

THE TRACKING OF PARTICIPANTS WITH THE THIRD PERSON PRONOUN: A STUDY OF THE TEXT OF ACTS

Jenny READ-HEIMERDINGER

INTRODUCTION

The study proposed here is a technical one, whose purpose is to examine the use of the third person pronoun (αὐτός) as a device to track participants in the narrative of Acts. More specifically, leaving aside the rare occurrences of αὐτός as a subject pronoun, analysis will be made of the use of αὐτός to designate participants as the direct object (in the accusative) or indirect object (in the dative, or preceded by a preposition) of a verb. It is possible, and even good style in Greek, to leave out the pronoun if the meaning is clear, as frequently happens after a verb with the same object as the preceding one, for example. This does not always happen, however, and in the narrative of Acts there are a number of variant readings on this point. Rather than summarily conclude that it is simply a matter of style and that scribes imposed their own habits on their copies of the text, it is more prudent to examine the question in detail. The starting point is to look at the pattern of use in the non-variant text in order to establish if particular circumstances call for omission of the pronoun or, on the contrary, its repetition; and the second step is to compare the variant readings with the non-variant text. In order to work from a controlled quantity of data, a representative manuscript will be taken from each of the two main textual traditions of Acts: Codex Vaticanus (B03) for the Alexandrian text will be compared with Codex Bezae (D05) as the only Greek manuscript of the so-called 'Western' text, bearing in mind that in the latter there are lacunae at 8,29–10,14; 21,2-10; 22,11-20; 22,29–end.

To restate the problem under investigation: when a participant is the object, direct or indirect, of two or more verbs in succession, it is not obligatory for the participant to be specified more than once. The first reference is either by name or by third person pronoun in the appropriate case; when the reference is repeated, the third person pronoun is used in the appropriate case. The study looks at why the reference is repeated on some occasions and not on others. While the data examined are restricted to that of the book of Acts, the findings may be used subsequently to deduce patterns of use in other writings.

All the occurrences in Acts of the third person object pronoun will be examined, and classified according to various categories. For ease of reference, the full list is given at the end of the study with the section in which each is discussed. The following abbreviations of grammatical terms will be used:

acc.	accusative
dat.	dative
gen.	genitive
inf.	infinitive
part.	participle
prep.	preposition
pro.	pronoun
vb	finite verb

1. *The Second Verb is a Verb of Saying*

The situation under consideration occurs when a participant undergoes action as the object (direct or indirect) of a verb and then, in the following verb, is addressed in direct speech. The participant could be specified after the second verb using the third person dative pronoun.

Non-variant text

RULE 1: when the second verb is one of speaking, the pronoun is generally omitted: 1,6.10; 3,4; 4,8; 5,20.40; 13,2.10; 14,9; 15,13; 17,19.

For example:

1,10: *καὶ ὡς ἀπενίζοντες ἦσαν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν πορευομένου αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄνδρες δύο παρειστήκεισαν αὐτοῖς ἐν ἐσθήσεσι λευκαῖς (-ἦτι -κῆ D05), οἱ καὶ εἶπαν...*

Observations

Two references in the above list require further comment.

At 5,40, the verb of speaking is the third in a series of verbs which have the same object; the apostles are the direct object of the first, second and fourth verbs, and the implied addressee of the third verb of speaking. They are explicit after the first verb (and also the fourth in D05):

5,40: *καὶ προσκαλεσάμενοι τοὺς ἀποστόλους δείραντες παρήγγειλαν μὴ λαλεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ ἀπέλυσαν (+ αὐτοὺς D05).*

In this instance, even though the verb *παρήγγειλαν* requires the dative pronoun (indirect object), the addressee is not made explicit, following the general rule after verbs of speaking. The pronoun after the fourth verb in D05 is expected given the change from indirect to direct object (cf. § 3b below). It may be observed that in D05 the apostles are again spelt out with the nominative noun, *οἱ ἀπόστολοι*, in the following clause (5,41).

The text of 17,19 varies considerably in the first half of the verse. The absence of the pronoun after the participle *λέγοντες* in B03 follows the rule, even though it is the third verb of the sentence:

17,19 B03: *ἐπιλαβόμενοι τε αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν ἄρειον Πάγον ἤγαγον λέγοντες...*

Compare 17,19 D05: Μετὰ δὲ ἡμέρας τινὰς ἐπιλαβόμενοι αὐτοῦ ἤγαγον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ Ἄρειον Πάγον πυνθανόμενοι καὶ λέγοντες...

The text of D05 is even more striking, for there the verb of speaking is the fourth in a series (see § 3b below), yet the pronoun is not specified.

There are occasional exceptions to the above rule in the non-variant text, that is, instances of the pronoun being used to refer to the addressee if they have already been specified as the object of the previous verb, but only in particular circumstances.

At 12,17, the dative pronoun is included after the verb διηγῆσατο:

12,17 B03: κατασείσας δὲ αὐτοῖς τῇ χειρὶ σιγᾶν διηγῆσατο αὐτοῖς...

Compare 12,17 D05: κατασείσας δὲ αὐτοῖς τῇ χειρὶ ἵνα σιγῶσιν εἰσηλθεν καὶ διηγῆσατο αὐτοῖς...

In B03, the second dative pronoun is anomalous since the addressees have just been specified with the dative pronoun following the previous verb; in fact, the pronoun is omitted by a number of manuscripts including $\aleph 01$, and is placed in square brackets in ²⁷N-A as an indication of the uncertainty over the reading. Its presence in D05 is normal for there is an additional finite verb separating the two verbs κατασείσας and διηγῆσατο.

In the second part of 19,1 (the only part for B03), the people addressed are encountered for the first time as new participants on the scene as the direct object of the first verb that precedes the one of speaking. This factor may account for the use of the pronoun after the verb of speaking:

19,1b B03: Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ τὸν Ἀπολλῶ εἶναι ἐν Κορίνθῳ Παῦλον διελθόντα τὰ ἀνωτερικὰ μέρη ἐλθεῖν εἰς Ἔφεσον καὶ εὐρεῖν τινὰς μαθητὰς εἰπέν τε πρὸς αὐτούς...

Compare 19,1b D05: διελθὼν δὲ τὰ ἀνωτερικὰ μέρη ἔρχεται εἰς Ἔφεσον καὶ εὐρὼν τινὰς μαθητὰς εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς...

Variant readings

The pronoun is included in D05 but not in B03 at 3,3; 10,19; 16,30; 22,26.

At 3,3, two successive verbs have Peter and John as direct objects, where the second verb is one of asking:

3,3 D05: οὗτος ἀτενίσας τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἰδὼν Πέτρον καὶ Ἰωάννην ..., ἠρώτα αὐτούς ἐλεημοσύνην.

Compare 3,3 B03: ὃς ἰδὼν Πέτρον καὶ Ἰωάννην ..., ἠρώτα ἐλεημοσύνην λαβεῖν.

B03 does not include the pronoun to make explicit the addressee, whereas D05 does. The reason for D05 including the pronoun lies with the heightened prominence given to the apostles in the narrative of this text – it was Peter and John that the lame man was specifically waiting for at the gate of the Temple (cf. 3,2 D05: ...τοῦ αἰτεῖν ἐλεημοσύνην παρ' αὐτῶν (= Peter and John). εἰσπορευομένων αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, οὗτος ἀτενίσας τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἰδὼν Πέτρον καὶ Ἰωάννην κτλ.).¹

1. See J. RIUS-CAMPS and J. READ-HEIMERDINGER, *The Message of Acts in Codex Bezae: A Comparison with the Alexandrian Tradition* (JSNT Sup. 257; London: T&T Clark, 2004) I, pp. 206-207; 210-213.

At 16,30, the third person pronoun may be repeated in D05 because of a participial clause intervening between the first verb and the verb of speaking:

16,30 D05: *καὶ προήγαγεν αὐτοὺς ἔξω τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀσφαλίσταμος καὶ (adv.) εἶπεν αὐτοῖς...*

Compare 16,30 B03: *καὶ προαγαγὼν αὐτοὺς ἔξω ἔφη...*

At 22,26, the use of the pronoun after the verb of speaking in D05 can be explained by the fact that the words spoken have already been reported in indirect speech earlier in the sentence. Thus, the pronoun emphasizes that what the centurion heard, he repeats to the tribune:

22,26 D05: *τοῦτο ἀκούσας ὁ ἑκατοντάρχης ὅτι Ῥωμαῖον ἑαυτὸν λέγει προσελθὼν τῷ χιλιάρχῳ ἀπήγγειλεν αὐτῷ: Ὅρα τί μέλλεις ποιεῖν: ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος Ῥωμαῖός ἐστιν.*

Compare 22,26 B03: *ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ ἑκατοντάρχης προσελθὼν τῷ χιλιάρχῳ ἀπήγγειλεν λέγων: Τί μέλλεις ποιεῖν; ὁ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος Ῥωμαῖός ἐστιν.*

2. *The Second Verb is παρακαλέω*

A particular case arises when the second verb is *παρακαλέω*, often followed by a verb of speaking. On each occasion, variant readings are involved.

Variant readings

Variant readings occur as follows: 8,18-19; 16,9.39a.39b.40; 20,1

An examination of these occurrences of *παρακαλέω* shows that whenever it is found as the second verb alongside another verb of speaking, the texts disagree over the presence of the pronoun. A general rule emerges, however:

RULE 2: the pronoun is not included after *παρακαλέω* when it is the second verb.

This is particularly the case when *παρακαλέω* is found alongside a verb of speaking. Where the pronoun is present, it is because particular circumstances require it.

At 8,18-19, D05 omits the pronoun after *παρακαλέω* where the verb is not read by B03:

8,18-19 D05: *προσήνεγκεν αὐτοῖς χρήματα παρακαλῶν καὶ λέγων...*

Compare 8,18-19 B03: *προσήνεγκεν αὐτοῖς χρήματα λέγων...*

The pronoun is repeated after the verb of speaking *λέγων* in neither text, following the general rule observed in § 1 above.

At 16,9, D05 omits the pronoun after *παρακαλέω* where B03 has the pronoun:

16,9 D05: *ἐν ὄραματι διὰ νυκτὸς ὤφθη τῷ Παύλῳ ὡσεὶ ἀνὴρ Μακεδῶν τις ἐστὼς κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ παρακαλῶν καὶ λέγων...*

Compare 16,9 B03: *ὄραμα διὰ νυκτὸς τῷ Παύλῳ ὤφθη, ἀνὴρ Μακεδῶν τις ἦν ἐστὼς καὶ παρακαλῶν αὐτὸν καὶ λέγων...*

In D05, the Macedonian is the subject of the main verb *ὤφθη* of which Paul is the indirect object, as well as of the two participles *παρακαλῶν καὶ λέγων* of which Paul is the implied object. The different construction in B03, however, means that the Macedonian is not the subject of *ὤφθη*, and that Paul thus needs to be specified as the object of the participle *παρακαλῶν*.

At 16,39, D05 twice includes the pronoun after *παρακαλέω*:

16,39a.b D05: *καὶ παραγενόμενοι μετὰ φίλων πολλῶν εἰς τὴν φυλακὴν παρεκάλεσαν αὐτοὺς ἐξελεθεῖν εἰπόντες: Ἦγνοήσαμεν... καὶ ἐξαγαγόντες παρεκάλεσαν αὐτοὺς λέγοντες...*

Compare 16,39a.b B03: *καὶ ἐλθόντες παρεκάλεσαν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐξαγαγόντες ἡρώτων...*

At the first occurrence of *παρακαλέω* in D05, the subject is the magistrates and since the participants referred to as *αὐτοὺς* (Paul and Barnabas) have not been mentioned with a preceding verb, the pronoun is expected. At the second occurrence, the pronoun is associated with three verbs (*ἐξαγαγόντες*, *παρακάλεσαν*, *λέγοντες*) and the choice to place the pronoun with *παρακάλεσαν*, especially in view of the repetition of the clause in the previous sentence, confers on it particular emphasis (cf. 16,40 below). In accordance with the rule of § 1, the pronoun is not repeated after the verb of speaking at either occurrence (*εἰπόντες*, *λέγοντες*). The question of the omission of the pronoun with a series of three verbs is looked at below (§ 4).

B03 reads here only the first occurrence of *παρακαλέω* as a verb on its own, with the meaning not so much of ‘begged’ as in D05 but of ‘called them’, and the pronoun is expected since the verb is the only one.

Twice *παρακαλέω* is found on its own, not accompanying a verb of speaking: 16,40; 20,1 B03.

At 16,40, the object pronoun is read by D05, but not by B03:

16,40 D05: *καὶ ἰδόντες τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς διηγῆσαντο ὅσα ἐποίησεν κύριος αὐτοῖς. παρακαλέσαντες αὐτοὺς καὶ (adv.) ἐξῆλθαν.*

Compare 16,40 B03: *καὶ ἰδόντες παρεκάλεσαν τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς καὶ ἐξῆλθαν.*

In B03, the direct object *τοὺς ἀδελφούς* serves both the participle *ἰδόντες* and the verb *παρακάλεσαν*. In D05, the pronoun *αὐτοὺς* following *παρακαλέσαντες* is accounted for by the fact that a sentence in indirect speech separates the pronoun from its referent *τοὺς ἀδελφούς*.

At 20,1 the pronoun is *not* read by B03 after the verb *παρακαλέω*:

20,1 B03: *μεταπεμψάμενος ὁ Παῦλος τοὺς μαθητὰς καὶ παρακαλέσας ἀσπασάμενος ἐξῆλθεν πορεύεσθαι εἰς Μακεδονίαν.*

Compare 20,1 D05: *προσκαλεσάμενος Παῦλος τοὺς μαθητὰς καὶ πολλὰ παρακελεύσας ἀποσπασάμενος ἐξῆλθεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν.*

The direct object of *παρακαλέσας* has already been specified (*τοὺς μαθητὰς*) as the direct object of the preceding participle *μεταπεμψάμενος* and, in accordance with the rule observed below (§ 3) is not repeated.

D05 reads the verb *παρακελεύω*, ‘give instructions’, of which the direct object is *πολλά*.

3. Two Successive Verbs (Excluding Verbs of Saying)

a) *The Pronoun is Omitted after the Second Verb*

Non-variant text

At the following places, the object pronoun is omitted after the second verb (its form, had it been present, is given in italics):

Table 1
Omission of pronoun after second verb

Ref.	1 st vb form	noun/pro.	2nd vb form	noun/pro.
4,3	vb (part. D05)	dat. pro.	vb	acc. pro.
5,2	part.	acc. noun	vb	acc. pro.
5,15	inf.	acc. noun	inf.	acc. pro.
5,27	part.	acc. pro.	vb	acc. pro.
6,12	vb	acc. pro.	vb	acc. pro.
8,3	part.	acc. noun	part.	acc. pro.
12,19	part.	acc. pro.	part.	acc. pro.
13,3	part.	dat. pro.	vb	acc. pro.
14,19	part.	acc. noun	vb	acc. pro.
15,32	vb	acc. noun	vb	acc. pro.
16,32	part.	acc. pro.	vb	acc. pro.
17,15a	part.	acc. noun	vb	acc. pro.
18,17	part.	acc. noun	vb	acc. pro.
21,33	vb	gen. pro.	inf.	acc. pro.

On the majority of occasions, the omitted pronoun corresponds to the direct object of the second verb, where this is also the function of the referent with respect to the first verb. This is RULE 3a: the pronoun is omitted after the second verb when it is the direct object of both verbs. Whether the verb is a finite verb, infinitive or a participle seems to have no bearing on the presence of the second pronoun.

Observations

In an additional example at 16,3, the noun/pronoun is not specified after the first verb, but is after the second (part. – acc. – vb + acc. pro.):

16,3: τοῦτον ἠθέλησεν ὁ Παῦλος σὺν αὐτῷ ἐξελεῖν, καὶ λαβὼν περιέτεμεν αὐτόν.

The same rule as above applies, though the order of verbs (with or without direct object pronoun) is reversed. This is apparently because the verb περιτέμνω follows the participle immediately and is the key action. In all the other cases, it is the first verb that is the most important action, or the second verb follows after an intervening phrase.

Three references in the table, 4,3; 13,3; 21,33, omit the direct object pronoun after the second verb but in these cases the first pronoun is the indirect object. All three examples express similar ideas. At 4,3 and 13,3, the first verb expresses like ideas (καὶ ἐπέβαλον [ἐπιβαλόντες D05] αὐτοῖς τὰς χεῖρας / καὶ ἐπιθέντες τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῖς), and is followed by the indirect object; the second verb (καὶ ἔθεντο εἰς τήρησιν / ἀπέλυσαν [om. D05, probably accidentally]) follows without the direct object being specified. At 21,33, the situation is comparable though not identical to 4,3 and 13,3: the first verb is one of arrest followed by the indirect object, ἐπελάβετο αὐτοῦ, and the second verb δεθῆναι follows without the direct object being specified. These three examples may be contrasted with 5,18 below (§ 4b), *Non-variant text*) where the verb ἐπέβαλον is followed by ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀποστόλους and the next verb repeats the accusative pronoun αὐτούς.

An additional exception occurs at 20,10, where the object (Eutyches) is specified after the first verb alone, even though the second verb requires a change of case:

20,10 B03: καταβάς δὲ ὁ Παῦλος ἐπέπεσεν αὐτῷ καὶ συμπεριλαβὼν εἶπεν...

Compare 20,10 D05: καταβάς δὲ ὁ Παῦλος ἔπεσεν ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ συμπεριλαβὼν καὶ (adv.) εἶπεν...

The pronoun is in the dative, with or without the preposition ἐπί, following the finite verb (ἐπ)έπεσεν. It is omitted after the participle συμπεριλαβὼν, where the accusative would be required. Because the accusative would normally be expected in view of the change of case, its omission has the effect of taking attention away from Paul's holding of the young man and focusing it instead on his next action of speaking to the onlookers. The focus is underlined in D05 by the adverbial καὶ before εἶπεν.² The absence of pronoun after the verb of speaking εἶπεν is due to the fact that the addressee is the onlookers in general, and not because it is the same object as the object of the previous verbs (cf. § 1).

b) *The Pronoun is Included after the Second Verb*

Non-variant text

Table 2
Repetition of pronoun after second verb

<i>Ref.</i>	<i>1st vb form</i>	<i>noun/pro.</i>	<i>2nd vb form</i>	<i>noun/pro.</i>
5,18	vb	prep. + acc. pro.	vb	acc. pro.
8,2	part.	acc. noun	vb	prep. + dat. pro.
13,43	vb	dat. pro.	part.	acc. pro.
13,50	vb	prep. + acc. noun	vb	acc. pro.
14,23	part.	dat. pro.	vb	acc. pro.
16,29	vb	dat. noun	vb	acc. pro.
17,2	vb	prep. + acc. pro.	vb	dat. pro.
17,9	part.	prep. + gen. noun	vb	acc. pro.
20,37	part.	gen. pro.	vb	acc. pro.
22,24	inf.	acc. pro.	inf.	acc. pro.

In all of these instances except 22,24, the role of the noun/pronoun is not identical with respect to both verbs: the case may be different or there may be a preposition following one of the verbs. RULE 3b: The pronoun is included after the second verb if the case is different from required by the first verb, or if a preposition is necessary after one of the verbs.

2. For detailed analysis of adverbial καὶ between a participle and a finite verb in Codex Bezae, see J. READ-HEIMERDINGER, *A Contribution of Discourse Analysis to Textual Criticism: The Bezan Text of Acts* (JSNTSup, 236; Sheffield: SAP, 2002), pp. 208-211.

Observations

At 22,24, the direct object pronoun is repeated after two successive infinitives, where the repetition can be accounted for by the fact that the infinitives are separated by a participle in a new clause:

22,24: ἐκέλευσεν ὁ χιλιάρχος εἰσάγεσθαι αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν παρεμβολήν, εἶπας μάλιστα ἀνετάξεσθαι (-ζειν D05) αὐτόν.

Variant readings

3,7; 18,12; 21,30

Two verbs are used successively at 3,7 with the same subject, Peter, and the same direct object (the lame man):

3,7 B03: καὶ πιάσας αὐτὸν τῆς δεξιᾶς χειρὸς ἤγειρεν αὐτόν.

Compare 3,7 D05: καὶ πιάσας αὐτὸν τῆς δεξιᾶς χειρὸς ἠ΄γειρεν.

The man is referred to with the accusative pronoun after the first verb, πιάσας; the pronoun is omitted by D05 with the second verb, ἤγειρεν, but included in B03. The omission of the pronoun tends to direct attention to Peter's first action, the shocking gesture of touching an unclean man; the unusual inclusion, on the contrary, underlines the raising of the man.

At 17,19a, material absent from B03 involves a repetition of the pronoun referring to Paul with two successive verbs:

17,19a D05: Μετὰ δὲ ἡμέρας τινὰς ἐπιλαβόμενοι αὐτοῦ ἤγαγον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ Ἄρειον Πάγον πυνθανόμενοι καὶ λέγοντες...

The pronoun is repeated because a change of case is required. The absence of a pronoun after the two verbs of speaking is in accordance with Rule 1.

At 18,12 B03, there is a straightforward occurrence of the pronoun after the second verb because of a change in case from that required after the first verb (vb + dat. noun – vb + acc. pro.). At 18,12 D05, the situation is more complex, for there are three verbs instead of two and the pronoun is omitted after the second but not the third verb (cf. § 4b below):

18,12 B03: κατεπέστησαν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ὁμοθυμαδὸν τῷ Παύλῳ καὶ ἤγαγον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα.

Compare 18,12 D05: κατεπέστησαν ὁμοθυμαδὸν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι συναλήσαντες μεθ' ἑαυτῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Παῦλον καὶ ἐπιθέντες τὰς χεῖρας ἤγαγον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα.

As in the examples of § 3a above, the omitted pronoun following the second verb ἐπιθέντες would have been in the same case with the same preposition as that which belongs to the first verb (κατεπέστησαν ... ἐπὶ τὸν Παῦλον). This may account for its omission; in addition, the placing of ἐπὶ τὸν Παῦλον after the parenthetical participial phrase is implicitly dependent. The inclusion of the pronoun after the third verb ἤγαγον is expected, since here it is the simple direct object (acc. pro.) and no preposition is needed.

The pronoun is included after the second verb at 21,30 B03 because a different case is called for:

21,30 B03: καὶ ἐγένετο συνδρομὴ τοῦ λαοῦ, καὶ ἐπιλαβόμενοι τοῦ Παύλου εἶλον αὐτόν (om. D05) ἕξω τοῦ ἱεροῦ...

D05, however, omits the pronoun after the finite verb εἶλκον. This appears to contravene Rule 3b, but the context of physical attack is similar to that of 4,3; 13,3; 21,33 where, as noted above (§ 3a), the pronoun is omitted after the second verb despite a different case being required.

4. Three or More Successive Verbs

In general, the same rules as have been formulated for two successive verbs (§§ 3a and 3b) are equally valid for a series of three verbs or even more – RULE 4a: the pronoun is omitted with the second and successive verbs if the same case is required with no preposition; RULE 4b: it is included if there is a change of case or a preposition is required with one or more of the verbs.

a) The Pronoun is Not Included with the Second or Third (or Fourth) Verb

Non-variant text

There is only reference in this category, at 5,10.

At 5,10, Sapphira is established as the topic of the narrative (5,7-10), and is referred to by the accusative pronoun after the first verb:

5,10 B03: εἰσελθόντες δὲ οἱ νεανίσκοι εὗρον αὐτήν νεκρὰν καὶ ἐξενέγκαντες ἔθαψαν πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς.

Compare 5,10 D05: εἰσελθόντες δὲ οἱ νεανίσκοι εὗρον αὐτήν νεκρὰν καὶ συνστεύσαντες ἐξήνεγκαν καὶ ἔθαψαν πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς.

Sapphira is the direct object of each of the verbs, including the participle συνστεύσαντες in D05. The pronoun αὐτήν is used only after the first verb, and the pronoun is not repeated thereafter, except as the possessive genitive at the end of the sentence.

Variant readings

Variant readings occur at 11,25-26; 12,4.

At 11,25-26, B03 has three verbs of which Saul is the direct object:

11,25-26 B03: ἐξῆλθεν δὲ εἰς Ταρσὸν ἀναζητῆσαι Σαῦλον, καὶ εὗρων ἠγάγεον εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν.

Saul is mentioned after the infinitive ἀναζητῆσαι with the noun in the accusative, and is not explicitly referred to after the second and third verbs, εὗρων, ἠγάγεον. This is in accordance with Rule 4a, which states that the pronoun is omitted with the second and successive verbs if the same case is required with no preposition.

The sentence in D05 is more complex:

11,25-26 D05: ἀκούσας δὲ ὅτι Σαῦλός ἐστιν εἰς Θαρσὸν ἐξῆλθεν ἀναζητῶν αὐτόν. καὶ ὡς συντυχὼν παρεκάλεσεν (+ αὐτόν D^f) ἐλθεῖν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν.

Here, Saul is first mentioned as a nominative noun in a clause of indirect speech. The first occurrence of the pronoun thus arises as the direct object of the participle ἀναζητῶν. The absence of the dative pronoun with the following participle συντυχῶν is accounted for by the fact that, introduced by ὡς, the participle is an

oblique aside: ‘as if running into him by chance’.³ Its omission after the finite verb *παρεκάλεισεν* is expected in accordance with Rule 2.

At 12,4, there are four verbs, all referring to Peter as the direct object:

12,4 B03: ὄν καὶ πιάσας ἔθετο εἰς φυλακὴν παραδοὺς τέσσαρσιν τετραδίοις στρατιωτῶν φυλάσσειν αὐτόν.

Compare 12,4 D05: τοῦτον πιάσας ἔθετο εἰς φυλακὴν παραδοὺς τέσσαρσιν τετραδίοις στρατιωτῶν φυλάσσειν.

Peter is specified as the direct object after the first verb, with the relative pronoun in B03 and the demonstrative in D05. The pronoun is omitted after the second (*ἔθετο*) and the third (*παραδοὺς*) verbs; after the fourth verb (*φυλάσσειν*), B03 includes the pronoun but not D05. The inclusion of the pronoun can be explained by change of subject of the fourth verb (from Herod to the soldiers; cf. § 5 below). The omission of the pronoun in D05 may be due to the fact that it is Herod’s will that continues to be behind the action of the fourth verb; the initial demonstrative pronoun, more emphatic than the relative pronoun in B03, may also play a part.

b) *The Pronoun is Omitted from the Second but Included with the Third Verb*

Non-variant text

Table 3 sets out the successive verb forms with the dependent noun or pronoun; where it is omitted, the form it would have had is given in brackets.

Table 3
Pronoun omitted after second verb but not third.

<i>Ref.</i>	<i>1st vb form</i>	<i>noun/pro.</i>	<i>2nd vb form</i>	<i>noun/pro.</i>	<i>3rd vb form</i>	<i>noun/pro.</i>
16,19-20	part.	acc. noun	vb	(acc. pro.)	vb B03 part. D05	acc. pro.
16,23	part.	dat. pro.	vb	(acc. pro.)	inf.	acc. pro.
17,5-6	vb	acc. pro.	inf.	(acc. pro.)	part.	acc. pro.

At 16,19-20; 17,5-6, the participant is the direct object of each of the three verbs, and is specified with the first and the third, but not the second.

At 16,19-20, Paul and Silas are the direct object of three successive verbs as they arrested in Philippi:

16,19-20: ἐπιλαβόμενοι τὸν Παῦλον καὶ τὸν (*om.* D05) Σιλᾶν εἴλκυσαν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ προσαγαγόντες αὐτοὺς τοῖς στρατηγοῖς εἶπαν...

The accusative pronoun is omitted after the second verb *εἴλκυσαν* in accordance with Rule 3, for Paul and Silas are the direct object of two successive verbs. They are also the direct object of the third verb *προσαγαγόντες*, where they are referred to

3. See J. RIUS-CAMPS and J. READ-HEIMERDINGER, *The Message of Acts: A Comparison with the Alexandrian Tradition* (LNTS 302; London: T&T Clark, 2006), II, pp. 315-318.

with the accusative pronoun. This can be explained by the change from the general intention expressed by the second verb (to drag Paul and Silas before the rulers in the agora) to the specific outcome expressed by the third (they present them to the magistrates).

At 17,5-6, the pronoun referring to Paul and Silas is made explicit with the third verb, because at that point they are being contrasted with other participants, Jason and some brethren:

17,5-6: ἐξήτουν αὐτοὺς προαγαγεῖν (ἐξ- D05) εἰς τὸν δῆμον: μὴ εὐρόντες δὲ αὐτοὺς ἔσουρον Ἰάσονα καὶ τινας ἀδελφούς...

At 16,23, the situation is more complex:

16,23: πολλὰς τε (δὲ B03) ἐπιθέντες αὐτοῖς πλιγὰς ἔβαλον εἰς φυλακὴν παραγγείλαντες τῷ δεσμοφύλακι ἀσφαλῶς τηρεῖν (τηρεῖσθαι D05) αὐτούς

Paul and Silas are again the object of the three verbs, expressed with the dative pronoun after the first, ἐπιθέντες; the second requires the accusative pronoun but is omitted; the third, an infinitive, has a change of subject – in B03, from the soldiers to the jailor, so it is normal for it to be specified; in D05, the infinitive is passive, with Paul and Silas as the subject, expressed by the accusative pronoun αὐτούς. The omission of the direct object pronoun after ἔβαλον, despite a change of case from its presence with the previous verb, may be compared to the other examples of 4,3 and 21,33 cited at § 3a above, where the pronoun was omitted despite a change in case and where, as here at 16,23, the verbs express actions of persecution.

Variant readings

Variant readings occur at 2,45; 7,57-58.

At 2,45, the pattern of omitting the pronoun after the second verb but including it with the third is found in D05: vb – acc. noun + vb – vb – acc. pro. In this instance, the direct object noun of the first verb is referred as the object of the second and third verbs equally:

2,45 D05: καὶ ὅσοι κτήματα εἶχον ἢ ὑπάρξεις ἐπίπρασκον καὶ διεμέριζον αὐτά.

The neuter accusative pronoun αὐτά refers to κτήματα, ἢ ὑπάρξεις being an aside; it may be that the pronoun is included with the third verb (jointly with the second) because of the intervening aside.

In B03, the sentence is structured differently, without the first verb of D05, and here the repetition of the pronoun is anomalous:

2,45 B03: καὶ τὰ κτήματα καὶ τὰς ὑπάρξεις ἐπίπρασκον καὶ διεμέριζον αὐτά.

In this text, τὰ κτήματα as well as τὰς ὑπάρξεις are the direct objects of the verb ἐπίπρασκον. The first oddity is that the neuter accusative pronoun αὐτά can refer only to τὰ κτήματα. The second oddity is that the inclusion of the pronoun after the second verb is contrary to the pattern seen at § 3 above, namely, that when the noun/pronoun is the direct object of two successive verbs, the pronoun is omitted after the second verb.

At 7,57-58, D05 omits the pronoun with the second verb but includes it with the third (vb – prep. + acc. noun – part. – vb. acc. pro.), whereas B03 omits it with both the second and the third verbs:

7,57-58: καὶ ὄρμησαν ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐπ' αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκβαλόντες ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐλιθοβόλουν αὐτόν (*om.* B03).

The absence of the pronoun with the second verb ἐκβαλόντες is similar to its absence with other occurrences of verbs such as ἐκβάλλω (cf. 4.3, § 3a; or 12.7, § 4c). However, the omission of the pronoun in B03 with the third verb is anomalous.

c) *The Pronoun is Included with all Three Verbs*

Table 4
Pronoun included after second and third verbs

<i>Ref.</i>	<i>1st vb form</i>	<i>noun/pro.</i>	<i>2nd vb form</i>	<i>noun/pro.</i>	<i>3rd vb form</i>	<i>noun/pro.</i>
18,26	part.	gen. pro.	vb	acc. pro.	vb	dat. pro.
19,16	part	prep. + acc. pro.	part.	gen. pro.	vb	prep. + gen. pro.

In both cases, there is a change of case and/or preposition from one verb to another. This change justifies the repetition of the pronoun.

18,26: ἀκούσαντες δὲ αὐτοῦ Πρίσκιλλα καὶ Ἀκύλας (Ἰ. Α. κ. Π. D05) προσελάβοντο αὐτόν καὶ ἀκριβέστερον αὐτῷ ἐξέθεντο τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ θεοῦ (*om.* D05).

19,16: καὶ ἐφαλόμενος (ἐν- D05) ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐπ' αὐτούς (εἰς αὐτούς ὁ ἄνθρ. D05) ἐν ᾧ ἦν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ πονηρὸν κατακυριεύσας (κυριεύσας D05) ἀμφοτέρων ἰσχυσεν κατ' αὐτῶν.

5. *Change of Subject*

When the object of two or more successive verbs is the same but there is a change of subject, then the pronoun is repeated, e.g. 5,27:

5,27: ἀγαγόντες δὲ αὐτούς ἔστησαν ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ καὶ ἐπηρώτησεν αὐτούς ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς (ιερεὺς D05) λέγων...

This rule also accounts for those instances where a subject of an introductory genitive absolute becomes the object of the following verb at 10,19; 18,6b,27; 19,1a D05

By definition, the genitive absolute implies a change of subject in the main verb and so it is normal for the object pronoun to be made explicit even though it refers to the just mentioned subject of the genitive absolute.

At 10,19, the first mention of the participant, Peter, is by his name in a genitive absolute clause; D05 then includes the pronoun as the addressee of the verb of speaking, though B03 omits it:

10,19: τοῦ δὲ Πέτρου διενθυμουμένου περὶ τοῦ ὀράματος εἶπεν (+ αὐτῷ D05/801) τὸ πνεῦμα...

At 18,6b, the pronoun is used to specify the participant addressed by Paul although they have been mentioned in the previous clause. On this occasion the participant has not undergone previous action, but rather was mentioned as a pronoun in a genitive absolute clause:

18,6: ἀντιπασσομένων δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ βλασφημούντων ἐκτιναξάμενος (+ ὁ Παῦλος D05) τὰ ἴματα (+ αὐτοῦ D05) εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς...

A similar instance of a genitive absolute clause, where the subject in the genitive becomes the addressee of the main verb, occurs in supplementary material at 19,1a D05. Here, the pronoun is used for the addressee, Paul, who was previously mentioned in a genitive absolute clause:

19,1a D05: Θέλοντος δὲ τοῦ Παύλου κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν βουλήν πορευέσθαι εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα εἶπεν αὐτῷ τὸ πνεῦμα...

Variant readings

At several places, variant readings arise in the context of a genitive absolute where the repetition of the pronoun is a relevant issue: 1,9; 4,1; 18,20; 19,30.

At 1,9, D05 has a genitive absolute with Jesus as the subject and then as the direct object of the main verb. B03 words the sentence differently and does not have two references to Jesus with a pronoun:

1,9 D05: κἀντὰ εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ νεφέλη ὑπέλαβεν αὐτόν...

Compare 1,9 B03: καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν βλέπόντων αὐτῶν ἐπήρθη καὶ νεφέλη ὑπέλαβεν αὐτόν...

The pronoun is repeated in D05 since there is a change of subject (Rule 5).

At 4,1, the sentence begins with a genitive absolute where Peter and the other apostles are talking to the people:

4,1 D05: Λαλούντων δὲ αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸν λαὸν τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα ἐπέστησαν οἱ ἱερεῖς...

Compare 4,1 B03: Λαλούντων δὲ αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸν λαὸν ἐπέστησαν αὐτοῖς οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς...

Following the main verb, ἐπέστησαν, B03 refers to the apostles with the indirect object, αὐτοῖς, taking the verb with the meaning ‘approach someone’.⁴ D05 has no pronoun following ἐπέστησαν, but the reason for that is not that it chooses to omit it (which would be an anomaly given the rule elucidated [Rule 5] here concerning change of subject) but rather that the verb is taken as standing on its own, meaning ‘appear’, with no object. Comparison may be made with a similar absolute use of the verb at 6,12, where no indirect object is mentioned because the verb has the sense of ‘appear’.

Following the genitive absolute at 18,20, D05 repeats the third person subject pronoun in a prepositional phrase dependent on the following verb, where B03 omits it:

18,20 D05: ἐρωτώντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ πλείον χρόνον μεῖναι παρ’ αὐτοῖς (*om.* B03) ...

The omission by B03 is justified by the fact that the verb μεῖναι is being used in an absolute sense, without any need for an indirect object.

The construction of the genitive absolute at 19,30 is straightforward in B03, with the repetition of the genitive subject pronoun as the direct object of the main verb εἶων:

4. W. BAUER – W.F. ARNDT – F.W. GINGRICH, *A Greek English Lexicon of the New Testament*, s.v. ἐπίστημι, 1a.

19,30 B03: Παύλου δὲ βουλομένου εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὸν δῆμον οὐκ εἶων αὐτὸν οἱ μαθηταί.

Compare 19,30 D05: Βουλομένου δὲ τοῦ Παύλου εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὸν δῆμον οἱ μαθηταὶ ἐκώλυον.

D05 omits the accusative pronoun αὐτόν, using a different verb, κωλύω, in its absolute sense of ‘stand in the way’ (cf. Lk. 9,50).

6. *Special cases*

The opening verses of Acts, from 1,1b–5, form a long series of verbal forms, between which the connection is not always clear. The subject of them all is Jesus, and the object is the apostles, referred to initially in the dative (τοῖς ἀπόστολοις) in the second clause of v. 2. Thereafter, they are referred to with the relative pronouns (οὓς, οἷς), and then twice by the dative pronoun (αὐτοῖς). After the participle λέγων, v. 3, they are not specified, in accordance with the general rule for verbs of speaking (Rule 1). The same is true of a supplementary sentence in v. 2 D05: καὶ ἐκέλευσεν κηρύσσειν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον.

At one place, the MSS disagree over the presence of the pronoun:

1,4 B03: καὶ συναλιζόμενος παρήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς...

Compare 1,4 D05: καὶ συναλισκόμενος μετ’ αὐτῶν παρήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς...

In B03, the meaning of the participle συναλιζόμενος is uncertain.⁵ It may be ‘come together’ or ‘eat a meal with’; in either case, the singular is strange, standing as it does on its own without specifying with whom Jesus met; a pronoun with a preposition (whether σύν or μετά) is required. In view of this, it would be abnormal for the following αὐτοῖς to serve the participle as well as παρήγγειλεν since the dative pronoun is not appropriate for the participle (Rule 3b). In D05, it is conjectured that συναλισκόμενος arose through phonetic confusion with συναλιζόμενος, since the meaning of συναλισκομαι (‘be taken captive with’) is inappropriate here. On the other hand, the inclusion of μετ’ αὐτῶν is expected.

11,2 D05 is a verse that is considerably longer than in B03 where the complex series of sentences is omitted:

11,2 D05: Ὁ μὲν οὖν Πέτρος διὰ ἱκανοῦ χρόνου ἠθέλησε πορευθῆναι εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα: καὶ προσφώνησας τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς καὶ ἐπιστηρίξας αὐτούς, πολὺν λόγον ποιούμενος διὰ τῶν χωρῶν διδασκῶν αὐτούς: ὃς καὶ κατήνησεν αὐτοῦ (D^{si}, αὐτοῖς D*, eis d) καὶ ἀπήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ.

The conjecture of κατήνησεν αὐτοῦ (‘he arrived there’, taking αὐτοῦ as a locative) as the original reading of D05 in place of the manuscript reading αὐτοῖς, is made on the grounds that 1) καταντάω is always followed by εἰς/ἐπί + accusative and never the dative; 2) Luke is the only evangelist to use the verb καταντάω, and only in Acts (x 9 + x 3 D05), where he always uses εἰς + accusative except at 20,15 (ἀντικρως + genitive); 3) the repetition of αὐτοῖς referring to the indirect object of two successive

5. See RIUS-CAMPS and READ-HEIMERDINGER, *The Message of Acts in Codex Bezae*, I, p. 50.

verbs, with no intervening material, is anomalous according to the findings of this study (Rule 3b).

By understanding κατήντησεν αὐτοῖς as κ. αὐτοῦ in this way, the relationship between the various propositions of the sentence, as well as the referents of the pronouns, are clearer. Peter is the subject of the finite verb and its dependent infinitive, ἠθέλησε πορευθῆναι, and is taken up in a second main clause with a relative pronoun and a second finite verb, κατήντησεν. In the first main clause, there is a series of two aorist participles (προσφωνήσας, ἐπιστηριξάς), followed by two present participles (πιοῦμενος, διδάσκων). The direct object of the two aorist participles and also the present participles is τοὺς ἀδελφούς, first expressed with the accusative noun, then twice with the accusative pronoun. The repetition is explained by the immense importance of the action D05 attributes to Peter at this point: he is fulfilling the command Jesus gave to him at the Last Supper (Lk. 22,32), that when he ‘turned again’ he must ‘strengthen [your] brethren’ (στήρισον τοὺς ἀδελφούς σου).⁶ It is only here, in the Bezan text of Acts 11,2, that Peter is recorded as ‘strengthening (ἐπιστηριξάς) the brethren’, having finally understood that God accepted the Gentiles as equals to the Jews (10,34-35, cf. v. 47).

The final dative pronoun αὐτοῖς refers not to the brethren, as do the accusative pronouns in the first main clause, but to the people of Jerusalem to whom he announced the grace of God once he arrived there (κατήντησεν αὐτοῦ). The pronoun is expected since the referents have not been mentioned beforehand.

At 12,7, Peter undergoes a series of actions:

12,7: πατάξας (νύξας, D05) δὲ τὴν πλευρὰν τοῦ Πέτρου ἠγγειρεν αὐτὸν λέγων: Ἄνάστα ἐν τάχει. καὶ ἐξέπεσαν αὐτοῦ αἱ ἄλυσεις ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν (αἱ ἄλυσεις ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ, D05)

He is first specified by name in the genitive following πατάξας B03/νύξας D05 τὴν πλευρὰν τοῦ Πέτρου; thereafter the pronoun is used in the appropriate case, which changes from accusative following ἠγγειρεν to genitive. After the verb of speaking, λέγων, that intervenes between the second and third verbs, there is no pronoun, following Rule 1.

CONCLUSION

The following general rules emerge from the study, concerning the presence of the third person pronoun after a verb when the referent has already been specified in relation to the preceding verb. They may be described as the ‘default’ rules, or the ‘unmarked’ pattern of usage:

Rules

1. The pronoun is omitted when the second verb is one of speaking.
2. The pronoun is omitted after παρακαλέω.
- 3a. The pronoun is omitted after the second verb when it is the direct object of both the first and second verbs.

6. Further discussion of this verse is found in RIUS-CAMPS and READ-HEIMERDINGER, *The Message of Acts*, II, pp. 285-287; 291-294.

3b. The pronoun is included after the second verb if the case is different from that required by the first verb, or if a preposition is necessary after one of the verbs.

4a. The pronoun is omitted with the second and successive verbs if the same case is required with no preposition.

4b. The pronoun is included with second or successive verbs if there is a change of case, or a preposition is required with one or more of the verbs.

5. When the object of two or more successive verbs is the same but there is a change of subject, then the pronoun is repeated.

Two further comments of a general nature may be made: first, the presence of the pronoun is not affected by the form of the verbs, whether they be finite, infinitives or participles. Secondly, the variant readings can usually be accounted for by differences in the immediate context. It is the context that causes the pronoun to be omitted or included rather than an editor's or scribe's habit or style.

List of references

1. *After verbs of saying*

1,6.10; 3,4; 4,8; 5,20.40; 12,17; 13,2.10; 14,9; 15,13; 17,19; 19,1
vll: 3,3 D05; 10,19 D05; 16,30 D05; 22,26 D05

2. *After παρακαλέω*

8,18-19 D05; 16,9 D05.39a D05.39b D05.40 D05; 20,1; 16,40; 20,1 B03

3. *After a second verb not of saying*

a) Pronoun omitted: 4,3; 5,2.15.27; 6,12; 8,3; 12,19; 13,3; 14,19; 15,32; 16,3.33;
17,15a; 18,17; 20,10; 21,33

b) Pronoun included: 5,18; 8,2; 13,43.50; 14,23; 16,29; 17,2.9; 20,37; 22,24
vll: 3,7; 17,19a; 18,12; 21,30

4. *After three or more verbs*

a) Pronoun omitted after each verb: 5,10

vll: 11,25-26; 12,4

b) Pronoun omitted after second: 16,19-20.23; 17,5-6;

vll: 2,45; 7,57-58 D05

c) Pronoun included after each verb: 18,26; 19,16

5. *Two or more verbs with a different subject*

5,27; 10,19; 18,6b; 19,1a D05

vll: 1,9; 4,1; 18,20; 19,30

6. *Special cases*

1,1b-5

11,2 D05

12,7

Jenny READ-HEIMERDINGER

University of Wales

BANGOR LL572DG

United Kingdom

E-mail: rss04@bangor.ac.uk

Summary

The note examines Luke's use of the third person pronoun (αὐτός) as a device to track participants in the narrative of Acts. The study was prompted by the considerable amount of variation that exists among the principal manuscripts of Acts, concerning the repetition of the pronoun when it is the object of two or more successive verbs. A series of rules is identified by looking, first, at the occurrence of the pronoun in such circumstances in the text without variation. The variant readings involving the presence or absence of the pronoun are then considered in the light of the rules established. It is found that the variation is not due simply to scribal habit but can mostly be accounted for by variant readings in the immediate context. In the three manuscripts examined, the rules are followed with a high degree of consistency.

Resum

En la present nota s'examina l'ús que fa Lluç del pronom de tercera persona (αὐτός) com un mitjà de seguir el rastre dels participants en el relat d'Actes. El motiu d'aquest estudi ha estat el nombre considerable de variacions constatades entre els principals manuscrits d'Actes pel que fa a la repetició del pronom quan és l'objecte de dos o més verbs successius. Primerament, han estat identificades una sèrie de regles atenant a la presència del pronom en tals circumstàncies en el text que no presenta variants. Les lliçons variants que impliquen la presència o l'absència del pronom han estat considerades a la llum de les regles establertes. El resultat ha estat que no fou degut a un hàbit de copista, sinó que en la major part es poden explicar per la presència de lliçons variants en el context immediat. En els tres manuscrits examinats, les regles han estat respectades, amb un alt grau de coherència.