280, interpret it "more generous".
- 92 *ὁ λόγος* is the Christian message as in Acts 2:41, 4:4, 8:4, 10:44, 16:6, 19:20, 20:7. This is equivalent to in 4:31, 6:2,7, 8:14, 11:4, 17:13. The expression *ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ* is the author's favourite one which occurs in Lk.8:13, Acts 8:14, 11:1, 13:48D, 17:11 other than 1 Thess.1:6, 2:13, James 1:21.
- 93 The author insists that the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus are the fulfilments of the Scriptures in Lk.24:44, Acts 9:22, 13:27-37, 17:3. *τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν* only occurs in Luke-Acts in N.T.; Lk.11:3 (different from Mt.6:11), 19:47, Acts 17:28D, although the article has no meaning, cf. Blass-Debrunner-Rehkopf, ss. 160, 2 and n.3. *κατὰ ἡμέραν* without the article is also the author's favourite expression; Lk. 9:23 (added to the tradition, cf. Mk.8:34 = Mt.16:24), 16:19, 19:47, 22:53 (=Mk.14:49, Mt.26:55), Acts 2:46,47, 3:2, 16:5, 17:11,17, 19:9; other usages are found in 1 Cor.15:31, 2 Cor.11:25, Heb.3:8,13, 7:27, 10:11 in N.T.
- 94 The D text reads *τινες* instead of *πολλοί*, which intentionally corresponds to 17:4, and it adds *τινες δὲ ἠπίστησαν*, which makes a sharp distinction between Christian and non-believing Jews, as in the first missionary journey.
- 95 The adjective *εὐσχήμων* occurs only in Acts 13:50, 17:12; Mk.15:43, 1 Cor.7:35, 12:24. *εὐσχήμων* means, either, "of position", cf. Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich, *εὐσχήμων*, 2; *Beg.* vol.4, 207; Williams, *Acts*, 197; Haenchen, *Acts*, 503; Conzelmann, *ApG.* 104; Hanson, *Acts*, 175; Roloff, *ApG.* 251; Schneider, *ApG.* vol.2, 226; or it refers to "well-to-do", cf. Bruce, *Acts*, 329; Marshall, *Acts*, 280. In contrast to the upper class people in Pisidian Antioch on the first missionary journey, who in the end became the enemies of Christianity by the

In 17:13 the Jews from Thessalonica come to Berea and stir up a tumult. The Thessalonian Jews play the same role in Berea as those of Pisidian Antioch and of Iconium in Lystra in 14:19: they chase after Paul in order to oppose Paul's missionary activity in the next visiting place.⁹⁶ This is editorial, based on the author's scheme to explain the expansion of Christianity by expulsion and persecution by the Jews everywhere in the world; moreover, stirring tumult is schematically combined with the Jewish disturbance in Acts.⁹⁷

In 17:14a, the motif of help also appears as in 9:25, 30, and 17:10. The fellow Christians escort Paul to the sea and send him off as in 9:30.⁹⁸

The author incorporates a brief note of the co-workers from the Pauline tradition in 17:14b and further in 18:5, like that of John Mark in the accounts of the first missionary journey in 13:5b and 13:13, saying that both Silas and Timothy stayed at Berea, presumably for the purpose of strengthening and encouragement of

95 (continued)

persuasion of the Jews, the upper class people in Berea as well as in Thessalonica become friends of Christianity. This shows the author's technique of descriptions of the progress of the Gentile mission.

96 Cf. in Syria in Acts 8:1, 11:19; Asia Minor in 13:50, 14:19; Macedonia in 17:13.

97 σαλεύειν (cf. Acts 2:25) here is equivalent to ταραττείν which occurs in Acts 15:24, 17:8,13, cf. ἐκταράττείν in Acts 16:20. Cf. Haenchen, Acts, 508f, "How the Jews from Thessalonica succeeded in bringing the masses into uproar here also is not stated."

98 ἐγκαταπέμψαι in this sense, which is equivalent to ἐκπέμπείν in 17:10, occurs only in Acts 9:30 and here in N.T. ἕως ἐπί means "in direction of" or "towards" as in Lk. 24:50, ἕως πρός, Acts 21:5, ἕως ἔφω, 26:11, ἕως καὶ εἰς, cf. Blass-Debrunner-Rehkopf, ss. 253, n.7; Haenchen, Acts, 509.

the community in Beroea.⁹⁹ But this presentation of the co-workers in Acts contradicts the facts that Paul was not alone in Athens and that Paul sent Timothy solely to Thessalonica, not Beroea. This difference may be caused by the fact that the author was not accurately informed about the movement of the co-workers by the tradition.¹⁰⁰ Moreover, there is no mention of any desire to return to Thessalonica in the descriptions of Paul in Acts. From these facts it may be inferred that the Beroean community was not founded at this occasion and that the descriptions of the Beroean ministry are editorial reconstruction.

In 17:15a the motif of help appears again: those who escort Paul lead him to Athens, the next missionary station.¹⁰¹ But, according to 1 Thess. 3:1f, Paul went to Athens with his co-workers, Timothy and Silas, presumably without the help of the

99 Cf. Beg. vol.4, 208, "The omission of all reference to Timothy up to this point is strange, even if Timothy was a subordinate."

100 Cf. Beg. vol.4, 224; Haenchen, "We", 86; Conzelmann, ApG. 104; Roloff, ApG. 253; ApG. vol.2, 223.

101 καθιστάται in this sense occurs only here in N.T.; ἄγειν here gives Paul a subjective and image as in Acts 11:26, ἤγαγεν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν, which is different from that of an self-supported and independent figure. It is about 450 km from Beroea to Athens by sea, which would take about five days, while Jewett, Dating, 60, calculates between 10 days and two weeks. It is about 525 km from Thessalonica to Athens by the land-route and there were 32 stations between them, but it would take about three weeks, cf. Suhl, Paulus, 112. However, it is not clear whether Paul and the fellow-Christians at Beroea in Acts take the land-route or the sea-route. But the fact that there are barriers for the land-travellers between Macedonia and Thessaly, namely, Mt.Olympus and the Thessalian mountains indicate the latter. The expression εἰς ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν in 17:14 also supports it. But, if that is the case, the author does not mention the ports of embarkation and disembarkation here, presumably, Dium and Piraeus. On the other hand, the D text takes the view of the land journey by adding, παρήλαθον δὲ, τὴν Θεσσαλίαν, ἐκωλύθη γὰρ εἰς αὐτοὺς κρύψαι τὸν λόγον.

fellow-Christians (cf. Phil.4:15). At the end of the account, the author inserts a scene of instruction given to the fellow-Christians that Timothy and Silas should join Paul from Beroea as soon as possible,¹⁰² which gives vividness to the narrative.

(7) Acts 17:16f,³⁴

Paul in Athens¹⁰³ waits for¹⁰⁴ Silas and Timothy in 17:16 as Paul is alone after the fellow-Christians who escorted Paul went back to Beroea. Such a solitude scene occurs only in Acts, which is different from the evidence in 1 Thess.3:1f, although the account of arrival in Athens is based on tradition. This waiting scene prepares us for the dramatic introduction to the speech to Gentiles, succeeding that in 14:15-17, namely, the Areopagus speech. Paul's spirit¹⁰⁵ is stirred up because he sees the city is full of idols.¹⁰⁶ But Paul's rage¹⁰⁷ seems to be exaggerated by the author in order to show that Paul is a real Jew. This is clear from the fact that Paul forbids Christians to become *angry*, *παροξύνειν* in his ethical teaching in 1 Cor.13:5,¹⁰⁸ although Paul's

102 *ὡς τάχιστα* is a classical elegant expression, which occurs only here in N.T. The D text reads *ἐν τάχει* as in 12:7.

103 For Achaia and Athens, C.A.H. vol.11, 556-560; W.A.McDonald, "Archaeology and St.Paul's Journey in Greek Lands : Pt.II, Athens", BA 4 (1941), 1-10; O.Broneer, "Athens, 'City of Idol Worship'", BA 21 (1958), 1-28 = BAR vol.2, Missoula 1977, 369-392; R.E.Wycherley, "St.Paul at Athens", JThS 19 (1968), 619-621.

104 *ἐκδεχέσθαι* occurs only here in Acts, cf. 1 Cor.16:11.

105 The expression, *τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ*, is a Septuagintism, cf. Gen.6:3, Ex.15:10 etc. and Lk.1:47.

106 The author introduces here the problem of idol worship and further competes with the schools of philosophy.

107 *παροξύνειν* is a strong word, cf. Bruce, *Acts*, 331.

A similar expression is found at the scene of quarrel between Paul and Barnabas; *παροξυσμός* occurs only in Acts 15:39 and Heb.10:24 in N.T.

108 *παροξύνειν* occurs only in Acts 17:16 and 1 Cor.13:5 in N.T.

fundamental attitude to idolatry is not different from those of contemporary Judaism.¹⁰⁹

In 17:17 the author describes the setting of the Areopagus speech with *μὲν οὖν*, but, interestingly, the scene of Paul's ministry¹¹⁰ is shifted from the synagogue to the market place¹¹¹ and, correspondingly, the audience is changed from the Jews and God-fearers to the passers-by at the market place.¹¹² This image of Paul, discussing with the streetgoers at the market place, is a reminiscence of Socrates.¹¹³ This prepares the way for the Areopagus speech given to the Gentiles, which is in contrast to the speech given to the diaspora Jews on the first missionary journey in Pisidian Antioch, with the setting of Epicureans and Stoics in 17:18-21. The change of the preaching place and of the audience clearly shows the author's scheme; first the Jews and then the Gentiles.¹¹⁴ In this way the author intends to place

109 The negative attitudes toward idols, Rom.1:23-27; *εἰδωλον*, Rom.2:22, 1 Cor.8:4,7, 10:19, 12:2, 2 Cor.6:16, 1 Thess.1:9; *εἰδωλολάτρης*, 1 Cor.5:10f, 6:9, 10:7, cf. Eph.5:5.

110 *διαλεχέσθαι* includes address and reply, but the author uses it for preaching rather than debate. But it is interesting to note that this verb is utilized only in Macedonia, Achaia and Asia in 17:2,17, 18:4,19, 19:8f, 20:7,9. Cf. n.77.

111 *ἀγορά* occurs in Acts 16:19, 17:17. Other occurrences are in Lk.7:32 (=Mt.11:16), 11:43 (=Mt.23:7), 20:46 (=Mk.12:38, Mt.23:7), Mk.6:56, 7:4, Mt.20:3.

112 The audience of street-walkers occurs only here in Acts. Beg. vol.4, 210, "This is the first place in which it is definitely stated that Paul preached to heathen who were not 'worshipping', though this may be true of Lystra where the synagogue is not mentioned." It is interesting that the people at the market place in Thessalonica, *οἱ ἀγοραῖοι* in 17:5f, turned to the opposing mobs, but the passers-by in Athenian market place *οἱ παραποχῆνοτες* in 17:17 become friendly listeners, cf. 17:34, in contrast to the non-believing Epicureans and Stoics, cf. 17:18-20,32.

113 Xenophon, Mem. i,1,1; Plato, Apol. 19d, 24b; cf. Beg. vol.4, 212; Cadbury, Making, 243; Haenchen, Acts, 517,527; Conzelmann, App. 105; Plümacher, Hellenistischer Schriftsteller, 19,98; Marshall, Acts, 283; Roloff, App. 257.

114 Cf. Conzelmann, App. 105; Marshall, Acts, 283.

Paul in the setting of contemporary culture, and ^{for this purpose} the Areopagus speech ^{is most appropriate.}

It is apparent from the converts named, Dionysius the Areopagite and Damaris, that the author utilizes a local community tradition other than the Pauline tradition.¹¹⁵ However, according to Paul's own testimony, the first converts in Achaia were not Dionysius and Damaris, but Stephanas and his household in Corinth (1 Cor. 16:15).¹¹⁶ Furthermore, 1 Cor. 2:3 indicates that Paul's ministry at Athens ^{was} not ^{as} successful as the Areopagus speech and its reaction suggest in Acts¹¹⁷ and that the failure in Athens might have caused the change of preaching method, that is, simply to preach the word of the cross (1 Cor. 1:18-2:5). From these observations it seems that the ministry in Athens is the author's reconstruction, although some parts of the descriptions are based on fragments of tradition.

(8) Acts 18:1-17

Paul leaves Athens and comes to Corinth.¹¹⁸ The temporal

115 Dionysius the Areopagite might have been identified with the first bishop of Athens, Dionysius of Corinth. Cf. Eusebius, H.E. iii, 4, 10; iv, 23, 3. Mention of the couple and the upper class people shows the author's interest in the role of women and upper social classes. Cf. Beg. vol. 4, 220, "the council of the Areopagus was small about thirty and members were taken from the wealthy because of the expense they involved, and limited to certain well-known families." Haenchen thinks the name of the Areopagite might give a hint to place the speech in the literary topos of Areopagus, Acts, 526.

116 Cf. Beg. vol. 4, 219; Haenchen, Acts, 527, n.1; Marshall, Acts, 291.

117 Dibelius, Studies, 72f; Haenchen, Acts, 527, n.2; idem. "We", 86.

118 Corinth was founded as a Roman colony, Colonia Laus Iulia Corinthiensis by Caesar in 44 B.C. and afterwards it became the capital of the province of Achaia. "Wealthy Corinth" (Homer, Il. ii, 570) owed its prosperity to its unique situation, like Thessalonica, controlling the two ports,

connection μετὰ ταῦτα shows an ambiguous duration of time, but it is implied by the context it was after the Areopagus speech and after Paul had founded a community at Athens. It is interesting to note that this is the first time in Acts that Paul does not leave the newly founded community because of expulsion or persecution, but by his own intention, which prepares us for a considerably long stay in Corinth. Paul comes to Corinth,¹¹⁹ without any accompanying co-workers as in Athens, but soon afterwards he finds Aquila and Priscilla, as we discussed above;¹²⁰ this is due to the Pauline personal tradition.

In 18:4, the general description of the preaching at the synagogue on every Sabbath¹²¹ is schematic, that is, editorial.¹²² Paul tried to convince the Jews and the Greeks at the synagogue.

118 (continued)

Lachaeon on the Gulf of Corinth and Cenchreae on the Saronian Gulf, that is, not only controlling the trade between Rome and the Aegean, but also controlling the trade between Macedonia and the Peloponnese. The biennial Isthmian Games also attracted the people from the world.

For Corinth, W.A. McDonald, "Archaeology and St. Paul's Journey in Greek Lands : Pt. III : Corinth", BA 5 (1942), 36-48; idem. "Corinth : Centre of St. Paul's Missionary Work in Greece", BA 14 (1951), 78-96; O. Broneer, "The Apostle Paul and the Isthmian Games", BA 25 (1962), 1-31 = BAR vol. 2, 393-420; idem. "Paul and Pagan Cults at Isthmia", HThR 64 (1971), 169-187; J. Murphy-O'Connor, "The Corinth that Saint Paul Saw", BA 47 (1984), 159-174.

119 The journey motif, χωρῖς ἀπο, cf. Acts 1:4, 18:1f. There is no way to decide whether Paul took the land-route or the sea-route from Athens to Corinth, but ἦλθεν in 18:1 and also the lack of any reference to the ports of Piraeus and Cenchreae indicate the former. It is about 100 km from Athens to Corinth, that is, three days' journey by land-route. Thus Corinth is not the next halting station after Athens.

120 Cf. ch. 4, n. 39.

121 κατὰ πᾶν σάββατον is an ambiguous time expression as in 13:27, and 15:21, but it implies a long duration of time.

122 Conzelmann, ApG. 114.

But this scene is also an editorial summary.¹²³

In 18:5a, when Silas and Timothy come down from Macedonia, Paul gets absorbed in preaching. The return of Timothy from Macedonia to Corinth is based on tradition (1 Thess.3:6), but the accompaniment of Silas seems to be an editorial addition influenced by the motif of sending in pairs in the synoptic tradition.¹²⁴ Paul's devotion to preaching might be exaggerated *in order* to present an ideal scene, because, according to 2 Cor.1:19, Paul, Silas and Timothy preached the Gospel to the Corinthians, and 1 Cor.4:12, 2 Cor.11:7-11 (cf. 1 Thess.4:11) suggest that Paul continued to work at the workshop.¹²⁵ The author insists on the role of Paul as speaker, that is, a preacher and a teacher. The summary of the preaching to the Jews at the synagogue is the author's ¹²⁶ in 18:5b.

The author depicts the principle of "first the Jews then the Gentiles" in 18:6, which is the second time: The scene in Corinth is parallel to that in Pisidian Antioch. The rejecting Jews are described with the verbs, ἀντιτάσσειν,¹²⁷ and βλασφημεῖν.¹²⁸

123 Ἕλληνας here may imply the "God-fearers" as in 14:1, because they are in the synagogue, but the author does not use such a word here, cf. 18:7 and n.84. The D text of this verse is more pictorial.

124 Cf. ch.8, n.18, ch.9, n.22.

125 Hock, Social Context, 93, n.2.

126 διαμαρτύρεσθαι in this sense "to testify, to bear witness" occurs often in Acts: Acts 2:40, 8:25, 10:42, 18:5, 20:21, 23, 24, 23:11, 28:23, cf. 1 Thess.4:6, Heb.2:6. The summary of the speech εἶναι τὸν Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν cf. Acts 8:37, 9:20, 22, 17:3, 18:28; 1 Cor.3:11, 1 John 4:15, 5:1, 5. The D text adds at the end of 18:5, πολλοῦ δὲ λόγου γενομένου καὶ γραφῶν διαμαρτυρουμένων.

127 ἀντιτάσσειν occurs only here in Acts, which corresponds to ἀντιλέγειν in Acts 13:45, cf. Lk.2:34, 20:27, Acts 13:45, 28:19, 22.

128 βλασφημεῖν cf. ch.5, n.65.

But against his Jewish enemies, Paul completely repudiates any fellowship with the Jews, as in 13:51, by the gesture of shaking out of the garments, taken from the Septuagint.¹²⁹ This attitude of repudiating the Jews is due to the author's anti-Jewish tendencies, because it is contrary to Paul's own missionary stance that "I became to the Jews like a Jew to gain Jews to the Gentiles like a Gentile to gain Gentiles." (1 Cor.9:20f). Moreover, it might contradict Paul's ethical teaching in Rom.12:14. But it is interesting to note that the gesture of rejecting the Jews is so thoroughly Judaized in order to depict that Paul is a real Jew in an archaic sense. This feature also shows the author's Judaizing in taking over a phrase from the Septuagint.

The information about the movement to Titius Justus' ¹³⁰ house

129 Neh.5:13, 2 Esdr.15:13, cf. 4 Ezra 1:8; Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich, *ἐκτινάσσω*, 2, "a gesture of protesting innocence", similarly, Strack-Billerbeck, vol.2, 747; Cadbury, "Dust and Garment", *Beg.* vol.5, 269-277, esp. 274, "More plainly than the shaking off of dust, it means "washing one's hands" - to use another figure - of other men's guilt, and turning it back upon their own heads." Another Jewish expression, *τὸ αἷμα ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τῆν κεφαλὴν ὑμῶν καθαρὸς ἐσώ*, is also a Septuagintism, Josh.2:19, 2 Sam.1:16, Mt.27:25, Acts 5:28. This shows that Paul refused to take responsibility for Jews, rejecting the Gospel, and that the blame for this should be on the Jews, cf. Roloff, *Apq.* 271, "'Blut' ist hier Metaphor für schwere, lebenszerstörende Schuld," similarly, Schlatter, *Apq.* 221.

130 Titius Justus is different from Titus. Goodspeed, "Gaius Titius Justus", JBL 69 (1950), 382f, harmonized Acts 18:7 with Rom.16:23 and identifies Gaius with Titius Justus. "Justus" was presumably an epithet, cf. J.B.Lightfoot, *St. Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and Philemon*, London 1882, 236. Theissen, *Social Setting*, 89-91, conjectures that the financial aid from Macedonia (Acts 18:5, cf. 2 Cor.11:8) caused his removal from the house of Aquila and Priscilla to that of Titius Justus, which offered a better location for his mission. On the other hand, Malherbe, *Social Aspects*, 74, n.28 and 30, suggests the possibility that there were two groups at Corinth, one meeting at the house of Aquila and Priscilla, the other at that of Titius Justus, and that, as Rom.16:23 suggests, the entire church later met in the house of Gaius as the result of the consolidation of groups.

in 18:7 and the conversion of Crispus ¹³¹ in 18:8 is due to the local community tradition. But it is the author's arrangement of the descriptions to put the movement to the "God-fearer's" house before the conversion of the Corinthians in 18:8 and to add that Crispus, the archisynagogus, and his household were the first converts in Corinth. This is clear from the fact that the first converts in Corinth were Stephanas and his household (1 Cor.1:16, 16:15,17), although Crispus and Gaius ¹³² were early converts (1 Cor.1:14f). This feature of descriptions in Acts shows not only "first the Jews then the Gentiles" but also the schematic transition from the "God-fearers" to the Gentiles.

In 18:9f the author again introduces a divine apparition in the vision at night at the goal of the missionary journey in Macedonia and Achaia, which corresponds to that at the beginning at Troas in 16:9f.¹³³ *μη φοβοῦ ... διότι ἐγώ εἰμι μετὰ σοῦ* is reminiscent of the Septuagint expression,¹³⁴ while the motif of fear is connected with the divine apparition.¹³⁵ At the same time, the solemn divine command, *λάλει καὶ μὴ σωπήσῃς*, suggest

131 Crispus, cf. Malherbe, Social Aspects, 72f,77; Theissen, Social Setting, 95,102; Meeks, Urban Christians, 57.

132 Gaius' social level was high, like Titius Justus, Crispus, Sosthenes, the archisynagogus, and Erastus the city treasurer; cf. Malherbe, Social Aspects, 72f,77; Theissen, Social Setting, 95,102; Meeks, Urban Christians, 57f.

It is interesting to notice that Acts mentions only the names of the upper social strata out of some 15 Corinthian Christians known to us by name.

133 The divine communication through visions and dreams, cf. n.49 and 50.

134 Isa. 43:5, Jer.1:8, cf. Bruce, Acts, 345; Haenchen, Acts, 535, n.4.

135 Lk.1:13,30, 2:9f, 5:10, 9:43; Acts 18:9, 27:24; Mk.6:50 (=Mt.14:27, John 6:20, 16:6 (Mt.28:5), Mt.1:20, cf. Pfister, "Epiphanie", 317f; Conzelmann, App. 115.

the unusually long duration of the stay in Corinth, which is correspondingly mentioned in 18:11, and *καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐπιθήσεται σοι τοῦ κακῶσαι σε* expresses the divine protection,¹³⁶ foretelling the incident before Gallio in 18:12-17.¹³⁷ Further, the words, *διότι λαὸς ἐστὶ μοι πολὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ* implies the community in Corinth at the time of the author.¹³⁸ Thus the apparition scene in 18:9f is editorial, explaining the divine sanction of the Gentile missionary activity in Macedonia and Achaia on the second missionary journey, like that in Cyprus and central Anatolia on the first missionary ^{journey}, as well as in Syrian Antioch.¹³⁹

At the end of the descriptions of the Corinthian ministry, the author interweaves the accounts of the length of missionary activity in Corinth in 18:11 and Paul's appearance before Gallio in 18:12-17, due to the local community tradition, as is clear from the unusual ^{note of the} period of time,

- 136 *ἐπιθήσεται σοι* is equivalent to *ἐπέβαλεν τὰς χεῖρας* in 12:1. *κακῶσαι* is the language of persecution, which occurs in Acts 7:6,19, 12:1, 14:2, 1 Pet.3:13; 1 Clem.16:7.
- 137 Bruce, *Acts*, 345, "he (i.e. Paul) was attacked (ver.12), but suffered no harm."
- 138 *λαὸς* is an archaic expression for Christians, identifying themselves as the real Israel, which is taken over from the Jewish usage; cf. Acts 2:47, 15:14; Heb.4:9, 1 Pet.2:10; 1 Clem.59:4, Barn.13:1ff, Herm.sim. 5,5,2 etc. Cf. Conzelmann, *Apk.* 115; Schneider, *Apk.* vol.2, 251, n.47.
- 139 The motif of the divine sanction of the Gentile mission in Syria is seen in Acts 11:21, *ἦν χεῖρ κυρίου μετ' αὐτῶν*; in Cyprus and Anatolia in Acts 14:27, *ὅσα ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς μετ' αὐτῶν*. These are parallel to that of Jesus' ministry in Acts 10:38, *ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ἦν μετ' αὐτοῦ*. This motif of divine sanction is taken from LXX, cf. e.g. quotation from Gen.39:2 (cf. Gen.21:22, 26:28, 39:3,21 etc.) in Acts 7:9, *ἦν ὁ θεὸς μετ' αὐτοῦ*.

and from the proper names, namely Gallio¹⁴⁰ and Sosthenes,¹⁴¹ the archisynagogus, and the topographical detail.¹⁴² But the name of the archisynagogus embedded in the local community tradition in 18:12-18 is different from that in 18:8, which implies that there is a break in the tradition between 18:8 and 18:12-18; it is filled with the editorial connection in 18:8f.¹⁴³

(9) Acts 18:18-23

Paul remains¹⁴⁴ in Corinth after the conflict scene before Gallio in 18:18a, but the note of time, *ἡμέρας ἑκανάς*, is ascribed to the author.¹⁴⁵ Paul says farewell to his fellow-Christians¹⁴⁶ and sail to "Syria"¹⁴⁷ with the couple Priscilla and Aquila.¹⁴⁸ This account of Paul's voyage from Corinth to Ephesus¹⁴⁹ with Aquila and Priscilla is based on Pauline

- 140 For the Gallio inscription, A. Deissmann, Paul: A Study in Social and Religious History, EF London 1926, 261-286; K. Lake, "The Chronology of Acts", Beg. vol. 5, 445-474, esp. 460-464; Barrett, Background, 48f; Haenchen, Acts, 66f, and n.1, 2, 3; Conzelmann, ApG. 115; Hengel, Between, 157, n.4, 166, 167, n.11; Jewett, Dating, 38-40, etc.
- 141 Sosthenes might be identical with the joint author of 1 Cor. (cf. 1 Cor. 1:1), or else Sosthenes in 1 Cor. 1:1 was not a Corinthian; cf. Theissen, Social Setting, 94f; Meeks, Urban Christians, 215, n.27; Ollrog, Paulus, 21, n.77 and 30f.
- 142 τὸ βήμα in Acts 18:12, which was situated in the middle of the agora, is accurately mentioned, like *ἔξω τῆς πόλεως παρὰ ποταμὸν προσευχῆ* in 16:13.
- 143 Cf. Lidemann, Paulus, vol. 1, 176-180, 198-203.
- 144 *προσμένειν* with the same nuance occurs in 1 Tim. 1:3. cf. *ἐπιμένειν* in Acts 10:48, 15:34, 21:4, 10, 28:12, 14; 1 Cor. 16:7f.
- 145 Cf. ch. 7, n. 9.
- 146 The greeting at the end of the ministry in Acts 18:18, 21, 21:15D implies a favourable acceptance, cf. 2 Cor. 2:13, Mk. 6:46, Lk. 9:61.
- 147 *ἐκπλοῦν* occurs only in Acts in N.T.; Acts 15:39, 18:18, 20:6.
- 148 The mention of the couple here is in reverse order as in Acts 18:26, Rom. 16:3, 2 Tim. 4:19, cf. Acts 18:2, 1 Cor. 16:19.
- 149 It is about 400 km from Cenchreae to Ephesus by the sea-route, which might have been four days' voyage, cf. Thucydides, iii, 3.

tradition, which is presupposed in 1 Cor.16:19 (cf. Rom.16:4). But the role of Aquila and Priscilla in Acts is schematic, to bring Paul from Achaia to Asia, like that of Barnabas from Syria to Cyprus and central Anatolia, and that of Silas and Timothy from Syria and central Anatolia to Macedonia and Achaia, although it is based on historical fact.¹⁵⁰

In 18:18b, Paul has his hair cut for the purpose of a vow. However, it has been argued who has his hair cut, Paul or Aquila, because it is grammatically obscure. But it is more likely that Paul has his hair cut, as it is the author's intention to depict Paul's story in Acts, not that of a secondary figure like Aquila.¹⁵¹ The vow with reference to the hair cutting suggests a correlation with the Nazirite vow, which is supported by $\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\chi\eta$ as in Acts 21:23f. But it is apparent that Paul in Acts is not a life-long Nazirite,¹⁵² but a temporary one.¹⁵³ However, the hair cutting usually implies the termination of the vow, not its initiation,¹⁵⁴ and according to the Mishnah, the head could only

150 Silas, whose appearance corresponds to the disappearance of Barnabas, disappears from the scene in 18:5. Aquila and Priscilla appear on stage from 18:2 and disappear from the sight after 18:26, although their stay in Rome is presupposed in Rom.16:3. Correspondingly, "we" reappears from 20:5, and "we" connects Macedonia with Asia and further with Rome. These characters in Acts are geographically limited to some regions like Peter, Barnabas, John Mark and Timothy, cf. ch.7, n.54, ch.8, n.31, ch.9, n.87.

151 Beg. vol.4, 229; Bruce, Acts, 348f; Williams, Acts, 213; Haenchen, Acts, 545; Roloff, Apk. 275.

152 Judg.13:5, mNaz.1:2,4 (Samson), cf. Num.6:1-21; Lk.1:15 (John the Baptist), Hegesippus in Eusebius, H.E. ii, 23, 4 (James the brother of the Lord).

153 The minimum length of a Nazirite vow was thirty days, cf. mNaz.1:3, Josephus, B.J. 15,1.

154 Num.6:18, mNaz.2:5f, 3:2, 8:6-8; cf. Beg. vol.4, 230; Haenchen, Acts, 543, n.2.

be shaved at the Temple in Jerusalem so as to absolve from the vow with the legal purification and the offerings.¹⁵⁵ Thus this hair cutting, denoting the cutting short of the hair,¹⁵⁶ might be either the preliminary one at the beginning of the vow, which is different from the actual Nazirite vow or might suggest that the author does not have an accurate knowledge of the Nazirite vow and is confused here,¹⁵⁷ but wants to show that Paul is a law-abiding Jew. The latter is preferable because there is no parallel to the preliminary hair cutting in the Rabbinic literature.¹⁵⁸ If that is the case, this picture of the hair cutting shows Judaizing tendencies, which is clear from the fact that there is no mention of the fulfillment of the vow,¹⁵⁹ although this account may be based on tradition.

In 18:19a, Paul, Aquila and Priscilla arrive at ¹⁶⁰

155 mNaz.6:8, Strack-Billerbeck, vol.2, 747-751. There is no mention of the convenience for a foreign Jew who could reach Jerusalem within the period of the vow, shaving his head outside of Palestine and bringing the hair to Jerusalem. Nazirite vows had to be discharged in Jerusalem.

156 κείρειν here means "to shear", that is, "to cut short" with scissors, which is different from the technical term for the Nazirite hair offering, ξυρεῖν, "to shave" with a razor, cf. Num.6:9, Acts 21:24.

157 Haenchen, Acts, 543, n.2, 545f, 611f, thinks that two different things in 18:22f and 21:23f have been confused. Similarly, Marshall, Acts, 345, n.1; S.G.Wilson, Law, 66.

158 Beg. vol.4, 230.

159 If the journey in 18:22f means a visit to Jerusalem, the completion of the vow is not mentioned. It is more likely that the author implies that the scene in 21:20-27 as the termination of the vow in 18:18b, cf. V.Stolle, Zeuge, 76-78, but less likely that the vow in 18:18b was sworn in order to obtain a fair voyage or to thank for the successful end of the missionary journey.

160 The journey motif, καταναστεύω in a literal sense occurs only in Acts in N.T.; Acts 13:51D, 16:1, 18:19,24, 20:15, 21:7, 25:13, 27:12, 28:13.

Ephesus.¹⁶¹ But Paul leaves the couple and he himself goes to the synagogue. This account might give an impression that, either the synagogue was ^{some distance} away from Ephesus, or the vessel was bound for Syria and stayed only a short time in the harbour of Ephesus and Aquila and Priscilla remained there, while Paul only proceeded to the synagogue. But, contrary to this impression, it is clear from 18:21 that the synagogue is situated in Ephesus, and from 18:26 that Aquila and Priscilla stayed in Ephesus. Thus this odd description stresses not only the perspective of Paul in the narrative¹⁶² but also the separation of Paul from Aquila and Priscilla so as to recount the following narratives in 18:24-28 and 19:1-8 respectively.

The author summarizes the missionary activity in Ephesus with the schematic descriptions in 18:19b-20 under the double visit scheme. At first Paul enters the synagogue as is the rule in the account of Paul in Acts,¹⁶³ then he preaches to the Jews¹⁶⁴ and as a favourable result of the ministry the Ephesian Jews beg Paul to remain longer,¹⁶⁵ in contrast to the rejecting Jews in Asia

161 Ephesus was the busy centre of shipping and land-traffic, the largest and populous centre of trade and commerce in Asia. It was not before the time of Hadrian that Ephesus became the official capital of the province of Asia, which had been Pergamum, as it had been the practical and commercial capital. For Ephesus, M.M.Parris, "Archaeology and St. Paul's Journey in Greek Lands, Pt. IV-Ephesus", BA 8 (1945) 62-73 = BAR vol.2, 331-343; F.V.Filson, "Ephesus and the New Testament", BA 8 (1945), 73-80 = BAR vol.2, 343-352.

162 Schneider, Apog. vol.2, 256, n.13.

163 Cf. ch.7, n.13.

164 Cf. n.77.

165 Similar depictions are seen in Acts 10:48, 13:42, 28:14; cf. the motif of hospitality, *ἐπιμένειν*, in Acts 15:34D, 21:4, 10, 28:12. These expressions imply a favourable acceptance of the missionary activity.

Minor and in Macedonia.

Paul says farewell ¹⁶⁶ in 18:21 and promises to return to Ephesus with the formula, τοῦ θεοῦ θέλοντες, ¹⁶⁷ which indicates the return journey to Ephesus in 19:1. In this way the author connects the Ephesian ministry in 18:19-21 with the local community tradition in 19:1-7. Paul sets sail from Ephesus to Caesarea and goes up, giving greetings ¹⁶⁸ to the church. But it is not clearly mentioned in the account which church Paul visited, Caesarea or Jerusalem. However, the absolute usage of the verb, ἀναβαίνειν, ¹⁶⁹ in 18:22 and that of ἡ ἐκκλησία ¹⁷⁰ indicate the latter. This is also supported by the usage of the verb, καταβαίνειν, ¹⁷¹ in 18:22. If this is so, it seems apparent that the author intends to depict "each of the missionary campaigns concluded with a visit to Jerusalem so that Paul's work

166 Cf. n.146.

167 The Christianized form of τοῦ θεοῦ θέλοντες is originally heathen rather than Jewish; e.g. Plato, Alcib. i,31,135d; cf. 1 Cor.4:19, εἰν ὁ κύριος θέλησθαι, Acts 21:14, τοῦ κυρίου τὸ θέλημα γίνεσθαι, James 4:15, εἰν ὁ κύριος θέλη; Beg. vol.4, 231; Haenchen, Acts, 544 and n.3,4; Conzelmann, ApG. 117; Marshall, Acts, 301.

168 ἀσπάζεσθαι denotes that Paul gives honourable greetings to the communities at Jerusalem here and in 21:11, at Ephesus in 20:1, and at Ptolemais in 21:7, which implies a favourable acceptance of Paul, cf. n.146 and 165. It is interesting to note that these greetings occur only at the end of the missionary activity in Acts, in contrast to Paul's own greetings given to the Pauline communities at Philippi (Phil.4:21f), at Corinth (1 Cor.16:19-21, 2 Cor.13:12) at Colossae (Phlm 23f, cf. Col.4:10-18) and at Rome (Rom. ch.16), cf. 1 Thess.5:26, 2 Tim.4:19-21, Tit.3:15.

169 The absolute usage of ἀναβαίνειν in literal sense refers to the journey to Jerusalem, cf. Lk.2:42, as in LXX, cf. Sir. 48:18, 1 Esdr.1:38, 5:1, 1 Macc.3:15.

170 Roloff, ApG. 277, thinks that the absolute usage of ἡ ἐκκλησία in Acts exclusively refers to the Jerusalem church as in Acts 8:3.

171 The absolute usage of καταβαίνειν denotes the journey from Jerusalem in Luke-Acts; Lk.2:51, Acts 8:15, 10:20, as in LXX, cf. 3 King 22:2, 4 King 8:29, 10:13 etc.

began from and ended in Jerusalem in each case."¹⁷² But this is the author's scheme of descriptions of the missionary journeys to show that Paul is a good Jew, a law-abiding faithful Jew, obedient to Jerusalem church.¹⁷³ It is clear from the facts that Paul does not mention such a visit in this letters before the collection journey to Jerusalem, and further, that Paul had ^{Some} anxiety for non-believing Jews and Jewish Christians in Jerusalem immediately before his last visit to Jerusalem in Rom.15:31. If Paul had such a mutually favourable relationship with the Jerusalem church as depicted in Acts, it is difficult to explain such anxiety. Moreover, the account in Acts 21:17ff, which seems to be based on tradition,¹⁷⁴ does not expect the Jerusalem visit between the Apostolic Conference and the last visit.¹⁷⁵ It is not only thematically but also chronologically difficult to accommodate this Jerusalem visit in the life of Paul. It seems most likely

172 Quotation from Marshall, Acts, 302.

173 Beg. vol.4, 231; Bruce, Acts, 350; Haenchen, Acts, 546-548, conjecture that Paul set sail to Syria but arrived at Caesarea on account of the unfavourable winds, then sailed to Antioch. Further, Haenchen and Suhl, Paulus, 130-136, think that Paul in the letters only went to Caesarea and Antioch, but the author of Acts intends to depict the Jerusalem visit, cf. Haenchen, Acts, 548, "According to Luke's conviction, Paul was on excellent terms with the congregation of Jerusalem; he had indeed just undertaken a missionary journey in the company of Silas, an ἀνὴρ ἡγεώμενος, a leading man of this congregation. Hence from the viewpoint of Acts a Pauline visit to Jerusalem is quite reasonable, while from our knowledge of the situation it would have been a senseless risk."

174 Cf. Stolle, Zeuge, 74-80, 261f, 265.

175 It is highly unlikely that the Jerusalem visit in Acts 18:22 is to be identified with that of Gal.2:1-10, as is clear from the single fact that, according to Gal.2:1, Barnabas accompanied Paul on this visit, cf. ch.3, n.9,19.

that Paul came to Corinth in spring of A.D. 51,¹⁷⁶ spent one and half years in Corinth until the end of summer of A.D. 52, and arrived at Ephesus at the beginning of fall of A.D. 52. But the time span from the arrival at Ephesus to the end of the collection journey at Corinth which must have fallen after the winter of A.D. 54/55¹⁷⁷ leaves room only for the two years and three months of the Ephesian ministry, and no room to the Jerusalem visit¹⁷⁸ between the Apostolic conference and the last collection visit.

The conjecture~~ure~~ that the Jerusalem visit and return to Ephesus in 18:22f is fictitious is also supported in terms of the style and motifs. The succession of participles without $\tau\epsilon$ and $\kappa\alpha\iota$ in

176 Paul stayed in Corinth while Gallio was the proconsul of the province of Achaia, that is, A.D. 51 (June 1st) to A.D. 52 (June 1st). The possible arrival seasons in Corinth are spring and autumn, because the sea was open from the spring to autumn, and the land-journey was also difficult in winter. Hence, if Paul had arrived at Corinth in summer, the sea-crossing from Cenchreae to Ephesus, which occurred one and half years later, was impossible, and on the other hand, if Paul had crossed the Aegean sea from Cenchreae to Ephesus in summer, the arrival at Corinth would fall in winter. Spring is more likely, because Paul tended to winter in populous commercial centres such as Corinth and Ephesus, as is attested from 1 Cor. 16:6,8, presumably in terms of trade and commerce; if so, it seems likely that Paul must have wintered in another commercial and mercantile centre, namely, in Thessalonica in A.D. 50/51. Broneer, "The Isthmian Games", indicates the relation between Paul's stay in Corinth and the biennial Isthmian Games, which fell in spring of A.D. 51.

177 Cf. ch.10, n.20.

178 If Paul had visited Jerusalem and Antioch then returned to Ephesus, it must have taken nearly one year, as Ogg, Chronology, 128, estimated, or at least three months in a hasty journey. It is 1100 km from Ephesus to Caesarea and nearly 100 km from Caesarea to Jerusalem, more 560 km from Jerusalem to Antioch and further 1200 km from Antioch to Ephesus, passing the Cilician Gates along the south trade route; ~~which must~~ have covered at least 70 days without rest? But Paul must have stopped at the communities such as in Caesarea, Jerusalem, Antioch, Tarsus and Galatia etc.

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18:22f is typical of Lukan style,¹⁷⁹ and such a hasty touch in descriptions is different from the other detailed descriptions of the sea voyages. The return to Antioch in 18:22b, which makes a circular journey to and from Antioch, and allows for a stay there,¹⁸⁰ corresponds to the end of the first missionary journey. Moreover, the geographical concept "Galatia-Phrygia" in 18:23a symmetrically corresponds to that at the beginning of the second missionary journey.¹⁸¹ But, curiously enough, the region of "Galatia-Phrygia" is presupposed to have been evangelized in 18:23, though it is not mentioned in 16:6, so that the author adds the brief description of strengthening the disciples, which is the schematic motif of the second visit.¹⁸² Thus the author skilfully connects the end and the beginning of the second and third missionary journeys, so as to depict the double visit to the regions of Macedonia, Achaia and Asia.

To summarize: the movement from Corinth to Ephesus with Aquila and Priscilla is based on tradition, but Paul's hasty visit to Ephesus and departure are editorial in order to depict Paul as the first Christian missionary there; but as the local community tradition in 18:24-28 shows, there had been already a pre-Pauline community.¹⁸³ The visit to Jerusalem and return to Ephesus are also fictitious.

179 Cf. Blass-Debrunner-Rehkopf, ss.421; Beg. vol.4, 231. This style is also seen in Lk.4:20, Acts 12:21, 19:16 and the journey section in 20:1-3 which correspond to 18:22f.

180 This kind of "pause" occurs in Acts 14:28 and 15:33. The note of time χρόνον τινα in 18:23 is ambiguous like ἐπὶ πλείονα χρόνον in 18:20.

181 "Galatia-Phrygia" in 18:23 is in ^{the} reverse order of "Phrygia-Galatia" in 16:6, cf. n.40.

182 Cf. ch.8, n.61.

183 Haenchen, Acts, 547; Conzelmann, ApG. 117; Lüdemann, Paulus, vol.1, 160f; Schneider, ApG. vol.2, 254.

(iv) The Tradition and Composition in Acts

Paul fragmentarily mentions his missionary activity in Macedonia and Achaia in various parts of his letters. After the incident at Antioch Paul proceeded to the West, through Anatolia, and visited Philippi as "the beginning" (Phil.4:15) of his independent mission in the untouched areas; the missionary activity in Galatia occurred incidentally on the way. Afterwards Paul moved to Thessalonica as the next missionary station. The mission in Macedonia was successful in spite of the hardship. Then Paul went to Athens, but the mission in Athens does not seem to have been fruitful, in contrast to that in Corinth, where Paul stayed one and half years. Afterwards Paul set sail to Ephesus where Aquila and Priscilla prepared Paul's ministry.

The author of Acts must have been able to gain access to the Pauline tradition about the missionary activity in the regions of Macedonia and Achaia and then depicted the so-called second missionary journey. This is attested by the fact that the geographical framework of the movement of Paul in Acts agrees with that of ^{the} historical Paul in the Epistles, in spite of the chronological ambiguity (except for one case in Acts 18:11 based on the local community tradition). But the author utilizes the Pauline tradition in order to stitch the local community traditions and the Pauline legend together, and modifies it into his own scheme. The principle of descriptions is also governed by the scheme of "first the Jews, then the Gentiles", as in the first missionary journey; this is explicitly mentioned as the goal of the second missionary journey in Corinth in 18:6f. But, according

to the author's understanding and presentation, Macedonia and Achaia are more Gentile soil than Cyprus and central Anatolia, a fact which is symbolically depicted in the vision scene at Troas in the narrative part and in the Areopagus speech in the speech part. Correspondingly, although the motifs of visiting the synagogue and preaching to the Jews for the first time is still retained, a new motif of rejection and expulsion by the Gentiles is introduced at the beginning of the Mission of Macedonia, Achaia and Asia in Philippi in 16:19-24, 35-38. This is based on the local tradition, which corresponds to that at the end of the mission to Macedonia, Achaia and Asia at Ephesus in 19:23-40, also based on local tradition. It contrasts with the Jewish-overtone rejection and expulsion at Thessalonica in 17:5-9 and at Corinth in 18:13-17.

Furthermore, the author stresses the conversion element in the second missionary journey, employing the local community traditions, more than in the first missionary journey, although brief schematic descriptions of the conversion of the Jews and "the God-fearers" are seen in the first missionary journey in 13:43, 14:1b; compare 17:4,12 and the conversion of the Gentiles in 17:34, 18:8b. But the author has an inclination to depict the conversion scenes as follows.

- (1) Jews and "the God-fearers" are converted by Paul at first at the synagogue (or proseuche) (Philippi, in 16:13-15, Thessalonica in 17:4, Beroea in 17:12, Corinth in 18:7-8a).
- (2) Then the Gentiles turn to Christ outside the synagogue (Philippi, in 16:27-34, Athens in 17:34 which makes

a contrast to the Berean Jews in 17:12, Corinth in 18:8b). This principle of depiction is related to show that Paul is not only the Gentile missionary but also ^aJewish one, and ~~that~~ Christianity expanded from the Jews - to "the God-fearers" - and the Gentiles, and from synagogue to the agorá, by the rejection of Jews; hence Paul is shown as a good Jew, a faithful synagogue-goer. This picture of Paul is strengthened at the beginning of the second missionary journey by the scene of the circumcision of Timothy and at the end by the Nazirite-like vow at Cenchreae. In this way Paul in Macedonia and Achaia is becoming the Gentile missionary proper and it is confirmed by the miraculous visions at the beginning of the second missionary journey (at Troas) and at the end (at Corinth). Correspondingly, the motif of the acceptance of Paul is stressed rather than that of rejection. Thus the image of Paul in Acts on the second missionary journey shows Judaizing tendencies, but is depicted in ambivalent anti-Jewish sentiment, which is weakened a little in the second missionary journey.¹⁸⁴

184 More developed tradition of this section can be seen in Acts of Paul, ch.7.

CHAPTER 10
THE THIRD MISSIONARY JOURNEY

Acts narrates the so-called third missionary journey in Acts 18:23-20:16,¹ which corresponds to the missionary activity in Ephesus in 1 Cor.16:8f,19 (cf. 1 Cor. 2 Cor. Gal. Phil. Phlm) and the collection journey to Jerusalem in Rom.15:25-32, 1 Cor.16:1-12, 2 Cor. chs.8-9, cf. 1 Cor.15:32, 2 Cor.1:8-2:17.

(i) The Missionary Activity in Asia and Collection
Journey to Jerusalem in the Pauline Epistles

After the Corinthian ministry, Paul chose Ephesus as his missionary base in Asia like Corinth in Achaia. Our knowledge of his Ephesian ministry is precise and abundant both from the

1 The traditional division of the third missionary journey is from Acts 18:23 to 21:14, but the sea voyages from Miletus to Caesarea, written in the first person plural in Acts 21:1-14, should be sepatated from the so-called third missionary journey and included in the journey to and from Jerusalem with Acts chs.27-28. These sections forms a ring structure written in first person plural.

authentic and the Deutero-Pauline Epistles, but the historical reconstruction in chronological sequence is not easy. At least we know that Paul's missionary activity in Ephesus was a great success, in spite of the fact that he had many opponents (1 Cor.16:8f). It seems likely that several Pauline communities were formed in Asia (1 Cor.16:19a); and there were at least three in the Lycus valley along the trade road: one in Colossae at Philemon's house (Phlm.1f), one in Laodicea at Nymphas' house (Col.4:13,15) and the other in Hierapolis (Col.4:13).² Epaphras (Phlm. cf. Col.1:7, 4:12) and Archippus (Phlm.2, Col.4:17) were connected with these communities. In Ephesus Aquila and Priscilla's new house seems to have been the Pauline community centre in Asia (1 Cor.16:19b). Paul also became acquainted with Apollos in Ephesus (1 Cor.16:12). Paul worked hard as an artisan in Ephesus as in Thessalonica and in Corinth (1 Cor.4:12, 1 Thess. 2:9, cf. Acts 20:34).

It is apparent from the letters written in and around Ephesus that the Ephesian ministry was the high ^{point} of Paul's missionary career, in which he was confronted with significant problems for the development of his theology.

Firstly, it seems likely that Paul was imprisoned at Ephesus, for he had provoked opposition there.³ Although Acts does not

2 Cf. S.E.Johnson, "Laodicea and Its Neighbors", BA 13 (1950), 1-18; = BAR vol.2, 353-368.

3 Cf. A.Deissmann, "Zur ephesinischen Gefangenschaft des Apostels Paulus", Anatolian Studies presented to Sir W.M.Ramsay, edd. W.H.Buckler, W.M.Calder, Manchester 1923, 121-127; W.Michaelis, "The Trial of St. Paul at Ephesus", JThSt 29 (1928), 368-375; G.S.Duncan, St. Paul's Ephesian Ministry: A Reconstruction with Special Reference to the Ephesian Origin of the Imprisonment Epistles, London 1929; idem. "Were Paul's Imprisonment Epistles Written from Ephesus?", ExpTim 67.

mention the Ephesian imprisonment,⁴ it is most likely that the Captivity Epistles, that is, Philippians and Philemon, were written in Ephesus,⁵ because the location and ^{the} distances between Ephesus and Philippi / Colossae do favour the Ephesian imprisonment theory (rather than that between Rome and Philippi / Colossae, or Caesarea and Philippi / Colossae) because of the easy communications.⁶ Furthermore, it is less likely that Paul visited Philippi and Colossae after the announcement of the ^{end} of his missionary activity in the eastern part of the Mediterranean Sea in Rom.15:14-32, a theory which also supports the composition of the Captivity letters in Ephesus. Moreover, the "praetorium" in Phil.1:13 does not necessarily denote the "imperial guards"

3 (continued)

(1955/56), 163-166; idem. "Paul's Ministry in Asia - the Last Phase", NTS 3 (1956/57), 211-215; idem. "Chronological Table to Illustrate Paul's Ministry in Asia", NTS 5 (1958/59), 43-45; Dibelius, Paul, 81; Bornkamm, Paul, 83f; Bruce, Paul, 298f. Cf. T.W.Manson, "St. Paul in Ephesus: The Date of the Epistle to the Philippians", BJRL 23 (1939), 182ff; = idem. Studies, 149-167, thinks the Corinthian imprisonment as the origin of Phil; while C.H.Dodd, "The Mind of Paul", idem. New Testament Studies, Manchester 1953, 83-108, thinks the Roman imprisonment as place of Phil. and Lohmeyer, Phil. 3f, and L.Johnson, "The Pauline Epistle from Caesarea" ExpTim 68 (1956/57), 24-26, place Phil. in Caesarea.

4 Paul was imprisoned several times, which is clear from 2 Cor. 6:5, 11:23; cf. 1 Clem.5:6; συναϊμαλώτος in Rom.16:7, Phlm.23, Col.4:10; while Acts mentions only one imprisonment in Philippi in Acts 16:25-34.

5 δέσμιος, Phlm.1,9; δεσμός, Phil.1:7,13f,17; Phlm.10,13.

6 It is about 580 km from Rome to Brundisium, along the Via Appia, which would have been 20 days' journey, one day's voyage from Brundisium to Dyrrhachium or Aulon to cross the Adriatic Sea, and further about 600 km from Dyrrhachium or Aulon to Philippi along the Via Egnatia, - that would have been another 20 days' journey. But it would have been six (sea route) or ten days' journey (land route) from Ephesus to Philippi and one or two days' journey from Ephesus to Colossae. Similarly, the sea route between Caesarea and Philippi was comparatively shorter than the land route between Rome and Philippi, but it was surely much more costly.

headquarters" in Rome; it can also signify the Roman governor's official residence,⁷ and οἱ ἐκ τῆς Καίσαρος in Phil.4:22 could refer to the imperial slaves or freedmen in Ephesus.⁸ However, it is not certain whether θηριομαχεῖν in 2 Cor.15:32 designates this Ephesian imprisonment or not.⁹ If the Ephesian composition of Phil. is accepted, the sequence of the historical situation of Phil. seems to be as follows.¹⁰

7 Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich, *πρακτώριον* .

8 Deissmann, *Licht*, 202, n.3.

9 If θηριομαχεῖν in 1 Cor.15:32 is taken as the literal sense and ἐν ... ἐθηριομάχῃς taken as a contrary-to-fact condition, Paul is referring to the possibility of his fight with beasts as punishment after imprisonment. But this interpretation may contradict the fact, if Paul was a Roman citizen, that a Roman citizen was not put to death in this way. Moreover, Paul does not mention it in the list of sufferings in 2 Cor. 11:23-39. Thus θηριομαχεῖν in 1 Cor.15:32 seems to be interpreted figuratively. For the figurative sense from the Jewish background, cf. R.E.Osborne, "Paul and the Wild Beasts", JBL 85 (1966), 225-228; the figurative sense from the Cynic background, cf. A.J.Malherbe, "The Beasts at Ephesus", JBL 87 (1968), 71-80.

10 For the literary problem of Phil: three fragmentary theories, cf. W.Schmithals, "Die Irrlehrer des Philipperbriefes", ZThK 54 (1957), 297-341 = idem. *Gnostiker*, 47-87 (Letter A, 4:10-23, Letter B, 1:1-3:1, 4:4-7, Letter C, 3:2-4:3); B.D.Rahtjen, "The Three Letters of Paul to the Philippians", NTS 6 (1959/60), 167-173 (Letter A, 4:10-20, Letter B, 1:1-2:30, 4:21-23, Letter C, 3:1-4:9; G.Bornkamm, "Der Philipperbrief als Paulinische Briefsammlung", *Neotestamentica et Patristica: Freundesgabe an O.Cullmann*, Leiden 1962 = idem. *Geschichte und Glaube II vol.1 Gesammelte Aufsätze vol.4* (BEvTh 53), München 1971, 195-205 (Letter A, 4:10-20, Letter B, 1:1-3:1, 4:21-23, Letter C, 3:1-4:9); W.Marxsen, *Einleitung*, 57-65 (Letter A, 4:10-20, Letter B, 1:1-3:1, 4:4-7, 21-23, Letter C, 3:2-4:3, 8f); F.W.Beare, *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Philippians*, London 1958 (Letter A, 4:10-20, Letter B, 1:1-3:1, 4:2-9, 21-23, Letter C, 3:2-4:1); Vielhauer, *Geschichte*, 561-570 (Letter A, 4:10-20, Letter B, 1:1-3:1, 4:4-9, 21-23, Letter C, 3:2-4:3); Köster, *Einführung*, 565-569 (Letter A, 4:10-23, Letter B, 1:1-3:1 (4:4-7), Letter C, 3:2-4:3, 8f). Two fragmentary theory, cf. G.Friedrich, *Der Brief an die Philipper*, Göttingen 1962 (Letter A, 1:1-3:1a, 4:10-23, Letter B, 3:1b-4:9); J.Gnilka, *Der Philipperbrief*, Freiburg 1968 (Letter A, 1:1-3:1a, 4:2-7, 10-23, Letter B, 3:1b-4:1, 8f).

When the news of Paul in ἐλίψις (Phil.4:14) reached Philippi, Epaphroditus was sent with a gift, as was done before, both in Thessalonica (Phil.4:16) and in Corinth (2 Cor.11:9, Phil.4:15). But Epaphroditus fell seriously ill and the news of his illness reached Philippi; Epaphroditus received the news of the Philippians' grief about him, and Paul wrote that he hoped to send him back to Philippi with Timothy very soon (Phil.2:19-30). Presumably, Paul also heard the bad news that some Judaizing (or Gnostic) opponents¹¹ had come to Philippi (Phil.1:27-30) bringing fresh trouble for Paul (Phil.1:17). Thus Paul writes Phil., reporting the recent change in his situation (Phil.1:12-26), but warning the Philippians (Phil.2:1-18) and sending an apology

10 (continued)

But the divisions between Phil.3:1 and 3:2 and further between Phil.4:3 and 4:4 are based on rhetorical changes rather than on literary ones. This is because the motif of thanksgiving for the gift is seen both in 1:3-11 and 4:10-20. Similarly, the verb φρονεῖν is found both in 1:7 and in 4:10; the verb συγκοινωνεῖν both in 1:7 and 4:14; κοινωνία, κοινωνεῖν in 1:5 and 4:15; "the beginning of the Gospel", both in 1:5 and 4:15; περιστέλις in 1:9 and 4:12,18; καρπός in 1:11 and 4:17. Further, the motif of apology against opponents which dominates ch.3 is also found in 1:15-17 and 1:28 (οἱ ἀντικειμένοι) and the motif of joy which is dominant in chs. 1f,4 is also seen at the end of the middle section in 4:1. Moreover, (τὸ) λαπὸν in Phil.3:1, 4:8 does not always occur at the end of the letter, cf. 1 Cor.1:16, 7:29, 2 Cor.13:11, 1 Thess.4:1, 2 Thess.3:1, 2 Tim.4:8, Heb.10:13; Ign.Eph.11:1. Thus against the fragmentary theories, cf. G.Delling, "Philippenerbrief", RGG (3), vol.3, 333-336; B.S.Mackay, "Further Thoughts on Philippians", NTS 7 (1960/61), 161-170; V.Furnish, "The Place and Purpose of Philippians", NTS 10 (1963/64), 80-88; T.E.Pollard, "The Integrity of Philippians", NTS 13 (1966/67), 57-66; R.Jewett, "The Epistolary Thanksgiving and the Integrity of Philippians", NovTest 12 (1970), 40-53.

11 For the opponents in Phil. cf. Schmithals, "Irrlehrer"; H.Küster, "The Purpose and the Problem of a Pauline Fragment (Phil.III)", NTS 8 (1961/62), 317-332; J.Gnilka, "Die antipaulinische Mission in Philippi", BZ NF 9 (1965), 258-276; R.Jewett, "Conflicting Movements in the Early Church as Reflected in Philippians", NovTest 12 (1970), 362-390.

(Phil.3:2-4:3).

Secondly, if the Ephesian origin of Phil. is accepted, Phlm. must also be placed in this period for the same reasons as mentioned above. If so, during the Ephesian imprisonment, Paul met Philemon's runaway slave Onesimus at Ephesus, converted him in prison, and sent him back to Philemon with Phlm.

Thirdly, the Corinthian controversies took place during the Ephesian ministry.¹² The historical reconstruction of the origin of 1 Cor. seems as follows. At first, Paul heard of a libertine tendency in the Corinthian community¹³ and responded to it with the "previous letter" (cf. 1 Cor.5:9f), a fragment of which is embedded in 2 Cor.6:14-7:1.¹⁴ Presumably, this "previous letter" was brought to Corinth by Timothy on his way via Philippi, but it did not settle the problem. While Timothy was away, (1 Cor.4:17, 16:10f, cf. 1:1), the people of ~~the~~ ^{the} household came to visit Paul in Ephesus and reported orally about the party strife¹⁵

12 It is widely assumed that 1 Cor. is not a reconstruction of fragmentary letters.

13 πορνεία, 1 Cor.5:1, cf. 6:13,18, 7:2; πορνεύειν in 6:18, 10:8; πόρνη in 6:15f; πόρνος in 5:9,10,11, 6:9.

14 Cf. J.A.Fitzmyer, "Qumran and the Interpolated Paragraph in 2 Cor.6:14-7:1", CBQ 23 (1961), 271-280 = idem. Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament, London 1971, 205-217; J.Gnilka, "2 Kor.6:14-7:1 im Lichte der Qumranschriften und der Zwölf Patriarchen Testamente", Neutestamentlich Aufsätze : Festschrift für J.Schmid, Regensburg 1963, 86ff; H.D.Betz, "2 Cor.6:14-7:1, An Anti-Pauline Fragment?", JBL 92 (1973), 88-108; N.A.Dahl, "A Fragment and Its Context : 2 Corinthians 6:14-7:1", idem. Studies in Paul, 62-69.

15 For the opponents of Paul in 1 Cor. cf. E.Dinkler, "Korintherbriefe", RGG (3), vol.4, 17ff; W.Schmithals, Die Gnosis in Korinth (FRLANT 66), Göttingen 1966; T.W.Manson, "St.Paul in Ephesus (3), The Corinthian Correspondance (1)", idem. Studies, 190-209; U.Wilkens, Weisheit und Torheit : Eine exegetischreligiosgeschichtliche Untersuchung zu 1 Kor.1 und 2 (BHTH 26), Tübingen 1959; N.A.Dahl, "Paul and the Church at Corinth According to 1 Corinthians 1 :10-4:21", Christian History and Interpretation : Studies Presented to J.Knox, edd. W.R.Farmer, C.F.D.Moule, R.R.Niebuhr, Cambridge 1967, 313-335

among the Corinthian community (1 Cor.1:11f). Paul also learned of the new situation at Corinth by letter. It was presumably brought by Stephanas, Fortunatus and Achaicus (1 Cor.16:17f), and certain inquiries about marriage (1 Cor.7:1, *περὶ δὲ ὧν ἐγράψατε*), virginity (7:25, *περὶ δέ*), idol worship, that is, about things sacrificed to the idols (8:1, *περὶ δέ*), spiritual gifts (12:1, *περὶ δέ*), the collection for Jerusalem (16:1, *περὶ δέ*), and about Apollos (16:12, *περὶ δέ*).¹⁶ Then Paul wrote 1 Cor. in order to settle the party strife, expressing his desire to visit Corinth very soon (1 Cor.4:18-21), though he planned to stay in Ephesus until Pentecost presumably because the sea was closed (1 Cor.16:8).

Fourthly, it is implied in 1 Cor.16:1 that Paul may have paid a visit ¹⁷ to Galatia to arrange for the collection for Jerusalem church, which had been requested at the Apostolic Council (Gal. 2:10). However, it is less likely that the collection to Jerusalem was provoked by the appearance of Judaizing opponents in Galatia and in Corinth ¹⁸ because the Galatian and Corinthian problem did not occur at this stage, but a little later. It is also less likely that the collection for Jerusalem was directly and simultaneously motivated by the request to remember the "poor" in Jerusalem, because Paul's co-workers during the ministry in Macedonia and Achaia were Timothy and Silas, not Barnabas (cf.

15 (continued)

= idem. Studies in Paul, 40-61. For the sociological analysis of the Corinthian party strife, cf. G.Theissen, Social setting, 69-119.

16 *περὶ δέ* 1 Thess.4:9, 5:1; Ign.Eph.2:1; Hurd, Origin, 65-74.

17 In this case, τὸ πρότερον in Gal.4:13 designates "the former" of the two visits rather than "formerly".

18 Against, Georgi, Kollekte, 37-51.

2 Cor.1:19, 1 Thess.1:1, 3:1,6).¹⁹ Moreover, if Paul made the collection journey immediately after the Apostolic Council, it is difficult to explain his anxiety about the acceptance of the collection in Jerusalem (Rom.15:30-33). It seems more likely, therefore that the collection journey was organized some six or seven years after the Apostolic Council because of the shortage of food in Palestine during the sabbatical year²⁰ or it might be that the voluntary collection from Philippi to support Paul stimulated the organization of the collection to Jerusalem.

The date of Gal. is not easy to determine, but the historical sequence of 1 Cor. Gal. 2 Cor. and Rom. should be maintained on the ground that the regions of Macedonia and Achaia are mentioned in the reference to the collection to Jerusalem both in Rom.15:26 and in 2 Cor.8-9, whereas the region of Galatia, which is mentioned in 1 Cor.16:1, is omitted in Rom. and 2 Cor. This implies the suspension of the project of the collection in Galatia, because of the Galatian problem.²¹ Thus it is likely

- 19 Against, J.Knox, Chapters, 47-60; Jewett, Dating, 78-87; Lüdemann, Paulus, 86-110.
- 20 Jeremias, "Sabbathjahr"; Dockx, "Chronologie"; Suhl, Paulus, 327-333; according to Jeremias the sabbatical years fall in A.D. 47/48 and 54/55 but recently, B.Z.Wacholder, "The Calender of Sabbatical Cycles During the Second Temple and Early Rabbinic Period", HUCA 44 (1973), 153-196 corrects the traditional view and places the sabbatical year in A.D. 48/49 and 55/56. The food shortage might have continued quite a long time.
- 21 C.H.Buck, "The Collection"; idem. "The Date of Galatians", JBL 70 (1951), 113-122; Suhl, Paulus, 217-223; Lüdemann, Paulus, vol.1, 114-119; cf. F.C.Baur, The Church History of the First Three Centuries, ET Edinburgh 1878, vol.1, 56-75; Lightfoot, Gal.36-56. For recent references to the similarities between 1 Cor. Gal. 2 Cor. and Rom.; Lüdemann, Paulus, vol.1, 116f. In Galatians, Paul is fighting not on a double, but on a single front, cf. R.McL.Wilson, "Gnostics-in Galatia ?" StEv 4 (= TU 102), Berlin 1968, 358-367; Ph.Vielhauer, "Gesetzesdienst

that, in the middle of the Ephesian ministry, the Galatian problem arose "soon" (Gal.1:6) after a personal expedition to Galatia, and it is less likely that Gal. was written during the collection journey in Macedonia.²²

Fifthly, the Corinthian issue showed a new development.²³ Doubtless, Paul visited Corinth three times (2 Cor.12:14, 13:1f), although Acts depicts only two Corinthian visit, based on its double visit scheme throughout the missionary journeys. It seems true that Paul's intention to visit Corinth for the second time soon after Pentecost (1 Cor.15:8) was fulfilled only after Timothy's return from Corinth. Timothy brought bad news from

21 (continued)

und Stoicheiadienst im Galaterbrief", Rechtfertigung: Festschrift für E.Käsemann, edd. W.Pöhlmann, P.Stuhlmacher, Göttingen / Tübingen 1976, 543-555; W.Schmithals, "Die Häretiker in Galatien", ZNW 47 (1956), 26-67 = idem. Gnostiker, 9-46.

22 Agaist, W.Foerster, "Abfassungszeit und Ziel des Galaterbriefes", Apophoreta, 135-141.

23 For the literary problem of 2 Cor.; 2 Cor. consists two parts of fragmentary letters, 2 Cor.1-9 (omitting 6:14-7:1) and 2 Cor.10-13. More sophisticated theories that 2 Cor.1-9 should consist of the "comfort letter" (or the "letter of joy", 2 Cor.1:3-2:13, 7:5-16), the "letter of apology" (2:14-6:13, 7:2-4) and two "letters of collection" (chs.8,9), cf. Schmithals, "Gnosis"; G.Bornkamm, "Die Vorgeschichte des so genannten zweiten Korintherbriefes", idem. Gesammelte Aufsätze, vol.4, 162-194; Georgi, Gegner, 16-29; Dinkler, "Kor"; Marzen, Einleitung, 73f; Suhl, Paulus, 223-248; Vielhauer, Geschichte, 150-155; Köster, Einführung, 560-565. Nevertheless, it is more likely that the splits after 2 Cor. 2:13 and 7:4 are due to ~~the~~ rhetorical ~~was~~ rather than ~~the~~ to a literary one, which shows the symmetrical structure of the letter like Phil. (2 Cor.1:3-2:13 / 2:14-6:13, 7:2-4 / 7:5-16 // ch.8 / ch.9). Moreover the motif of λύπη which dominates a part of the comfort letter (2:1-13, 7:8-12) is also seen in the "letter of apology" (6:10) and the "letter of collection" (9:7). Similarly, the motif of παράκλησις which is dominant in the "comfort letter" (1:3-2:13, 7:5-16) is also found in the "letter of apology" (5:20, 6:1, 7:4) and the "letters of collection" (8:4,6,17; 9:5). These facts do favour the integrity of 2 Cor.1-9.

Corinth. Thus Paul changed the original plan to visit Corinth on his collection journey through Macedonia (1 Cor.16:5f); instead, he decided to go directly to Corinth across the Aegean Sea from Ephesus and then to proceed to Macedonia, paying a double visit to Corinth on his way to Jerusalem (2 Cor.1:15f). In this way, Paul voyaged to Corinth, but his second visit was ineffectual, a source of bitter disappointment, presumably because someone stood ⁱⁿ open revolt against him.²⁴ Paul came back to Ephesus by sea route. But he could not return to Corinth for a while (2 Cor.1:17-24). Consequently, Paul wrote the "severe letter" in tears, which is lost now (2 Cor.2:1-11, 7:8-12),²⁵ instead of paying a third visit to Corinth.

Meanwhile, the scheme of the collection to Jerusalem was apparently suspended in Corinth by this disturbance, as is indicated by the fact that the Corinthians had started the collection project earlier than the Macedonians (2 Cor.8:10, 9:2, cf. 1 Cor.16:1-3), that the Macedonians were encouraged by the Corinthians in the project, and managed to complete it earlier than the Corinthians (2 Cor.8:1-4, 9:1-5).

Paul then sent Titus to Corinth, bearing the "severe letter" and it seems likely that this was Titus' first visit to Corinth;

24 Cf. C.K.Barrett, "O'ADIKESAS (2 Cor.7:12)", Verborum Veritas: Festschrift für G.Stählin zum 70 Geburtstag, edd. O.Böcher, K.Haacker, Wuppertal 1970, 149-157 = idem. Paul, 108-117.

25 The "severe letter" or the "letter of tears" (2 Cor.2:4) should not be identified with the "letter of the four chapters" (2 Cor.10-13). This is because the "severe letter" is sent to rebuke only one individual (2 Cor.2:1-11, 7:8-12) and ὁ ἀδικήσας in 2 Cor.7:12 is not the same as the intruders at Corinth, either οἱ ὑπερλίαν ἀπόστολοι in 2 Cor. 11:5, 12:11 or οἱ ψευδαπόστολοι in 2 Cor.11:13.

this is suggested by the fact that Paul boasted to the Corinthians of the virtues of Titus (2 Cor.7:14).²⁶ While Paul was waiting for the return of Titus, he must have experienced the great $\theta\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\psi\iota\varsigma$ at Ephesus, confronted with the peril to his life, though he was rescued out of it (2 Cor.1:8-11). "The death sentence" (2 Cor. 1:9) implies that Paul and his co-workers were put into gaol. Afterwards, Paul went to Troas for the purpose of evangelism, but in spite of great success there, he restlessly proceeded to Macedonia because he had failed to find Titus in Troas (2 Cor. 2:12f).

Eventually, Paul did meet Titus, in Macedonia, and was comforted by the report that the immediate problem was settled, as well as by his encounter with Titus (2 Cor.7:5-16). Paul wrote 2 Cor.1-9 from Macedonia and sent Titus back to Corinth with one or two brothers to promote the business of the collection. It seems likely that Titus afterwards came back to Macedonia with the bad news that the situation had suddenly got worse because of new intruders, so that Paul composed 2 Cor.10-13 immediately before his third visit to Corinth.²⁷ The result of this third visit is

26 Titus is only mentioned in reference to the Corinthian ministry in 2 Cor.2:13, 7:6,13f, 8:6,16,23, 12:8 except for the Apostolic Council in Gal.2:1,3. But Acts does not mention him anywhere, cf. C.K.Barrett, "Titus", Neotestimentica et Semitica : Studies in Honour of M.Black, edd. E.E.Ellis, M.Wilcox, Edinburgh 1969, 1-14 = idem. Paul, 118-131.

27 The opponents of Paul in 2 Cor. should be distinguished from those in 1 Cor. since there is no mention of the problem of wisdom and gnosis, libertinism or the radical understanding of resurrection. For the opponents of Paul in 2 Cor. cf. Käsemann, "Legitimität"; C.K.Barrett, "Paul's Opponents in 2 Corinthians", NTS 17 (1970/71), 233-254, = idem. Paul, 60-86; idem. " PSEUDAPOSTOLOI (2 Cor.11:13)", Mélanges Bibliques en Hommage au R.B.Rigaux, edd. A Descamps and A. de Halleux,

not explicitly mentioned, but if Rom. was written at Corinth, it seems fair to presume that the success of the collection in Macedonia and Achaia (Rom.15:25f) implies that the problem was satisfactorily resolved. Then Paul must have proceeded to Jerusalem before setting out for Rome and (as he hoped) Spain (Rom.15:30-32), bringing the collection to remember the "poor" in Jerusalem (Gal.2:10) as a sign of unity between Gentile Christians and Jewish Christians in the regions where he had laboured so tirelessly.

(ii) The Historical Core of the Tradition in Acts

The description of the Ephesian ministry in Acts is quite different from that in the Pauline Epistles, because there is no account of Paul's imprisonment (if the Ephesian imprisonment theory is accepted) ^{and} no trace of internal strife (such as the Galatian problem and the Corinthian issues, Paul's intermediate visit to Corinth, initiation of the collection for the "poor" in Jerusalem, and even his activity of letter writing). Instead of inner struggle Acts describes Paul working against the syncretism of the Gentile environment and the strife from without.

However, the account of the so-called third missionary journey in Acts is based on tradition, since the geographical framework of

27 (continued)

Gembloux 1970, 377-396 = idem. Paul, 87-106. Further, S.Schulz, "Die Decke des Moses : Untersuchungen zur einer vorkorinthischen Ueberlieferung in 2 Kor.3:7-18", ZNW 49 (1958), 1-30; Georgi, Gegner; G.Friedrich, "Die Gegner des Paulus in II Korintherbrief", Abraham unser Vater : Festschrift für O.Michel (AGJU 5) edd. O.Betz, M.Hengel, P.Schmidt, Leiden / Köln 1963, 181-215 = Auf das Wort kommt es an, ed. J.H.Friedrich, Göttingen 1978, 189-223.

Paul's movement from Ephesus (Acts 19:1) to "Greece" (Acts 20:1-3) agrees with that in the Pauline Epistles (1 Cor.16:1-9, 2 Cor. 2:12f, 7:5-16). Further, the mission of Timothy to Corinth in the middle of the Ephesian ministry in Acts 19:22 tallies with that in the Pauline Epistles (1 Cor.16:10, Phil.2:19), although Acts does not mention the mission of Titus to Corinth. Moreover, the chronological note in Acts 19:1, cf. 18:27 that Paul came to Ephesus while Apollos was at Corinth fits well in with the fact that Apollos visited Corinth when Paul was absent (1 Cor.3:4-9).²⁸ This implies that the episode of Apollos in Acts 18:24-28 is due to tradition. It seems likely, however, that the descriptions of the Ephesian ministry in Acts 19:1-7,8-10,23-40 are at least partly based on local community tradition, as is indicated by the detailed accounts and particularly by the proper nouns. However, the tale of the sons of Sceva in Acts 19:11-20 and that of Eutychus in 20:7-12 are due to the Pauline legends. On the whole,

28 It is less likely that Paul visited "Illyricum" (Rom.15:19 cf. "Dalmatia" in 2 Tim.4:10) after the Ephesian ministry, against, Beg. vol.4, 253, Bruce, Acts, 369; Williams, Acts, 229; Marshall, Acts, 323; Jewett, Dating, 104. This is because Paul must have been heavily occupied with the Corinthian issues and the collection for the "poor" in Jerusalem; he would have had little time for an expansion of the missionary areas. It is also unlikely that the expedition to Illyricum was done on his way from Thessalonica to Corinth on the so-called second missionary journey because 1 Thess. 1:7f mention only the regions of Macedonia and Achaia, but not Illyricum, against, Suhl, Paulus, 92-96. However, it is most likely that Paul went to the region of Illyricum during or immediately after the Corinthian ministry in which Paul encountered Aquila and Priscilla who were expelled from Rome. Presumably, Paul went to Dyrrhachium, passing Nicopolis (cf. Tit.3:12), with his hope of visiting Rome (cf. Rom.1:13) before the death of Claudius in A.D.54, but abandoned his plan to cross the Adriatic Sea as the edict of Claudius against the Jews were still effective. Instead, Paul paid an expedition visit to the region of Illyricum, and then proceeded to Asia where Aquila and Priscilla prepared for Paul's missionary activity a little ahead.

Acts agrees with the Pauline Epistles in depicting the Ephesian ministry as the climax of Paul's missionary activity,²⁹ in spite of the completely different atmosphere of the two accounts.

(iii) The Text

(1) Acts 18:24-28

Paul arrives at Ephesus in 19:1 but the author skillfully inserts an episode of Apollos in 18:24-28, due to the Pauline tradition.³⁰ In this way, the author sketches out the pre-Pauline mission at Ephesus, though he has cautiously given the priority in the Ephesian ministry to Paul over Apollos in 18:19f.³¹ Apollos³² was a Jew of Alexandria,³³ but he was an independent Jewish

29 Haenchen, Acts, 558, "the Apostle at work, and indeed at the zenith of labours"; E.S.Florenza, "Miracles, Mission and Apologetics : An Introduction", idem. (ed.), Aspects of Religious Propaganda in Judaism and Early Christianity, Notre Dame / London 1976, 1-25, esp. 8, "According to E.Haenchen, a comprehensive picture of Paul the missionary par excellence and his propagandistic activities is drawn in chapter 19 of Acts"; F.Pereira, Ephesus Climax of Universalism in Luke-Acts, Anand (India), xv, "it was in Ephesus that Lucan universalism reached its climax".

30 In the same way, Roloff, ApG. 278, thinks that this pericope is based on personal tradition. It is likely that this section is also included within the Pauline traditions like other co-workers' accounts such as those about Barnabas, John Mark, Timothy, Silas, Aquila and Priscilla, cf. ch.3, n.63.

31 Cf. Conzelmann, ApG. 117; Schneider, ApG. vol.2, 259f. Further, Apollos is mentioned in 1 Cor.1:12, 3:4,5,6,22, 4:6, 16:12, Tit.3:13; Apollos in Acts is confined to the regions of Asia and Achaia as in the Pauline Epistles, but Acts does not mention Apollos' return to Ephesus, cf. 1 Cor.16:12. For Apollos, cf. Ollrog, Paulus, 37-41, 215-219.

32 Acts 18:24D and 19:1D read Ἀπολλώνιος, in place of the shortened form Ἀπολλῶς.

33 Acts 18:24, Ἀλεξανδρεὺς τῷ γένει, cf. 4:36, Κύπρος τῷ γένει, 18:2, Ποντικὸν τῷ γένει.

Christian missionary, presumably from Alexandria, rather than a Jewish missionary or disciple of John the Baptist.³⁴ This is attested not only by the fact that there is no mention of repentance or baptism by Apollos in 18:26, (in contrast to the baptism of the disciples of John the Baptist in 19:5f.) but also by the fact that only a Christian missionary could teach Christianity³⁵, and could preach and teach the things about Jesus, namely, the crucifixion and resurrection³⁶ with enthusiasm "boiling over in spirit".³⁷ But if ἐπιστάμενος μόνον τὸ βάπτισμα Ἰωαννοῦ is not a later interpolation³⁸ in the tradition,³⁸ it seems likely that Pauline Christianity and Apollos' version were different types of Christianity in terms of baptism, which implies that the Gentile Christianity in and around the Aegean Sea was related to the baptism of Jesus, while Jewish Christianity in Alexandria was familiar only with the baptism of John.³⁹ In that case, the instruction of Apollos in 18:25 would be exaggerated with motif of strengthening the disciples.

- 34 Against, Bruce, Acts, 351; E. Schweizer, "Die Bekehrung des Apollos; Apg. 18:24-26", EvTh 15 (1955), 247-254 = idem. Beiträge zur Theologie des Neuen Testaments: Neutestamentliche Aufsätze (1955-1970), Zürich 1970, 71-79; Williams, Acts, 215; Marshall, Acts, 304; Roloff, Apg. 278f.
- 35 19:25D reads ἐν τῇ παρῴσει τὸν λόγον τοῦ κυρίου, instead of τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ κυρίου, which implies that Christianity reached Alexandria before c.A.D.50.
- 36 τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ cf. Lk. 22:37, 24:19,44, Acts 24:22, 28:31.
- 37 ἴστων τῷ πνεύματι refers either to "boiling over with the Holy Spirit", cf. Beg. vol.4, 233; or "boiling over in his spirit, that is, full of enthusiasm", cf. Bruce, Acts, 351. But the latter is preferable, cf. Rom. 12:11.
- 38 Käsemann, "Die Johannesjünger in Ephesus", ZThK 49 (1952), 144-154 = EVB vol.1, 158-168, thinks it a later interpolation; similarly, Haenchen, Acts, 550, n.10; Conzelmann, Apg. 118; Ollrog, Paulus, 39f.
- 39 This difference agrees with the conflict in Corinth between the Pauline circle and the Apollos circle, particularly seen in 1 Cor. (cf. 1 Cor. 1:12-17). Cf. Barrett, 1 Cor. 43;

(2) Acts 19:1-7

Paul arrives at Ephesus in 19:1.⁴⁰ This information is based on the local community tradition, because the chronological note that Paul arrived at Ephesus when Apollos was in Corinth seems precise, and the topographical detail, τὰ ἄνωτερικὰ μέρη,⁴¹ is also seen in it. However, the author employs the Septuagint style for the opening of the new scene with ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ and the infinitive.⁴² It is interesting to note that there is no mention here of co-workers until the last conflict scene in 19:22, 29, 31 and the summary in 20:4, whereas we know that the historical Paul was assisted by Aquila and Priscilla, Timothy, Titus and other at Ephesus. Thus it is the author's intention to stress the independent activity of Paul at the end of the missionary activity. Further, there is no mention of the initiation motif with the Spirit until 19:21. This gives the impression that the so-called third missionary journey is part of the great journey to Macedonia, Achaia and Asia and it is the second visit to these

39 (continued)

B.A.Pearson, "Hellenistic-Jewish Wisdom Speculation and Paul", Aspects of Wisdom in Judaism and Early Christianity, ed.

R.L.Wilken, Notre Dame / London 1975, 43-66. It seems likely that what was lacking for Paul, in contrast to Apollos (Acts 18:24, ἀνὴρ λόγιος) was the gift of rhetorical edifying speech (2 Cor.11:6, ἰδιώτης τῷ λόγῳ cf. 2 Cor.10:10). Thus Apollos was not a Paulinist who was instructed by the co-workers of Paul, but ^{cum} independent missionary from Alexandria, though he got acquainted with Paul at Ephesus, cf. 1 Cor.16:12.

T.W.Manson, "The Problem of the Epistle to the Hebrews", idem. Studies, 242-258, and others, cf. Kümmel, Introduction, 402, think, like Luther, that Apollos was the author of Heb.

40 διερχέσθαι cf. ch.8, n.34.

41 τὰ ἄνωτερικὰ μέρη signifies either "inland" or "highland".

42 ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ cum inf. occurs only in Luke-Acts; 23 times in Lk. and in Acts 4:5, 9:3,32,37, 14:1, 19:1, 21:1,5, 27:44, 28:8,17, cf. Blass-Debrunner-Rehkopf, ss. 404, n.1, ss. 408, n.4 and cf. ch.6, n.29. 19:1d implies that Paul did not go up to Jerusalem in 18:22.

regions under the double visit scheme in Acts.

The "disciples" ⁴³ who knew only the baptism of John are mentioned in 19:2-7, prior to Paul's visit to the synagogue in 19:8f. The author places the encounter of Paul with them somewhere outside of the synagogue in 19:1b, *καὶ εὐρεῖν τινὰς μαθηταί*, which makes a marked contrast to the previous teaching by Apollos in the synagogue. It is likely that the account of the "disciples" is based on a local community tradition, although it is written in dialogue form. These "disciples" do not seem to have any communication with the Ephesian congregation in which Aquila and Priscilla could instruct them. But the author repeats the dictum concerning the relation between baptism of John and that of Jesus in 19:4, as in Acts 1:5, 11:16. In 19:5-7 the author paints over the rebaptism of the "disciples" ⁴⁴ by the laying on of hands, ⁴⁵ the glossolalia ⁴⁶ and prophecy, ⁴⁷ in order to highlight the distinctive features of Pauline Christianity: it takes over the Spirit of the original Jewish communities in Jerusalem, Judaea and Samaria. But it is a misunderstanding to

43 *τινὲς μαθηταί* in 19:1 means either "disciples of Jesus" or "disciples of John the Baptist", cf. *τις μαθητῆς* in Acts 10:9, 16:1. The absolute usage of *μαθητῆς* in Luke-Acts tends to refer to the "disciples of Jesus"; moreover, this view is supported by *πιστεύσαντες* in 19:2. If this is accepted, there must have some Christians who knew only about the baptism of John, like Apollos. They must have entered the new covenant by circumcision, but not by proselyte baptism.

44 Cf. baptism and reception of the Spirit in Judaea, Acts 10:44-48, 11:15f.

45 Cf. the imposition of hands and the reception of the Spirit in Samaria in Acts 8:17.

46 Cf. the glossolalia as the manifestation of the Spirit in Jerusalem in Acts 2:4, 11 and in Judaea in Acts 10:46.

47 Cf. prophecy in Jerusalem in Acts 2:17f, in Antioch in Acts 11:27f and in Judaea in Acts 21:9.

take it as "the reception of ecclesiastical outsiders into the Una Sancta Catholica".⁴⁸ In this way, the author shows that Paul's laying on of hands produces the effect of glossolalia and prophecy, which is a clear proof of his apostolic character parallel to Peter's. But Aquila and Priscilla could not represent it.

(3) Acts 19:8-10

In the account in Acts Paul goes into the synagogue and preaches the Gospel as usual. Nevertheless, the author piles up in 19:8f the characteristic expressions for preaching.⁴⁹ The motifs of proclamation of the Gospel, rejection by the Jews and the separation of the ecclesia from the synagogue are the author's scheme in depicting Paul's activity in Acts which reflects the author's contemporary situation rather than the historical reality.⁵⁰ This is apparent from the fact that Paul used the new house of Aquila and Priscilla at Ephesus as the centre of his

48 Against, Käsemann, "Johannesjünger", 162. Cf. C.K. Barrett, "Light on the Holy Spirit from Simon Magus (Acts 8:4-25), Les Actes, 281-295, esp. 293.

49 παρηγοιάσθαι, cf. Acts 9:27, 13:46, 14:3, 18:26, 19:8, 26:26; 1 Thess. 2:2, Eph. 6:6; 1 Clem. 53:5; Dibelius, Studies, 200, n.17. The D text adds ἐν δυνάμει μεγάλης in front of παρηγοιάσθαι, cf. Acts 4:33. διαλέγεσθαι is used in 17:2 (Thessalonica), 17:17 (Athens), 18:4 (Corinth), 18:19, 19:8f (Ephesus), 20:7,9 (Troas), 24:12,25 (Jerusalem); cf. Heb. 12:5, Jude 9; Dibelius, Studies, 74. πείθεσθαι in this sense, cf. Acts 18:4, 19:26, 28:23. βασιλεία as the content of preaching, cf. Acts 1:3, 8:12, 20:25, 28:23,31 (1:6, 14:22); Conzelmann, Theology, 218.

50 σκληρόνειν is influenced by the LXX usage, cf. Ex. 7:3, 8:15, 9:35, Sir. 30:12; Rom. 9:18, Heb. 3:8,13,15, 4:7; 1 Clem. 51:3. Cf. ἀντιτάσσειν, cf. ch. 9, n.127; ἀπειθεῖν, in 14:2; κακολογεῖν, cf. βλασφημεῖν in 13:45, 18:6 and ἀντιλέγειν in 13:45; ἀφιστάναί, cf. μεταβαίνειν in 18:7. The D text stresses the contrast between Jews and Christians by adding τῶν ἐθνῶν after πλῆθους.

missionary activity (1 Cor.16:19), a fact not mentioned in Acts at all. However, the references to the teaching at the hall of Tyrannus ⁵¹ and the period of Paul's stay in Ephesus ⁵² are based on the local community tradition. The summary of the result of the missionary activity in 19:10b is a typical Lukan expression, showing the rapid expansion of Christianity.⁵³ The mixed audience of Jews and Gentiles in 19:10b echoes the descriptions of the latter part of each missionary journey (cf. Acts 20:21). In this way author depicts the setting of Paul's teaching place as detached from the synagogue, (like the agora in Athens, the house in Corinth, so here the lecture hall in Ephesus). Correspondingly, the mention of the names of converts or hosts disappears in Ephesus and the "God-fearers" are also lost from sight.

(4) Acts 19:11-20

The author recounts the miraculous deeds of Paul in 19:11-20 after the description of his teaching at the Tyrannus' hall.⁵⁴

Paul in Acts shifts from ^α Jewish environment to a pagan setting

- 51 It is not certain whether σχολή was a guild hall or a school building: whether Tyrannus was the teacher or the owner of the hall. The D text reads *Τυραννίου τινός* instead of *Τυραννίου*, which implies that the hall of Tyrannus was not well known. Interestingly, the D text adds a note, *ἀπὸ ὥρας πέμπτης ἕως δεκάτης*, that is, Paul used the hall from 11 a.m. to 4 p.m. during the hours of the normal mid-day meal and siesta.
- 52 "Two years" as well as "three months" in 19:8 are in the tradition. It is calculated roundly as "three years" in 20:31.
- 53 Similar expressions are found in Acts 1:19, 2:14, 4:10,16, 9:35,42, 19:17.
- 54 The contrast of "deeds" and "words" is also seen in the descriptions of the missionary activity on the first missionary journey. Nevertheless, no miraculous deeds were recorded in the descriptions of the missionary activity in Thessalonica, Beroea, Athens and Corinth.

as in Lystra ⁵⁵ in Philippi ⁵⁶ and in Athens. ⁵⁷ In 19:11f the author summarizes the miraculous deeds of Paul ^{with} a hagiographical touch, which apparently makes a parallel to that of Jesus in Lk.8:44 and of Peter in Acts 5:15. ⁵⁸ In this way Paul is depicted as a mighty miracle worker sent from God, whose signs are visible, attested by the miraculous powers, not only like those of Jesus, but also like those of the apostles, ⁵⁹ Stephen ⁶⁰ and Philip. ⁶¹ All this is based on the "signs of the Apostle" which is in contrast to the view of Paul, especially in 2 Cor.10-13. ⁶²

After the general account of Jewish exorcism in 19:13, ⁶³ the author narrates the Pauline legend about the sons of Sceva from 19:14-16. ⁶⁴ In contrast to the mild attitude towards Jewish

- 55 Against the religious background of anthropomorphic divination.
- 56 Against the religious background of mantike.
- 57 Against the religious background of schools of philosophy.
- 58 This kind of summary prior to the miracle scene is also seen in 14:3. Cf. *Beg.* vol.4, 239; Klein, "Synkretismus", 52.
- 59 Cf. Lk.9:1 (= Mk.6:7, Mt.10:1), Acts 12:15.
- 60 Cf. Acts 6:8.
- 61 Cf. Acts 8:6f,13.
- 62 Cf. Käsemann, "Legitimität"; Haenchen, *Acts*, 562; Barrett, *Signs*, 42 and 122, n.80.
- 63 Similar accounts using the name of Jesus in exorcism are found in Lk.9:49 (=Mk.9:38), 11:19 (=Mt.12:27); cf. Josephus *Ant.* viii,2,5; Justin, *Dial.* 85; a famous magic formula including the name of Jesus, ἄρκιζω σε κατὰ τὸν θεοῦ τῶν Ἑβραίων Ἰησοῦ is found in the Paris Magical Papyrus, 574, cf. Deissmann, *Licht*, 216-225. For Jewish magic, J.Goldin, "The Magic of Magic and Superstition", *Aspects of Religious Propaganda in Judaism and Early Christianity*, ed. E.S.Fiorenza, Notre Dame / London 1976, 115-147; for Greek magic, A.D.Nock, "Paul and the Magus", *Beg.* vol.5, 164-188; idem. "Greek Magical Papyri", idem. *Essays*, vol.1, 176-194; H.D.Betz, "The Formation of Authoritative Tradition in the Greek Magical Papyri", *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition vol.3, Self-Definition in the Graeco-Roman World*, ed. B.F.Meyer, E.P.Sanders, London 1982, 161-170, 236-238.
- 64 The editor of the D text might have noticed that the high priest Sceva did not exist so that the D text reads ἐπειὶς, in place of Ἰουδαίου ἀρχιεπισκῶς. The D text has a long ending in 19:14 which describes the vivid scene and it also omits ἐν in 19:14 because of ἀμπορέω in 19:16.

exorcism in the synoptic tradition,⁶⁵ Acts represents a sharp contrast with Jewish exorcism in the punitive miracle story, reflecting the later polemical situation between Judaism and Christianity.

The summary of the result of the missionary activity is again seen in 19:17 (cf. 19:10). The language, style and motifs are characteristically Lukan.⁶⁶

At the end of the episode of the sons of Sceva, the author incorporates the local tradition of burning the magical books in 19:18,⁶⁷ in which the technical terms of magic such as *πράξεις*, *τὰ περίεργα* and *πράσσειν* occur for the first time. But the author adds the conversion element into the local tradition in 19:18, connecting the following scene of burning books with the previous episode of the sons of Sceva, so as to depict the "strengthening scene" for the believers.⁶⁸

Thus the author portrays Paul as a miracle worker, which gives a dramatic impression of the power of Christianity over Jewish magic, as in Samaria (8:9-24) and in Cyprus (13:6-12). But it is

65 Lk. 9:49 (= Mk. 9:38-41).

66 *ἐγένετο φόβος* cf. Acts 1:19, 9:42; also, 2:14, 4:10, 16, 13:38, 28:28. The motif of fear with *φόβος*, cf. 2:43, 5:5, 11, 26, 9:26, 31, 16:38, 22:29, 23:10, particularly after the punitive miracles in Acts 5:5, 11; Haenchen, *Acts*, 565, "The feeling of wonder plays a potent role in Acts". *μεγαλύνειν* which occurs after the miraculous event, cf. Lk. 1:46, 58, Acts 5:13, 10:46; in contrast to the Pauline usage of the same verb which has no connection with the miraculous event, cf. 2 Cor. 10:15, Phil. 1:20.

67 Cf. Kuhnert, "Εφέσια γράμματα", Pauly-Wissowa, vol. 5, 2771-2773. For burning books, cf. Diogenes Laertius, ix, 52; Livy, xl, 29; Suetonius, *Vita Aug.* 31; Lucian, *Alex.* 47.

68 Those who practiced magic are not converts but believers, which is apparent from the perfect tense of *οἱ πεπιστεύκοτες* in 19:18, cf. Acts 15:5, 18:27, 21:20, 25; in contrast to *οἱ πιστεύσαντες* in 2:44, 4:32.

here that Jewish exorcism is connected with the *Εφεία γράμματα*, that is, over against syncretism.⁶⁹ The account of the sons of Sceva and its effect upon the believers shows anti-syncretic tendencies.

In 19:20 the author summarizes the missionary activity with the metaphorical missionary language of the growth of the "word of God" as in 6:7 and 12:24,⁷⁰ which gives a striking picture of the conquering power (*κατὰ κράτος*) with which Paul worked for evangelism.

(5) Acts 19:21f

After the succession of triumphant missionary activity in Ephesus, the author narrates Paul's plan to visit to Jerusalem and Rome, which briefly summarizes the ending of Acts and is followed by the account in 20:1-4. This section is based on the Pauline tradition, as is clear from the fact that Paul's wish to visit Jerusalem on his way to Rome agrees with the Pauline Epistles (cf. Rom.15:23-25,28). The reference to the journey to Macedonia and Achaia also tallies with Paul's own words (1 Cor.16:1, 2 Cor. 8:1-4, 9:2,12, cf. Rom.15:26f). But, interestingly, the real motive of the journey, namely the collection for the "poor" in Jerusalem, is completely wiped out here, as well as in 20:1-4.

The solemn note of time in 19:20, *ὡς δὲ ἐπληρώθη ταῦτα*, is a

69 Haenchen, *Acts*, 558; Conzelmann, *ApG.* 120f; Fiorenza, "Miracles", think the problem of magic/behind this account. Klein, "Synkretismus"; Schneider, *ApG.* vol.2, 267 and 270, n. 35, think the problem of syncretism. Roloff, *ApG.* 284-287, admits both.

70 The missionary language of *αὐξανεῖν*, cf. Mk.4:8, Lk.13:19 (= Mt.13:32); 1 Cor.3:6f, 2 Cor.9:10, 10:15, Col.1:6,10, 2:19, Eph.2:21, 4:15, 1 Pet.2:13.

lies h.

Septuagintism as in Lk.9:51 and Acts 2:1.⁷¹ The word ταῦτα may refer either to the previous events in Ephesus or "two years" in 19:10, but the nuance of πληροῦν, that is, the actual coming of the appointed time, does favour the latter view.⁷² Thus this section forms a ring structure with Acts 19:8-10, sandwiching the miraculous account in 19:11-20. The phrase τίθεναι ἐν τῷ πνεύματι in 19:21, which is not merely the synonym of τίθεναι ἐν τῷ καρδίᾳ but also refers to the work of the Holy Spirit as the initiator of the journeys in 13:2 and 16:6-10. This fits well with the divine compulsion, that is, with the motif of δεῖ in 19:21, which governs the whole life of Paul in Acts.⁷³

In 19:22 Paul sends two of his co-workers to Macedonia and Achaia, Timothy and Erastus. Paul mentions the name of Timothy alone in 1 Cor.4:17, not that of Erastus;⁷⁴ nevertheless, Acts agrees that Apollos did not go to Corinth at this occasion (cf. 1 Cor.16:12).

71 The D text simply reads τότε.

72 Cf. Haenchen, Acts, 167, n.2.

73 Cf. ch.6, n.87 and 88.

74 The identification problem of the three "Erastoi" is a little complicated, namely, Erastus the city treasurer of Corinth (Rom.16:23, cf. 2 Tim.4:20), Erastus the co-worker of Paul (Acts 19:22), and the aedile Erastus of Corinth who laid the pavement at his own expense. G.Theissen, Social Setting, 75-83, thinks that the city treasurer was less ranked than an aedile, perhaps equivalent to quaestor, but identifies the two "Erastoi" of Corinth, conjecturing that the city treasurer was later elected as aedile; similarly, Meeks, Urban Christians, 58f; It seems difficult to maintain that the Erastus of Corinth is identical to that of Paul's co-worker because of the former's incomparatively higher social position, cf. Bev. vol.4, 244; Bruce, Acts, 362; Haenchen, Acts, 569, n.4; Ollrog, Paulus, 50f; Marshall, Acts, 314; Roloff, Apg. 290. On the other hand, Cadbury, "Erastus of Corinth", JBL 50 (1931), 42-58, identifies the Erastus of Corinth with Paul's co-worker.

(6) Acts 19:23-40

It is apparent that the riot scene at Ephesus in 19:23-40 is based on the local community tradition from the mention of the name of Demetrius, a silversmith, in 18:24, the name of Paul's co-workers, Gaius and Aristarchus, in 19:29, and the name of a Jew, Alexander, in 19:33. The local colour is also to be found in the topographical detail of the theatre, as a place for the public assembly,⁷⁵ in 19:29, the "Asiarchs" in 19:31, the "temple-keeper" and the "town-clerk" in 19:35, "proconsuls" and "court-days" in 19:38. But the account is dramatized by the author, as is clearly seen by the repetition of the acclamation *μεγάλη ἡ Ἄρτεμις Εἰφεσίων* in 19:28 and 34, which divide the narrative into three sections.

Nevertheless, in the first section in 19:23-28, the motive of opposition against Christianity, that is, loss of trade (*ἐργασία* in 19:24) seems to be attributable to the author, for a similar case has schematically already been depicted in a similar conflict scene with Gentiles in 16:19. Both may reflect the author's own contemporary situation in which Christianity had considerable influence among the pagan societies. This is attested by Pliny, Ep. x.96, who attributes the decline in the business of supplying fodder for sacrificial victims in the temples to the spread of Christianity.

75 Greek Inscr. Brit. Mus. vol.3, 481, l.395, *φερέτωσαν κατὰ πᾶσαν ἐκκλησίαν εἰς τὸ θέατρον*. The inscription from the theatre at Ephesus, cf. Deissmann, Licht, 90f. The public assembly is described as *δῆμος* in Acts 19:30,33 as in 17:5, but the legal assembly as *ἐκκλησία* in 19:32,39f, cf. Greek Inscr. Brit. Mus. vol.3, 481, ll.340,394; C.G.Brandis, "*Ἐκκλησία*", Pauly-Wissowa, vol.2, 2163-2200.

In the second section in 19:29-34, the contrast scene between the mob and Christians is due to the hand of the author. This is clear from the fact that Paul never goes to the theatre, for the disciples stop him, and the Asiarchs advise him not to go there. In this way, he never comes in peril of his life - which contradicts Paul's own words in 2 Cor.1:8-11. The author recounts that the Jews forced Alexander to make an apology in front of the rioting Gentiles, but this move, on the contrary, inflamed them still more. This description is based on anti-Jewish sentiment.

In the third section in 19:35-40, the "town-clerk" who is in charge of the public assembly makes an apology, in place of the Jews, saying that Christianity is harmless to Artemis worship: this must be ascribed to the author's apology for Christianity, based on the Jewish apologetic tradition.⁷⁶ This section forms a ring structure with the first section as is apparent from mention of Demetrius in 19:24 and 38, and the verb κερδουρέειν in 19:27 and 40.

Thus the author must have transformed the local community tradition about the uproar at Ephesus into his own theme in order to show that Christianity is so influential in pagan societies, that, in spite of the anti-Christian tumult, it is ^{as} ever, triumphant over paganism.⁷⁷

(7) Acts 20:1-4

The journey to Macedonia and Achaia after the Ephesian

76 Cf. G.Delling, "Josephus und die heidnischen Religionen", idem. Studien zum Neuen Testament und zum hellenistischen Judentum, Göttingen 1970, 45-52; Fiorenza, "Miracles", 16.

77 Haenchen, Acts, 578f; Conzelmann, Apg. 121; Plümacher, Hellenistischer Schriftsteller, 99; Schneider, Apg. vol.2, 278.

ministry is based on the Pauline tradition. But the descriptions of the journey are modified with the author's schematic motifs. In 20:1, Paul sends for the disciples,⁷⁸ encourages them,⁷⁹ gives greetings⁸⁰ to them and proceeds to Macedonia.⁸¹ There is no mention of the collection for the "poor" in Jerusalem, presumably because it had been forgotten at the time of Acts or was not so significant for the author.⁸²

In 20:2, Paul travels the region of Macedonia,⁸³ and Acts depicts the usual exhortation scene - a typical Lukan one - for the second visit on the double visit scheme. Then Paul comes to "Greece".⁸⁴

In 20:3, the period of his stay in "Greece" is mentioned as in 18:11, but the motif of the Jewish plot and expulsion as the cause of the change of the journey seems to be ascribed to the author.⁸⁵

In 20:4, the author incorporates a list of names, which corresponds to that in Acts 13:1, cf. 1:13, and 6:5.

78 *μεταπέμπειν* occurs only in Acts in N.T.; Acts 10:5,22,29 (dis), 11:13, 20:1, 24:24,26, 25:3. The D text reads *προσκαλεσάμενος* instead of *μεταπεμπάμενος*.

79 Cf. ch.8, n.60.

80 Cf. ch.9, n.168.

81 The journey motif *ἐξέρχεται*, cf. ch.9, n.56, and that of *κοιτεύειν*, cf. Acts 9:3,11,15, 14:16, 16:7,16, 17:14, 18:6, 19:21, 20:22, 22:5,6,10,21, 26:12,13, etc.

82 Cf. Ollrog, *Paulus*, 37; Schneider, *Apog.* vol.2, 279, n.2.

83 The journey motif, *διέρχεται* cf. ch.8, n.34. The D text adds *πάντα* in front of *τὰ μέρη ἐκεῖνα*, which implies to travel around the region of Macedonia. But it is difficult to think that Paul made an expedition to Illyricum on this occasion, cf. n.28.

84 *Ἑλλάς* is a popular name for the province of Achaia, which occurs only here in N.T.

85 *ἐπιβολή* occurs only in Acts in N.T.; Acts 9:24, 20:3,19, 23:30. It is always connected with Paul and his Jewish enemies in Acts.

(8) Acts 20:5-16

The journey from Philippi to Miletus in 20:5-16 seems to be based on the Pauline tradition, which is indicated by the precise mention of the course of the journey and particularly by the reference to the time required to cross the Aegean Sea from Neapolis to Troas in 20:6 as in 16:11, although there is no corresponding information in the Pauline Epistles. This journey is also written in the first person plural, which forms a ring structure with the beginning of the great missionary journey to Macedonia, Achaia and further Asia in 16:10-17.⁸⁶ In the middle section of the journey, the author incorporates the Pauline legend in Troas in 20:7-12. But this is the first and only descriptions of the miracle to the disciples, though it fits well with the motif of the second visit of the double visit scheme. It also reminds us that the farewell speech in 20:17-35 is the first and only address given to the disciples in Acts. In this way, the author closes his account of the third missionary journey, giving the impression that Paul's power is still effective, even particularly upon the disciples.⁸⁷

(iv) The Tradition and Composition in Acts

Paul mentions his missionary activity in Asia and the collection journey to Macedonia and Achaia. The Ephesian ministry was successful in spite of the opposition, but the Pauline

86 This corresponds to the "we" sections in ch.21 and chs.27-28, cf. n.l.

87 This kind effective description of the miracles is also seen at the end of the sea-voyage to Rome in 28:3-6,7f.

Epistles imply that his opponents were within the churches. In the middle of the Ephesian ministry Paul organized the collection for the "poor" in Jerusalem and travelled to Macedonia and Achaia to settle the internal quarrels and for the purpose of the collection.

Acts must have utilized the Pauline traditions in the descriptions of the so-called third missionary journey in the regions of Asia, Macedonia and Achaia, for the geographical framework of the movement of Paul tallies with that of Paul in the Epistles, although the chronological framework is ambiguous (with the exception of Acts 19:8-10, cf. 20:31, which is based on the local tradition). The author inserts the local community traditions and the Pauline legends into the Pauline tradition in order to depict the missionary activity in these regions according to his own scheme, which stresses the outer conflict in the purely Gentile settings, in contrast to the internal strife reconstructed from the Pauline Epistles.

The principle of "first the Jews, then the Gentiles" is also retained in the descriptions of the Ephesian ministry in Acts. But the author adds two episodes which depict the strengthening of the disciples before the teaching scene in the synagogue, under the double visit scheme. After the customary depiction of the rejection and expulsion scene from the synagogue, the author introduces the new motif of conflict with syncretism connected with Judaism in Acts 19:11-20, a factor which corresponds to that at the very beginning of the missionary journeys in Acts 13:6-12. In the latter half of the book, descriptions of missionary activity are devoted to conflict scenes with Judaism (as usual),

but in the Ephesian ministry this is altered to conflict with Gentile paganism (in Acts 19:23-40). This change corresponds to the beginning of the great missionary journey to the regions of Macedonia, Achaia and Asia in 16:16-39. Thus the principles underlying the description of the missionary journeys, whose climax is depicted as the Ephesian ministry, are as follows.

- (1) Paul triumphs over syncretism connected with Judaism outside the synagogue at the beginning of his missionary journeys (Acts 13:6-12) and at the end (Acts 19:11-20).
- (2) Paul comes into conflict with paganism outside the synagogue at the beginning of the missionary activity in the Gentile world around the Aegean Sea (Acts 16:16-39) and at its end (Acts 19:23-40) but is rescued out of it by the Gentile authorities.

Thus after the theme of strengthening the disciples under the double visit scheme, Acts describes Paul working against the syncretism of the Gentile environment and the strife from without. Theological tendencies behind these descriptions are apologetic tendencies against syncretism and paganism.⁸⁸

88 More developed tradition of this section can be traced in Acts of Paul, ch.8.

CHAPTER 11

CONCLUSION AND COROLLARY

The author of Acts utilizes tradition about Paul in depicting Paul not only in the earlier part of Paul's life as Löning and Burchard have pointed out,¹ but also in the later part of his life, particularly on the missionary journeys, as Plümacher and Roloff have indicated.² Thus it is unlikely that the missionary journeys in Acts are based on the Itinerary³ and it is also untenable to maintain that the chronological order in Acts is fictitious.⁴ Such tradition consists of three types, namely, the Pauline traditions, the Pauline legends (which are personal traditions) and the local community traditions.

The Pauline traditions, which run parallel to the Pauline Epistles, must have circulated around the lukan community and they give the historical framework of the accounts of Paul in Acts. These Pauline traditions include information at least about

1 Cf. ch.1, n.22 and 23.

2 Cf. ch.1, n.32 and 33.

3 Cf. ch.8, n.11, ch.9, n.10.

4 Cf. ch.3, n.9.

Paul's background, the pre-conversion period, his conversion and call, the earliest years after conversion and call, the missionary journeys to Cyprus, Anatolia, Macedonia, Achaia and Asia.⁵

The Pauline legends have parallels in the miracle stories of the synoptic tradition, like those of Peter in Acts, which are dominated with the divine man motifs. These legendary stories, which might have been taken from a polemical situation as indicated by the opponents of Paul in 2 Cor.10-13, show that Paul's charismatic power is continuously equivalent to that of Jesus in the Gospel and to that of Peter in Acts. The Pauline legends are localized in Paphos, Lystra, Philippi, Ephesus, Troas and Malta.

The local community traditions in Philippi, Thessalonica, Athens, Corinth and Ephesus inform us of the origin of the

5 It is likely that the last journey to and from Jerusalem in chs.21,27-28, cf. ch.3, n.35, as well as the trial scenes in Jerusalem in chs.21-26, cf. ch.1, n.24, must have been based on tradition, but it is not easy to trace it simply because there are no "fixed points" for our investigation, that is, there are no corresponding references in the Pauline Epistles.

C.K.Barrett, "Paul's Address to the Ephesian Elders", God's Christ and His People : Studies in Honour of N.A.Dahl, edd. J.Jervell, W.A.Meeks, Oslo / Bergen / Tromsø 1977, 107-121, finds the traditional material behind the farewell speech in Acts 20, esp. p.117, "These coincidences are the more important if we allow, as it seems that we must, that Luke had not read the letters left by Paul, for they mean not only that Luke had taken the trouble to inform himself about the themes on which he was writing but also that the tradition about Paul that continued to circulate after his death was by no means inaccurate. The historical Paul and the legendary Paul though not identical are not completely different, points of contact between this speech and the Pastorals and Ephesians confirm this conclusion, there were different strands of tradition, more or less independent yet holding something in common, and this common material was related to what we may learn from the genuine Pauline letters."

communities, the topographical details, and particularly the names of the converts and hosts with their episodes as well as other local colours.

The Pauline traditions supply the whole framework of the descriptions of Paul in Acts, into which the Pauline legends and the local community traditions are fitted, that is, the Pauline legends are historicized into the framework of the Pauline traditions together with the local community traditions. However, the author has not only kept close to tradition but also used a great freedom of invention in his story-telling.⁶ Nevertheless, the author would not destroy the framework of the "traditional material" (*παραδεδομένους*, Aristotle, *Poet.* 1453b, 25) and "received legends" (*παρειληγμένους μύθους*, Aristotle, *Poet.* 1453b, 22) but he shows his own inventiveness and skill in the way he handles tradition in order to persuade the reader.

The author defends the legacy of Paul, namely, the legitimacy of the Gentile mission in the contemporary polemical situation against anti-Pauline attacks by Jewish Christianity crossed with Gnosticism, notably in the farewell speech in Acts 20:29f (cf. 1 Tim.4:1);⁷ it is not merely about a "pure" Jewish-Christian conflict.⁸ Corresponding to this theological problem, the Pauline traditions are transformed by various literary motifs taken from

6 S.G.Wilson, The Gentiles and the Gentile Mission in Luke-Acts, Cambridge 1973, esp. 267, summarizes as follows: "Luke is neither totally reliable nor is he a wholly tendentious writer."

7 Cf. G.W.H.Lampe, "Grievous Wolves", Christ and Spirit in the New Testament : Studies in honour of C.F.D.Moule, edd. B.Lindars, S.S.Smalley, Cambridge 1973, 253-268.

8 Against, Löning, Saulustradition, 194.

the Greco-Roman literary tradition, the Septuagint tradition of the Diaspora synagogue, and the synoptic tradition, all within the framework of the Peripatetic historiography.⁹ It is interesting to notice that Acts shows a step forward from the Jewish milieu to the Greco-Roman milieu by accepting the Hellenistic literary tradition of historiography. However, the image of Paul in Acts is at the same time dramatized. The author skillfully employs the "proper names" (ὀνομάτια, Aristotle, Poet. 1451b, 15) ^{involved in} "what has happened" (τὰ γενόμενα, Aristotle, Poet. 1451b, 4) and narrates the "events" (τὰ πράγματα, Aristotle, Poet. 1451b, 22) of "what may happen" (οἷά ἂν γένοιτο, Aristotle, Poet. 1451b, 5), to present a schematic and ideal ^{ns} tradition from Jewish mission to Gentile mission, which is the plot of Acts, in order to persuade the reader with the rule "what is possible is credible" (Aristotle, Poet. 1451b, 16). This is based on the Peripatetic tradition of historiography.¹⁰ In this process, the picture of Paul is exaggerated by the Judaizing theological tendencies¹¹ in order to defend Paul from the accusation that Paul is an apostate and against the Law, while on the other hand it is also coloured by anti-Gnostic tendencies¹² in order to

9 The genre of Acts is not biography, against, C.H.Talbert, What is a Gospel? : The Genre of the Canonical Gospels, Philadelphia 1977; nor historical romance or novel, against, S.M.Praeder, "Luke-Acts and the Ancient Novel", Society of Biblical Literature : 1981 Seminar Papers, ed. K.H.Richards, Chico 1981, 269-292. Cf. ch.3, n.93.

10 Cf. B.C.Baldry, "Aristotle and the Dramatization of Legend", Classical Quarterly NS 4 (1954), 151-157.

11 For similar ambivalent Judaizing and anti-Jewish tendencies in Matthew, cf. G.N.Stanton, "Early Christian-Jewish Polemic and Apologetic", NTS 31 (1985), 377-392.

12 For anti-Gnostic tendencies in general, G.W.MacRae, "Why the Church Rejected Gnosticism", Jewish and Christian Self-Definition, vol.1. The Shaping of Christianity in the Second and Third Centuries, ed. E.P.Sanders, London 1981, 126-133, 236-238.

protect Paul from the charge that he had merely seen a vision of Jesus. At the same time, it is motivated by certain anti-Jewish tendencies¹³ and by apologetic tendencies against syncretism¹⁴ and paganism,¹⁵ in order to distinguish Christianity both from the Jewish and the pagan world, making it a via media between them.¹⁶ In this way, Acts paves the way from the earliest stage of Christianity to early Catholicism, choosing Peter and Paul as the pillars of the earliest Christianity, but not Paul alone, nor John, nor even James the brother of the Lord. In short, the Paulinism in Acts is not a corruption of the Pauline theology, but a development chiefly ^{brought about by} popular piety¹⁷ which preserved the legacy of Paul.

In ^a similar polemical situation, the schools of Paul, which may be compared to the religio grammatici, preserved and developed the inheritance of the Pauline theology. "Gnosticising

13 For anti-Jewish tendencies in general, cf. Antijudaismus im Neuen Testament?, edd. W.P.Eckert, N.P.Levinson, M.Stöhr, München 1967; Th.C.de Kruijf, "Antisemitismus, III. Neue Testament", TRE vol.3 (1978), 122ff; D.R.A.Hare, "The Rejection of the Jews in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts", Anti-Semitism and the Foundation of Christianity, ed. A.Davies, New York 1979, 28-32; S.Ben-Chorin, "Antijüdische Elemente im Neuen Testament", EvTh 40 (1980), 203-214; G.Klein, "'Christlicher Antijudaismus': Bemerkungen zu einem semantischen Einschüterungsversuch", ZThK 79 (1982), 411-450; J.G.Gager, The Origin of Anti-Semitism: Attitudes Toward Judaism in Pagan and Christian Antiquity, New York / Oxford 1985.

14 For apology against syncretism, G.Klein, "Synkretismus".

15 For apology against paganism, cf. Harnack, The Mission and Expansion in the First Three Centuries, ET New York 1962, 290-311.

16 Cf. Harnack, Mission, 266-278.

17 Cf. εὐλαβής in Acts 2:5, 8:2, 22:12, cf. 2:5; εὐσεβής in Acts 10:2,7, cf. 17:23; φοβούμενος τὸν θεὸν and σεβόμενος τὸν θεόν cf. ch.9, n.84. Cf. ch.1, n.29.

Paulinism" of Colossians and Ephesians,¹⁸ in spite of the anti-Gnostic defence, may be correlated to the later "exaggerated Paulinism"¹⁹ and "mystical Paulinism".²⁰ "Apocalypticising Paulinism" of 2 Thess.²¹ might be related to this trend. On the other hand, the Paulinism of the Pastoral Epistles²² and that of Acts stand ~~by~~ the anti-Gnostic trends.

Nevertheless, the approach of Acts is different from the closed Pauline schools but it is open to popular piety. Thus it may be compared to popular religion and the Paulinism in Acts ^{may be termed} "popular Paulinism" (cf. the later Paulinism²³ of the apocryphal Acts). Nevertheless, the canonical Acts have more historical reliability than the apocryphal Acts because of the Pauline traditions: the apocryphal Acts reveal a more developed stage of Pauline legends with romantic motifs and ascetic motifs as well as further localization and glorification of the martyr. All this marks a new and decisive step towards hero worship,²⁴ although the journey motifs (which are distinctive features of popular Pauline traditions from the scholastic Pauline schools) are retained. Thus the Pauline

18 Cf. H.Merklein, "Paulinische Theologie in der Rezeption des Kolosser- und Epheserbriefes", Paulus in den neutestamentlichen Spätschriften, ed. K.Kertelge, Freiburg / Basel / Wien 1981, 25-69. Cf. ch.1, n.8.

19 Cf. ch.1, n.5.

20 Cf. ch.1, n.8 and 9.

21 Cf. W.Trilling, "Literarische Paulusimitation im 2 Thessalonischerbrief", Spätschriften, 146-156.

22 Cf. G.Lohfink, "Paulinischer Theologie in der Rezeption der Pastoralbriefe", Spätschriften, 70-121; P.Trummer, "Corpus Paulinum - Corpus Pastorale : Zur Ortung der Paulustradition in den Pastoralbriefen", Spätschriften, 122-145.

23 Cf. ch.1, n.14 and 15.

24 Cf. ch.2, n.15.

traditions in Acts play a significant role in the popular Pauline trajectory as an "expansion rather than a diminution of the influence of Paul".²⁵

25 Cf. Bauer, Orthodoxy, 219, "diminution of the Pauline sphere of influence, rather than expansion".

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