This thesis/dissertation has been
bound as it was received from the
author through the Graduate School.

Ad Theophilum: A Socio-Rhetorical Reading of Peter in Acts in Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of

Baylor University

In Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree

of

Doctor of Philosophy

By

Vaughn Eric CroweTipton

Waco, Texas

May 1999

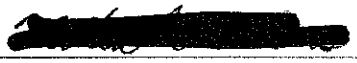
Copyright © 1999 by Vaughn Eric CroweTipton

All rights reserved

Approved by the Department of Religion:

J. Randall O'Brien, Th.D., Acting Chairperson

Approved by the Dissertation Committee:



Mikeal C. Parsons, Ph.D., Chairperson

R. Alan Culpepper, Ph.D.

Jeffrey S. Hamilton, Ph.D.

Approved by the Graduate School

Dean of the Graduate School
Larry Lyon, Ph.D.

ABSTRACT

Ad Theophilum: A Socio-Rhetorical Reading
of Peter in Acts in Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis

Vaughn Eric CroweTipton

Mentor: Mikeal C. Parsons, Ph.D.

This study is an exercise in biblical interpretation that focuses on the concepts of readers and meaning. Through the use of both literary and sociological models this study takes a particular given context for Codex Bezae and reads the manuscript in light of that context with three distinct yet intertwined horizons in view: the innertexture, the intertexture, and the extratexture.

The innertexture focuses on the level of the text itself and how the text teaches the authorial audience to read. The intertexture focuses on the use of significant intertexts, progenitors that have both influenced and were adapted by Codex Bezae and the authorial audience. The extratexture focuses on the cultural and social texts—social norms—that comprise the baggage the authorial audience brings to the reading process. These three horizons are intertwined to provide a holistic reading that attempts to account for each of these unique levels reading response.

After an introductory chapter to explain the purpose, approach, and scope of this study, chapter two develops the areas of the authorial audience's competency into two

areas: (1) external knowledge the reader is expected to bring to the text; and (2) internal knowledge the reader gains during the reading process. This chapter then traces the historical economy of knowledge of the authorial audience. Chapter three develops the authorial audience' s narrative economy of and concludes with an assessment of the reader and proposal for the exegetical work of this project.

Chapters four and five set the reading methodology into practice by examining the major character in the first half of Acts: Peter. These two chapters examine how the authorial audience would respond in a cumulative reading to this significant character and his role in the text given a cumulative reading strategy. Chapter six concludes this project by summarizing the findings of the previous chapters.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES vii

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS ix

DEDICATION xi

CHAPTER 1

1. INTRODUCTION 1

Justification of study 2

The Social Location of the Text 8

Method of Study 19

Narrative Description of Project 24

2. READING BETWEEN THE LINES: THE HISTORICAL COMPETENCY OF THE READER 26

Introduction 26

Locating the Reader: Reading Between the Lines 27

The Theoretical Model: Sectors of the Readers Location 31

The Background of the Period: The Third Century 31

The Background of the Period: The Fourth Century 38

The Rise of Constantine 41

The Reign of Theodosius 48

The Symbolic Universe of the Fourth Century 58

Conclusion 70

CHAPTER

3. READING THE LINES: THE LITERARY COMPETENCY OF THE READER 72

Introduction 72

Instability 75

Characterization 75

Reading a Character 79

Tension 83

Learning to Read the Text 83

The Narrator as Teacher 85

Degree of Perceptibility 89

Description of Setting 89

Identification of Characters 91

Temporal Summary 92

Definition of Character 92

Reports of What Characters Did Not Think or Say .. 94

Commentary 94

Reliability 97

Rhetorical Influences 99

Intertextuality 104

Conclusion 115

CHAPTER

4. THE READING OF THE WITNESSES:
THE ACTS OF PETER PART I 117

Introduction 117

The Metonymic Witness: Peter in Acts 120

The Function of Other Witnesses 122

The Pentecost Scene (2:14-47) 124

Inner Texture 125

Intertexture 129

Extratexture 134

Conclusion: Reading the Reader's Reading 138

The Healing of the Lame Man at the Temple (3:1-26) 139

Inner Texture 141

Intertexture 147

Extratexture 152

Conclusion: Reading the Reader's Reading 157

Peter and John Before The Council (4:1-31) 158

Inner Texture 159

Intertexture 167

Extratexture 173

Conclusion: Reading the Reader's Reading 179

The Scene with Ananias and Saphira (5:1-42) 180

Inner Texture 181

Intertexture 186

Extratexture 190

Conclusion: Reading the Reader's Reading 195

The Scene with Simon (8:9-24) 197

Inner Texture 197

Intertexture 207

Extratexture 210

Conclusion: Reading the Reader's Reading 212

Conclusion: A Reading of the Whole Reading 214

5. THE READING OF THE WITNESSES:
THE ACTS OF PETER PART II 219

Introduction 219

The Bezaen Lacuna and Its Effect 221

The Cornelius Scene (10:14-48 and 11:5-11) 225

Inner Texture 228

Intertexture 239

Extratexture 241

Conclusion: Reading the Reader's Reading 243

The Escape from the Powers of Herod (12:1-24) 245

Inner Texture 245

Intertexture 252

Extratexture 259

Conclusion: Reading the Reader's Reading 260

The Scene During the Jerusalem Council (15:1-12, 13-29) 262

Inner Texture 263

Intertexture 269

Extratexture 272

Conclusion: Reading the Reader's Reading 275

Conclusion: Reading the Reader's Whole Reading 276

6. Conclusion 279

Results of Study 280

Contributions to Scholarship 283

APPENDIX 286

WORKS CITED 304

TABLES

TABLE ..... Page

1. Bodily Zones and their Functions 153
2. The Labeling Process 176
3. Neutralization Strategies 177
4. Neutralization in Acts 4 178
5. Parallel Contrasts of a Witness in Acts 5 182
6. Verbs of Movement 237
7. Parallels Between Jesus and Peter in Chapter 12 258

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are no words that can adequately express the depth of my gratitude for the many people who have participated in the birth, nurturing, and culmination of this project. Like the lame man at the gate of the temple, my efforts were so often hindered by my own limitations, real and perceived. My friends, family, and advisors gave me all of what they had in the form of advice (both scholarly and personal), support, and encouragement. The words "thank you" seem small in light of what you have offered but they are sincere and they express the truth of what I feel, deep gratitude.

To my dissertation committee, for your generosity and support I can not thank you enough. Dr. Jeffrey S. Hamilton agreed to come on this committee once several chapters were already written. His guidance through the labyrinth of history and his knowledge of Latin were invaluable. Dr. R. Alan Culpepper graciously agreed to continue on my committee even once his work took him to serve as Dean of the MaCafee School of Theology at Mercer University. His scholarship and sage advice through the process has made this work better than the sum of its parts. Finally, Dr. Mikeal Parsons has served as supervisor, mentor, and friend through both my years of coursework and this project. His critical and incisive comments as a scholar, knowledge of scholarship and of Acts, care and his sense of humor made this project possible.

Other teachers have participated in my growth as well: Dr. Roger Greene, Dr. Molly Marshall, Dr. Bill Leonard, Dr. Buddy Shurden, and many others. My good fortune at having a group of committed teachers and scholars to guide me along my educational sojourn was blessing every student should know. My classmates and peers at

Baylor University were of great support and provided academic challenges. To Nancy, Chris, Walter, Rudy, Carolyn, Craig, Cathy, Scott, Jerry, Kevin and many others, you have my thanks and my prayers as you forge your own careers. A special thanks also to Sandra Harman and, now, Clova Gibson, who always knew what, when, where, and how it had to be done. Their capable guidance in the graduate studies office helped me navigate the sometimes rough seas of policy and procedure.

Many others have participated in the completion of this study. My church family at Norwest Baptist Church in Ardmore, Oklahoma, has endured my schedule and need to be in the library throughout the end of this project. Their care, love, and support was always timely and needed. My friends and former colleagues at Mercer University offered me a teaching position to hone my skills and office space to complete the most tedious stages of this dissertation. They too gave personal support and much needed scholarly and post-doctoral wisdom.

To my mother I owe a deep dept of gratitude. Since my childhood days she instilled in me a belief that I could and would one day write. I hope this study approximates her faith in me and my abilities. Most of all, however, I must thank my family. They have endured my odd hours and behavior through the years of research and writing. The sacrifices they have given are unequalled. Beverly, my wife, has sacrificed of her time and has worked diligently to compensate financially and relationally in our home. My children, Jared and Abby, have patiently waited as I have worked on this project. I commend them for patience well beyond their years. They are a joy in my life. It is finally, however, to Beverly that I dedicate this work. Thank you for your dedication, love, patience, and encouragement.

To Beverly,

Wife, lover, companion, and friend.

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis is an uncial diglot manuscript written in sense lines.[1] It is considered by many the most controversial of the New Testament uncials.[2] Written on parchment, Codex Bezae, or D, contains both the Gospels and Acts[3] and is the principal witness of the so-called 'Western' text. Previous studies of the text in D have tended to place the manuscript's importance and relevance in the stratum of whether or not it contains the *original* text of Acts.[4]

Eldon Epp's 1966 study of the theological tendencies of the Acts text in D, however, signaled a change in how one might look at this manuscript. Epp has argued persuasively that it is the inner consistency and meaning of D that must be the primary concern:

---

[1]The edition used in this study is F. H. Scrivner, ed., *Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis: Being an Exact Copy in Ordinary Type* (Cambridge, 1864, reprint ed., Pittsburgh, Pa.: Pickwick Press, 1978). For a photographic reproduction see *Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis Quattuor Evangelia et Actus Apostolorum complectens Graece et Latine phototypice repraesentatus* (Cambridge, 1899). John H. Yoder ("The Language of the Greek Variants of Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis" [Th.D. Thesis, Princeton Theological Seminary, 1958]) offers a list of corrections to Scrivener's edition. These corrections will be noted where applicable.

[2]E.g., Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, *The Text of the New Testament: An Introduction to Critical Editions and to the Theory and Practice of Modern Textual Criticism*, trans. Erroll F. Rhoads (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 108.

[3]The following sections, however, are lacunose: Matt 1:1-20, 3:7-16, 6:20-9:2, 27:2-12; Mark 16:15-20; John 1:16-3:26; Acts 8:29-10:14, 21:2-10, 16-18, 22:10-20, 22:29-28:20.

[4]For a recent overview of the many works that have approached D in this way, see the now published dissertation of W. A. Strange, *The Problem of the Text of Acts*, SNTSMS 71 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 1-34.

> [W]hy should an aberrant text of the New Testament not be studied with a view to ascertaining, for its own sake, the ideas or theological interests behind it? Need the dissident text be tried and judged only by the court of 'standard' and 'established' text without a chance to speak for itself?[5]

Although Epp's study is widely acclaimed, his lead is little followed.[6] The goal of this proposed study is to heed Epp's call by providing a comprehensive treatment of the concept of the reader(s) and offer a plausible readings(s) in the Acts narrative of D.

Justification of Study

The Apostolic Christianity revealed in Acts provided a canonical precedent for the early progenitors of orthodoxy. In fact, by appealing to the Acts of the Apostles, Eusebius, Origen, Hippolytus, Tertullian, Irenaeus, and Justin all embraced what became the classical view of the development of Christian theology down to the modern age. Not until Walter Bauer's *Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzerei im ältesten Christentum* did the classical view meet a serious challenge.[7]

While numerous points of Bauer's method have recently been questioned, his basic thesis stands: orthodoxy in the early Church was in the eye of the beholder. As Bart D. Ehrman in his recent work builds on this theory and has recently argued, "What later came to be known as orthodoxy was simply one among a number of competing

---

[5]Eldon J. Epp, *The Theological Tendencies of Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis in Acts*, SNTS 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), 21.

[6]Notable exceptions are George E. Rice, "The Alteration of Luke's Tradition by the Textual Variants in Codex Bezae," Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation (Case Western Reserve University, 1974) and Michael W. Holmes, "Early Textual Activity and the Text of Codex Bezae in Matthew," Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation (Princeton, 1984).

[7]Walter Bauer, *Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzerei im ältesten Christentum* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1938); all citations in this project will follow the English edition, *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity*, trans. Robert Kraft et al., ed. Robert Kraft and Gerhard Krodel (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971).

interpretations of Christianity."[8] According to Ehrman, the lack of theological precision in the early period of Christianity brought about widespread alteration of the texts of Scripture by the dominant groups of the day "in order to make [the texts] more orthodox on the one hand and less susceptible to heretical construal on the other."[9]

While this hypothesis is not new, it is surprising that few scholars have examined the New Testament manuscripts with this theory in view. Herein is the focus of this project, to understand what the Acts text of D *meant* to its original audience.[10] In other words, if, in fact, the scribes did alter texts like D in order to make them say what they were already taken to mean, what effect have these alterations made upon the *meaning* of the New Testament texts? This question has important ramifications, particularly from literary, theological, and sociological points of view.

The reason for choosing Codex Bezae is threefold. First, Bezae is an actual manuscript that avoids some of the methodological pitfalls of reading a scholarly (re)construction.[11] This issue is important in that it centers on a hermeneutical problem

---

[8]Bart D. Ehrman, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture: The Effect of Early Christological Controversies on the Text of the New Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 8.

[9]Ibid. See also J. Neville Birdsall, " The Western Text in the Second Century," in *Gospel Traditions in the Second Century: Origins, Recensions, Text, and Transmission*, Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity Vol 3, ed., William Peterson (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1989), 16.

[10]A search of *Dissertation Abstracts* and *Religion Index One* reveals no materials at all approaching this subject in the manner that I have proposed here. Discussions of D, as noted above, center solely on the textual contribution and veracity of the manuscript. My contribution is to understand the community and reading experience D would have provided that community.

[11]See Bruce Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the New Testament* (Stuttgart: United Bible Societies, 1971), for an overview of the compilation of the UBS text. My point is not to disdain the work of Metzger and others but simply to acknowledge the

inherent in all literary approaches to the New Testament. Nowhere is this issue more evident than in the dual textual tradition of Acts. To this point, literary theorists—and, in fact, most historical critics—have allowed this fallacy to stand in their work unnoticed. No *real reader* of antiquity ever read the UBS^4 or NA^{27} text of Acts. Moreover, within the pages of these *scholarly myths*, the story is changed, albeit only slightly in cases, so that the modern reader is essentially responding to an *eclectic* story (re)created by modern scholarship. This reality produces an inherent problem for scholars who argue for any kind of specific reading connected to an *original* audience. Take for example a recent argument by noted scholar Howard Clark Kee:

> What was the *Sitz-im-Leben* from which and for which Mark's gospel was written? To answer that question responsibly it is not sufficient to attach a general label to Mark—such as Hellenistic-Jewish-Christian, or Palestinian-Jewish-Christian. By analysis *of the text itself*, but with the aid of paradigms for the study of eschatological communities as well as historical analogies with apocalyptic communities close in space and time to primitive Christianity in the first century, it should be possible to trace the contours of Markan scholarship.[12]

To what text is Kee referring? Obviously he is pointing to the accepted scholarly eclectic text used across the board in biblical scholarship. Yet to accomplish the enterprise he is suggesting, that manuscript will produce different results than if his investigation focused on one particular manuscript. No real first-century reader ever read the UBS or Nestle

---

reality of the situation. As Metzger notes: "none of the original documents of the Bible exist today" and "the existing copies differ from one another" (xiii). At this time, scholarship has generally ignored this issue. Note, however, the recent question in the conclusion to his 1988 monograph on the implied reader by Jeff Staley, "What is the relationship between the reader evoked by a twentieth century (*sic*) printed Hellenistic Greek New Testament and the reader evoked by first century chirographic manuscripts?"(*The Print's First Kiss: A Rhetorical Investigation of the Implied Reader in the Fourth Gospel*, SBLDS 82 [Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988], 121).

[12]Howard Clark Kee, *Community of the New Age* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1977), 77. Emphasis mine.

compilation. Manuscripts like Bezae, on the other hand, were actually used and read by *real readers*.[13]

While the concept of "reader" is notoriously difficult because of the heterogeneity of *real readers*, authors do write for a specific audience. This "authorial audience" is a construct based on the author's choices and assumptions about the social conventions of the audience. The recent work of Peter Rabinowitz on the conventions and politics of reading will inform my work in this project.[14] According to Rabinowitz, to join the authorial audience in reading is not to ask what a "pure" reading of the text would be. It is rather, it is to ask "what sort of *corrupted* reader this particular author wrote for: what were that reader's beliefs, engagements, commitments, prejudices, and stampedings of pity and terror?"[15]

Second, Bezae's unusual characteristics (most notably in Acts) make it stand out from other manuscripts that, for the most part, are in accord with one another. Since all

---

[13]As of yet, no one has noticed this inherent fallacy. Works by Richard Bauckham, ed., (*The Gospels for all Christians: Rethinking the Gospel Audiences* [Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, 1998]) and Harry Gamble (*Books and Readers in the Early Church: A History of Early Christian Texts* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995]) have talked around the subject but have not spoken directly to it. The sheer number of New Testament manuscripts, however, and the number of variants within those texts points to the reality that early readers not only read "different" texts but also understood what they meant differently. Note what Gamble writes about the transmission of early original texts: "Since every copy was made by hand, each was unique, and every owner of such a copy was free to do with it as he or she chose. In this way a text quickly slipped beyond the author's reach. There were no means of making authoritative revisions, of preventing others from transcribing or revising it as they wished, of controlling the number of copies made, or of even assuring that it would be properly attributed to its author. In principle, the work became public property" (Ibid., 85).

[14]Peter J. Rabinowitz, *Before Reading: Narrative Conventions and the Politics of Interpretation* (Ithica: Cornell University Press, 1987).

[15] Ibid., 26.

literary studies on Acts to this point have focused on the Alexandrian form of the text, a comprehensive study from a literary critical point of view in D is long overdue. In fact, despite a renewed interest in Codex D,[16] previous work on Acts in this text is limited exclusively to the question of its historical origins, theological tendencies, and textual status.[17]

Third, there is a strong likelihood that D, produced around the year 400, was read by individual readers as well as in public liturgical settings.[18] D. C. Parker, in his analysis of Codex Bezae, makes the case that the bilingual tradition of D was formed for Latin speakers at the law school in Berytus (Beirut) around the third century but in the

---

[16]Most notable is D. C. Parker, *Codex Bezae: An Early Christian Manuscript and its Text* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

[17]A good review and critique of the literature under these three headings is found in W. A. Strange, *The Problem of the Text of Acts*, 1-35.

[18]Some critics of literary methods, however, are questioning whether one can posit the concept of a reader for a text that was presented orally to listeners and never read silently. Paul Achtemeier's ("*Omne verbum sonat*: The New Testament and the Oral Environment of Late Western Antiquity," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 109 [1990]: 3-27) influential article characterizes this approach. He argues that the exclusive practice in antiquity was to read aloud in public performances or have someone else read aloud for one. In a recent critical note published in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, however, Frank Gilliard ("More Slient Reading in Antiquity: *Non Mone Verbum Sonabat*," *JBL* 112 [1993]: 689-694) has argued that both Achtemeier and Michael Slusser ("Reading Silently in Antiquity," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 111 [1992]: 499) as well as others who hold to this view, have both overstated their case and missed important evidence.[18] Gilliard shows through the works of G. L. Henderson, "Ancient Reading," *Classical Journal* 25 (1929-30): 182-196; W. P. Clark, "Ancient Reading," *Classical Journal* 26 (1930-31): 698-700; W. P. Clark, and B. M. W. Knox, "Silent Reading in Antiquity," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 9 (1968): 421-435, that silent personal reading was more widespread than previously thought and occurred *at least* as early as the fourth century (see also W. B. Stanford, *The Sound of Greek: Studies in Euphony* (Berkley: University of California, 1967). Even those who read alone, apparently read aloud (e.g., Acts 8:30: ἤκουσεν αὐτοῦ ἀναγινώσκοντος). Both Achtemeier and Slusser rely heavily on Josef Balogh's work "Voces paginarum: Beiträge zur Geschichte des lauten Lesens und Schreibens," *Philogogus* 82 (1927): 84-109, 202-240.

early fifth century there was a loss of interest in the Latin side of the manuscript and attention was focused almost solely on the Greek side.[19] While the focus of this project is on the Greek text of D, the Latin readings, especially in those variants unique to D, will be attended to as necessary.

Ehrman has argued persuasively that early Christological controversies affected the scribes who transmitted the text(s) of the New Testament. According to Ehrman, texts were changed to make them say what they were already taken to mean. He concludes his study by noting that "the orthodox corruption of Scripture" was never a malicious act but an attempt to "make the text say exactly what they knew it did not."[20] By creating a *new text*, these scribes altered the reading experience of their communities. If, then, these scribes believed they knew what texts like D (actually its exemplars) said, or at least they thought they knew, their alterations would produce a text that would (hopefully) make a reader respond in a particular way.

For example, note the enhancement of Peter's status in the beginning of Acts. In D's version of 1:23 it is Peter alone, but with the obvious authority and ability to do so, who "puts forth" (ἔστησεν) the two candidates to replace Judas. Following Pentecost (2:14), Peter addresses the crowd as the leader or chief (πρῶτος) of the eleven. The enhancement of Peter's character in D (*contra* NA^{27}) occurs because information and attitudes presented at an early stage in the text tend to encourage the reader to interpret everything in their light.[21]

---

[19]Parker, *Codex Bezae*, 277-282.

[20]Ehrman, *Orthodox Corruption*, 26.

[21]Shlomith Rimmon-Kenan calls this effect the "primacy effect." The reader is often prone to preserve such information as long as possible, especially if the text

Bernard Lategan argues for the importance of this kind of investigation. In his recent *Semeia* article he notes,

> In a certain sense it was inevitable that the reader should become a focal point in the interpretation of biblical texts. These texts themselves are very reader or rather audience conscious.[22]

Lategan further posits that the kerygmatic intention of these texts "makes it essential to include the audience in the theoretical reflection on and in the practical application of exegetical methods."[23] Research through the databases of *Dissertation Abstracts* and *Religion Index One* reveals no previous work on the text of D from this perspective. Further, current monographs devoted to this manuscript are concerned exclusively with either the history or transmission of the text.

The Social Location of the Text

In order to propose a social location for the readers of Bezae, however, it is first necessary to indicate from where the text possibly originated. It should be understood by my reader that while many scholars refer to the 'Western text' or a 'Western' reviser, those scholars also point to Codex D, and particularly to Acts in D, as the primary witness of the 'Western' readings.

The number of proposed sites for the production of Bezae is legion. As early as 1686 when J. Leclerc first proposed that D might be one of two editions issued by Luke

---

continues to reinforce the initial impression (*Narrative Fiction: Contemporary Poetics*, New York: Routledge, 1983, 120). It is in this sense that the text can most easily teach the reader to read that particular text in a particular way. Readers can choose to "read against the grain," but there needs to be good reason for so doing.

[22]Bernard C. Lategan, "Coming to Grips with the Reader," *Semeia* 48 (1989): 3.

[23]Ibid.

himself, scholars began to question the origins of this text.[24] In his posthumously published (1763) *apparatus criticus*, J. A. Bengel advocated the unlikely place of Britain as a possible site for Bezae's production.[25] J. M. A. Scholz argued for Southern Gaul as the original site of production. This position later gained the support of Scrivner, Harris, and Sneyders de Vogel.[26] Yet the issue concerning place of origin quickly fell to the background over against the larger "more important" consideration of whether D was from the hand of Luke or a later corruption. By the eighteenth century, scholars had generally dismissed D as of little value.[27]

In 1894 Blass, after the suggestion of Leclerc, proposed that the Western text was the first draft of the Lukan manuscript and the non-Western the polished and completed version.[28] It was J. H. Ropes who essentially put to rest Blass's thesis with his own work

---

[24]J. Leclerc, *Dèfense des sentimens de quelques thèologians d'Hollande sur l'historie critique du Vieux Testament contre la rèsponse du Prieur de Bolleville* (Amsterdam, 1686).

[25]J. A. Bengel, *apparatus criticus*, Vol. 1, 1763, §28.

[26]Cited by Frederick H. Scrivner, ed., *Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis Being an Exact Copy, in Ordinary Type, of the Celebrated Uncial Graeco-Latin Manuscript of the Four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles*, Pittsburgh Reprint Series 5, ed. Dikran Y. Hadidian (Pittsburg: Pickwick, 1978), xxxi.

[27]The only real exception being F. A. Bornemann (*Acta Apostolorum ab Sancto Luca conscripta ad Codicis Cantabriensis* [Grossenhain and London, 1848]) who proposed that D was either an expanded version of a travel narrative kept by Luke (Xf.) or the Western (then Codex Bezae [D] and Codex Laudianus [E]) was the original and the non-Western secondary (Xi-XIV).

[28]F. Blass, "Die Textüberlieferung in der AG," *ThStKr* 67 (1864): 86-119; and in a more developed way see his *Acta Apostolorum sive Lucae ad Theophilum liber alter*, Editio Philologica (Göttingen, 1895). Both Theodore Zahn, *Introduction to the New Testament* (Edinburgh, 1909) and E. Nestle, *Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the Greek New Testament* (London, 1901), as well as a few others, followed Blass on this point.

three decades later. Ropes' investigation led to two central points: (1) the Western text was the result of intentional corruption (to use recent terms) and (2) this corruption was the work of a reviser later than the author of Acts. His argument was based on two, now doubted, assumptions:

> [the Western text] has an unmistakably homogeneous internal character. Secondly, its hundreds or thousands of variants are now know to have arisen in a brief period, scarcely, if at all, longer than the fifty years after the book first passed into circulation. In that period a pedigree of successive copies was short and to produce so many variants the mere natural license of copyists would be insufficient. And since one rewriting would suffice, any theory that more than one took place in those years would seem to fall under the condemnation of Occam's razor.[29]

Ropes points away from the author of Acts as the creator of the Western text because of the style of expression, elaboration of religious expressions, the mode of narration, and the "relative colorlessness" of the text.[30] His conclusion as to the origin of the text then

> is that the 'Western' text was made before, and perhaps long before, the year 150, by a Greek-speaking Christian who knew something of Hebrew, in the East, perhaps Syria or Palestine. The introduction of 'we' in the 'Western' text of xi. 27 possibly gives some colour to the guess that the place was Antioch.[31]

In 1939 G. Zuntz took Ropes' hypothesis a step further.[32] In addition to Ropes' assertions, Zuntz pointed toward both the significance between the base text of the 'Western' readings and the later corruptions as well as a more precise place of origin. For Zuntz, the finished form of the 'Western' text was likely from Edessa because of

---

[29]J. H. Ropes, "The Text of Acts," in *The Beginnings of Christianity*, Vol 3 viii.

[30]Ibid., ccxxivf.

[31]Ibid., ccxlivf.

[32]G. Zuntz, "On the Western Text of the Acts of the Apostles," *Opuscula Selecta* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1972), 189-215. Unfortunately, Zunt's work went unnoticed at the time of writing. It was not until 1972 that his manuscript was published.

similarities between the lections identified by Burkitt as used in that city and because some Western readings appeared to have been translated to Greek from Syriac.[33] Not one of these proposals held much of an advantage over the others. Scholars were generally content to say that the monumental work by Cadbury and Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity*, had resolved the textual problems of Acts.

Studies on Acts as a whole diminished until after the Second World War. The most notable exception being the *Bulletin of the Bezaen Club.* In 1941 Martin Dibelius' essay, "The Text of Acts: An Urgent Critical Task," focused on his attempt to find an appropriate *Sitz-im-Leben* for the transmission of Acts. The significance of his hypothesis was that he argued that the book was intended to circulate not among Christian groups per se, but among the wider public. It was only during the course of this circulation that many minor *improvements* were made to the work, thus creating the alternative text.[34]

A. D. Nock, however, dismantled Dibelius' hypothesis in his 1953 review. Nock showed that Dibelius had based his thesis on the faulty assumption that a text copied and circulated outside of the Christian community would be more likely to suffer corruption than one circulated within. While it is true that corruption in public texts was common in antiquity,[35] the recent work of Bart Ehrman affirms the validity of Nock's criticism.[36]

---

[33]Ibid., 201-212. Zuntz has followed the work of F. H. Chase (*The Old Syriac Element in Codex Bezae* [London, 1893]) in his assumption that some readings are translations from Syriac.

[34]Martin Dibelius, "The Text of Acts: An Urgent Critical Task," in *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles*, ed. Heinrich Greeven (London: SCM Press, 1956), 88-90.

[35]See for example Cicero, *Ad Q.Fr.* 3.5.6; Strabo, *Geog.* 13.1.54; Martial, *Ep.* 2.8.3-4; and Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.* 5.4. See also more recently, Gamble, *Books and Readers*.

R. P. C. Hanson in 1966 published an article that attempted to locate the provenance of the Western reviser.[37] While much of the article is dedicated to pointing toward a single reviser, although Hanson does not deny the many hands that created the divergent readings, he ultimately argues that the place of origin for the text was Rome. Hanson bases this argument on three pieces of tendentious evidence: (1) interest in the person and role of Peter; (2) interest in the Herods; and in a different vein (3) the *princeps peregrinorum* reading at 28:16. All three, in his opinion, point toward a Roman origin for the text.

Hanson, in fact, explains the abrupt ending of Acts by explaining that the Roman population would have the necessary information to complete the story with the present ending.[38] While few have found Hanson's evidence and subsequent arguments convincing–only the reading at 28:16 shows any possible support of his claims–he was the first commentator since Dibelius to address the problem of why Acts has divergent textual traditions.

Examining the details, style, and vocabulary, E. Delebecque began a series of articles in 1980 that lead to his monograph *Les Deux Actes des Apôtres*.[39] Delebecque's thesis is that Luke created both longer and shorter versions of his work, the longer of the two was secondary and an outgrowth of the shorter. According to Delebecque, Paul the Apostle was responsible for much of the additional material in the longer text and Luke

---

[36]See Ehrman, *Orthodox Corruption*, 13ff.

[37] R. P. C. Hanson, "The Provenance of the Interpolator in the 'Western' Text of Acts and of Acts itself," *NTS* 12 (1966): 211-230.

[38]Ibid., 107ff.

[39]E. Delebecque, *Les Deux Actes des Apôtres,* Etudes bibliques 6 (Paris, 1986).

only recorded that information.[40] Thus Delebecque concluded that the shorter text was composed while Paul was a prisoner in Rome. From there, Paul was released, traveled through Spain and the Aegean, and was incarcerated again only in Ephesus. The longer text is then a revision following Paul's death, completed in Ephesus sometime not long after 67 CE.[41]

The two-volume work produced by M. E. Boismard and A. Lamouille, *Le Texte occidental des Actes des Apôtres*, is a comprehensive survey of the textual problem of Acts.[42] Their thesis is essentially:

> *Lucia aurait écrit une première rédaction des Actes dont nous trouvons un écho dans le texte Occidental; il aurait, un certain nombre d'années plus tard, profondément remanié son œuvre primitive, non seulement du point de vue stylistique, comme le voulait Blass, mais encore du point de vue du contentu. Ces deux rédactions auraient été ensuite fusionés en une seule pour donner le texte actuel des Actes, plus exactement le texte Alexandrian (sous une forme plus pure que celle que nous avons maintenant).*[43]

---

[40]Ibid., 336.

[41]Ibid., 380 and 417. Interestingly, Delebecque ties the longer version to Paul's correspondence to Timothy by arguing that Paul apparently dictated to Luke while in prison in Ephesus. Of the D text of Acts, Delebecque writes, "it is the death of the Apostle which throws light on this new version. It is like a long reflection on the second *Letter to Timothy*" (380).

[42]M. -E. Boismard and A. Lamouille, *Le Texte occidental des Actes des Apôtres: Reconstitution et réhabililtation*, 2 vols, Synthése 17 (Paris, 1984). This work is the culmination of Boismard's earlier article on Acts 11:2 and 19:1. In this study ("The Text of Acts: A Problem of Literary Criticism? in *New Testament Textual Criticism, Its Significance for New Testament Exegesis: Essays in Honour of Bruce M. Metzger*, ed. E. J. Epp and Gorden Fee [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981], 147-157), Boismard concluded that both the Western and Alexandrian versions were faithful to the vocabulary and style of Luke.

[43]Ibid., 9. "Luke would have written a first redaction of Acts, of which we find an echo in the Western text: a certain number of years later, he would have deeply modified his early work, not only from the point of view of stylistics, as Blass would have it, but more from the point of view of content. These two redactions would then have been fused into one single text in order to give the current text of Acts, more exactly the Alexandrian text (in a purer form than we know have)," translation mine. sThis thesis is

Concerned much less with D, and in many places eschewing its variants altogether, Boismard and Lamouille focused on an attempt to account for the numerous textual peculiarities of the Western genre. The greatest weakness of their study is that it is based on an argument from silence.[44] Satisfied to call D a degenerate and secondary form of the original *Texte occidental* (TO), their argument is based on a form of the TO that does not exist in whole or in part.[45]

Following closely on the work of Boismard and Lamouille is W. A. Strange's *The Problem of the Text of Acts*. Strange argues that the Western version originated as a series of "commentary-like" annotations and (following Boismard and Lamouille) is "Lukan" in vocabulary and style. The original author of Acts created two draft versions, one essentially a commentary on the other, that remained unnoticed and unused until their publication sometime between 150 and 175 CE in order to counteract certain Gnostic and

---

actually a byproduct of the work of Blass (see above) and A. Pott, *Der abendländische Text der Apostelgeschichte und die Wir-Quelle* (Leipzig, 1900). In the opinion of Boismard and Lamouille, the text of D is representative of a secondary layer of tradition and shows contamination by the Alexadrian tradition.

[44]See for example the generally negative reviews of J. N. Birdsall, *JTS* 39 (1988): 571-577 and J. K. Elliott, *NT* 29 (1987): 285-289 who cite the inconclusiveness of western papyri such as P^{29}, P^{38}, P^{48} used by Boismard and Lamouille.

[45]Boismard and Lamouille argued, for example, that the original TO lacked many of the extraneous Christological titles present in D (e.g., ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστό" 16 times and ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός 3 times) and that the Old Latin witness it^{55} is representative of the purer form. This distinction, however, does not hold up since there are three occasions where the two witnesses agree (5:42; 6:18; and 14:10), although at 18:5 D reads διαμαρτυρόμενος εἶναι τὸν Χριστὸν (κύριον) Ἰσοῦν and it^{55} omits the reading altogether and at 18:8 D reads τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ιησους Χριστους where it^{55} *Iesu Christi*. Further, not only do the two texts agree in places, but it^{55} has its own proclivities toward Christological titles: e.g., 3:13; 7:55; 9:20 (D not extant), and once reading against D with *in nomine (domini) Iesu Christi*. Thus there is at least question as to whether or not it^{55} witnesses to a text that is more pure than D and, consequently, whether or not a purer form of TO ever actually existed.

Marcionite claims to Paul.[46] The weaknesses of Strange's argument are clear: (1) despite the silence of Acts until the second century, there is no reason to suppose the book did not exist until that time;[47] and (2) if correct, this argument does not provide plausible reason to show why and how these two extant copies were kept over 80 years before coming to light.[48]

While the proposals of Codex Bezae's origin have ranged from Gaul to Alexandria and from Africa to Jerusalem, it is clear that any Western theory is immediately suspect due to the overwhelming paleographical evidence for an Eastern origin. In his recent work, David Parker has mounted a significant argument for the origin of Codex Bezae.[49] Parker offers three criteria based on his lengthy research that

---

[46]Strange, *The Problem of the Text of Acts*, *passim*.

[47]There is evidence, for example, to show that Acts was known and rejected by certain second-century groups such as the Ebionites (Epiph., *Haer*. 30.16), the Marcionites (Tert., *Adv. Marc*. V.2), the Severians (Euseb. *EH* IV.29), and the Manichaeans (August., *De Util. Cred*. II.7). Even Chrysostom notes the enigmatic knowledge of the book: "To many persons this book is so little known, both it and its author, that they are not even aware that there is such a book in existence" (*Homilies on Acts* I.XI.1). Chrysostom, interestingly enough, also cites this same argument for Romans. Yet no scholar has ever concluded that Romans was not widely used or published until a later date on the basis of Chrysostom's comment.

[48]Moreover, Strange does not account for the preface of Luke and Acts. Traditionally, the preface is seen as evidence of a connected published form. More correctly, as Mikeal Parsons and Richard Pervo (*Rethinking the Unity of Luke and Acts* [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993]) have recently argued, Luke and Acts are independent narratives that tell their stories differently. Parsons notes that "the reference to the 'first book' in Acts 1 not only unites the two works; it is also evidence that for the implied author (if not for his subsequent readers) the second volume was clearly distinguishable from the first, a point often overlooked in discussions of the preface" (59).

[49]Parker, *Codex Bezae*, 5-69. See also J. N. Birdsall, "The geographical and cultural origin of the Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis: a survey of the *status questionis* mainly from the paleographical standpoint," in *Studien zum Text und zur Ethik des Neuen Testaments: Festschrift zum 80. Geburtstag von Heinrich Greeven*, ed. Wolfgang Schrage (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1986), 103-114; F. E. Brightman, "On the

must be met for any proposal concerning origin:

> 1) the paleographical requirement: the manuscript was written in the East by a Latin trained scribe with working knowledge of Greek and whose expertise was legal texts.
>
> 2) the chronology and character of the early correctors must fit in with the historical information that can be gathered from other sources.
>
> 3) the requirement to find a place where both Latin was spoken, to account for the need of the Latin scriptures, but where the reading of Greek was possible as well.[50]

The last of these criteria is very important and often overlooked. Evidence from the period shows that Latin was generally uncommon in the East. Cassian, for example, tells of an Italian monk in Egypt with the useless skill of being able to write Latin.[51] Thus Jerome was correct to lament the decline of Latin skills saying, *"in hac provincia Latini sermonis scriptorumque penuria est*" ("In this province, there is a need of Latin discourse and scriptures.") precisely because no one knew the language and they were therefore rarely needed.[52] The decline of Latinity in the fourth-century East is well documented by the historian and scholar A. H. M. Jones:

> Broadly speaking, it is true to say that Greeks learnt Latin only from interested motives. In the fourth century Latin was the official language of the empire even in the Eastern parts, and a knowledge of the language was, if not essential, a useful asset to a man who aspired to rise in the administration, the army, or the

---

Italian Origin of Codex Bezae: The Marginal Notes of Lections," *JTS* 1 (1900): 446-454; Kirsopp Lake, "On the Italian Origins of Codex Bezae and Codex 1071," *JTS* 1 (1900): 441-4445; and K. Sneyders de Vogel, "Le Codex Bezae, est-il d'origine sicilienne?," *BBC* 3 (1926): 10-13.

[50]Parker, *Codex Bezae*, 266.

[51]Ibid.

[52]Jerome, Ep. 75.4. Moreover, Jermome also notes that "Grandem Latini sermonis in ista provincia notariorum patimur penuriam" ("We suffer from a powerful need of Latin discourse in this province of scribes."), Ep. 134.2.

> law...[yet] even in the fourth century Greek was almost exclusively used in the provincial offices and in that of Augustal prefect.[53]

Libanius, the fourth-century pagan orator, noted that in order for children to learn a high standard of Latin they had to go either to Italy or to Berytus.[54] Because of the high status given to Berytus as a center of learning and its association with the Latin script of Bezae, Parker offers that location for a possible site for the origin of Codex Bezae.[55]

The city of Berytus was a significant port for the Syrian hinterland and a link on the trade road between Constantinople and Alexandria.[56] As one of the most important cities of the East, Berytus was a center for the depositing and publishing of laws.

---

[53]A. H. M. Jones, *History of the Later Roman Empire: A Social, Economic, and Administrative Survey* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964), 988.

[54]*Or*. 48.22. Elementary Latin, however, was more accessible. Note the example cited by Parker (*Codex Bezae*, 269) of Gregory Thaumaturgos who studied basic Latin in his native Cappadocia, before undertaking his study of law.

[55]In a group of studies from the Lunell, France colloquium, June, 1994 (the story of the colloquium was chronicled by participant J. -M. Auwers, "Le colloque international sur le Codex Bezae," *Revue Théologique de Louvain* 26 [1995], 405-412), J. Irigoin, L'écriture grecque du Codex de Béze," in *Codex Bezae: Studies from the Lunel Colloquium, June 1994*, ed. D. C. Parker and C. -B. Amphoux (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996), 3-13; L. Holtz, "L'écriture Latine du Codex Bezae," in Ibid, 14-55; and Allen D. Callahan, "Again the Origin of Codex Bezae," in Ibid, 56-64, all reject Berytus as a point of origin for Bezae. They assert South Italy, Lyons, and Egypt respectively. Parker responds to these detractors in his "The Paleographical Debate," (in Ibid, 329-336) arguing that none of the three account for all of his criteria nor do they provide any new evidence over previous arguments of these places of origin, the only exception is the case offered by Callahan for Egypt. In his earlier work on the origin of Bezae, Parker concluded about Egypt, "Unless research reveals the existence of a Latin community in Christian Egypt of a kind from which Codex Bezae could have come...then the evidence must be taken as showing it to be impossible that it could be Egyptian in origin" (*Codex Bezae*, 264). While Callahan offers such evidence on a limited scale, Parker, who assents to the possibility, concludes that this theory still lacks the amount of evidence that points toward Berytus.

[56]Paul Collinet, *Historie de l'Ecole de Droit de Berouth*, Etudes historiques sur le Droit de Justinien 10 (Paris, 1925), 25.

Collinet describes the city as "*le siége d'un dépôt auquel étaient transmises, pour l'affichage et la conservation, les constitutions intéressantes certaines de provinces de l'Orient.*"[57] Its law school was founded around the year 200 CE. The school used Latin as late as 381-382,[58] but by 410-424 instructors were teaching and writing in Greek.[59] While the need for Latin did not disappear entirely, since primary documents were never translated and laws were still issued in the language, the change did indicate some shift in the needs for legal practitioners to know Latin. Jones concludes:

> In the fourth century then a rather rudimentary knowledge of Latin was required of notaries and of civil servants in certain branches…A competent grasp of the language was needed only by jurisconsults and by barristers who were not content to be orators…A full rhetorical knowledge was essential only for the clerks of the sacra scrinia who drafted imperial resolutions…In the fifth century…Latin became a learned language needed only by academic lawyers and legal draftsmen.[60]

There is only a paucity of evidence concerning the early church in Berytus. What evidence does exist includes no more than the names of a few bishops in scant references scattered among various works. Some individuals from the early church are, however, mentioned in connection with the law school itself. Gregory Thaumaturgos and Pamphililus were two of the more well-known. Eusebius notes two brothers Apphianus and Aedesius, who studied there.[61]

---

[57]Ibid., 20-21. Literally, "the seat of a deposit to which were transmitted certain interesting constitutions of the provinces of the East to be posted and conserved." Translation mine.

[58]Libanius, *Or.* 2.44

[59]Collinet, *Historie*, 212f.

[60]Jones, History of the Later Roman Empire, 990.

[61]Eusebius, *Mart. Pal.* II 4.3; 5.2.

According to Parker's theory, the possible early history of Codex Bezae began with the copying of the manuscript in about the year 400 CE. Immediately the text was corrected by the hand of a corrector Parker designates as G. Produced in the final years of the strongly Latin tradition of the law school, the manuscript was probably intended for the benefit of Latin speaking Christians drawn to the area by the needs and importance of the school. The eclipse of Latin, however, allowed the Latin column to fall into disuse and thus no other corrections were forthcoming. The growth of the Greek church in the area accounts for the numerous Greek correctors. The layout of the manuscript is indebted to the earlier Latin nature of the law school itself. Like the school-books used there, the short lines with a translation beside of Bezae were typical of the day and area. Calling Bezae an example of "second century free-texts," Parker's assessment of the character of Bezae is telling:

> The Bezaen text is not a defined text. Its main characteristic, we have suggested, is its lack of definition, its freedom in transmission. It will have been subject to change and to outside influence to have had a strong influence on other texts...The text of Codex Bezae is our most eloquent witness to the fact that the early church could and did alter the transmitted sayings of Jesus...Codex Bezae is a free text, but it is essentially not a careless one.[62]

That D is not a careless text is important for this study. Those significant differences in D will provide the most important materials for our reading.

Method of Study

The lack of material relating to the reader of Acts in Codex Bezae points to a present gap in Lukan scholarship. This proposal, intended to address this problem, originated in two different seminars taught by Dr. Mikeal Parsons. As part of the

---

[62]Parker, *Codex Bezae*, 284-285.

requirements for those courses I produced two literary papers on the Acts narrative of Bezae.[63] In the process of doing research for both papers, I discovered an area previously unexamined by Lukan scholarship, despite the fact that the concept of the reader is not new to biblical studies. For example, even form criticism attempted to establish a *Sitz-im-Leben* that presupposed a reconstruction of the audience and the particular situation of reception.[64] Robert Fowler's early work, *Loaves and Fishes*, demonstrated how redaction critics have long considered the role of the reader in their work:

> In other words, countless interpreters with no special interest in the reader's experience of the literary work have casually made numerous perceptive and astute observations along these lines.[65]

Interest in the readers of the New Testament texts from a literary perspective began as early as Robert Tannehill's 1977 study of the disciples in Mark.[66] Important as well are the works of R. Alan Culpepper and Jeffery L. Staley on the Fourth Gospel. Culpepper's analysis of the reader is a topical view of the narratee's economy of knowledge.[67]

---

[63]The first, "Peter in the D Text of Acts," Spring Semester, 1992, has since been revised and presented at the regional meeting of the SBL in Dallas, Texas, March 18, 1994 and in a joint session of the Biblical and Literary Criticism section and the Synoptic Gospel section at the national SBL meeting in Chicago, Illinois, November, 1994. The second paper, "The Significance of the Narrator of Acts in Codex Bezae," has been revised and submitted to the *Journal for the Study of the New Testament*.

[64]See for example W. G. Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament*, trans. Howard Clark Kee (Nashville: Abingdon, 1975), 419-423.

[65]Robert Fowler, *Loaves and Fishes: The Function of the Feeding Stories in the Gospel of Mark* (Chico, California: Scholars Press, 1981). Fowler examines Howard Clark Kee's *Community of the New Age: Studies in Mark's Gospel* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1977).

[66]Robert Tannehill, "The Disciples in Mark: The Function of a Narrative Role," *Journal of Religion* 57 (1977): 386-405.

[67]R. Alan Culpepper, *The Anatomy of the Fourth Gospel: A Study in Literary Design* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983), 203-224.

Staley's work, on the other hand, is more linear in its method and it delves into the issues of orality and literary studies.[68]

Luke T. Johnson initially opened the question of the reader in Luke and Acts in a 1976 session of the Society of Biblical Literature.[69] Stephen Moore, however, was the first to take on a full scale analysis of the reader in Luke's writings. His 1986 dissertation is the most sophisticated reader oriented analysis of Luke's writing available.[70] The following year, Carol Joan Schersten LaHurd produced a dissertation on the audience in Acts using a literary-anthropological approach.[71] LaHurd's work is commendable in its scope but it lacks the necessary nuance of a cumulative literary reading, the sociological insights projected here, and, because of her focus on the NA^{26} text of Acts, does not address the unique variants of D that alter the reading experience of its reader(s). This proposal is geared specifically toward what such an investigation can tell us about the meaning and reader(s) of D when the specific variants of this text are taken into account in the linear reading of the text.

John Darr in his recent work on characterization in Luke and Acts provides two guidelines important for this proposal: (1) "*The reader cannot be found only by looking to*

---

[68]Staley, *The Print's First Kiss*.

[69]Luke T. Johnson, "On Finding the Lukan Community: A Cautious Cautionary Essay," in *SBL Seminar Papers* 16, ed. G. MacRae (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1976).

[70]Stephen D. Moore, "Narrative Homiletics: Lukan Rhetoric and the Making of the Reader," Ph.D. Diss. (University of Dublin [Trinity College], 1986).

[71]Carol Joan Schersten LaHurd, "The Author's Call to the Audience in the Acts of the Apostles: A Literary–Critical–Anthropological Reading," Ph.D. Diss. (University of Pittsburgh, 1987).

the critic, the text, or the extratext (i.e., the unstated context); and (2) "*readers are in fact the products of a complex interaction among all three factors.*"[72]

Equally important in this project are the results of a dialogue between the narrative world of Acts and both the social world in the text and the social matrix from which the text was produced. At points, it will be possible to locate intertexts that would have informed or will at least legitimize the reader's repertoire. In these cases, I will use criteria from Richard Hays to adjudicate the significance of an intertext.[73] The most significant criteria for this project are his categories of availability and volume.[74] Susan Garrett based her recent study on the belief that:

> authors must rely on the culturally informed knowledge and beliefs of the readers to supplement the narrative world of a text, because the authors could no more explain every detail than speakers could every word of every sentence spoken.[75]

E. D. Hirsch, Jr. has argued persuasively that a competent level of cultural knowledge is essential in order to read any text with comprehension. This "cultural literacy," according to Hirsch, is the

> network of information that all competent readers possess. It is the background information; stored in their minds, that enables them to take up a newspaper and read it with an adequate level of comprehension, getting the point, grasping the

---

[72]John Darr, *On Character Building: The Reader and the Rhetoric of Characterization in Luke-Acts,* Literary Currents in Biblical Interpretation (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1992), 25; emphasis his.

[73]Richard Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).

[74]Hays (Ibid, 29-31) defines the former as a consideration of whether or not a source was available to the reader and the latter as the degree of explicit repetition of words or syntactical patters.

[75]Susan R. Garrett, *The Demise of the Devil: Magic and the Demonic in Luke's Writings* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1989).

> implications, relating what they read to the unstated context which alone gives meaning to what they read.[76]

Vernon K. Robbins successfully employed literary methods and sociological information in his recent work on the implied author in Acts.[77] Other work on social location and social scripts will be beneficial as well to ascertain the social economy of knowledge understood by the reader. John Elliott, for example, shows that a "high context" society, like that in the New Testament, is one where communicators presuppose "a broadly shared acquaintance with and knowledge of the social context of matters referred to in conversation or writing" so that "readers will be able to 'fill in the gaps' and 'read between the lines'."[78] The use of both literary and sociological methods is an attempt to deal adequately with the text of Acts in Codex D. Both approaches allow great freedom in dealing with the text as a whole, take the text seriously, and, at present, are untried on the text of D. Given these parameters, I will accept Peter Rabinowitz's construct of the authorial audience in order to adequately locate and work with the 4th-5th century reader of Codex D.

---

[76]E. D. Hirsch, Jr., *Cultural Literacy: What Every American Needs to Know* (New York: Vantage Books, 1988), 2.

[77]Vernon K. Robbins, "The Social Location of the Implied Author of Luke-Acts," in *The Social World of Luke-Acts: Models for Interpretation*, ed., Jerome H. Neyrey (Peabody, Mass: Hendrickson, 1991), 305-332. Robbins uses a scenario reading model suited for reading ancient texts.

[78]John H. Elliott, *What is Social Scientific Criticism?*, Guides to Biblical Scholarship, ed. Dan O. Via, Jr. (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 10-11. Wolfgang Iser notes the importance of filling gaps. He wrote, "The situations and conventions regulate the manner in which gaps are filled, but the gaps in turn arise out of contingency and inexperienceability and, consequently, function as a basic inducement to communication. Similarly, it is the gaps, the fundamental asymmetry between text and reader, that give rise to communication in the reading process" (*The Act of Reading: A Theory of Aesthetic Response* [Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1978], 166-167).

Narrative Description of Project

The current Chapter is an introduction to explain the purpose, approach, and scope of this study. Reader-response criticism is the proposed base method that will be used in this project. Insights from sociological criticism, redaction criticism, and textual criticism will, however, are important as well. These preliminary considerations will build a basis, goal, and method for the study. In this Chapter I have also argued that the reader's knowledge is broken into two areas: (1) external knowledge the reader is expected to bring to the text; and (2) internal knowledge the reader gains during the reading process. The result of studying these two areas will be that the reading taxonomy will more clearly illuminate the text and its gaps.

Chapter two will examine the concept of the reader in Acts in Codex D. This concept will be assessed from a historical level to ascertain the historical economy of knowledge of the reader. The historical-cultural competency of the reader will be examined by means of sociological reading scenarios and social scripts appropriate for this narrative. Chapter three will concentrate on the reader's narrative economy of knowledge and will be examined using a reader-response method. This chapter will conclude with an assessment of the reader and proposal for the exegetical work of this project.

Chapters four and five will put the reading methodology into practice by examining the major character in the first half of Acts: Peter. These two chapters will examine how a reader might respond in a cumulative reading to this significant character and his role in the text. Relevant texts and respective speeches, particularly those with variants unique to D, will be considered. While the reading strategy will be cumulative,

those variants unique to D will be the foci. Chapter six will conclude this project by summarizing the findings of the previous chapters and providing an interpretation of the reader(s) in the Acts narrative of Codex D.

CHAPTER TWO

Reading Between the Lines: The Historical Competency of the Reader

Introduction

The focus of this chapter is to provide a cogent interpretation of my authorial audience's economy of knowledge. The literary and cultural competency expected by the narrative of Acts in Bezae will be explored through historical and sociological reading scenarios appropriate for this text. This type of reading model was successfully applied in a recent volume edited by Jerome Neyrey, *The Social World of Luke-Acts*.[1] The social context approach assumes readers understand how the world works and that they bring this awareness to the text. Thus reading is a process of the reader using the text "to identify an appropriate domain or frame of reference and then [rearrange] that domain according to the arrangements suggested in the text."[2]

Yet problematic for this project is the distance between the world of the story (i.e., first century) and the actual readers of the text under consideration (i.e., fourth century). There are, therefore, two social settings, that of the story and that of the reader(s) of the Bezaen text. Consequently, the focus of this chapter is not on the social location of the story as much as it is on the social location of the reader. The first section in this chapter will consider some of the issues involved in attempting to identify the audience's social location. The second section will focus on the historical location of the

---

[1]Jerome Neyrey, ed., *The Social World of Luke-Acts* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1991).

[2]Bruce Malina, "Reading Theory Perspective: Reading Luke-Acts," in Ibid., 15.

text of Bezae and propose a region for the audience. The third section will explore the reader's economy of knowledge using a synchronic cross cultural model. This knowledge is broken into two equal yet distinct areas: (1) cultural knowledge the reader is expected to bring to the text; and (2) narrative knowledge the reader gains during the reading process. Cultural knowledge is defined as unwritten knowledge assumed by the text. Narrative knowledge is defined as unwritten knowledge implicit within the text.

The present chapter will focus on the former while chapter three will focus on the latter and the resulting collusion of the two areas of knowledge. A final section will gather the conclusions of this chapter and assess the role the reader's economy of knowledge might play in the subsequent reading of the Acts narrative. The goal of this chapter is to develop a reading taxonomy that will account for the diverse and complex world from which the reader and text were born.

Locating the Reader: Reading Between the Lines

What is a reader? This concept, especially in reference to early biblical readers, is notoriously difficult. As discussed in chapter one, readers themselves were and are construed in a variety of ways by ancient and modern scholarship. While it is important to understand that the readers of this narrative came to the text with their own cultural baggage firmly in hand, it is also significant that the writer of Acts in this manuscript utilized cultural and literary conventions that were and are assumed by the text as clearly as the discourse itself. While Hirsch is correct in his assessment that readers are a network of information,[3] it must also be remembered that the text itself teaches the

---

[3]See my discussion of Hirsch and this concept in chapter 1, page 22 and footnote 74.

reader to read its particular narrative. This *narrative competence* is gained within the linear reading experience by learning the codes of the text. These conventions have preceded the text and have played a role in its very creation. When a reader *understands* a text, there is a meeting of the reader's competency and the conventions (literary and cultural) preceding and assumed in the text.[4] In other words, "comprehension is the process of producing meaning by means of attributing significance to signifiers on the basis of culturally learned codes."[5]

What are these codes that make up the reader's economy of knowledge? The codes assumed in a text generally fall into two categories: cultural and narrative knowledge. A competent reader therefore is one who can access both the cultural and narrative context appropriate for the narrative of Acts. The goal of this chapter is to reconstruct the highly complex cultural knowledge of the fourth century C. E. This reconstruction will necessarily be both general and vague. Precision and certitude, especially in a larger narrative like Acts, is difficult at best. Not the least of this problem is that we lack definitive knowledge about much of D's history. For example, we know almost nothing about the original writer, the later scribes, the intended audience, the region of writing, and nature of the manuscript) and about the fourth-century world itself. Consequently, the proper course is to satisfy our curiosity with very broad parameters for

---

[4]Note here, however, that I speak of *assumed* and not *written*. While there are innumerable conventions assumed in a text, not all conventions are written into the text. Thus this material both enlightens and constrains any reading of the text. See Wolfgang Iser, *The Act of Reading*, 69, 225-229; Jonathan Culler, *Structuralist Poetics,* 203; and Roland Barthes, *S/Z* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1974), 18, 100.

[5]Janice Radway, *Reading the Romance: Women, Patriarchy, and Popular Literature* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984), 7.

the cultural context. Understanding that primary source information for the period in question is both scarce and idiosyncratic, it is clear that all hypotheses based on this reconstruction must be considered provisional. The prescription issued by Vernon Robbins is worth noting here:

> The real readers provide the meanings that the characters, narrator, inscribed author, and implied author communicate to their intratextual counterparts. We supply these meanings by means of the scenarios we envision for their interaction. If our scenarios are twentieth-century situations and contexts in industrialized society, then we will supply these meanings to their interaction. But if we use [other] scenarios . . . to envision the meaning, we may take some steps toward an interpretation of Luke-Acts in a social location of thought in pre-industrialized Mediterranean society.[6]

The model for collecting data will need to be flexible in order both to cast a net wide enough to show the parameters of the reader's economy of knowledge and to account for the vague and poor quality of the sources.[7] This social base of knowledge, however, is not the catalyst for ideas and events but is the context in which those ideas and events are interpreted and understood. Such knowledge is not explanatory of *why events happened* but functions as a *heuristic construct for understanding them*. Because

---

[6]Vernon Robbins, "The Social Location of the Implied Author in Luke-Acts," in *The Social World of Luke-Acts* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1993), 312.

[7]L. Michael White, "Visualizing the 'Real' World of Acts 16: Toward a Construction of Social Index," in *The Social World of the First Christians: Essays in Honor of Wayne A. Meeks*, ed. L. Michael White and O. Larry Yarbrough (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1995), 234-261, argues for the veracity of constructing what he calls a "social index" for Acts 16. His model provides three helpful categories for data collection: (1) *sociographic contexts* which include historical information; (2) *functional semantic contexts* which include social conventions seen in language from literary and other similar sources; and (3) *cultural symbolic contexts* which include underlying presuppositions of one's social world. John Darr's recent dissertation ("Glorified in the Presence of Kings: A Literary-Critical Study of Herod the Tetrarch in Luke-Acts," Ph.D. Diss. [Vanderbilt University, 1987], 125-126) uses four similar but less nuanced regions for this task: (1) commonly known historical facts and figures; (2) classical and canonical literature; (3) literary conventions; and (4) social norms and structures.

readers read through specific envisioned social constructs, we must learn what fourth-century readers already knew and took for granted in their reading experiences.

Previous studies of the social context of Acts have often lacked a scientific framework to organize the material. Following the recent work of Jerome Neyrey, John Elliott, and T. F. Carney I will utilize a similar conceptual network to analyze the social economy of knowledge of the reader.[8] Carney's network is framed to set out the characteristics of traditional preindustrial cities inhabited by both the common and the elite. John Elliott has nuanced Carney's synchronic model for biblical studies. Elliott's version of Carney's model is likewise systemic and based on the following interlocking sectors: (1) Political System, (2) Socio-Economic System, (3) Technology, (4) Natural Environment and Resources, (5) Belief System and Ideologies, (6) Culture, and (7) Population Structure.[9]

Utilizing the reading scenarios provided by the Neyrey volume in conjunction with Elliott and Carney, I have identified two sectors for this study: (1) the Political System and (2) the Symbolic Universe. These two sectors were chosen because of their importance in the Roman world, because of their direct relation to narrative of Acts, and because of the limitations of space within this project. In the following section, these two sectors will be explored in order to provide a framework of reference for the reader's economy of knowledge. This type of framework, according to Carney, leads scholars to ask questions and

---

[8]Jerome Neyrey, ed., *The Social World of Luke-Acts: Models for Interpretation*; John Elliott, *What is Social Scientific Criticism*? (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1993); and T. F. Carney, *The Shape of the Past: Models and Antiquity* (Lawrence Kansas: Coronado, 1975).

[9]Elliott, *What is Social Scientific Criticism*?, 64-65.

> consider all the facts which come within the following guidelines; here are the important variables—arrange others around these; this is the order of priority among the important variables; this is the why and how these variables are linked together.[10]

In other words, all interpreters create meaning out of facts in relation to their own frame of reference. Therefore, our assumptions need to be more similar to those of readers in the fourth century. The problem is what to use as a base line set of criteria to guard against relying too heavily on our own preconceptions. The cross cultural model proposed here and used by Carney and Elliott "aims to provide this set of criteria."[11]

The Theoretical Model: Sectors of the Reader's Location

In order to facilitate the information needed for our model, it is first necessary to review the history of the time period around the location chosen for our reader. Events both previous to and concurrent with our reader are important because these events have a significant role in the sociological baggage carried by all readers.

The Background of the Period: The Third Century

Unfortunately, the history of the third and fourth centuries is not well attested in modern scholarship. Although others came before him, it was A. H. M. Jones' massive *History of the Later Roman Empire: A Social, Economic, and Administrative Survey* that aroused recent interest in this period.[12] This renewed interest has brought about a new challenge to old claims concerning how Christianity rose to power in the age of

---

[10]Carney, *The Shape of the Past*, 4.

[11]Ibid., 16.

[12]Jones, *History of the Later Roman Empire.* While serious scholars did not neglect this period, wide interest began with Jones's work.

Constantine. Rather than beginning in the fourth century, it is important that our overview begin in the third century in order to grasp fully the significance of the new order.

The third century is seen by nearly all historians as a period of crisis, indicated by the rapid succession of emperors between 235 and 284 C. E., the on-going deluge of internal and external warfare, and the total collapse of the silver currency.[13] The question, however, is whether or how much these events and their subsequent reforms–brought about by Diocletian and upheld by Constantine–caused the transition from the persecutions of the second century to the church state of the fourth.

Many scholars have been content to suppose that the fourth-century surge in Christianization (often referred to as *the age of spirituality*) came about as an attempt to escape the insecurity and difficulties commonplace in the third.[14] Yet it is unclear whether late antiquity was actually a "more spiritual age" than preceding years. As Averil Cameron argues

> it is one thing to suppose a general connection between religion and the desire for comfort, reassurance and explanation of suffering, and quite another to imagine that difficult times always call forth religious movements, or, to put it another way round, that a religious development is always to be explained by reference to adverse social factors.[15]

What is certain is that the later fourth and the fifth century are the pinnacle of patristic

---

[13]On the latter issue, see Robert M. Grant, "Christians and Imperial Economic Policy in the Early Fourth Century," in *Studies in New Testament and Early Christian Literature: Essays in Honor of Allen P. Wikgren*, ed. David E. Aune (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972), 215-225.

[14]See for example E. R. Dodds, *Pagan and Christian in the Age of Anxiety* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965).

[15]Averil Cameron, *The Later Roman Empire: AD 284-430* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 11.

literature. Individuals who were, by the actions of Constantine, released from the tyranny of persecution became not only bishops but leaders of the state as well.

In the second and third centuries, attacks against Christians came not only from the state but from the people as well. Tertullian noted that parts of the populace considered Christians as

> the cause of every public defeat and every misfortune of the people. If the Tiber rises to the city walls, if the Nile does not rise to the fields, if the sky stays the same, if the earth moves, if there is a famine, a plague, straightway the cry is heard, 'The Christians to the Lion!'[16]

Common as well, particularly in the second and third centuries, was graffiti such as an example from *circa* 200 where a picture portrays a Christian worshiping an ass-headed human figure on a cross. The caption included in the picture says "Alexamenos worships his God."[17] Even knew and Augustine cited a popular proverb of the day: "No rain? The Christians are the cause!"[18] Eusebius describes in detail the gruesome tortures endured by the Christian community because they were labeled as "atheists."[19] Menander the Rhetor, a third-century writer, is credited with defining for us piety as it was understood in the Roman system of thought and practice:

> Piety to the gods consists of two elements...Love of the gods, as I said is to be assessed [in the behavior of a given city] in private terms, by inquiring whether each citizen devotes himself to the service of the gods; in public terms, in many ways: by inquiring whether they have instituted rites of initiation or established

---

[16]Tertullian, *Apology* 40.1-2.

[17]Cited and reproduced in Stark, *The Rise of Christianity: A Sociologist Reconsiders History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 146. See also Geoffrey Ernest Maurice de Sainte-Croix, "Why Were the Early Christians Persecuted?", *Past and Present* 26 (1963): 6-38.

[18]Augustine, *The City of God*, 2.3

[19]Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History 5.1.

> many festivals or sacrifices which are either very numerous or most punctiliously performed, or have built many temples to all the gods or many to each god, or perform duties if the priesthoods very scrupulously."[20]

While other definitions were offered in antiquity (e.g., see Plato's *Euthyphro* 6), in Meander's definition there are means to measure piety. Because Roman religion was so closely aligned with the well-being of the state, the adjudication between true piety and charges of atheism or "superstition" was significant. This distinction would become the very criteria of adjudication between what was true religion and what was not.

When the schism between Christianity and Judaism became full-blown (C. E. 65-75), the former became a "sect" rather than an acceptable version of Judaism. The basic problem stemmed from Roman understanding of citizenship. Cicero wrote, voicing the prevalent opinion that "No citizen of ours [a Roman] may, according to civil law, be a citizen of two states."[21] This same ideology carried over to religious devotion as well. Not unlike Jesus' words—"No one can have two masters"—this rule remained in force throughout the existence of the Empire.[22] Consequently, the Christian acceptance of monotheism coupled with a deficiency of nationalism brought about charges of "atheism."[23]

---

[20]*How to Praise a city.*

[21]*Pro Balbo*, II. 28.

[22]Simeon Guterman, *Religious Toleration and Persecution in Ancient Rome* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood, 1971), 23. Guterman asserts that the regulations of the *civitas* and the *religio* were closely linked and that to speak of the gods was to speak of the "highest citizens of Rome" (25).

[23]The inevitable question then concerns how Judaism survived in this context given that this Christian theological view is taken directly from Judaism. According to Guterman (Ibid, 53), the tolerance of the beliefs of Judaism was applied only to foreigners directly and not to Jewish citizens of Rome. It was only be a special "favor"

The Roman authorities, although generally allowing persecution to come from below, mocked the Christian community. For example, according to Tertullian the mockery was common.[24] The Christian response to these affronts was harsh. Hippolytus in his *Commentary on Daniel* compared the four beasts in Daniel 7 to his own day. He argued that that the latter of the four, and the most terrible, was none other than the Roman Empire itself.[25] Tertullian too responded and he compared the Romans to the barbarian Phrygians.[26]

While these attacks were clearly sporadic and not pervasive, they demonstrate the difficulty of being Christian during this time. Matters were not improved by the action of the Emperor Decius who in 250 C. E. ordered Christians to offer animal sacrifices to the gods for the general well-being of the Empire. It was typical of Roman leaders to call upon help during times of conflict from the gods as their benefactors. Decius had just returned from battle with the Goths, having forced them from the Danube, and was subsequently honored with the title Emperor by his troops.

The Empire would come under threat many times in the third century. Consequently, any forces that interfered with a good relationship with the gods were subject to potential elimination. At the top of that list were the Christians.[27] Most

---

due to the longstanding relationship between Rome and the Jews that citizens were permitted to share the privileges of the *peregrini* (foreigners).

[24]Tertullian, *To Scapula* 5.1.

[25]Hippolytus, *Commentary on Daniel* 2:12-13.

[26]Tertullian, *On the Pallium* 2.6.

[27]Robert Doran, *Birth of a Worldview: Early Christianity in Its Jewish and Pagan Context* (San Francisco: Westview, 1995), 10-11.

scholars agree that the third-century anarchy was a turning point in Graeco-Roman society and culture.

The crises, at once military, economic, and political–perhaps even spiritual–demonstrated the fragility of order and its guarantor, secure political authority. They ushered in new adaptive responses, particularly in terms of the ideological formulations and representations of power, as the classical Mediterranean model of competitive parity yielded to a more overtly pyramidal and authoritarian pattern of social relationship.[28]

By the middle of the third century, Christians were a recognized part of the towns of the Empire.[29] Constantine's rise to power, however, changed Christianity's position in society. While Christians, due in part to their liminal social status, had enjoyed relative freedom internally where disputes were allowed to unfold and resolve themselves in accordance with unsupervised autonomy from ruler's neglect, Constantine's engagement with Christians and their affairs changed this freedom in significant ways. No longer, for

---

[28]See Peter Brown, *The Making of Late Antiquity*, 27-53; and also J. B. Rives, R*eligion and Authority in Roman Carthage from Augustus to Constantine* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 223-234.

[29]The influence and numerical size of Christianity during this period is difficult to ascertain. Robin Lane Fox (*Pagans and Christians* [New York: Knopf], 1987, 265-335; 585-592) represents those who argue for Christianity representing only a "small minority" of the populace. W. H. C. Frend (*The Rise of Christianity* [Philadelphia: Westminster, 1987], 440-463), on the other hand, is representative of those who view Christianity as making great inroads into society and that, in fact, the Diocletian persecution of 303 C. E. was a direct result of their ominous size and influence. The truth probably lies somewhere in between. For an interesting overview of this issue, see the recent work by sociologist Rodney Stark, *The Rise of Christianity*, 4-13, who argues that Christians may have made up roughly 1.9 % of the population in 250 CE, 10.5 % in 300 CE, and an amazing 56.5 % by 350 CE. Stark's conclusions concerning patterns of growth indicate rapid increases during the latter part of the third century. Compare also two studies by Roger S. Bagnall, "Conversion and Onomastics: A Reply," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 69 (1987): 243-250; and "Religious Conversion and Onomastic Change in Early Byzantine Egypt," *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 19 (1982): 105-124.

example, were Christians considered marginal. Because of Constantine's munificence, a great deal of property and wealth was at stake; not to mention the increased status of the *nomen Christianum* which, post-Constantine, conferred privilege and status. According to Richard Lim, in the post-Constantine age, Christians picked up the pace of their march from "social marginality toward the center of social and political power; as a result, rulers who earlier granted Christians freedom from intervention could no longer remain so indulgently detached."[30]

Thus the crises of the third century brought about an almost obsessive need for order. Disagreements that were once tolerable because of their relative insignificance were so no longer. Constantine himself ordered jurists, known for their professional disagreements, to end their bickering over minutiae in order not to undermine the authority of Roman law.[31] Consequently, the appearance of order became as important as order itself so that one might gain imperial favor.[32] These changes, brought about for whatever reason, had a significant affect on the politics and the people of the Mediterranean world.[33]

---

[30]Richard Lim, *Public Disputation, Power, and Social Order in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 26.

[31]Codex Theod. 1.4.1. On the jurists and their disagreements see R. A. Bauman, *Lawyers and Politics in the Early Roman Empire: A Study between the Roman Jurists and the Emperors from Augustus to Hadrian* (Munich, N.P., 1989), 44-49.

[32]Note the importance of order in the life of Symmachus a Roman senator. See his extant letters in *Ephemeris Epigraphica*. Summed up by the term *Religio amicitiae* in his letters, this concept refers to the careful observation of established rules of courtesy, the observation of social rank, and an attitude of devotion towards one's benefactors. For a detailed discussion see John Matthews, *Western Aristocracies and the Imperial Court: A.D. 364-425* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), 4-9.

[33]Richard Jenkyns (*The Victorians and Ancient* Greece [Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1980], 174-175), commenting on the rise of Christianity in this difficult period wrote:

The Background of the Period: The Fourth Century

Important for this study is a realization of the significance of the fourth century, not just for the text of Bezae, but for Christianity as a whole. Rosmary Radford Ruether recently proposed that it was the fourth century that shaped both Christianity and Judaism. She argues that "The classical form of both Judaism and Christianity was shaped by sages and theologians whose systems of thought found their fullest ripening in the fourth century."[34]

The truth of this assessment is centered in the freedom and status given to the Christian people of the fourth-century. For the first time, Christians found themselves as part of the system of the state. The Christian writer Jerome expressed well the amazement even the Christian population found at their good fortune:

> every island, every prison, and salt mine was crowded with Christian captives in chains...with the present era when (such are seemingly impossible transformations worked by God in his goodness) the selfsame imperial government which used to make a bonfire of Christian sacred books had them adorned sumptuously with gold and purple, and precious stones, and instead of razing church buildings to the ground, pays for the construction of magnificent basilicas with gilded ceilings and marble-encrusted walls.[35]

"Once any new system of belief has commended itself to a considerable body of people it is seldom altogether eradicated; Zoroastrianism, founded more than two and a half thousand years ago, has survived for the past millennium or so with less than 150,000 adherents...Religions do not die; they become cataleptic...To this general rule there is one enormous exception. The growth of Christianity completely destroyed the great Indo-European pantheons, Norse, German, and Greco-Roman. Some time in the sixth century AD the last man died who believed in the existence of Juno, Venus and Apollo, and in the succeeding centuries Asgard and Niflheim went the way of Olympus." The point being that Christianity had by this period imbedded itself in the lives and systems of the people of Rome, at least enough so that it was able to survive and to outlast the many other religious faiths common in that world.

[34]Rosmary Radford Ruether, "Judaism and Christianity: Two Fourth Century Religions," *Studies in Religion* 2:1-10 (1972): 1.

[35]J. N. D. Kelly, *Jerome: His Life, Writings, and Controversies* (New York: Harper and Row, 1975), 295. Kelly does not cite the original source.

More importantly, however, is the assessment articulated by Gilbert Highet. In *The Classical Tradition* he has argued that the fourth century was "the vital period for the synthesis of Greco-Roman philosophy and Christian thought."[36]

Nowhere is this issue more significant and more evident than in the political system of the fourth-century world. There is no clear, single answer to the question of how politics functioned under the Roman system. The issue is multi-faceted and inherently problematic because of the many and diverse levels within the system itself. There are however, several general lines within which the system worked. As stated earlier, these lines are not the causes behind the events of the Roman political system, but function as a heuristic construct for understanding those events.

According to T. F. Carney, a particular aim of the political game in the Roman early empire was

> to prevent any but *suitable* people from gaining access to the counsulship. The means involved the use of patronage to build support through the benefits conferred on inferiors, combined with instrumental *friendships* with one's peers, to aggregate support under a clique.[37]

This system of patronage involved a social relationship between individuals based on a strong element of inequality and difference in power. The basic structure of the relationship is an exchange of different and very unequal resources. A patron has social, economic, and political resources that are needed by a client. In return, a client can give expressions of loyalty and honor that are useful for the patron.[38]

---

[36]Gilbert Highet, *The Classical Tradition: Greek and Roman Influences on Western Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957), 560.

[37]Carney, *The Shape of the Past*, 47. Emphasis his.

[38]Halvor Moxnes, "Patron Client Relationships and the New Community in Luke-Acts, in *The Social World of Luke-Acts*, 242.

By the fourth century, however, the language of patronage was coupled with the notion of friendship. This coupling provided a way of speaking in acceptable terms about the reality of patronage that enabled the emperor's representatives to exercise power in the provinces. According to Peter Brown,

> It was impossible for the imperial government to adopt a policy of divide and rule, to treat individual cities and provinces as isolated cells of a honeycomb, with each of which it could deal separately. The code of friendship ensured that every region was crisscrossed by a web of contacts, which reached to all neighboring cities and extended as far as the capital itself.[39]

At the turn of the fourth century, the Church was reeling under a violent persecution initiated by Diocletian. By the second decade of the fourth century, however, now embraced with friendship by Constantine, it found itself showered with benefactions and privileges, invited to undertake responsibilities, and progressively given a directive role in society. Yet these changes were in many ways more political than practical. Even with these changes only about a tenth of the population of the Empire was likely Christian at the start of the fourth century.

J. M. Hussey's recent characterization of this period exemplifies my point. In his recent work he argues that

> In many respects the Empire in the fourth century shows no abrupt break with the earlier period; it might just as well be called late Roman as early Byzantine, It showed its close cultural affinities with the Hellenistic world, and the adoption of Christianity did not mean the rejection of pagan civilization: the learning, art, philosophy of Greece remained a prized possession of a Christian Byzantium. Its government was in essence that of a Greco-Roman Empire. It continued to be ruled by a single absolute monarch, *whose authority was enhanced by his position as the chosen representative of the Christian God.* Its administration and civil service were the fruit of long experience.[40]

---

[39]Peter Brown, *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity: Towards a Christian Empire* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1988), 47.

[40]J. M. Hussey, *The Byzantine World* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1961), 12. My emphasis. See also R. A. Markus, *The End of Ancient Christianity*,

Hussey's view points to an important aspect of the whole fourth-century system. Just as clearly as Diocletian was the last *significant* pagan Emperor, except for a brief reign by the pagan Julian, Constantine's rule was the beginning of a new Christian principate. While the conversion of Constantine did little to widen the cultural gulf between pagans and Christians, it did bring a new found respectability, wealth, and prestige to the latter. These changes were significant in that they allowed the conversion of the upper classes to begin—at least openly. Growth in social mobility for Christians and the vast expansion of civil service brought about the conditions for the advancement of many Christians. In fact, even pagans of great learning were beginning to show an interest in Christianity. Markus argues that "[t]he image of a society neatly divided into 'Christian' and 'pagan' is the creation of fourth-century Christians, and has been too readily taken at face value by modern historians."[41] Scholars have largely ignored the interplay between the political system of the Roman empire and the religious fervor and growth of Christianity.[42]

The Rise of Constantine. While there is no doubt that Christianity owes much to Constantine, although his role is frequently overemphasized, our picture of him is almost

---

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 27-44; and Ramsay MacMullen, *Christianizing the Roman Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 74-85.

[41]Markus, *The End of Ancient Christianity*, 28.

[42]The willingness to accept this characterization began with Karl Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinisch Literatur von Justinian bis zum Ende des ostroemischen Reiches* (527-1453) (Munich, 1897) and Adolf Harnack, *The Expansion of Christianity in to the First Three Centuries*, trans. J. Moffatt, 3 vols (New York, 1904) who both advocated the position that Christianity enjoyed a position of religious autonomy unaffected by the political system of Rome. Cf. David M. Olster, *Roman Defeat, Christian Response, and the Literary Construction of the Jew* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994).

entirely shaped by Eusebius of Caesarea. Eusebius's bias was clearly in favor of promoting a close relationship between emperor and church.[43]

In his *Tricennalian Oration* (336 CE), he attempts to put forth the foundation for much of subsequent Christian political theory by offering a Christianized interpretation of Hellenistic and Roman conceptions of the relationship between earthly rulers and God. Eusebius argued that the Christian emperor was God's representative on earth and the earthly realm a microcosm of the heavenly. While this view was highly influential on political views in the Byzantine period, it was later rejected by Augustine.

These views formed the basis for a dangerous precedent. While the emperor's duty was equivocated with establishing piety, this duty could be carried out by any means necessary; a potential justification of religious persecution. Although pagans were not yet made the objects of such persecution, Christians who stood outside of the official theology—i.e., what is now called orthodoxy but in reality was the beliefs of the group who maintained control—were subjected to persecution and excommunication. For example, while Donatism was seen as a divergent view and coexisted with the "mainstream," Arianism was considered heresy because it stood outside official orthodox belief and was condemned at Nicea. It is an unlikely proposition that Constantine supported Christians merely in order to gain their favor. The paucity of their numbers in

---

[43]The bibliography on Eusebius is legion and centers generally on issues of authorship and historical veracity. For a dated but good overview of the literature available see on these issues see F. Winkelmann, "Zur Geschichte des Authentizitätsproblems der *vita Constantini*," *Klio* 40 (1962): 187-243. On the many issues behind the composition and structure of the Life of Constantine, see G. Pasquali, "Die Composition der *Vita Constantini* des Eusebius," *Hermes* 45 (1910): 368-386 and more recently T. D. Barnes, "Panegyric, History, and Hagiography in Eusebius' *Life of Constantine*," in *The Making of Orthodoxy: Essays in Honour of Henry Chadwick*, ed. R. Williams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 94-123.

the Roman world and their lack of influence makes this argument questionable. Another fault in this hypothesis is that it does not take into account the reality that Constantine's policies were not overtly Christian. The sources that we have generally reveal that throughout his reign his social legislation was marked by harshness and extremism in punishments.[44] Averil Cameron argues that imply having a Christian emperor on the throne did not bring about mass conversion, and the Christianization of society in general took place only very slowly. But the persecution of Christians was now ended, and the Christian church favoured.[45]

Constantine's real contribution to the early church was in his attitude towards the institution. He set forth as *Pontifex Maximus* precedent for relations between the emperor and the church.[46] This relationship became most clearly evident in his calling of church councils, especially Nicaea in 325 C. E. Constantine's willingness to enter into theological disputes was not only novel in the sense that previous emperor's found such matters far too mundane, but it also involved him in church disputes that were previously the territory of bishops alone. Constantine's responsibility for the *pax deorum* guided him in his leadership at Nicea. The effect of the Nicean debate on Constantine was evident too, not only did church unity become an important matter for the Christian

---

[44]For example, women were allowed to divorce their husbands only if the husband were found to be a murderer, a sorcerer, or a desecrator of tombs; otherwise the woman would lose her dowry and be relegated to an island for her presumption (*Codex Theodosius* III.16.1). In another passage, if a midwife assisted in the abduction of a girl with a view to a marriage, she was to have molten lead poured down her throat (*Codex Theodosius* IX.24.1). These policies, while typical in the Roman legal arena, lacked the grace one might expect of a "Christian" ruler.

[45]Cameron, *The Later Roman Empire*, 58.

[46]Most telling is that all emperors succeeding Constantine, with the exception of the pagan Julian (361-363 CE), followed his example toward Christianity.

emperor but his later years were occupied with trying to invent it. The relationship of Constantine and the early Church, and more importantly his attitude towards that institution, is significant because of the way the ancient world worked. Societies were, and in many ways still are, constituted of multiple overlapping and intersecting sociospatial networks of power. The question for this study is how to isolate the most significant or determinative element(s) in the network of the fourth century.

One of the great problems social theorists face is that societies are never as neat as our theories want to make them. Even early systematizers such as Durkheim and Marx admitted to this problem. Weber, however, faced the problem with a methodology intended to deal with the messiness of societies. Yet it must be understood that for Weber and for this project, all answers are proximate.

A general account, Michael Mann argues, can best be given of the ancient world, its structure, and its history by investigation of what he calls the "four sources of social power: ideological, economic, military, and political relationships."[47] In this respect, Constantine's conversion is significant because according to Mann the few at the top can keep the masses at the bottom compliant, provided their control is *"institutionalized"* in the laws and norms of the social group in which both operate. Institutionalization is necessary to achieve routine collective goals; and thus distributive power also becomes an institutional feature of social life.[48]

By distributive power Mann is referring to the idea that there is a fixed amount of power in a society and that power is distributed among the participants. In this system,

---

[47]Michael Mann, *The Sources of Social Power*, Vol 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 2.

[48]Ibid., 7.

power is the ability of one social actor to bring about his or her will despite resistance from other holders of power.[49] While Constantine implemented this system among Christians of the ancient world, it was Theodosius I who took advantage of it. By the time of Theodosius I, the power base had moved from a distributive form to a collective form. This system is where social actors choose to cooperate for a period of time over a third party.[50]

The distinction between these two forms of power was not, however, as neat as one might like to make it. The movement from one system to another is part of a process, not an one time event. This movement established itself as what would come to be known as "friendship" in the latter empire. Brown notes that often appeals under the guise of friendship were no more than "protective coloring" by the less powerful to cover their dependence on the more powerful.[51] What is clear is that while Constantine found himself in the position of asserting his Christianity over the Empire, Theodosius in cooperation with other power brokers of the fourth century was able to implement laws and norms that made Christianity, and in particular one form of Christianity, *normative*. What aided Christianity's rise to power was that its image in the eyes of the elite was raised to that of a status symbol.[52] This rise was felt across the strata of human experience

---

[49]Ibid., 6.

[50]Ibid.

[51]Brown, *Power and Persuasion,* 46.

[52]It is beyond the purview of this project to hypothesize why Christianity became the symbol it did in the fourth century. Suffice it to say that Christianity did make this rise to power based, in part, on the revised perceptions of the elite and its newfound friendship with the office of the emperor. For a fuller discussion of this topic see Michael Mann, *The Sources of Social Power*, 303-310.

and even the ascetic desert fathers found themselves burdened with the courtings of the elite.

The "*Apophthegmata Patrum*" relates a story about Arsenius a man of senatorial rank who had served as tutor to the sons of Theodosius. Arsenius had become a desert father and rejected the life of being surrounded by the luxuries of the Emperor. One day Arsenius was visited by a wealthy and god-fearing virgin from the senatorial class in Rome. Although used to an honorable reception because of her status, and expecting no less having honored Arsenius with her presence following a long journey to find him, he rejected her completely, sending her away with the harsh words,

> Do you not realize that you are a woman, and cannot just go anywhere? Or is it that on returning to Rome you can say to other women: I have seen Arsenius? Then they will turn the sea into a thoroughfare with women coming to see me."[53]

This upward movement of Christianity in the esteem of the elite was, however, not the only force on Christianity's side. Constantine's relationship with the Church, set forth a new relationship with the Christian community. Each is his successors with the exception of Julian (361-363) would continue this relationship in one form or another. While the Emperor did not control the church nor was he its leader, Emperors who followed lines unapproved by the church found themselves facing strong opposition. Yet the church too knew it could ill afford to scorn the relationship that began during the reign of Constantine.

The coupling of the state and the Church as friends was odd and at times a cumbersome relationship, but one that would outlast the Roman Empire itself. What came to be the case was that a fusion occurred between the public and private life of the

---

[53]B. Ward, *Sayings of the Desert Fathers* (London: Mowbrays, 1975), 13-14.

empire. The classical explanation of this concept asserts that human society is organized into households and political states. These social units are distinguished by at least the categories of group, function, physical space, and a hierarchy of relationships.

According to Aristotle, whose writings and thought was pervasive throughout the Empire, "The household is the community established by nature for all daily needs," while the political state exists "for the sake of living well."[54] Virginia Burrus argues that this distinction "undergirded a political ideology that strained to defend the privileged status of public life by restricting public access to a limited group of male citizens, while at the same time weakening the pull of the private sphere on those men."[55]

As early as the first century, however, this attitude had begun to change. Dio Chrysostom recounts in his speeches how dependent even the emperor was on his friends. Chrysostom wrote, "I presume that our greatest necessities, arms walls, troops, and cities, without friends to control them are neither useful nor profitable, nay, they are exceedingly precarious; while friends, even without these are helpful."[56] "This was a society based on patronage," writes Carney, "not class stratification; so little pyramids of power abounded. And men of influence seldom survived if unaccompanied."[57] The advent of Christianity into the life of Constantine changed forever not just the political climate of the empire, but the religious climate as well. Because the two were

---

[54]Aristotle, *Pol.* 1.2.1252b-1253a.

[55]Virginia Burrus, *The Making of a Heretic: Gender, Authority, and the Priscillianist Controversy* (Berkeley: University of California press, 1995), 7. See also Matthews, *Western Aristocracies and Imperial Court*, 1-31.

[56]Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 3:94, and 3:86-122.

[57]Carney, *The Shape of the Past*, 63.

intertwined in the Roman world, the Christianization of Constantine signaled the same was inevitable for his friends as well. Because of the hierarchical nature of the church during that time and the Christian focus on obedience, the emperor became the friend and client of a higher benefactor, God, and the Christian Church the arbiter of that newly important relationship.

The Reign of Theodosius. What Constantine inaugurated, Theodosius implemented. Baptized on what he thought was his death bed by the Nicean bishop Ascholius, Theodosius found himself in the awkward position of being the Emperor, considered a position of sin almost universally,[58] and now needing to abstain from sin because of his baptism before death.

This untimely baptism, most Emperor's waited until their deathbed in order to resolve the sins of their office, meant that Theodosius was given to Christ in a way even greater than Constantine and Constantius II. The usually reliable Socrates Scholasticus indicates that Theodosius I was baptized following his *Cunctos Populos*.[59] Thus Theodosius' I motivation for following through on his word was increased following his baptism. This new edict proclaimed true believers Catholic, all others savage and mad. In a setting where a campaign against heresies is carried out under the belief that anyone who even confuses the divine law through ignorance or neglect commits sacrilege,[60] understanding what the divine law is would be advisable. The use of Acts, what little

---

[58]See for example Gregory of Nazaianzen, *Oratio* XL 19 and St. Augustine, *Confessions*, I.xi.17.

[59]Socrates Scholasticus, *Historia Eccelsiastica*V 6.

[60]T. Mommsen and P. M. Meyer, *Codex Theodosianus* (Berlin, 1905): XVI.2.25. See also XVI.5.21 and 10.10, 14, 16, 21, 24.

evidence we have of its use at all, was for the purpose of thwarting heresy was in the first four centuries. The edict clearly dictates that orthodoxy and citizenship are inextricably bound together:

> *Cunctos populos, quos clementiae nostrae regi temperamentum, in tali volumus religione versari, quam divinum petrum apostolum tradidisse Romanis religio usque ad nunc ab ipso insinuata declarat quamque pontificem Damasum sequi claret et Petrum Alexandriae episcopum virum apostolicae sanctitatis, hoc est, ut secundum apostolicam disciplinam evangelicamque doctrinam patris et filii et spiritus sancti unam deitatem sub parili maiestate et sub pia trinitate credamus. Hanc legem sequentes Christianorum catholicorum nomen iubemus amplecti, reliquos vero demetes vesanosque iudicantes haerectici dogmatis infamiam sustinere nec conciliabula eorum ecclesiarum nomen accipere, divina primum vindicta post etiam motus nostri, quem ex caelesti arbitrio sumpserimus, ultione plectendos.*[61]

It seems likely that in light of this edict, knowing the religion the *divinum Petrum apostolum* proclaimed would therefore be necessary and that one would want to make sure Peter's status was as large as the Emperor Theodosius and others claimed. The edict was widely spread during the reign of Theodosius II (C. E. 429-438) when an official code of laws, including the *Cunctos Populos*, was issued by the government.[62] Law

---

[61] *Codex Theodosianus* XVI.1.2: It is our will that all the peoples who are ruled by the administration of Our Clemency shall practice that religion which the divine Peter the apostle transmitted to the Romans, as the religion which he introduced makes clear even unto this day. It is evident that this is the religion followed by the Pontiff Damasus and by Peter, bishop of Alexandria, a man of apostolic sanctity; that is, according to the apostolic discipline and the evangelic doctrine, we shall believe in the single Deity of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Trinity. We command that those persons who follow this rule shall embrace the name of Catholic Christians. The rest, however, whom we adjudge demented and insane, shall sustain the infamy of heretical dogmas, their meeting places shall not receive the name of churches, and they shall be smitten first by divine vengeance and secondly by the retribution of Our own initiative, which we shall assume in accordance with divine judgement.

[62] Glanville Downey, *Antioch in the Age of Theodosius the Great* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), 66. Clearly students of the law would be aware of Imperial decisions and proclamations. The law school of Berytus along with the school at Constantinople were the only sanctioned schools of the Roman government during the fourth century. In both schools, the curriculum included the *Institutes* of Gaius and

students, the church, and even citizens of Berytus and surrounding areas would clearly feel the influence of the Emperor's perspective and thus would be inclined to read the text in this light.

Moreover, since a degree in law was necessary for any type of imperial civil service, law students, especially those with sights on a political career, or anyone connected with the school would be particularly inclined to read the text in this way.[63] Historian Stephen Williams, who has studied the legal system and its political ramifications argues

> [i]n a civilization where every high public official was a form of magistrate, a very great deal of the state's relations with its citizens revolved itself into the procedures of law. At every level administrators had to give legal decisions, often in court in the presence of advocates; *they had to express and publish the will of the Emperor in all kinds of subordinate legislation and instructions*, and represent the state's interests in legal appeals and disputes...*It is not surprising that the Prefects and vicars needed many trained advocates on their staffs, and that these jobs were seen as a first step in a successful career in bureaucracy.*[64]

The fourth century saw an increased need for educated individuals to fill the roles created in an enlarged bureaucracy.[65] While many of these individuals were produced in the standard rhetorical schools, the law schools of the East underwent a boon as well. Returning to Constantinople the Emperor sent for Demophilius the Arian bishop of the

---

Ulpian for first year students, more Ulpian in the second year, Papinian in the third, Paulus in the fourth, and the final year was devoted to imperial constitutions. The potential that either law students at Berytus might read the enhanced status of Peter in the Bezaen text of Acts in light of the Theodosius' *Cunctos populos* or that his status was increased to validate his position in this edict is reasonable.

[63]Downey, *Antioch in the Age of Theodosius the Great*, 65.

[64]Stephen Williams, *Diocletian and the Roman Recovery* (New York: Methuen, 1985), 108. Emphasis mine.

[65]Cameron, *Christianity and the Rhetoric of the Empire*, 140.

city. Theodosius offered the bishop an opportunity to accept the Nicean faith, but he refused and was immediately removed from his position. Theodosius wasted no time in replacing the Arian with St. Gregory of Nazianzus. Gregory's ascension to the bishopry was not a peaceful one. Soldiers had to protect the bishop from the crowds who initially rejected him. This account is one of the few first-hand narratives we have of Theodosius in action and is particularly important because it shows how the will of the Emperor—now connected to the Church—was implemented by force despite the will of the people. Deviants would not be allowed to upset the order and rightful beliefs of either the Nicean Church or the state. The council called by Theodosius in 381 was little more than a rubber stamp for his views. The law banned heretics from the church in order to preserve the Nicean faith:

> *Nullus haereticis mysteriorum locus, nulla ad exercendam animi obstinatioris dementiam pateat occasio. Sciant omnes etiam si quid speciali quolibet rescripto per fraudem elicito ab huiusmodi hominum genere impetratum est, non valere. Arceantur cunctorum haereticorum ab inlicitis congregationibus turbae. Unius et summi dei nomen ubique celebretur; Nicaenae fidei dudum a maioribus traditae et divinae religionis testimonio atque adsertione firmatae observantia semper mansura teneatur; Fotinianae labis contaminatio, Arriani sacrilegii venenum, Eunomianae perfidiae crimen et nefanda monstruosis nominibus auctorum prodigia sectarum ab ipso etiam aboleantur auditu. Is autem Nicaenae adsertor fidei, catholicae religionis verus cultur accipiendus est, qui omnipotentem deum et Cristum filium dei uno nomine confitetur, deum de deo, lumen ex lumine: qui spiritum sanctum, quem ex summo rerum parente speramus et accipimus, urgando non violat: apud quem intermeratae fidei sensu viget incorruptae trinitatis indivisa substantia, quae Graeci adsertione verbi [ousia] recte credentibus dicitur. Haec profecto nobis magis probata, haec veneranda sunt. Qui vero isdem non inserviunt, desinant adfectatis dolis alienum verae religionis nomen adsumere et suis apertis criminibus denotentur. Ab omnium submoti ecclesiarum limine penitus arceantur, factiosa temptaverit, ab ipsis etiam urbium moenibus exterminato furore propelli iubeamus, ut cuntis orthodoxis episcopis, qui Niceanam fidem tenet, catholicae ecclesiae toto orbe reddantur.*[66]

---

[66]*Codex Theodosius* XVI.5.6. This law is dated 10 January 381 to the Praetorian Prefect of the East. It reads, "No place for heretics of a secret religion lies open, no occasion with a view to exercising the folly of an obstinate mind. Let everyone prove

Within a very few months the Emperor declared as well that no Arian, Eunomian, or follower of Aetius was to build churches in the city or country.[67] The Theodosian law carefully defines who was a Christian by quoting from the Nicean creed of 325.

The power of Rome and the influence of Christianity came together in this law. It is difficult to say which is more amazing, that Roman law dictated what a Christian should believe or that a Christian creed was being cited by Roman law as authoritative. Either way, Christianity had become the religion of the Empire. Meeting in Constantinople in 381, the council seems to have been directed by Meletius, Bishop of Antioch, until his untimely death during the proceedings. His first task was to consecrate Gregory as Bishop of Constantinople. There were, according to tradition, 150 Holy Fathers present at the council and out of these there were few western representatives.[68] This council did not see itself as breaking any new ground; its role, in fact, was to affirm and establish those measures undertaken at Nicea in 325. Four canons were presented to and ratified by Theodosius.

---

that even if something was obtained by whatever special rescript you like, having been elicited through fraud by that type of men, will not prevail. Let the turmoil of all the heretics be shut up by the unlawful congregations. Let the name of the only and highest God be celebrated everywhere; formerly, the Niceans were delivered by the greater faith and by the testimony of divine religion, and with the declaration having been strengthened, respect, having been awaited, is always held; the contamination of Fotinian destruction, the poison of Arian sacrilege, the crime of the treacherous Eunomians and the heinous acts, with the monstrous names of the progenitors of the sects, are abolished even from hearing itself. However, the protector of the Nicean faith, the true defender of the Catholic religion, must be accepted, who confesses omnipotent God and Christ the Son." Translation mine.

[67]Ibid., XVI.5.8.

[68]See Socrates V.8., Sozomen VII.7., and Theodoret V.7.

The first canon orders that the faith ratified by the 318 fathers at Nicea should be upheld. Therefore, every heresy argued against at Nicea was now outlawed. In fact, Theodosius, although he did not mention all of the particular groups in question, had already condemned all of the teachings mentioned by council in his law of January 381. The other three canons concern administrative matters in the running of the diocesan areas. Of importance for this project from these canons is the notion that there was no one ruler over all of these areas. The assumption was, however, that those varied rulers were of one faith and of like mind. This assumption was found incorrect as competition among the bishops proved their disparity.

The Niceno-Constantinopolitan creed issued at the 381 council not only affirmed Nicea but anathematized all heresies that stood against that faith. Theodosius' approval provided the weight necessary to enforce this creed as not only doctrinally sound but binding by law. The council concluded by sending a letter of thanks to Theodosius and to God as well for the harmony achieved. Theodosius responded with his *Episcopis tradi* of 30 July 381 which essentially wrote into law the findings of the council. Yet in the spring of 383 Theodosius called a synod concerning recent heresies that quickly became a farce. Free discussion, as promised, did not occur, rather, each group submitted a creed. Each was summarily dismissed except for the Nicean version.[69]

Within a few years, Theodosius issued his *Omnes diversarum* and set down the rule that heretics were not to hold meetings, raise altars, or imitate the mysteries. More importantly, this law, unlike those before it, made provision for the pursuit and trial of heretics of any kind. By 392 Theodosius had decreed that heretical clergy were to be

---

[69]Sozomen VII 6.

fined ten pounds of gold and places of heretical gathering were to be confiscated.[70] In 389 Theodosius journeyed to Italy. Following a confrontation with Ambrose, bishop of Milan, over the burning of a synagogue at the ordering of another bishop, Theodosius came to Rome. On June 13, 389, Theodosius entered Rome with a hero's welcome. It is interesting that in this stronghold of paganism Theodosius received an honorable welcome and that in the Church his presence created only controversy.

Coming before the Roman Senate, Theodosius was entertained by a panegyric delivered by a pagan orator from Gaul named Latinus Pacatus Drepanius. The panegyric bordered on blasphemy in that Theodosius was hailed as the divine numen made visible. Such rhetoric was common, however, in the Roman world. In fact, Roman subjects were told and believed their very safety resided in the hands of the emperor and for centuries those subjects had honored that office with praise and panegyric rhetoric.[71] For example, Vegitius gives us the oath of a fourth-century army recruit:

> By God and Christ and the Holy Spirit and by the emperor's majesty, which by God's will, ought to be beloved and venerated by the human race . . . For when the emperor receives the name of Augustus, faithful devotion must be given to him, as if to a deity present in the flesh...For the civilian or soldier serves God when he loves faithfully him who reigns with God's authority.[72]

In the east, the emperor was to be worshipped by the nations and was the one to whom private vows were uttered, the one from whom sailors sought calm weather, the one who could grant safe return from a journey, and the one from whom soldiers sought favorable auspices before battle. In the West, however, it was the not the Emperor himself but his

---

[70] *Codex Theodosius* XVI.5.21.

[71] David Potter, *Prophets and Emperors: Human and Divine Authority from Augustus to Theodosius* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press), 99.

[72] Vegetius, *Ep. Rei milit.* 2.5.

genius that was considered worthy of such praise. It was in this context that the divine institution of Theodosius was highlighted even further because of the prediction of his ascent to the throne by a man accused of practicing divination.

In 372 there was a round of treason trials brought on by Procopius who denounced two treasury officials for attempting murder through magic. The two officials gave up their assistants, Palladius and Heliodorus. In order to plea-bargain, Palladius told his prosecutors that some members of the court were attempting to ascertain the identity of Valens' successor by divination.

One of those accused by Palladius, while being tortured, revealed the process and result of their actions. Using an ancient form of a quiji board, they asked the name of the next emperor. The board spelled out the characters TEOD. They assumed at the time the board was referring to an official named Theodorus, whom they told of their discovery. Within a short time, however, Valens was killed by the Goths at Adrianople and was succeeded not by Theodorus, but by Theodosius. The incident is reported by Ammianus who disdained the practice of divination itself but who was also amazed that it had seemingly worked.[73] The wrath of Theodosius was clear to the population as well. In 390 Theodosius ordered a massacre of the people in Thessalonica over the attempted rape of a Gothic officer by a beloved charioteer. Having cast the man into prison, Theodosius was petitioned by the people for his release in order that he might compete in the forthcoming games. When their request was refused, the people rioted and killed the Gothic officer.

---

[73] *Amm. Marc.* 29.1.29-31 Penguin trans and cited in King, *The Emperor and the Establishment of Christianity*, 182.

In response, Theodosius ordered a massacre in which thousands reportedly died.[74] Following the massacre, Ambrose sent a private letter to Theodosius in which the bishop reminded the emperor of King David's sin and repentance. More importantly, the letter was a bold step for the Bishop. Ambrose told the Theodoius that unless there were repentance for this deed, the bishop would not offer the sacrament in the presence of the emperor.[75] Obviously Theodosius took the advice of Ambrose as indicated in the bishop's eulogy of the emperor.[76] While historians have often offered this incident as a major victory of the Church over the State,[77] what is not said by Ambrose is significant as well; there is no threat of excommunication in his letter to the emperor at all. While the sacraments were potentially refused because of the Emperor's sin, a clear acknowledgement of wrongdoing, no charge at the level of full scale excommunication was offered. Ambrose apparently knew too well that to separate the Church from the first emperor to be a Christian for the entirety of his reign would be a mistake.

Theodosius' attitude toward Christianity was made clear as well, true Christianity should be Nicean in form and practice. Not only did this assertion set the path for "orthodox" Christianity, it began a difficult era for pagans as well. *Orthodoxy* had functionally and ideologically opened the door for *orthopraxy*. Although the early part of Theodosius's reign was characterized by a cordial relationship between himself and the

---

[74]Sozomen *HE* 7.25.1-7; Theodoret HE 5.17-18.

[75]*Ep.* LI. On this event see R. Schieffer, "Von Mailand nach Canossa," *Deutsches Archive für Erforschun des Mittelters* 28 (1972): 333-370.

[76]*De obitu Theodosii* 28; 34.

[77]For example, H. Lietzmann, *History of the Early Church* IV, 89.

pagan population,[78] the latter part of his reign was highlighted by the anti-pagan edicts of 391. The pinnacle of these edicts of enforced orthodoxy was the well-known *Nemo se hostiis pollutat*. This order was a call to arms against pagans in the same manner as *Cunctos Populos* was against the heretics in 380:

> *Nemo se hostiis polutat, nemo insontem victimam caedat, nemo delubra adeat, templa perlustret et mortali opere formata simulacra suspiciat, ne divinus adque humanis sanctionibus reus fiat. Iudices quoque haec forma contineat, ut, si quis profano ritui deditus templum uspiam val in itinere vel in urbe adoraturus intraverit, quindecim pondo auri ipse protinus inferre cogatur nec non officium eius paremsummam simili maturitate dissolvat, si non et obstiterit iuduci et confestim publica adtestatione rettulerit. Conselares senas, officia eorum simili modo, correctores et praesides quaternas, apparitiones illorum similem normam aequali sorte dissolvant.*[79]

If the former edict were not enough, late in 392 Theodosius took a legal stance against paganism.[80] Within a very few years, pagan resistance collapsed and all concessions made to paganism were reversed. Theodosius returned to Rome and faced his Senate. He exhorted them to turn away from their pagan beliefs and embrace Christianity. When

---

[78]Libanius, *Oratio* XXX 7, 8, notes that under Theodosius, in the early part of his reign, non-Christians were able to do as they pleased with the exception of blood sacrifice.

[79]*Codex Theodosius* XVI.10.10. It sated, "Let no one pollute himself with victims, let no one strike the innocent victim, let no one attack the sanctuary, let him traverse the sanctuaries and look up at the images having been formed by human work, let the divine reaching for human consecration be made criminal. Let this form also include the judges, so that, if anyone given to impious rites anywhere in a sacred place, either in journeying or in the city will succeed at worshiping, he is compelled to bear fifteen pounds of gold forward and equally, his business will be disbanded in similar time, if he does not stand before the judges and immediately recant with public testimony. Six consuls, their business in the same way, correctors and four quarrels each, their servants free a similar standard in equal lots." Translation mine.

[80]Ibid., XVI.10.12. Noel Q. King, *The Emperor Theodosius and the Establishment of Christianity* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1960), 96, argues that Theodosius used a technique to overcome the pagans now well known: "First, orthodoxy is defined. Then the heretics within the group are made to conform or are destroyed. On all sides, the weak, the indifferent and the undecided are brought into line."

they refused, he announced his decision to abolish the Senate altogether. On January 17, 395, however, Theodosius died at the height of his power. His *civitas dei* was his legacy.

The Symbolic Universe of the Fourth Century. A symbolic system constitutes the core values of a group and is structured in the cultural life of the group. This system influences how things are classified within the group. The core value is replicated throughout the system and gives it direction, consistency, and clarity. Neyrey states, "What accords with this value and its structured expressions is 'pure'; what contravenes it in any way is 'polluted.'"[81] Within the ancient world, this system was promulgated by the elite of society. In the second and early third centuries, the core values, purity and honor and shame, were articulated and enforced by an elite that was anti-Christian at worst and only rarely religiously tolerant at best. Rather than finding itself superseded by an external coup, however, the elite of the late third century found itself overtaken by a religion institutionalized by its own Emperor:

> If they [any group such as Christianity] became institutionalized, they could do so only in terms of the master institutions of the dominant culture (as no alternatives had ever been envisioned). Hence, if within the state, such a counterculture could be co-opted into the apparatus, as Christianity was.[82]

Coming out of a world of persecution, Christians in the fourth century found themselves in the enviable position of having a emperor sympathetic to their cause.

Clean and Unclean. Coming from the roots of Judaism, the early Christian church was aware of the social dimensions of its progenitor faith. The notion of order

---

[81]Jerome Neyrey, "The Symbolic Universe of Luke-Acts," in *The Social World of Luke-Acts*, 275.

[82]Carney, *The Shape of the Past*, 97.

prevalent in antiquity and what would become interpreted as part of being an orthodox and right practicinng believer, while not solely created by, was enhanced by Judaism's notion of purity. In the ancient world, purity was a concept that stood for the order of a social system:

> [it] is the orderly system whereby people perceive that certain things belong in certain places at certain times. "Purity" is the abstract way of indicating what fits, what is appropriate, and what is in place. "Purity" refers to a system, a coherent and detailed drawing of lines in the world to peg, classify, and structure that world. "Purity" is a cultural map which indicates "a place for everything and everything in its place."[83]

Because people draw lines to give both order and meaning to their world, understanding this system as a backdrop is significant. This system reveals how the dichotomy between what was orthodox and what was heresy arose so easily in a culture that was previously quite diverse in terms of religion. The move from situating what elements of their environment were out of synch, out of place, to what they believed God viewed as out of synch was a very small one. The basic function of purity rules was to point out what was out of place. Therein lies even the most basic function of the Pauline letters; to point out what was out of place, to make the lines clearer.

Theodosius is most commonly considered the "architect of imperial orthodoxy."[84] Because the conceptual foundations of both orthodoxy and heresy were laid as early as the second-century in the writings of Justin and Ireneus over the gnostic controversy, it was relatively easy for Theodosius to create an atmosphere where heretics were seen as mortal enemies. The recent work of Alain Le Boulluec, for example, takes the Bauer

---

[83]Neyrey, "The Symbolic Universe in Luke-Acts," in *The Social World of Luke-Acts*, 275.

[84]See for example, Burrus, *The Making of a Heretic*, 17; and John Matthews, *Western Aristocracies and the Imperial Court*, 145.

thesis and shows how the notion of orthodoxy was birthed not by Eusebius but simultaneously with the notion of heresy in the gnostic debates.[85]

Both Justin and Ireneus nuanced the portrait of the heretic as an enemy and created a context in which the appellation "heretic" could serve to influence and even expel powerful insiders in the political system of the fourth century.[86] Historian Jaroslav Pelikan argues that

> The triumph of theology in the fourth century, therefore, was not only the appropriation of Classical Culture. It was as well the victory of this pure doctrine and of these dogmas of truth over impure doctrine and heresy . . . Yet . . . even as it was practiced among the orthodox, the quest for pure doctrine was in need of constant scrutiny.[87]

The unlikely alliance of early Christianity and the empire resulted in a powerful religio-politcal force that convened councils, called for uniformity of belief and practice, and thereby with the concern over Christian identity, created clear lines of demarcation for what was orthodox and what was not. Theodosius, consciously or not, created these boundaries along the old lines of purity. Clearly, these lines extended from practical living to the interpretation of religious texts.

In the fourth century, however, doctrinal controversy was commonplace. The great councils, for example, are only the tip of a proverbial iceberg that cut a swath through the ideology and theology of this period. This fact is not surprising since

---

[85]Alain Le Boulluec, *Notion d'hérésie dans la littérature grecque IIe-IIIe siècles* (Paris: Études augustiniennes, 1985), 39-93.

[86]Burrus, *The Making of a Heretic*, 15-16. For an overview of the position of particularly Ireneus see Gerd Ludemann, *Heretics: The Other Side of Christianity*, trans. John Bowden (London: SCM, 1996).

[87]Jaroslav Pelikan, *Christianity and Classical Culture: The Metamorphosis of Natural Theology in the Christian Encounter with Hellenism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 173.

Theodosius' intrusion into matters of the church allowed as well for the church to enter into matters of the state. A great deal was at stake for those who could win the benefaction of the emperor and the church. Therefore, questions abounded concerning the faith and what it meant to be a Christian. Early in the fifth century, for example, an unknown follower of Pelagius set out to answer the question, "*Quid sit christianum esse*?"[88] in a letter to a young man.[89] The question is indicative of the period from at least 380 to 430. Marked by ecclesiastical debates, debates between pagans and Christians, as well as internal Christian strife, this period brought about some urgency to the question, "What is it to be Christian?"

As early as the time of Constantine, complaints were voiced about individuals who assimilated to the Emperor's religion solely for the purpose of political and opportunistic advantage. Could individuals who had "crept into the church from sheer hypocrisy" be called "Christians"?[90] Markus asserts that as the respectability and advantages of following Christianity grew, the problem of definition became more acute as well:

> [this question] became truly pressing in the generation which grew up at the end of the fourth century, the first for which paganism had ceased to be force still to be reckoned with, and at a loss to discern its identity in a society which was undergoing rapid mass-christianization . . . To this question there was no clear answer, or there were too many.[91]

For many of the early church fathers, this conformity with fads of high society, now a

---

[88]Cf., Tertullian, *De praescriptionibus haereticorum* VII, 10-11.

[89]*Ep. Ad adolescentem* (Caspari), *Patrologiae latinae supplementum* 1.1377.

[90]Eusebius, *Vita Const* IV.54.

[91]Markus, *The End of Ancient Christianity*, 32.

Christian high society, was not easy to distinguish from idolatry. Christians faced other issues as well. Richard Lim has recently argued that the fierce rivalry between Jews and Christians from the time of the early principate, gave rise to a vast array of polemical dialogue. The superior claim of rational persuasion, or disputation, moderated in varying degrees the conflicts between Jews and Christians, Christians and Pagans, and among various Christian groups. All of these disputations were attempts to create more clear lines of orthodoxy.

A disputation was a ritualized verbal context where "antagonists debated each other while adhering to the rules of a language game, whether of rhetoric or of dialectic."[92] While the preponderance of extant material on this topic is one-sidedly against the Jewish position, it is still possible to catch a glimpse of some of the issues and methods of the debates.[93]

Common to these debates was a practice considered abhorrent by the Greek philosophers of the day. Justifying one's position *sine ratione*, solely on the basis of

---

[92]Lim, *Public Disputation, Power, and Social Order in Late Antiquity*, 2-3. For an overview and introduction to this field see R. McKeon, "Greek Dialectics: Dialectic and Dialogue, Dialectic and Rhetoric," in C. Perelman, ed., *Dialectics* (The Hauge, 1975), 1-25; and P. Hadot, "Philosophie, dialectique, rhétorique dans l'antiqué," *Studia Philosophica* 39 (1980): 139-166. The classic study on this topic concerning Jewish and Christian relations is A. L. Williams, *Adversus Judaeos: A Bird's–Eye View of Christian Apologiae Until the Renaissnace* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1935). Within the biblical guild see J. Dewey, *Markan Public Debate*, SBLDS 48 (Chico: Scholars Press, 1980).

[93]The epitome of this material was a work written by a Christian defeated after a day–long debate with a Jewish proselyte. Rather than face his nemesis a second time, the defeated Christian turned to a written work that employed a dialogue between a Christian and Jewish interlocutor. This work, Tertullian's *Adversus Judaeos*, was an attempt to reinterpret positively the nature and outcome of the debate for an audience not present at the actual event. See his introduction at 1.1. For the philosophical roots of these debates see the recent work by Christopher Stead, *Philosophy in Christian Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

some higher authority was condemned as an argument based on dogmatism. This practice, was considered part of the Christian rhetoric. Note the comments of Cicero:

> *Non enim tam auctoritatis in disputando quam rationis momenta quaerenda sunt. Quin etiam obest plerumque is qui discere volunt auctoritas eorum qui se docere profitentur; desinent enim suum iudicium adhibere, id habent ratum quod ab eo quem probant iudicatum vident . . . tantum opinio praeiudicanta poterat, ut etiam sine ratione valeret auctoritas.*[94]

Charges of reliance on such "givens" were often leveled against Christians in particular, because they were viewed by many Greeks as a newer sect that lacked the antiquity of Judaism. Christian methods of persuasion tended to include less rational argument and more personal appeal:

> Most people are unable to follow any demonstrative argument (ἀποδεικτοὶ λόγοι) consecutively...just as now we see the people called the Christians drawing their faith from parables [and miracles], and yet sometimes acting in the same way [as those who philosophize]. For their contempt of death [and of its sequel] is patent to us every day, and likewise their restraint in cohabitation. For they include not only men but women who refrain from cohabiting all through their lives; and they also number individuals who, in self–discipline and self–control in matters of food and drink, and in their keen pursuit of justice, have attained a pitch not inferior to that of genuine philosophers.[95]

While Galen's view was somewhat optimistic about the virtues of Christian appeals and ethics, Christians in the third century were generally viewed by educated

---

[94]*De natura deorum* 1.5.10. "In discussion it is not so much weight of authority as force of argument that should be demanded. Indeed the authority of those who profess to teach is often a positive hindrance to those who desire to learn. They cease to employ their own judgement, and take what they perceive to be the verdict of their chosen master as settling the question...opinion already decided, making authority prevail unsupported by reason." My translation.

[95]Cited in R. Walzer, *Galen on Jews and Christians* (London, 1949), 15-16 (Original uncited). While Stephen Gero has argued convincingly that the Arab passage quoted above reflects later Christian emendations, he concedes that the first part of the passage on Christian use of non- disputational forms of argument is likely original ("Galen on the Christians: A Reappraisal of the Arabic Evidence," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 65 [1990]: 371-404).

pagans as subversive infiltrators who wrongfully by-passed the *patresfamilias*, the dominant authority, by appealing to the more gullible elements of society. Celsus, for example, argued against the unphilosophical modes of argumentation utilized by Christians to advance their faith:

> In private houses also we see wool-workers, cobblers, laundry-workers, and the most illiterate and bucolic yokels, who would not dare to say anything at all in front of their elders and more intelligent masters. But whenever they get hold of children in private and some stupid women with them, they let out astounding statements as, for example, that they must not pay any attention to their father and school-teachers, but must obey them; they [the Christians] say that these talk nonsense and have no understanding, and that in reality they neither know nor are able to do anything good, but are taken up with mere empty chatter. But they [the Christians] alone, they say, know the right way to live, and if the children would believe them, they would become happy and make their home happy as well. And if just as they [the Christians] are speaking they see one of the school-teachers coming, or some intelligent person, or even the father himself, the more cautious of them flee in all directions; but the more reckless urge the children on to rebel. They whisper to them that in the presence of their father and their schoolmasters they [the Christians] do not feel able to explain anything to children, since they do not want to have anything to do with the silly and obtuse teachers who are totally corrupted and far gone in wickedness and who inflict punishment on the children. But, if they like, the [the children] should leave their father and their schoolmasters, and go along with the women and little children who are their playfellows to the woodresser's shop, or to the cobbler's of the washerman's shop, that they may learn perfection. And by saying this they [the Christians] persuade [the children].[96]

That view being the case, how then are we to explain the transformation of ancient Rome? More clearly, what brought about the change from ancient classical Rome to early Christian Byzantium? While there were a multiplicity of factors involved, a central point of agreement among nearly all contemporary scholars of this age is that the movement to Christianity played a significant role in this process. Central to Christianity in this period was its interest in communication: both verbal and written. Note the following list of characteristic changes from the second to the fourth century that Averil

Cameron attributes, in part, to the penetration of Christian discourse into pagan society:

> [The first two centuries AD were characterized by] a strong horizontal demarcation line between the educated elite and the rest of society; an elite maintained and controlled by elaborate regulating mechanisms; control of military and civil power by the same group; and finally, a mass population cut off and mostly illiterate, with the gap reinforced by the high level of traditional literary culture practiced by the elite. By the fourth century AD, however, the situation has significantly changed: the civil and the military are now separated; an increase in the number of government posts has opened up the elite and confused the old demarcation lines; the traditional culture is challenged by an alternative, institutionalized elite has come into being in the persons of Christian bishops.[97]

Consequently, there was very quickly a movement to control Christian rhetoric in the Empire. Not that such rhetoric should be ended, but that it should be *approved* rhetoric, in other words, *orthodox*. From the second century onward, this struggle to control Christian rhetoric demonstrates the crucial importance of texts in the growth and acquisition of power. The council of Nicea, for example, balanced on one single word, *homoousios*.

Unlike the educated rhetoric common among the pagan elite, Christian rhetoric was easily learned by members of all social and economic classes: "It is possible for the person who lives according to our teaching to philosophize even without learning, whether barbarian or Greek, or slave; whether old an man, a child or woman."[98] Yet it should not be assumed that Christians did not utilize contemporary conventions of

---

[96]Origen, *Contra Celsum* 2.55.

[97]Averil Cameron, *Christianity and the Rhetoric of the Empire: The Development of Christian Discourse* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 30.

[98]Clement, *Misc.* 4.6.58.3, clearly alluding to Rom 3:28. It is no longer tenable to assume that a majority of Christianity's converts came from the lower classes of society. For a good introduction and bibliography on this issue see Wayne Meeks, *The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 51ff.

discourse. While Paul argued in 1 Corinthians 3:19 "God made foolish the wisdom of this world," he was unafraid to utilize contemporary methods of argumentation to make his point. In fact, many of the Christian writers who argued against philosophical modes of thinking and persuasion, did so through established means of rhetorical argument. The power behind Christian rhetoric, however, was not in its reasonability by philosophical standards, but in its claim to truth.

Beginning in the fourth century, the state–supported church found itself inextricably bound up in a battle over defining its faith. In fact, the question over the ability of language to accurately represent the truth became one of the pressing issues of the period.[99] Because Christians of the fourth century, and especially Christian bishops, found themselves in a very different and prominent position in this period, their influence over political power, despite their numerical minority status, came to the forefront. In fact, by the end of the fourth and into the middle of the fifth century, Christian leadership and patronage in the Empire became commonplace because both were backed with active imperial support.

The only real exception was Julian, who attempted to dislocate the flow of Christian rhetoric, knowing its power, by forbidding Christians to teach in rhetorical schools. Not just because his reign was brief, but it also appears that Julian could not counter what had already begun did his measures fail.

The fourth century was clearly a time when orthodox rhetoric conveyed power and Christians had the mindset and the ability to make it their own. What is surprising about Christian attempts to create a new rhetoric is what is missing from their arsenal

---

[99]Cameron, *Christianity and the Rhetoric of the Empire*, 88.

during the fourth century–Christian historical writing. Although Rufinus produced a Latin translation of Eusebius' work during this period, there were no first-hand Christian works produced in this genre.[100] What were produced, however, were the writings of the genre called *Lives*.

This particular classification denotes works that combined the features of biography and encomium, public and personal. Christians could with this genre employ classical rhetorical devices as well as intimate personal feelings. "Through Lives," states Cameron, "Christian writers could present an image not only of the perfect Christian life but also of the life in imitation of Christ, the life that becomes an icon."[101]

Christians used the biblical documents themselves in this same way. The Acts of the Apostles was already a major force in combating heresy. The Holy Apostles were seen early on as images of a well lived Christ-like life. Both Irenaeus and Tertullian, for example, in the late second century were using Acts for this very purpose. Especially for Irenaeus, who advocated the unity of the Apostolic message in Acts (*Adv. haer.* III, 12.1-15), was Acts most useful. Tertullian used the book as well "in the battle against heretics [and] to confirm the descent of the Spirit upon all the Apostles" (*Praescr* 22:11).[102] Consequently, notes Tertullian, because of this usage Acts was rejected by the heretics (*Praescr* 23:3).

---

[100]A. Momigliano, "Pagan and Christian Historiography in the Fourth Century A.D.," in *Conflict Between Paganism and Christianity in the Later Roman Empire*, ed. A. Momigliano (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1963), 79-99. See also B. Croke and A. Emmett, ed., *History and Historians in Late Antiquity* (Sydney: Pergamon Press, 1983).

[101]Cameron, *Christianity and the Rhetoric of the Empire*, 143.

[102]Gerd Lüdemann, *Heretics: The Other Side of Christianity*, trans. John Bowden (London: SCM Press, 1996), 197.

Honor and Shame. The central and most pivotal value of the early Mediterranean belief system was honor.[103] Ancient persons described honor as

> the positive value of a person in his or her own eyes plus the positive appreciation of that person in the eyes of his or her social group. In this perspective honor is a claim to positive worth along with the social acknowledgement of that worth by others...Honor then is an abstract concept that becomes concrete only when a particular society's understanding of power, gender, and precedence is examined...[In other words,] honor depends on the vantage point of the actors and perceivers.[104]

While what constitutes honor and shame might vary from locale to locale, there were as well certain culturally accepted norms that are the focus of this investigation. These norms, like all values, were not necessarily constant. Consequently, this reconstruction must be considered provisional. While it is evident and need not be proved that by the time of Theodosius Christianity had achieved an honorable status in the fourth century (particularly by the elite), what remains is to speak of how this concept of honor can affect the reading of our text.

Persons of the ancient world were strongly group embedded and collectivist in their thought and actions. Because of this "group mentality," their society was dually aligned with an in–group and an out–group mindset. A person's values and beliefs were attuned to his or her particular in–group. Ancient persons assessed themselves and their world in terms of certain typical and expected stereotypes. The most prominent of these steretypes was kinship or familism, "belief in the central role and value of the

---

[103]Bruce J. Malina, *The New Testament World: Insights from Cultural Anthropology* (Atlanta: John Knox, 1981), 25-50.

[104]Bruce J. Malina and Jerome H. Neyrey, "Honor and Shame in Luke-Acts: Pivotal Values of the Mediterranean World," in *The Social World of Luke-Acts*, 25-26.

household."[105] Because even the *polis* in itself had an in–group and an out–group dimension, life in the ancient world consisted of group–embedded persons interacting with a view to effective collective action toward the outside, yet with concerns for honor acquisition on the inside.

Honor itself was available by two methods in the ancient world: (1) it could be ascribed either through birth or family connections, and (2) it could be acquired either by benefactions or prowess. Because of the agonistic nature of the culture, social contests for honor were common. These challenge–riposte contests were actually a form of public communication that demanded a verdict.

The new honorable status accorded to Christianity in the ancient world was evident. Beginning with the benefactions of Constantine through the Imperial laws and patronage offered by Theodosius the status and nature of Christianity's relationship in and with the state changed. During that change, the role of Christian leaders and Bishops moved to foreground as they found new power under the state. Particularly important was the event with Ambrose of Milan over the Thessolinica massacre. While the events surrounding the letter sent by Ambrose remain unclear, what is significant for our discussion here is Theodosius' repentant response. According to Rufinus, Theodosius acknowledged his crime and tearfully professed his responsibility. The emperor performed public penance in full view of the whole church, and completed the "time appointed for this patiently, and without any of the haughtiness typical of Kings."[106]

---

[105]Bruce J. Malina and Jerome H. Neyrey, *Portraits of Paul: An Archaeology of Ancient Personality* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1996), 17.

[106]HE 12.18. See Neil B. McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan: Church and Court in a Christian Capital* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1994), 291-360, who argues that this scenario in Rufinus was well planned by the Emperor and Ambrose.

The picture of a Roman Emperor kneeling in penance before a Christian bishop has important honor ramifications. Clearly, in this event, Rome acknowledged a higher benefactor. The massacre became the product of a struggle between good and evil where the honor of good won in the end when the public face of the Roman Empire bowed before the Christian representative of God. For the first time, an Emperor placed himself in the hands of a church leader and thereby formally brought together the institutions of church and state.

The epitome of this event was the collusion of the Roman point of view and the Christian ideology. Writing in the years just after Theodosius, the Christian poet Prudentius notes how honorably the two institutions assimilated under God's guidance:

> God, wishing to unite peoples of differing speech and kingdoms of various customs under one ruling power, has determined to bring all that is capable of civilized living under one gentle yoke of concord, so that men's hearts be united by the love of their religion…To curb their frenzy, God taught all the nations to bow their heads under the same laws and to become Romans…Come, then, Almighty, enter this world of concord: the whole world receives you now, O Christ held in the bonds of harmony by peace and Rome.[107]

Consequently, the significance of honor within our reading cannot be forsaken. Not only at the imperial level, honor will play a significant role in our characterization of both Peter and Paul as well. To read the characters in Acts with this sociological perspective in view, it is necessary to understand how this perspective functioned in a literary context. To that portion of the project we will turn in the next chapter.

Conclusion

How then can these gathered materials influence our hybrid reader? While no reading can account for all of the many components possible within these scenarios, there

---

[107] *Contra Symmachum* ii.585-636.

are some general lines that can be accounted for in our subsequent reading. At least four themes stand out in this chapter. First, all power, even that of the Emperor himself, was attributed and part of the patron-client relationship, or "friendship." The rise of Christianity did not overtake this system but occurred within it. Therefore, Christianity became by the fourth century a central force of political and theological power in the life of the ancient Roman world.

Secondly, the imperial court itself, particularly because of its significance in the cultural and social climate, assisted in bringing about the rise of the Christian Church. The initial personal adoption of Christianity by Constantine, the Christian life of Theodosius helped to create a climate where Christianity became honorable and acceptable to the people of the Roman world.

Thirdly, the need to establish an orthodox tradition in both word and deed brought about both a common cause for a diverse Christianity and a platform upon which the Emperor could intervene with positive and negative effects on the Christian church.

Fourthly, the movement of the government from an overtly public to a more private sector allowed Christianity to move into a position of power in the fourth century. This movement allowed a religion that was generally private to move into an honorable and public sector like never before. For the first time, bishops and Christian leaders were in a position to affect Roman policy and rule. Consequently, how one acted, thought, and "read" the text became of utmost importance.

CHAPTER THREE

Reading the Lines:
The Literary Competence of the Reader

Introduction

While the focus of this study thus far has centered on the external competence of the Bezaen reader, this chapter will explore the Bezaen reader's internal *narrative* competence. The previous and the present chapter are similar, however, in that both focus on what stands as written and unwritten in the text. Although unwritten, these elements stand implicit within the reading process itself.[1] The role of this chapter, therefore, is to attempt to account for these facets of the written and unwritten by means of categorization. Robert Funk utilizes the work of Benjamin Hrushovski to categorize these facets as frames of reference. According to Funk

> The essential aspect of a *fr* [frame of reference] is that when speaking or writing about it or them, one may draw on the listener's knowledge of that *fr* to supply certain things left unsaid. The frame of reference itself is unwritten; but the text contains clues that point to the *fr*.[2]

A particular narrative may carry innumerable frames of reference, but only a limited number of fields of reference depending on the number of readers in question. It is one field of reference in particular that is the focus of this chapter, that of the fourth century reader of Codex Bezae. Funk defines a field of reference as "a construction of the author

---

[1]Cf., Robert Funk, *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative* (Sonoma, CA: Polebridge, 1988), 286.

[2]Ibid., 287.

and reader, based on clues provided by a series of *frs*."[3] The purpose of this chapter then is to define the basic frames of reference for the reader in question in order to distinguish that reader's field of reference.

For the purposes of this project, I have proposed three basic internal frames of reference: (1) characterization; (2) rhetoric; and (3) narration. While other frames of reference certainly exist, these three were chosen because of their overt ability to teach the reader to read. Each of these three fields contain significant clues accessible to the reader and from which we may build an appropriate field of reference for our subsequent reading of Codex Bezae.

An important issue in this project concerns how to organize these frames of reference so that they make sense in the reading of the text. James Phelan's recent work on characterization postulates that in order to generate, sustain, develop, and resolve a reader's interest in a given narrative, authors rely on what he calls "instabilities" in the text. Within these "instabilities" argues Phelan, "movement is given shape and direction by the way in which an author introduces, complicates, and resolves (or fails to resolve) certain instabilities that are the developing focus of the authorial audience's interest in the narrative."[4]

This movement that engages the reader is what Phelan labels "*progression*": i.e., "narrative as a dynamic event, one that must move, in both its telling and reception

---

[3]Ibid.

[4]James Phelan, *Reading People, Reading Plots: Character, Progression and the Interpretation of Narrative* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 15.

through time."[5] Using Seymour Chatman's story-discourse model, Phelan posits that there are two main kinds of instabilities.

First there are those unstable relations within the story that occur "between characters, created by situations, and complicated and resolved through actions" called *instabilities*.[6] Second are those unstable relations in the discourse called *tension* that concern the "value[s], belief[s], expectation[s] . . . [of] authors and/or narrators, on the one hand and . . . the authorial audience on the other."[7] What Phelan fails to account for in his work, however, is that both instabilities and tension are often created by means other than grammatical and semantic interplay. The social world of the text and reader can either clash or coalesce at significant places creating either or both instability and tension for the reader.[8] Also significant for Phelan is his dual concept of *closure* and *completeness*. The former refers to the way a narrative signals its end, whereas the latter

---

[5]Ibid.

[6]Ibid.

[7]Ibid. Narratives can and do show progression utilizing one or the other of these two categories. Some narratives, however, like Acts, prefer to utilize both.

[8]The interplay of the social world is clear on the discourse level of tension. Even on the story level, however, instability can come about through the reader's perspective whether intended or not by the author. Phelan does note that "not all parts of a narrative are directly concerned with instabilities or tensions, but rather…all parts of a narrative may have consequences for the progression, even if those consequences lie solely in their effect on the reader's understanding of the instabilities, tension, and resolution," (Ibid.). But he simply fails to take account of any extratextual forces that might come to play on the instability and tension in the reading of the text. My reading will allow for such instances and will, in fact, hinge on those nuances in many places.

refers to "the degree of resolution accompanying closure."[9] This concept is important for a narrative like Acts that ends abruptly leaving many unanswered questions. While the closure of Acts is a matter of great discussion among scholars, the level of completeness is potentially more significant but is rarely discussed. The degree of completeness in a narrative is based on that narrative's ability to resolve the instabilities and tensions raised. Thus the above mentioned categories will be discussed under the rubrics of Phelan's model. Characterization falls under the rubric of *instabilities*. Narration and rhetorical influences, on the other hand, fall under the rubric of *tension*.

Instability

The frame of reference discussed in this section occurs within the story. The characters are story elements that are part of the *what* that is depicted.[10] What follows is an attempt to provide an appropriate taxonomy for this narrative frame of reference and a general account of how it functions in preparation for our reading in chapters 5 and 6.

Characterization

Based on his dynamic reading model—i.e., that reading is "the creative, progressive interaction among audience, text, and extratext"—John Darr argues for a four tiered approach to characterization that is (1) holistic and contextual, (2) sequential and cumulative, (3) attentive to both the literary and social forces that conditioned reading in

---

[9]Ibid., 16.

[10]Chatman, *Story and Discourse: Narrative Structure in Fiction and Film* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1978), 19.

Greco-Roman times, and (4) observant of the text's rhetoric.[11] The first tier is particularly significant for Bezae, because it is generally agreed that this manuscript, as we have it in its present form, was corrupted by a line of correctors over a span of about 150 years. Consequently, D has not been read by modern scholarship as a holistic text but as an example of 'Western' textual tendencies. Darr's assertion that readers build consistency or holism from discrete textual data means that we can assume a reader who can account for the many gaps in this manuscript. According to Darr, the reader accomplishes this task by accessing frames of reference or what he calls "character shaping contexts,"[12] the most prominent of which are character and plot, character and setting, and character and characters.

The assumption that character and plot are interdependent and equal is relatively new.[13] Yet it is significant for an ancient narrative like Acts where characters often serve as metonymic images.[14] These reflective images move the plot along and serve to assist

---

[11]John Darr, *On Building Character: the reader and the rhetoric of characterization in luke-acts*, ed., Dana Nolan Fewell and David Gunn (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1992), 37.

[12]Ibid., 38.

[13]See for example, Frank Kermode, *The Genesis of Secrecy: On the Interpretation of Narrative* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979), 77; and Chatman, *Story and Discourse*, 112-113.

[14]The concept of metonymic image was developed most extensively by Roman Jakobson (in his "Two Aspects of Language and Two Types of Aphasic Disturbances," in *Fundamentals of Language*, 2nd ed (Mouton: The Hague, 1971), see 74, 77-80, 84-86, and 90-92) where he argues not just that the name of one item is given to another item associated by *contiguity* to it (the traditional idea) but that use of a part can represent the whole. Metonymy should not be confused with metaphor which relies on similarity rather than contiguity. In other words, metonymy is able to transfer meaning from one

the reader in understanding the progression of the story. Peter, for example, in the Third Gospel functioned as the part of the image of betrayal. Yet in Acts he becomes the image of Jesus himself, healing, teaching, and endowed with the Holy Spirit. The plot within Acts reveals Peter's *progression* from betrayer to faithful witness and is the thread along which the early part of the story moves. Thus both elements are necessary and significant.

The setting in which a character is found reveals a great deal about the personality of that character. How that person acts, speaks to others, and is spoken about all play a role in the make up of the reader's point of view concerning a character. As important, however, is how these three elements occur in a variety of settings. Characters that are more fully developed, Paul for example, will appear in a variety of settings that give the reader a variety of clues from which his character can be built.

Even other "characters" can serve as setting. The disciples in Acts are so often in the background, nameless and speechless, that they serve as a backdrop for Peter's character and role. Rather than being developed, the literary purpose of these panoramic characters is to serve a particular function: e.g., to enhance the status of Peter as their representative. In fact, the reader who holds the frame of reference suggested thus far can

---

subject to another by means of associations that develop out of specific contexts rather than from participation in the structure of meaning. According to Jackobson, metonymy places us in the historical world of events and situation by relying on the connections that build up over time and the associations of usage. See also Frank Lentricchia and Thomas McLaughlin, *Critical Terms for Literary Study*, 2nd ed (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 81-85.

and will even presuppose the function of the disciples. Since they rarely speak or act in any way, their role is to authenticate and *fill in* by means of their status in the narrative.[15]

The rhetorical device *sygkrisis* is a method of comparing and contrasting two figures. This comparison has at least three levels: (1) where one character is shown as subordinate to another; (2) where one character is shown as greater than another (e.g., John to Jesus in Luke); and (3) where a lesser character is shown as equal to a greater character. It is the last of these three that makes the reading of Acts so interesting. Peter is clearly held up as metonymic image of Jesus himself. Alan Culpepper, in his study of John's Gospel, notes that the non-protagonist characters

> are in effect the prism which breaks up the pure light of Jesus' remote epiphany into colors the reader can see. In John's narrative world the individuality of all of the characters except Jesus is determined by their encounter with Jesus. The characters represent a continuum of responses to Jesus which exemplify misunderstandings the reader may share and responses one might make to the depiction of Jesus in the Gospel.[16]

The same is true of Peter in Acts. All of the characters in the first fifteen chapters are evaluated against Peter.

In Acts, Peter becomes the protagonist in the physical absence of Jesus. Endowed with the Holy Spirit, he functions in the very role Culpepper argues for Jesus in John's Gospel. Yet at the same time, there is an aspect present not mentioned by Culpepper. Because Peter functions in the Acts narrative as an image of Jesus and because the honor/shame component so central to their world (see chapter two) is within the reader's

---

[15]Chatman, *Story and Discourse*, 141.

[16]Culpepper, *The Anatomy of the Fourth Gospel*, 104.

field of reference, all of Peter and the disciples' actions do reflect back on Jesus.[17] In other words, for the narrative of Acts, the reader, the characters, and the modern-day critic all see Jesus through the respective images of Peter and the other followers of Jesus. Peter, however, serves as their representative. Thus Jesus' statement that "You shall be my witnesses...to the ends of the earth" (Acts 1:8) has both a prophetic and proleptic character.

Reading a Character

The most well-known explication or "how to" on character is the show-and/or-tell method. Advocated by M. H. Abrams, this method had improved little since its inception.[18] The former aspect refers to what a character does, explicitly in contrast to other characters and the protagonist. The latter, on the other hand, refers to what other characters have to say about a given personality, what the narrator says, and ultimately what the character reveals about his or her own self through self-defining comments

---

[17]See the concepts of collective honor and the challenge and riposte system in the article by Bruce Malina and Jerome H. Neyrey, "Honor and Shame in Luke-Acts: Pivotal Values of the Mediterranean World," in *The Social World of Luke-Acts*, 25-66.

[18]The difficulty in talking about character is well noted and obvious by the wealth of contrasting material on the subject. It is beyond the purview of this project to delineate this discussion any further here. Suffice it to say that one method will be chosen because of its merits and success in other studies. Of the available studies, the following are the most useful monographs in the literary and biblical fields: Mary Doyle Springer, *A Rhetoric of Literary Character* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), Martin Price, *Forms of Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), Thomas Docherty, *Reading (Absent) Character* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), Baruch Hochman, *Character in Literature* (Ithica: Cornell University Press, 1985), John A. Darr, *Reading Character*. Chapter length studies and journal articles include: Seymour Chatman, *Story and Discourse* (Ithica: Cornell University Press, 1978), Rawden Wilson, "The Bright Chimera: Character as a Literary Term," *Critical Inquiry* 5 (1979): 725-749.

either verbal or internalized. Following this method, Robert Alter argues for a hierarchy of traits in ascending order of explicitness and certainty that assist a reader in reading a character.

The lowest end of the scale, character revealed through actions or appearance, generally leaves the reader the task of inferring the trait. The middle level, involving direct speech by a character or by others about a character, asks the reader to weigh the value of that speech. Internal speech, what a character thinks, is generally considered more reliable than outward speech, what one character says to another. The highest level is the reliable narrator's comments about a character.[19]

What is clear is that all of the above function as a network of character traits, that may or may not appear as such in the text.[20] According to Rimmon-Kenan, the reader assembles this construct through the linear reading process, building the various character indicators distributed along the text-continuum and, when needed, inferring the traits from them.[21] While numerous models are currently being used by biblical scholars for this task, Rimmon-Kenan's model commends itself more than any other due to its functional taxonomy.

This method was described by Mikeal Parsons in his recent work as "simple, flexible and accessible, precisely the qualities required of literary-critical models that are

---

[19]Robert Alter, *The Art of Biblical Narrative* (New York: Basic Books, 1981).

[20]Shlomith Rimmon-Kenan, *Narrative Fiction: Contemporary Poetics* (London: Routledge, 1991), 59. According to Seymour Chatman, *Story and Discourse*, 127, a character trait is a "relatively stable or abiding personal quality."

[21]Ibid.

going to be applied to biblical narratives."[22] Rimmon-Kenan's methodology provides what Rabinowitz calls "rules of notice" that tell us where to concentrate our attention and tell us that some features of the text serve as a basic structure on which readers must build their interpretation.[23]

There are, by Rimmon-Kenan's model, two types of textual indicators of character. The first, *direct definition*, names a trait by some means but "counts only if it proceeds from the most authoritative voice in the text."[24] This type of definition

> is akin to generalization and conceptualization. It is also both explicit and supra-temporal. Consequently, its dominance in a given text is liable to produce a rational and static impression. This impression may be alleviated if the definitions seem to emerge gradually from concrete details, or are immediately exemplified by specific behavior, or presented together with other means of characterization.[25]

The second indicator, indirect presentation, is where, rather than mentioning a trait, it is displayed or exemplified in some way. There are at least four possible means of indirect presentation: action, speech, external appearance, and environment.[26]

---

[22]Mikeal C. Parsons and Richard I. Pervo, *Rethinking the Unity of Luke and Acts* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 48. Note also the comments by Steven Sheely, "The Narrator in the Gospel," *Perspectives in Religious Studies* 16 (1989): 14: "The value of Rimmon-Kenan's model lies both in its simplicity (other models are so complex in their formation as to prohibit application) and its comprehensive nature."

[23]Peter J. Rabinowitz, *Before Reading*, 53, calls these rules of concentration and scaffolding respectively.

[24]Rimmon-Kenan, *Narrative Fiction*, 60.

[25]Ibid.

[26]Ibid., 60-67. The third of these, however, is inapplicable to Acts because no such information is available in the text. Consequently, I will concern myself solely with the remaining three points.

(1) Action, either one-time or habitual, may imply certain traits about a character and belong to one of three categories: (a) an act of commission (i.e., something performed by the character); (b) an act of omission (something the character should do, but has not); and (c) an act that is complicated (i.e., unrealized plan[s] of the character). One-time actions can indicate a turning point in the narrative, but often show the dynamic aspects of a character. Habitual actions, on the other hand, show an unchanging aspect about the character.[27]

(2) Speech, in both conversation and as part of an internal dialogue of the mind, can reveal certain traits through both its content and form. Consequently, what one character says about another can reveal traits about both the speaker and the object of the speech. Moreover, even the form or style of a speech is a means of characterizations especially where the character's speech is individuated from the narrator's. Although Rimmon-Kennan devotes little to the concept, the style, language, repetition, and even subordinate clauses of speech can indicate certain aspects of character.[28]

(3) Environment, according to Rimmon-Kenan, is a "character's physical surrounding . . . as well as his [or her] human environment" and is "often used as trait-connoting metonymies.[29]

A final category, although it is dependent on prior establishment by the previous two mentioned above, plays an important role in characterization. Reinforcement by

---

[27]Ibid.

[28]Ibid.

[29]Ibid., 66.

analogy occurs in at least two ways in Acts. First, names can either parallel or contrast character traits morphologically or semantically. Peter, for example, at the end of Luke is hardly "the rock" Jesus said he would be. But in Acts, Peter becomes the promised cornerstone of the early church. Second, an analogy between characters "presented in similar circumstances, [where] the similarity or contrast between their behavior emphasizes characteristics of both" occurs between Jesus and his metonymic witnesses Peter and, thereby, the rest of the disciples.[30]

Tension

Unlike instabilities, tension occurs within the discourse level. Consequently, these frames of reference have to do with the expression and communication of the content of the story. If story is the "*what*" in a narrative, the discourse level is the "*how*."[31] While both character and the narrator were discussed above, an important distinction is that their speech acts can bring about tension rather than instability in the narrative. Thus those elements will be discussed here.

Learning to Read the Text

To understand a narrative is to answer a set of questions raised by the narrative itself. Some of those questions have obvious answers. Who is the protagonist of the Gospels: Jesus. Others, however, leave the reader wondering. In fact, some questions are never answered but are intended (or at least function in this way) to present the reader

---

[30]Ibid., 70.

[31]Chatman, *Story and Discourse*, 19.

with gaps that need filling. Meir Sternberg offers the following well-known Hebrew nursery rhyme as an example of how we as reader fill gaps:

> Every day, that's the way
> Jonathan goes out to play.
> Climbed a tree. What did he see?
> Birdies: one, two, three!
>
> Naughty boy! What have we seen?
> There's a hole in your new jeans![32]

By Sternberg's explanation, readers naturally assume—i.e., fill the gap—that Jonathan has torn his pants climbing the tree. Clearly there are other possibilities that might explain the tear, but the text gives the reader no answers, only a gap to fill. According to Sternberg,

> the reader prefers the hypothesis that the tree is to blame, because it enables him to link the tree (just indicated in the song) and the hole in a causal chain. This hypothesis offers the simplest and most probable explanation for the coexistence and unfolding of the different givens in the text…All the same, this still remains a hypothesis, whose preference over others entirely derives from the logic of gap filling.[33]

In fact, reading any text is to participate in the process of learning to read that text.[34] In works like Acts, where there are significant and difficult gaps to fill, readers must rely, on the one hand, upon the knowledge that can be readily ascertained about the extratextual world, and on the other, the way the text offers clues the reader or, better, teaches the

---

[32]Meir Sternberg, *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative: Ideological Literature and the Politics of Reading* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), 187.

[33]Ibid.

[34]On this topic see Steven Mailloux, *Rhetorical Power* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), 36-53.

reader to read. One significant way this information is given to the reader is by the narrative voice of the text.

Part of the narrator's responsibility, in any story, is to teach the reader to read. C. K. Barrett unknowingly alluded to this concept in his research noting that the Bezaen version of Acts is marked by an attempt "to increase interest, to heighten tension, to make the descriptions more vivid, in a word to brighten the colours of Luke's narrative, where no theological, ecclesiastical, racial, or any other such interest is involved."[35] The question Barrett, and others, raise with this characterization of the Bezaen narrator is, "Who is the narrator of Codex Bezae and what does this narrator do?"

The Narrator as Teacher

At the discourse level of the narrative (i.e., the way the story is told), it is the narrator who speaks to the reader(s) and tells the story. Alan Culpepper, in his work on the Fourth Gospel, notes that the narrator is the one who

> introduces us to the world of the narrative, explains what we must know to grasp it, and introduces the characters who populate the narrative world and the cultural codes which operate within it. The narrator relates the events which take place in

---

[35]C. K. Barrett, "Is there a Theological Tendency in Codex Bezae?" in *Text and Interpretation: Studies in the New Testament Presented to Matthew Black*, eds. Ernest Best and R. McL. Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 22. In fact, George Rice, "Is Bezae a Homogeneous Codex?", in *Perspectives on the New Testament*, ed. Charles Talbert (Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 1985), 54, argues that these tendencies are pervasive and *uneven* throughout the D narrator's storytelling efforts. Rice concludes that the D narrator (Codex Bezae) is not homogeneous from story to story (book to book). Eldon Epp, however, disagrees with Barrett and Rice. He argues that the tendencies in Bezae are in fact theologically motivated (See his *Theological Tendency*). See also Bart D. Ehrman, *Orthodox Corruption*, who agrees with Epp and argues further that many of what he calls "orthodox corruptions" (i.e., textual variants) are theologically motivated.

> the story, provides commentary which draws us to view the story as he or she understands it, and at points provides the reader with inside views of a character's thoughts or motives.[36]

Rimmon-Kenan argues that three criteria are crucial for the reader to understand the story: the narrative level of the narrator; the extent of the narrator's participation in the story; and the degree of perceptibility of the narrator's role.[37]

In her monograph *Narrative Fiction*, Rimmon-Kenan distinguishes between narrators in terms of those who are *above* the story (extradiegetic) and those who are *within* the story (intradiegetic). Narrative level, she argues, "is important for the reader's understanding of and attitude to the story."[38] The narrator of Acts is almost always an extradiegetic narrator (i.e., superior to and removed from the story) and knows everything about the story. There are, however, times when the narrator steps aside and allows characters in the story to assume the role of an intradiegetic narrator (e.g., Paul and Peter; see below). Furthermore, there are two instances where the D narrator does intrude into

---

[36]Alan Culpepper, "Commentary on Biblical Narratives: Changing Paradigms," *Foundations and Facets Forum* 5:3 (1989), 89.

[37]Rather than attempting to review material already covered elsewhere on the narration of Acts, I will comment here only on the textual additions in Bezae and how they relate to the Beazan narrator's function. The narrator of the non-D text has been discussed already by both Allen James Walworth, "The Narrator of Acts," Ph.D. Diss., The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1985; and Stephen M. Sheeley, *Narrative Asides in Luke-Acts*, JSNT Supplement Series 72 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992).

[38]Rimmon-Kenan, *Narrative Fiction*, 94. Some may argue that Rimmon-Kenan's taxonomy is inapplicable for first-century narratives. Gereard Genette, *Narrative Discourse: An Essay in Method*, trans. Jane E. Lewin (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1980), 231, however, argues that such categories go back to "the very origins of epic narrating, since books IX-XII of the Odyssey, as we know, are devoted to the narrative Ulysses makes to the assembled Phoenicians."

the narrative and participate in the story world (this feature will be discussed more fully below).

According to Rimmon-Kenan's taxonomy, both *extradiegetic* and *intradiegetic* narrator's can be either absent or present in the story they narrate. A *heterodiegetic* narrator is one "who does not participate in the story" and a *homodiegetic* narrator "takes part in it at least some manifestations of his [or her] 'self.'"[39] Although mostly *extradiegetic*, the narrator of Acts is both *heterodiegetic* and *homodiegetic*. Extra-heterodiegetic narrators, notes Rimmon-Kenan, are *omniscient*. In other words, they show familiarity

> with the character's innermost thoughts and feelings; knowledge of the past, present and future; presence in locations where characters are supposed to be unaccompanied…and knowledge of what happens in several places at the same time.[40]

For example, the narrator in Acts knows about the crowd's recognition of God's presence with Peter and John (4:24; ἐπιγνόντες τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνέργεια) and Peter's long time desire to go to Jerusalem (11:2; Ὁ μὲν οὖν Πέτρος διὰ ἱκανοῦ χρόνου ἠθέλησαι πορευθῆναι εἰς ἱεροσόλυμα).[41] The narrator also notes that following Peter's speech on

---

[39]Rimmon-Kenan, *Narrative Fiction*, 95.

[40]Ibid.

[41]In later chapters, the narrator offers Silas' decision to stay in Antioch (15: 34; ἔδοξε δὲ τῷ Σειλὰ ἀπιμεῖναι αὐτους), and Paul's desire to go to Jerusalem (19:1; Θέλοντος δὲ τοῦ Παύλου κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν βουλὴν πορεύεσθαι εἰς ἱεποσόλυμα). The narrator remembers that Paul and Barnabas spent some time in Lystra (14:7; ὁ δὲ Παύλος καὶ Βαρνάβας διέτριβον ἐν Λύστπιος) and that the reason Paul passed "Thessalian" (θεσσαλίαν) was because he was forbidden to proclaim the word to them (17:15; ἐκωλύθη γὰρ εἰς αὐτοὺς κηρύξαι τὸν λόγον).

circumcision and the law the elders agreed to what Peter said (15:12; συνκατατεθεμένων δὲ τῶν πρεσβυτέρω τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Πέτρου εἰρημένοις), and during the time the prophets were in Antioch there was much rejoicing (11:28; ἦν δὲ πολλὴ ἀγαλλίασις). The D narrator even knew beforehand that the disciples would not only undergo baptism by the Holy Spirit, but would receive the Holy Spirit (1:5; καὶ ὃ μέλλεται λαμβάνειν). Finally, the narrator is even able to report that following Peter's vision (10:17), once he pulled himself together (ὡς δὲ ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἐγένετο), he doubted what he saw.

The narrator does, however, occasionally appear as a extra-homodiegetic narrator. That is, both in the prologue (1:1-5) and in the "we" passages (11:28; 16:10-17; 20:5-15; 21:1-18; and 27:1-28:16), the narrator appears in the first person.[42] There are also rare instances of intra-homodiegetic narration in the Bezaen text. One of the most interesting occasions is where the narrator relinquishes the story to Paul (22:3-21), and he subsequently narrates his own conversion as a character in the story.[43] Similarly, in chapter 10, Peter and Cornelius assume this role and step briefly in and out of the role of intra-homodiegetic narrator.[44] This form of narration is rare in Acts but even more rare in the New Testament texts themselves.

---

[42]The report of Agabus's prophecy in the Antiochene church is given a fuller introduction including the words "when we gathered together."

[43]Unlike the non-Western text, Bezae lacks a second incident where Paul acts as an intra-homodiegetic narrator (cf. Acts 26:9-20). The Greek text of Bezae ends abruptly at 22:29 and the Latin at 22:20. The differences between the two existing accounts are relatively minor.

[44]Note that Codex Bezae lacks eight leaves of its text including from 8:29-10:14 in the Greek and 8:20-10:4 in the Latin. Consequently, the first portion of Peter's vision is missing.

Degree of Perceptibility

A second factor, according to Rimmon-Kenan, is the degree of perceptibility. She notes that, "[t]his [*sic*] ranges from the maximum of covertness (often mistaken for a complete absence of a narrator) to the maximum of overtness."[45] Fortunately, Chatman has introduced a taxonomy that more easily reveals the nuances of overtness than has heretofore been available.[46] Rimmon-Kenan utilizes and adapts this taxonomy in her own work in which she lists these nuances in "mounting order of perceptibility."[47]

Description of Setting. This indicator is, according to Rimmon-Kenan, a relatively minimal sign of narrator's presence."[48] Mikeal Parsons in his recent work agrees, noting that it is difficult "to distinguish any Gospel narrator on the basis of the description of settings."[49] Both points are well taken. The Bezaen narrator, however, shows his handiwork in more than one way under this indicator. Within the Acts narrative, I have identified at least five levels of setting description. The following examples are representative of the types in Rimmon-Kenan's taxonomy:

---

[45]Rimmon-Kenan, *Narrative Fiction*, 96. Note that she is utilizing terminology coined by Seymor Chatman, *Story and Discourse,* 197-252. See also Wayne C. Booth, *The Rhetoric of Fiction* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press,1961), 151-153, who describes this phenomena as "dramatized" and "undramatized" narrators.

[46]Chatman, *Story and Discourse*, 220-252.

[47]Rimmon-Kenan, *Narrative Fiction*, 96. Some categories do necessarily overlap. Consequently, a few references and scenes may be used in more than one category.

[48]Ibid., 96-97.

[49]Parsons and Pervo, *The Narrative Unity of Luke and Acts*, 74.

1) Who was there:[50]

1:15 "disciples" (μαθητῶν)[51]
2:14 "ten apostles" (δέκα ἀποστόλοις)
3:11 the lame man "who went out with them" (συνεξεποπεύετο κπατῶν αὐτούς)
15:2 "those who had come from Jerusalem" (οἱ δὲ ἐληλυθότες ἀπὸ Ἰερουσαλὴμ)

2) Time of day/when:[52]

3:1 "in the evening" (ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις)
15:30 "in a few days" (ἐν ἡμέραις ὀλίγαις)

3) Location:

2:42 "in Jerusalem" (ἐν ἰερουσαλήμ)
10:25 "and as Peter was drawing near Caesarea" (προσεγγίζοντος δὲ τοῦ Πέτρου εἰς τὴν Καισαρίαν)
12:1 Herod's violent acts toward the "church in Judea" (τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐν τῇ ἰουδαία)

4) Specific details:[53]

5:15 "For they were set free from every sickness which each one of them had" (ἀπηλλάσσοντο γὰρ ἀπὸ πάσης ἀσθενίας ὡς εἶχεν ἕκαστος αὐτῶν)
12:10 "and went down seven steps" (κατέβησαν τούς ζ βαθμοὺς)

---

[50]See also the additional reference after chapter 15 in 17:5 to the Jews "who disbelieved" (οἱ δὲ ἀπείθουντες ἰουδαιοι).

[51]Rather than an addition, this reference is an alteration from 1:5 in the UBS which reads "ἀδελφῶν."

[52]D adds also a note in 19:9, "from the fifth until the tenth hour" (ἀπὸ ὥρας ε ἕως δεκάτης).

[53]D adds in 18:27 "Now certain Corinthians were traveling in Ephesus, and having heard him, they asked him to cross with them into their own country; and when he consented, the Ephesians wrote to the disciples in Corinth that they should receive the man" (ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἐφέσῳ ἐπιδημοῦτές τινες Κορίνθιοι καὶ ἀκούσαντες αὐτοῦ παρεκάλουν διελθῖν σὺν αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν πατρίδα αὐτῶν συνκατανεύσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ οἱ Ἐφέσιοι ἔγρατψαν τοῖς ἐν Κορινθῳ μαθηταῖς ὅπως ἀποδέξωνται τὸν ἄνδρα).

5) What happened:[54]

> 5:22 "and opened the prison" (παραγενόμενοι καὶ ἀνοίξαβτες τὴν φυλακὴν)
> 15:23 wrote "a *letter* by their hands" (ἐπιστολὴν)

Undoubtedly, some of these individual references overlap and could be included in other categories. The point is that the Bezaen narrator, however subtly, does appear in this story with explanatory descriptions of setting for the reader(s) and that these descriptions indicate the narrator's overt knowledge of the situation and events.

Identification of Characters. Rimmon-Kenan describes this indicator as showing "prior knowledge of the character on the part of the narrator who can therefore identify the former to the reader at the very beginning of the text."[55] There is little use of this indicator in Acts, the implication being that the reader needs no such introductions except for new and unknown characters. For example, the narrator does note that most often Peter (and even Paul) speak to the brothers and "ἄνδερες" (2:37; 3;17; 13:15; 13: 26), that one of the Jewish leaders was "Ιωνάθας" (4:6), and that the garments of Stephen were laid at the feet of a "certain" (τινὸς) young man named Saul (7:58). The narrator repots that Joseph (1:23) is really called "βαρνάβαν."

---

[54]D includes in 18:6 "after there had been much discourse and the scriptures had been interpreted" (πολλοῦ δὲ λόγου γεινομένου καὶ γραφῶν διερμηνευομένων) and in 18:12 "having talked together among themselves . . . they laid their hands on him" (συνλαλήσαντες μεθ' ἑαυτῶν...ἐπιθέντες τὰς χεῖρας ἤγαγον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ).

[55]Rimmon-Kenan, *Narrative Fiction*, 97. She notes further that "[s]uch statements also imply an assumption that the narratee-reader does not share this knowledge, an assumption which characterizes one of the narrator's roles, i.e. to communicate to others what they don't know." Ibid.

Temporal Summary. According to Rimmon-Kenan, this indicator presupposes a desire to account for time passage, "to satisfy questions in a narratee's mind about what has happened in the interval. An account cannot help but draw attention to the one who felt obliged to make such an account."[56] Moreover, temporal summaries imply "the presence of a narrator as well as his notion of what should be told in detail and what could be narrated with greater consciousness."[57]

D's story of Acts is replete with summaries (e.g., 1:14; 2:42-47; 4:32-35; 5:12-266:7; 9:31-32). The D narrator uses this tool to express Luke's comments and as an attempt to help explain a given situation more fully. For example, this usage is the case in the summaries found in 11:28 "and there was much rejoicing and when we were gathered together," 13:43 "and it came to pass that the word of God went throughout the whole city," 15:41 "and having passed through these nations," and even later in 18:6 "and after there had been much discourse and the scriptures had been interpreted."[58]

Definition of Character. Rimmon-Kenan differentiates between this indicator and the previous *identification of characters*. She states that

---

[56]Ibid., 97. She is here quoting Chatman, *Story and Discourse*, 223.

[57]Ibid., 98.

[58]The summaries in 18:27 "Now certain Corinthians were sojourning in Ephesis, and having heard him, they asked him to cross with them into their own country. And when he consented, the Ephesians wrote to the disciples in Corinth that they should receive the man," and 19:1 "When Paul, according to his private wish, desired to go to Jerusalem, the Spirit told him to return to Asia," are slightly more detailed. These summaries, as those above, function as transitional units from one scene to another.

> [w]hereas an identification of a character implies only the narrator's prior knowledge about or acquaintance with him, definition also suggests an abstraction, generalization or summing up on the part of the narrator as well as a desire to present such labeling as authoritative characterization.[59]

The D narrator provides commentary only on a few characters in this story but does so, however, in a number of ways. For example, (as above) the D narrator calls Joseph (1:23) "Barnabas" (βαρνάβαν) and Judas (15:22) is really called "Barabbas" (βαράββαν). Certain characters throughout the entire story are identified as being "full of the Holy Spirit": Peter (15:7), Judas and Silas (15:32), and Paul (16:18; 18:4).This level of characterization tends to cause the reader to take either a positive or negative stance toward the character.

There are characters the D narrator endows with either good or less than favorable characteristics as well. For example, Ananias and Sapphira (5:4) are reported to have done a "wicked" (πονηρὸν) thing, those disputing with Stephen (6:11) are "unable to face the truth" (μὴ δυνάμενοι οὗ ἀντοφθαλμεῖν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ), Etimas the magician (13:8) "Was hearing them with the greatest of pleasure" (ἐπιδὴ ἥδιστα ἤκουκεν αὐτῶν).[60] Similarly, Eldon Epp has argued that The D narrator unfavorably characterizes the Jews throughout his narrative. He notes simply, "In short, the Jews come out rather poorly in the D-text."[61]

---

[59]Ibid., 98.

[60]The narrator adds later that those who *persecuted* Paul and Barnabas (14:2) are the rulers of the synagogue and "the chief men of the synagogue" (οἱ ἄρχοντες τῆς συναγωγῆς).

[61]Eldon J. Epp, *The Theological Tendency of Codex Bezae,* 166. Several studies since Epp have questioned his findings on the grounds that such tendencies are only

Reports of What Characters Did not Think or Say. Rimmon-Kenan argues that a "narrator who can tell things of which the characters are either unconscious or which they deliberately conceal is clearly felt as an independent source of information."[62] Inside views of characters are rare through the Biblical text. The D narrator, however, does utilize this indicator but with Peter exclusively. For example, after Peter's vision (10:17) "when he came to himself" (ὡς δὲ ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἐγένετο), Peter also (11:2) "therefore for a considerable time wished to Journey to Jerusalem" (ὁ μὲν οὖν Πέτρος διὰ ἱκανοῦ χπόνου ἠθέλησε πορευθῆναι εἰς ἱεροσόλυμα).[63]

Commentary. "Commentary can be either on the story or on the narration," notes Rimmon-Kenan. Commentary can take the form of either interpretation or judgments. She argues that commentary can be in the form of "[i]nterpretations [that] often provide

---

narrative enhancements of already existing tendencies. See for example, Matthew Black, "The Holy Spirit in the Western Text of Acts," in *New Testament Textual Criticism: Its Significance for Exegesis*, ed. Eldon Jay Epp and Gordon Fee (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), *passim*; and C. K. Barrett, "Is there a Theological Tendency in Codex Bezae?" in *New Testament Textual Criticism: Its Significance for Exegesis*, ed. Eldon Jay Epp and Gordon Fee (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 15-27. The Jews are not the only characters given an enhanced status, either negative or positive, in Bezae. See Black, "The Holy Spirit in the Western Text of Acts," 159-170, although he concludes that The D narrator exaggerated already existing tendencies (see n. 25 above), Black shows that the role played by the Spirit is greatly enhanced.

[62]Rimmon-Kenan, *Narrative Fiction*, 98.

[63]Other relevant texts include following Paul and Barnabas' preaching at Lystra and Derbe (14:7), and (19:1) "when Paul, according to his private wish, desired to go to Jerusalem, the Spirit told him to return to Asia (ειπεν αυτω το πνα)," as well as when he wished to sail for Syria, (20:4), "the Spirit said to him" go back through Macedonia.

information not only about their direct object but also about the interpreter."[64] In Luke's story, Steven Sheeley has recently discussed in detail the most common form of interpretation or what he refers to as *narrative asides*. He defines these asides as

> parenthetical remarks addressed directly to the reader which interrupt the logical progression of the story . . . [and] provide commentary on the act of telling the story or on some act of the story itself. They include such things as self-conscious narration, prologues, postscripts and appeals to the reader.[65]

The prologue is an example of self-conscious narration. In 1:1-5 The D narrator adds (v. 2) "and ordered to proclaim the gospel," (v. 4) "he said, from my mouth," and (v. 5) "and which you are about to receive…until Pentecost." Other information given by the D narrator to the reader includes information to aid in understanding the results of certain scenes in the story.

For example, among those who believed and held everything in common (4:32), The D narrator adds "and there was no distinction among them." In chapter five, where the apostles are working miracles and it seems that even Peter's shadow can heal, The D narrator notes (5:15) "For they were set free from every sickness which each one of them had." The narrator also notes a few verses later that when the high priest rose up and had the apostles taken captive, "each one of them (presumably the crowd) went to his own home." The incident with Herod also contains the aside which explains that before he died (12:23), "he came down from the throne while he was still living." This aside focuses the authorial audience's attention on the fact of how and when Herod died.

---

[64]Ibid., 98.

[65]Sheeley, *Narrative Asides in Luke-Acts*, 36.

The most overt incidence of asides in The D narrator's story, however, occurs with his penchant for explaining the entry and exit of characters. In chapter five the high priest incarcerates the apostles only to find that they escape that same night. Around daybreak, the apostles come to the temple and (5:21) "the high priest came, and they that were with him, *having been roused early*." The story continues with the guards arriving on the scene only after (5:22) "they opened the prison." Other examples occur in 11: 28, 16:35, 18:27, and 19:1. Exits are also important, although not as prevalent. Two examples stand out. As already noted, in 5:18 "each one went to his own home," and the demise of Herod (12:23) occurred only after he "came down from the throne." Most of these examples seem to argue that The D narrator displays a need for accuracy and detail in his storytelling.

Judgments, argues Rimmon-Kenan, are an even greater indicator of the narrator's moral stand. The D narrator positively evaluates the "common community" in 3:32, saying, as noted above, "there was no distinction among them." Peter , Paul, Judas, and Silas are judged positively by The D narrator who notes they are often "in the Spirit" (e.g., 15: 7, 32). Similarly, Paul and Barnabas are evaluated positively after preaching the gospel (14:7) "the whole multitude was moved at the teaching." They are also judged as having (16:4) "preached with all boldness." The most negative judgments are leveled against the Jews. The D narrator notes that it was the Jews (17:5) "*who disbelieved.*"[66]

---

[66]Epp has noted the tendency in the D narrator's story against the Jews. Consequently, I will not repeat that material here. See Epp, *The Theological Tendency of Codex Bezae in Acts*, 41-164.

Reliability

Reliability is the final way in which the narrator directly influences the reader. Narrators can be either reliable or unreliable. According to Rimmon-Kenan, a reliable narrator is one "whose rendering of the story and commentary on it the reader is supposed to take as an authoritative account" whereas an unreliable narrator is one "whose rendering of the story and/or commentary on it the reader has reasons to suspect."[67] The main source of evaluation is "the narrator's limited knowledge, personal involvement, and problematic value scheme."[68] The question is, "How does the D narrator fare as a narrator?"

The narrator fares well in the category of knowledge limitations. Not only does the narrator know all that his counterpart Luke does, but the D narrator gives the reader even more information. The D narrator shows some degree of omniscience, appearing extradiegetically as well as both hetero and homo-diegetically. The D narrator is more covert than Luke. D's narrator typically only shows a hand to further explain scenes (setting descriptions), entrances and exits. D's narrator is able to identify all the characters Luke can and corrects some of Luke's identifications.

Moreover, the D narrator summarizes to help change scenes (2:1), provide information for the reader (2:12), and even slants the reader toward a higher perspective in the story by characterizing characters (e.g., Peter in 2:14). Although he does not delve deeply into the minds of his characters, his narrative asides are relatively frequent. All in

---

[67]Rimmon-Kenan, *Narrative Fiction*, 100.

[68]Ibid.

all, The D narrator does know what is going on his narrative and shares that knowledge with the reader(s).

The D narrator obviously favors the apostles in this story. This reality is seen as the narrator uses certain skills to elevate their status (especially Peter), show their connection with God ("in the Spirit"), and denigrates their opponents. Otherwise, like D's counterpart in Luke, the D narrator's personal involvement would only endear him to his reader.

Although difficult to ascertain, "a narrator's moral values are considered questionable if they do not tally with those of the implied author of the given work."[69] That is, it is difficult to arrive at the values of the implied author. In no place, however, does the D narrator offer wrong information about the outcome of an event or a character's characterization. Most significant for this study is that the D narrator's values are in line with Peter and the disciples' values. The narrator is concerned about the mission presented by Jesus at the beginning of the narrative and the language used by the narrator often reveals that bias (e.g., "unbelievers," "in the Spirit," "led by the Spirit").

There is little, if any, detectable irony that could be misunderstood by the reader as narrative unreliability. That is not to say, however, that there is no irony. Ultimately, Rimmon-Kenan finds that a "covert extradiegetic narrator, especially when he is also heterodiegetic, is likely to be reliable."[70] The D narrator gives his authorial audience no reason to doubt his reliability. Therefore, this story and the narrator's description of it

---

[69]Ibid., 101.

[70]*Ibid.*, 103.

can be taken as an authoritative account. Given this reality, the authorial audience will follow the narrator's lead in learning to read the story.

Rhetorical Influences

Two categories fall under this heading, speeches and intertextuality. Both have significant implications for this project because of their pervasiveness in the text. It will be important therefore to understand how both these categories have been handled in the past and how they will be approached in this project.

The speeches of Acts make up a little less that one-quarter of the book. More importantly, however, just over half of Acts consists of direct speech. Compared to other books of the early Christian world that resemble Luke's second volume, Acts shows an interest in direct speech that is unparalleled in its day.[71] This phenomenon, according to

---

[71]The exact number of speeches is debated. For my purposes here the following is an inclusive list of speech narratives in Acts: Peter, 1:15-22, 2:14-36, 3:12-26; 4:8-12; The Apostles Prayer, 4:24-30; Speech of Peter and the Apostles before the Council, 5:29-32; Speech of Gamaliel to the Council; Speeh of Stephen before the Council, 7:2-53; Peter, 10:34-43; Peter, 11:4-18; Paul, 13:16; Paul's Areopagus Speech, 17:22-31; Speech of the Town Clerk of Ephesus, 19:35-40; Paul's Farewell Address at Miletus to the Elders of Ephesus, 20:18-35; Speech of the People to Paul in Jerusalem, 21:20-25; Paul's Speech to the Jews of Jerusalem, 22:3-22; Tertullus to Felix, 24:2-8; Paul's Defense before Felix, 24:10-21; Address of Festus to Agrippa, 25:14-21 and 24-27; Paul's Defense before Agrippa, 26:2-23; Paul's Prophecy on Shipboard, 27:21-26; Paul's Address to the Jewish Leaders of Rome, 28:17-20. For a good overview and survey of the speeches see Marion Soards, *The Speeches in Acts: Their Content, Context, and Concerns* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1994). The bibliography on the speeches is legion and well beyond the bounds of this study. For the important works see the bibliography in Soards and Hans Conzelmann, "The Address of Paul on the Areopagus," *Studies in Luke-Acts*, ed. Leander E. Keck and J. Louis Martyn (Nashville: Abingdon, 1966); Oscar Cullmann, *The Earliest Christian Confessions*, trans. J. K. S. Reid (London: Lutterworth Press, 1949); Martin Dibelius, *Die Reden der Apostelgeschicte und die antike Geschichtsschreibung* (Heidelburg, 1949); his "Paul on the Areopagus," *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles*, ed. Heinrich Greeven, trans. Mary Ling and Paul

Colin Hemer, is due to the fact that "the progress of the good news was the very subject of the book of Acts, and preaching of that word."[72] "The speeches of Acts are an essential part of the story itself," writes Paul Shubert, "the story of the proclamation of the word of God."[73]

While the importance and amount of material connected to the speeches and direct speech in Acts is not doubted, most studies on the speeches center on the issue of their historical veracity.[74] The significance of the speeches for this project resides not in their historicity, but in their focalizing effect upon the reader. Not just due to their sheer number, but also their size and duration brings about a funneling or focalizing effect. Focalization occurs on two levels: 1) narratives are focalized by someone; and

---

Schubert (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1956), 26-77; and "The Speeches in Acts and Ancient Historiography," in *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles*, 138-185; Jacques Dupont, "La Structure Oratoire du Discours d'Etienne (Actes 7)," *Biblica* 66 (1985): 153-167, and his *The Sources of the Acts*, trans. Kathleen Pond (London: Darton, Longman, and Todd, 1964); Earl Richard *Acts 6:1-8:4: The Authors Method of Composition.* SBLDS 41. Missoula: Scholars Press, 1978); Paul Schubert "The Final Cycle of Speeches in the Book of Acts." *JBL* 87 (1968): 1-16; Fred Veltman, *The Defense Speeches of Paul in Acts*. Ph.D. Dissertation (University of Claifornia at Berkele, 1975; and Richard F. Zehnle*Peter's Pentecost Discourse: Tradition and Interpretation in Peter's Speeches of Acts 2 & 3*. SBLMS 15. Nashville: Abingdon, 1971.

[72]Colin Hemer, *The Book of Acts in the Setting of Hellenistic History*, Conrad Gempf, ed. (Winona Lake Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 418.

[73]Paul Shubert, "The Final Cycle of Speeches in the Book of Acts," *JBL* 87 (1968): 16.

[74]The well known quote of Thucydides (1.22.1) concerning his method of recording speeches that "while keeping as closely as possible to the general sense of the words actually said, to have the speakers say what, in my view, was called for by each situation," is unhelpful not only because it is notoriously difficult to translate but because it is debated as to its specific meaning as well.

2) narratives are focalized on something.[75] In Rimmon-Kenan's words, "focalization has both a subject and an object. The subject (the 'focalizer') is the agent whose perception orients the presentation, whereas the object (the 'focalized') is what the focalizer perceives."[76] Focalization proper is when

> two or more participants are brought together in a common time and place, the narrative may be said to be brought into focus, or focalized. By that is meant: the reader (or listener) is transported, by means of certain narrative devices, to a particular time and place, with certain participants present, to perceive specific non-verbal actions or listen in on specific verbal acts. In other words, a narrative makes a reader a spectator, an onlooker, of what is transpiring on the narrative stage. The narrative devices by means of which this relationship of reader to events is effected include what may be called *prefocalizers* and *focalizers*.[77]

Two criteria are distinguished by Rimmon-Kenan in her taxonomy of focalization: 1) position relative to the story; and 2) degree of persistence. Both criteria involve a variety of manifestations that will be discussed below.

In the former criteria, focalization can be either external or internal to the story. External focalization is usually carried out by the *narrator focalizer*.[78] Internal focalization, however, occurs inside the narrative events and is mediated by a *character focalizer*.[79] It is this function that is particularly significant for Acts. Both types can also provide views from without and from within. Views from without see only what is

---

[75]Mieke Bal, *Narratologie: Esais sur la significantion narrative dans quatre romans moderns* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1977), 33.

[76]Rimmon-Kenan, *Narrative Fiction*, 74.

[77]Funk, *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative*, 101.

[78]Rimmon-Kenan, 74.

[79]Ibid., 75.

outwardly manifested of the object (or person). Views from within, however, see internal processes such as feelings and thoughts.[80] Views that can do both are called mixed.

In the latter criteria, persistence refers to the ability of the narrative either to remain focused on one object or to use only one focalizer. This fixed form of focalization is distinguished by its counterpart where more than one object or subject are present and is called variable focalization.[81] There are within the above criteria three important facets that elucidate focalization in a narrative: 1) the perceptual facet; 2) the psychological facet; and 3) the ideological facet. It is the latter of these three that is most significant for this project.

Ideology, or what many scholars refer to as the "norm(s) of the text," is generally considered by literary theorists as "'a general system of viewing the world conceptually', in accordance with which the events and characters of the story are evaluated."[82] The

---

[80]Ibid., 76.

[81]Ibid., 77.

[82]Ibid., 81. (Rimmon-Kenan). All texts contain a surplus of meaning. How then can one avoid overemphasizing when trying to emphasize? Frederick Jameson in his work has described ideology as a strategy of containment that structures one's (perceived) reality. A critical view of ideology then might give "attention to those...containment strategies which seek to endow their objects of representation with formal unity" (*The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* [Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981], 53). Although many academic circles consider ideology akin to halitosis, something the other person has and should do something about, the term has more useful and neutral connotations that speak of both belief systems and power. John B. Thompson exemplifies this view: "To study ideology is to study the ways in which meanings (or signification) serves to sustain relations of domination" (*Studies in the Theory of Ideology* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984], 4).

While Thompson's definition is widely accepted, it too is suspect. First, not every ideology is associated with a dominant political power. Secondly, but just as important, Thompson's definition does not account for the social nature of ideology. Discourse that is clearly ideological in one context, may not be in another. In other words, "ideology is a

ability to view the narrative world often occurs in its simplest form through a narrator-focalizer but is not limited to that phenomenon. Ideologies are, however, viewed from the highest perspective in the text, which is most often, but not always, the perspective of the narrator:

> A character may represent an ideological position through his way of seeing the world . . . his behavior in it or through explicit discussion of his ideology. Thus in addition to its contribution to focalization, ideology also plays a part in the story (characters), on the one hand, and in the narration, on the other.[83]

In his recent work, Terry Eagleton has attempted to provide a possible means of critically looking at this concept while at the same time keeping in mind the social context from which ideologies are born. His broad definition of ideology—"a body of meanings and values encoding certain interests relevant to social power"—is nuanced by several features he assumes both dominant and oppositional ideologies employ.[84] This

---

function of an utterance to its social context" (Terry Eagleton, *Ideology: An Introduction* [New York and London: Verso, 1991], 9). In this sense, a successful ideology, whether true or false, needs to mesh with its adherents social reality. Consequently I have adopted Louis Althusser's definition of ideology as "the imaginary representation of the subject's relationship to his or her real conditions of existence." (*Lenin and Philosophy*, trans., B. Brewster [London: Monthly Review, 1971], 162).

[83]Rimmon-Kenan, *Narrative Fiction*, 82.

[84]Eagleton, *Ideology*, 45-52. According to Eagleton, first, ideologies tend to bring *coherence* to the groups or classes that hold them and often allow those groups to impose a certain unity on society as a whole. Ideologies, like the people who hold them, are internally complex. Even within the rank and file of those who hold a certain ideology, whether dominant or opposition, there are ongoing compromises, negotiations, and competitions. Second, ideologies function as *action oriented sets of beliefs*. Therefore, they must translate easily into a pragmatic reality that can furnish its adherents with at least goals, motivations, and prescriptions. A successful ideology then, is one that can blend the theoretical and the practical. Third, ideologies tend to *rationalize* certain specific social interests. As Eagleton describes it, "ideologies can be seen as more or less

definition, with reference to Eagleton's feartures may assist us in focusing the lens of this reading more clearly on the authorial audience's concerns.

Intertextuality

The writer/editors of D, like Luke (the writer of the Third Gospel and Acts) himself, have relied upon and utilized a number of Old Testament quotations and allusions in order to make the argument of Acts more complete and to give credence to Acts particular ideological point of view. D has relied completely upon the LXX version of Old Testament scripture.[85] C. K. Barrett found the use of the Hebrew Scriptures so central to Acts that he was prompted to write, "Luke's use of the Old Testament [in Acts] is co-extensive with most of the aims and interests that he has incorporated in his

---

systematic attempts to provide plausible explanations and justifications for social behavior which might otherwise be the object of criticism." Fourth, closely related to the previous factor, ideologies can also be *legitimizing*. That is, it is the process where a dominant group secures from other groups at least either tacit assent to authority or establishes its interests as pragmatically acceptable. Fifth, an ideology achieves legitimacy by universalizing itself. Here values and interests that are actually specific to a time, place, or even agenda are cast as the values and interests of all humanity. Finally, successful ideologies often attempt to assure that their beliefs are seen as natural and self-evident. This process brings about the effect of making the ideology seem common sense. Therein the fit between the perceived social reality and the ideology are as close as possible. There is thus a dehistoricizing element present.

[85] It is obviously more proper not to speak of either *a* or *the* LXX because of the many revisions that text has suffered. On these revisions see G. J. Steyn, "Die ou Griekse vertaling Deel I: 'n Kort oorsig oor die moontlike ontstansgeskiedenis," *ThEv* 22 (1989): 2-13; and Emanuel Tov, *The Text-critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research* (Jerusalem: Simor, 1981). Like the text of Bezae itself, however, the issue here concerns not the sources or the various levels of recensions, but the text as we have it. In fact, G. D. Kilpatrick ("Some Quotations in Acts," in *Les Actes des Apôtres—traditions, rédaction, théologie*, ed. J Kremer [Leuven: University Press, 1978], 96) has argued that Codex Bezae's version of Acts aligns more closely with our known LXX readings.

book."[86] Scholarship has generally argued that the Lukan view of Scripture views the gospel as the fulfillment of God's self-revelation as told in the Old Testament Scriptures.[87]

This "fulfillment" is often referred to by the term *Heilsgeschichte*.[88] For Acts, the most authoritative version of this text is the Septuagint.[89] While other more contemporary texts would clearly come into a reader's perspective, even in the fourth century, no other text is either as prevalent or as significant for Acts as the Greek Old Testament. Therefore, this discussion will limit itself to this single canonical text.

---

[86]C. K. Barrett, "Luke-Acts," *Scripture Citing Scripture: Essays in Honour of Barnabas Lindars* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 243. So also John T. Carroll, "The Uses of Scripture in Acts," *in Society of Biblical Literature 1990 Seminar Papers*, Ed. David J. Lull (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 512-528. Similarly in the Hebrew Bible see Danna Nolan Fewell, ed., *Reading Between Texts: Intertextuality and the Hebrew* Bible (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1992). For Luke's possible use of New Testament texts see Wolfgang Schenk, "Luke as a Reader of Paul: Observations on his Reception," in *Intertexuality in Biblical Writings: Essays in Honour of Bas van Iersel* (Kampen: Uitgeversmaatschappij J. H. Kok, 1989), 127-139. The most recent study is Robert L. Brawley, *Text to Text Pours Fourth Speech: Voices of Scripture in Luke-Acts* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995).

[87]E.g., F. F. Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 3rd Ed (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990), 63-64.

[88]For an overview of this concept see E. Lohse, "Lukas als Theologe der Heilsgeschichte," *Ev.Th.* 14 (1954): 256-275; or more recently Joseph Fitzmeyer, *The Gospel According to Luke: I-IX* (New York: Doubleday, 1970), 179-192.

[89]Luke's use of the Old Testament is well documented. See, for example, François Bovon, *Luc le théologien: Vingt-cing ans de recherches (1950-1075)* (Neuchatel and Paris: Delachaux & Niestlé, 1978), 85-117; Michael Goulder, Type and History in Acts (London: SPCK, 1964); John Drury *Tradition and Design in Luke's Gospel: A Study in early Christian Historiography* (Atlanta: John Knox, 1977); and W. K. L. Clarke, "The Use of the Septuagint in Acts," in *The Beginnings of Christianity*, Vol. 2, ed., F. J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake (London: Macmillan, 1922), 66-105.

What is still debated is the actual role the Jewish Scriptures have had on the creation of the text and, more importantly, the story of Acts. Most scholars do recognize the presence of so-called Semitisms in Acts. There are some clear examples of these Hebraic traits: e.g., ἐγένετο δέ, ἐν τῳ with the infinitive (2:1), and ἀποκριθεὶ . . . ἔπεν (8:24). But at the same time, many of these expressions have been explained by translation, underlying sources, and the complexity of the language milieu of the day.[90] Moreover, the majority of these Semitisms occur in the first fifteen chapters of Acts.

Acts also shows evidence of literary techniques often considered Hellenistic in origin. Recent writers, however, have argued that a dichotomy between Greco-Roman and Hebraic techniques may be unnecessarily arbitrary. Their point is that the two techniques may have influenced each other.[91]

For example, Brian Rosner has helpfully surveyed four different uses of these techniques evident in Acts:[92]

---

[90]See for example Max Wilcox, *The Semitisms of Acts* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965) and Raymond A. Martin, *Syntactical Evidence of Semitic Sources in Greek Documents,* SBLDS 3 (Cambridge, Mass: Society of Biblical Literature, 1974).

[91]See for example Gregory Sterling, *Historiography*, 354-363, Darrell Schmidt, "The Historiography of Acts: Dueteronomistic or Hellenistic?" *SBL Seminar Papers* (Atlanta: Scholars press, 1985), 417-427, and most recently Brian S. Rosner, "Acts and Biblical History," *The Book of Acts in Its Ancient Literary Setting*, ed., Bruce W. Winter and Andrew D. Clark (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 65-82. All of these writers are, in some sense, indebted to John Van Seeters, *In Search of History: Historiography in the Ancient World and the Origins of Biblical History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 321, 358.

[92]The following section is slightly revised but entirely taken from Brian Rosner, "Acts and Biblical History," 76-77.

1) Similar to the formulas used in 1 and 2 Kings as a connective to move from one King to another (e.g., 1 Kings 14:19-20, 31; 15:8, 24), Acts utilizes "summary statements" that, while not identical, help the reader see the progress of the church in Acts (6:7; 9:31; 12:24; 16:5; 19:20; 28:31).[93]

2) Speeches or narrative asides are used to sum up the previous section and introduce the following section (e.g., 1 Kings 8:22-53). Similarly, Acts does the same in many instances such as the prayer in 4:24-30.

3) The periodisation of history occurs within the Hebrew text, especially within the Dueteronomistic history based on 1 Samuel 8:8; 10:18-19; 12:6ff: the exodus and the conquest, and the age of the judges and the rise of the monarchy. Likewise, Acts has been read as if it too divided history into major periods.[94]

4) The practice of writing a narrative through a series of main characters such as the Ancestral Narratives and Moses. It is also clear that Acts, while not relaying the work of the Apostles as implied, concentrates its story on two major characters: Peter and Paul.

While the significance of the repetition of these techniques should not be overlooked, caution should also be observed to avoid "parallelomania."

Another area in which the Hebrew Scriptures have influenced Acts is in its view of history. Gregory Sterling has recently argued that particularly the historical books of the Hebrew Scriptures have "first and foremost . . . provided the author [of Acts] with his understanding of what history is."[95] Central to the books Sterling points toward is the understanding that God is in control and is attempting to bring about the realization of his covenant promises. In his monumental work on Acts, Ward Gasque concludes, "Acts

---

[93]For more nuanced discussion of these "summary statements" or what Steven Sheeley calls, "narrative asides," see his *Narrative Asides in Luke-Acts*.

[94]The most well known examples being Hans Conzelman's three periods: Israel, Jesus, and the Church (*The Theology of St. Luke* [London: Faber, 1960], 12-15, 149-151) and Charles Talbert's four stages: the law and the prophets, Jesus, the apostolic age, and the post-apostolic age (*Literary Patterns, Theological Themes and the Genre of Luke-Acts* [Missoula: Scholars Press, 1974], 103-117).

[95]Gregory Sterling, *Historiography*, 357-358.

lays the greatest stress on the foreknowledge, will, and the purpose and plan of God."[96] Within Acts, for example, there is the tendency to refer to certain key themes surrounding God's specific activity within history:

1) ἡ βουλὴ του θεου (2:23; 4:28; 13:36; 20:27);
2) θέλημα (13:22; 21:14; 22:14);
3) δεῖ (occurs 22 times in Acts);
4) ὁρίζω (2:23; 10:42; 17:31);
5) προορίζω (4:28)
6) προοράω (2:31)

Scholarship has also noticed the interplay between the LXX stories of prophets and the role of Jesus and his disciples as prophets in Luke and Acts. This point is most clear regarding the figures of Moses and Elijah.[97] While the above influences are important, even if debated, recent studies in a new way of looking at texts and their progenitors holds great significance for the study of texts like Acts. Julia Kristeva has named the relationship between a text and its reserve of textual patterns "intertextuality." She has differentiated this relationship sharply from the search for sources and influences.[98] In his

---

[96]W. Ward Gasque, "Fruitful Field," 124. See also I. Howard Marshall, *Luke: Historian and Theologian* (Exeter: Paternoster, 1970), 56.

[97]See particularly Robert Hausman, "The Function of Elijah as a Model in Luke-Acts," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1976; and G. Roger Green, "Jesus as Prophet in Luke-Acts," Ph.D. Dissertation, The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1976. Other similar studies include: R. Swaeles, "Jésus, nouvel Élie, dans S. Luc," *Assemblées du Seigneur* 69 (1964): 41-66; Walter Wink, *John the Baptist in the Gospel Tradition*, SNTSMS 7 (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1968); Raymond Brown, "Jesus and Elisha," *Perspective* 12 (1971): 85-104; and on Moses, Augustin George, "Par le doigt de Dieu (Lc 11:20), in *Etudes sur l'oeuvre de Luc*, Sources Bibliques (Paris: Gabalda, 1978), 127-132; and David Moessner, "Luke 9:1-50: Luke's Preview of the Journey of the Prophet like Moses of Deuteronomy," *JBL* 102 (1983): 575-605.

[98]Julia Kristeva, *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980), 36-37, 64-66. Also important is John

recent work, Robert Brawley examines this phenomenon in Luke-Acts.[99] His work is especially important for this project because he bases many of his presuppositions on Harold Bloom's idea that every new literary work is a creative correction of a progenitor, a correction Bloom considers a misinterpretation.[100]

Following John Hollander, however, Brawley stresses the *continuity* between the former and the latter arguing that what is created is a new figuration where "tensive interplay between the precursor and the successor moves the meaning to a new level."[101] Thus unlike previous attempts to discover the historical veracity, exact source of a citation or allusion, or historical or literary context of the precursor and the successor, Brawley's approach does not ask how faithful the repetition is to the original. Following criteria set by Richard Hays' *Echoes of Scripture in Paul* and Michael Riffaterre's *Semiotics of Poetry*, Brawley asks how the two texts *reverberate* with each other.[102] He concentrates specifically on two of Hays' seven criteria: (1) *availability* and (2) *volume*.

Hollander, *The Figure of Echo: A Mode of Allusion in Milton and After* (Berkley: University of Claifornia Press, 1981). For a recent overview of the history and progress of this concept see Judith Still and Michael Worton, "Introduction," in *Intertextuality: Theories and Practice*. ed., Judith Still and Michael Worton (Manchester: Manchester University Press. 1990), 1-44. For an interesting use of intertextuality in an ancient manuscript see Pietro Pucci, *Odysseus Polutropos: Intertextual Readings in the Odyssey and the Iliad* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987).

[99]Brawley, *Text to Text Pours Forth Speech.*

[100]Harold Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973), 94.

[101]Brawley, *Text to Text*, 7.

[102]*Echoes of Scripture in Paul* and *Semiotics of Poetry* respectively.

The former he considers a decisive factor because it includes, in his mind, "consciousness of the cultural repertoire."[103] The latter, according to Hays, measures volume on a single phraseological level by showing how precisely the new text verbally parallels its precursor text. Brawely adds, correctly in my opinion, the levels of form, genre, setting, and plot to Hays criterion.[104]

Following the work of Riffaterre, Brawley argues also for the significance of *ungrammaticalities*. This concept is defined by Brawley as

> conflicts which form obstacles to a construal of meaning as if they were grammatical anomalies or deviations from normal definitions . . . [and] are textual patterns that cannot be understood with the sole help of context, grammar, lexicon, and descriptive systems . . . As readers detect ungrammaticalities, they move to a network of relationships beyond the explicit text and perceive meaning in the *interplay* between text and intertext.[105]

In other words, all reading is necessarily writing at the same time, a theory that is extremely important for texts like D. If this text truly has no fixed form, then our version today is the result of a long process of writing and re-writing, even if this process has

---

[103]Brawley, *Text to Text*, 13. Roland Barthes ("The Death of the Author," in *Image, Music, Text*, trans., S. Heath [New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), 146 [142-148]) agrees, "We now know that a text is not aline of words releasing a single *theological* meaning (the 'message' of the Author-God) but a multi-dimensional space in which a variety of writings, none of them original, blend and clash. The text is a tissue of quotations drawn from the innumerable centers of culture.

[104]Ibid.

[105]Ibid, 14. Emphasis mine. This relationship of interplay is, in fact, a process of rewriting the text itself. But the entire process is based on the assumption of the progenitor text and, more properly, the event that brought about the text itself. Brawley cites the example of Heb 11:4 which states through faith, although Abel is dead, he is still able to speak. For readers who are post-Hebrews, the entire reference is dependent on the event itself (Able's death), the Old Testament witness to his faith (Gen 4:4, 10), and Heb 11:4. Without any link in the chain, Abel is muted for us by his death.

occurred only in the minds (or reading process) of Bezaen readers. Brawley's assessment of intertextuality in Luke and Acts, particularly its hermeneutical role, is essentially that Luke and Acts use scripture to explain and to "make sense" out of the story to the reader.[106] Thus scripture, and more specifically the LXX version of scripture, is the "intertext" for Luke and Acts, i.e., "an intertext is one or more texts which the reader must know in order to understand a work of literature in terms of its overall significance (as opposed to the discrete meanings of its successive words, phrases, and sentences)."[107] This function is both a call for readers who know the LXX to hear the larger voice of scripture in Luke and Acts and to consider the revisionary yet reciprocal relationship of scripture in Luke and Acts.

Scripture in Luke and Acts functions to legitimate and to intrepret. Or as Robert Brawley explains, "This means that readers of Luke-Acts read scripture through Luke-Acts. But the relationship is reciprocal, so that readers also read Luke-Acts through

---

[106]It was Martin Rese ("Die Funktion der altestamentlichen Zitate und Anspielungen in den Reden der Apostelgeschitchte," *Les Actes des Apôtres: Traditions, rédaction, théologie*, ed., J. Kremer [Gemloux: J. Duculot, 1979] and *Altestamentliche Motive in der Christologie des Lukas* [Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1969) who first called for a hermeneutical function of scripture in Luke and Acts. Over against the work of Paul Shubert ("The Structure and Significance of Luke 24," *Neutestamentliche Studien für rudolph Bultmann*, ed., W. Eltester [Berlin: Töplemann, 1954], 165-186), who argues for a proof-from-prophecy motif, and Leonard Goppelt (*Typos: Typological Interpretation of the Old Testament in the New* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982], 97-119), who views scripture from a typological approach, Rese finds Luke and Acts using scripture to explain the events around Jesus and the early church. In other words, for Rese, scripture points to how God is active in human history within the text. Brawley has built his thesis on the work of Rese.

[107]Michael Riffaterre, "Compusory reader response: the intertextual drive," in *Intertextuality: Theories and Practices*, 56.

scripture."[108] A good example of this phenomenon is the Pentecost scene where the disciples and not a few new converts are accused of drunkenness.

Brawley points out that for the participants in the story this scene is bewildering because they have no means of understanding it. Note their comment, "What does this mean?" (v 12), and subsequent interpretation, "They are filled with new wine" (v 13). The interpretation is based on an analogy, they look and act drunk. Moreover, within their culture, this interpretation forms a negative challenge that could mean the loss of honor for both the disciples and the new converts, thus dissuading any more converts and possibly even apostasy of some of the 5,000.[109] Challenges must be thwarted by a riposte, an alternative interpretation in this case, or a loss of honor is assured.[110]

Particularly with the speeches, as shown in the above explanation, the use of the LXX is both frequent and universal. There are generally six categories of LXX influence on the New Testament noted by scholars:

a. Explicit quotations introduced by introductory formulae;
b. Direct phrases without introductory formulae;
c. Paraphrases;
d. References to a LXX text;
e. Allusions;
f. Scriptural terminology such as words, concepts, technical terms, and titles.[111]

---

[108]Brawley, *Text to Text*, 6.

[109]The role of honor in the Mediterranean world is well documented. For a good discussion, especially in light of Luke and Acts, see Neyrey, *The Social World of Luke-Acts*.

[110]Unlike Brawley's interpretation, however, the D text places this mantle firmly on the shoulders of Peter. See chapter 4 below.

[111]D-A. Koch, *Die Schrift als Zuege des Evangeliums: Untersuchngen zur Verwendung und zum Verständis der Schrift bei Paulus* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1986), 11ff.

For the purposes of this project the latter three categories (d, e, and f) will fall under the heading of allusions. The categories under consideratoin are explicit quotations introduced by introductory formulae, direct phrases without introductory formulae, paraphrases, and allusions. The first category is relatively easy to establish in the narrative. There are twenty-two direct quotations in Codex D's Acts, all of which, without exception, occur within the speeches and before chapter 15.[112] The following list is inclusive:

a. Quotations from the 12 Prophets:

Acts 2:16-21 (Joel 2:28-32 [3:1-5])
Acts 7:42 (Amos 5:25-26)
Acts 13:40 (Hab 1:5)
Acts 15:15 (Amos 9:11-12)

b. Quotations from Isaiah:

Acts 7:48 (66:1-2)
Acts 13:34 (55:3)
Acts 13:47 (49:6)

c. Quotations from the Psalms:

Acts 1:20 (108 [109]:8
Acts 2:25 (15 [16]:8-11)
Acts 2:34 (109 [110]:1)
Acts 4:25 (2:1)
Acts 13:33 (2:7)
Acts 13:35 (15 [16]:10)

---

[112]This phenomenon was first noticed by H. B. Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1900). Three possible references, two after chapter 15 (23:5 and 28:26-27), in the eclectic UBS^4 text are omitted in Bezae because those sections of the manuscript are lacuna. Also, none of the references are singular to D but in places D does refocus the context.

d. Quotations form the Pentateuch

Acts 3:21 (Deut 18:15-20/Lev 23:29)
Acts 3:25 (Gen 22:18)
Acts 7:3 (Gen 12:1)
Acts 7:6 (Gen 15:13)
Acts 7:27 (Ex 2:14)
Acts 7:33 (Ex 3:5, 7-10)
Acts 7:35 (Ex 2:14)
Acts 7:37 (Deut 18:15)
Acts 7:40 (Ex 32:1, 4, 8, 23)

Interestingly, there are least two common elements in these formulae: (1) over half of these references use either a form of γράφω or a form of λέγω; and (2) most of the above formulae indicate from where the quote was taken (e.g., quotations from the prophets and Isaiah are introduced by either a reference to ὁ προφήτης [cf. 2:16; 7:42, 48; 13:40; 15:15; 28:26] or a direct reference such as Ἡσαΐας [28:26], those from the Psalms are indicated by both [βίβλιος] ψαλμοι [1:20 twice; 13:33] or from Δαυίδ [2:25, 34; 4:25], and those from the Pentateuch are three times [3:22; 7:35; 7:37] named as the work of Μωϋσης).

The second category, direct phrases, often show some of the same characteristics as the first group with the exception that there is no introductory formulae attached to the quotation. The following examples are illustrative:

a. Direct phrases from the Psalms:

Acts 4:24 (Ps 146:6)
Acts 13:22 (Ps 146:6)
Acts 14:15 (146:6)

b. Direct phrases from the Pentateuch:

Acts 3:13 (Ex 3:6)
Acts 7:5 (Gen 48:4)
Acts 7:18 (Ex 1:8)

Acts 7:27, 35 (Ex 21:4)
Acts 7:32 (Ex 3:6, 15)
Acts 14:15 (Ex 20:11)

The third category, paraphrase, is the most controversial because of the difficulty of definition and its prevalence in Acts. Consequently, enumerating all the instances here is not possible. This category will be dealt will in the subsequent chapters as necessary.

Conclusion

The lessons learned in this chapter, along with those from chapter two will enable a more nuanced reading of the text. Yet one question remains, "How to gather the materials proposed here?" The recent work of Vernon K. Robbins on what he calls "socio-rhetorical criticism" will provide—with some modification—what I believe is an appropriate framework for this project.

The goal of Robbins's work is to create a scenario where specialized areas of analysis are in conversation with one another. Because society, culture, and texts are all realities that interact with one another, it is necessary to develop a strategy of "analysis and interpretation that exhibit[s] the multiple networks of meanings and meaning effects that the words in our texts represent, engage, and invite."[113] Because texts are dense matrixes of interwoven networks of meanings and effects, no one method can ever adequately place boundaries around meaning nor include all that meaning entails or intended.

---

[113]Vernon K. Robbins, *The Tapestry of Early Christian Discourse: rhetoric, society and ideology* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 9.

The focus of the next two chapters then will be to consider three frames of reference and how they interact with, create, and cope with the levels of tension and instability in the Acts story in D. This process, called progression, is how the story moves through its telling and time. The first frame, termed "intertext" relates to the narrative features of the text, how the story is told. The second frame, "intertextuality," focuses on other texts that have both preceded and shaped the story of Acts. This project will focus on one particular intertext because of its significance and space limitation in the project itself. The third frame, "extratext," will center on the historical and cultural codes and signifiers that shape how readers hear/respond to the story. This material will be specific to the fourth century. Finally, each section will conclude with a gathering of the evidence presented and focus on the reading itself. This reading will be tested against the solitary voice of that period on Acts: St. John Chrysostom. His homilies on Acts will provide a way of verifying the probability of the reading suggested.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Reading of the Witnesses:
The Acts of Peter Part I

Introduction (1:6-11)

Programmatic to the story of Acts is the initial scene in 1:6-11.[1] As Jesus stands with his disciples on the Mount of Olives for the last time they question him concerning the coming of the kingdom. Their question essentially opens the door for the story of Acts as it will develop in the narrative: "Κὺριε, εἰ ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ἀποκαταστάνεις εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Ἰσραήλ;" (1:6). Jesus' answer (1:8) seems to have provided a summary of the way the mission would, in fact, occur: "You will be my witnesses in Jerusalem" (2:1-8:3), "Judea and Samaria" (8:4-12:25), "and to the ends of the earth" (13:1-28:31). More importantly, however, is how the concept of "witness" develops in the story.

The noun μάρτυς itself is found twelve times in the D text of Acts (1:8, 22: 2:32; 3:15; 5:32; 10:39, 41, 43; 13:31; 15:8 22:15, 20) and points to a specific function Jesus calls the disciples to fulfill.[2] The concept occurs consistently throughout the story itself. For the competent authorial audience, the progression of the narrative about Jesus' witnesses text teaches the reader both who the faithful witnesses are and at the same time

---

[1]The ascension scene is set apart from what precedes it by a characteristic phrase: μέν . . . οὖν. This phrase is quite common in Acts (occurring in D in 1:6, 18; 2:41; 5:41; 8:4, 25; 9:31; 11:19; 12:5; 13:4; 15:3, 30; 16:5; 17:12, 17, 30; 19:32, 38; 23:18, 22, 31) and according to K. Lake and H. Cadbury (*The Beginnings of Christianity*, VI [London: Macmillan and Co, 1933], 7) is "a favorite formula of Acts in opening a new story which is nevertheless connected with what goes before."

[2]None of the listed occurrences are unique to the D text.

what it means to be a witness of Jesus.[3] There is, however, another level of witness that should be considered germane to the authorial audience as well.

In the Roman legal system, well known in the area of Berytus because of the great law school there, witnesses performed the function not just of providing particular facts, but by their *auctoritas* corroborated the reliability, character, and honor of the litigant against the opponent.[4] Cicero, one of the great minds of the ancient world, records occasions of witness testimony where he masterfully makes witnesses, who are on his client's side, appear as upright, honorable, pillars of society and downright venal and dishonorable if they are on the other side.

This approach seems to have worked because Cicero argued that potential jurors should be able to distinguish the character of the witness:

---

[3]My argument here is based on the idea that the reading of a text—and of characters in particular—is a process of unfolding and discovery. The text in its reading supplies the reader with information necessary to provide a full-length portrait of the characters involved in the story. I consider Jesus' statement, "You shall be my witnesses," the use of a positive epithet that directly describes and names the social, religious, and relational roles of his followers. Meir Sternberg, *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative Ideological Literature and the Drama of Reading* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), 328-341, calls this process the "art of the proleptic epithet." Sternberg argues that all formal epithets "enter into tight relationships with the patterns that surround them, fulfilling at least one role beyond direct characterization. That invariable function consists in laying the ground for plot developments, so as to enhance their predictability or at least their intelligibility after the event. Ostensibly descriptive of the functions of character, all of these epithets are *implicitly proleptic within the dynamics of action*. Not even the most idiosyncratic trait fails to cohere, sooner or later, with the processes of history," 331.

[4]J. A. Crook, *Legal Advocacy in the Roman World* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), 144-146. See also Jane F. Gardner, *Being a Roman Citizen* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 118-120, 184-186. The major sources of the legal system ancient world, the legal papyri and Quntilian, are unfortunately unclear on the exact role of witnesses. Cicero, therefore, who records what some witnesses have said and how those witnesses were approached is our most significant source of information.

> *Qui se non solum de reo, sed etiam de accusatore, de teste iudicare arbitrabantur...Quae si iudex non amplactetur omnia consilio, non animo ac ments circumspiciet, si, ut quidque ex illo loco dicetur, ex oraculo aliquo dici arbitrabitur, pprofecto satis erit, id quod dixi antea, non surdum iudicem huic muneri atque officio praeesse; hihil erit, quam ob rem ille nescio quis sapiens homo ac multarum rerum peritus ad res iudicandas requiratur.*[5]

In other words, Cicero argues that the presentation of the case and the character of the witness must be adjudicated, even more so than the facts, by the jury. Note his argument for this practice in an actual case:

> *Vos autem in privitas minimmarum rerum iudicus testemdiligenter expenditis; etiam si formam hominis, si nomen, si tribum nostis, mores tamen exquirendos putatis. Qui autem dicit testimonium ex nostris hominibus, ut se ipse sustentat, utomnia verba moderatur, ut timet ne quid cupide, ne quid iracunde, ne wuid plus minusve quam sit necesse dicat. Num illos item putatis, quibus ius iurandum iocus est, testimonium ludus, existimation vestra tenebrae, laus, merces, gratia, gratulation proposita est omnis in impudenti mendacio? Sed non dilatabo orationem meam; etenim potest esse infinita, si mihi libeat totius gentis in testimoniis dicendis explicare levitatem. Sed propius accedam; de his vestris testibus dicam.*[6]

---

[5]*Pro Fonteius*, 25. "The verdict they gave was, they thought, not a verdict on the defendant alone, but upon the prosecutor and upon the witness . . . If the juror does not embrace all this in deliberation, does not earnestly and intelligently view it from every side, if the juror assumes all that is spoken from the witness-box is the utterance of an oracle, then assuredly, as I said before, any person [*man*] who is not deaf will be amply qualified to fulfill the office and the function of a juror. There will be no earthly reason why the responsibility of giving a verdict should demand some paragon of wisdom and wide experience." My translation.

[6]*Pro Flacco*, 12. "You [jurors], however, weigh up a witness carefully in private suits where the issues involved are trivial, and even if you are familiar with his appearance, his name, his tribe, you still think you should look into his character. When one of us Romans gives evidence, what self control he shows, what control over his language, what fear that he may display self-interest or ill-temper, or that he may say too little or too much. Surely you do not view in the same light those witnesses for whom their oath before you is a joke, their evidence to you a game, your opinion of them a worthless void; who see in shameless lie all their chances of honor, profit, influence, and favor? I will not, however, prolong my rhetoric; it could be endless if I wanted to display the untrustworthiness of the whole nation in giving evidence. I will instead, move nearer home and speak about your witnesses in this case." My Translation. Quintilian, *Institutes* V.7., too offers "tips" similar to what Cicero has argued for here. Witnesses could also offer written testimony in the Roman legal system. The *Herculaneum Tablets* of the first century C. E. are evidence of this practice in an actual case. Here testimony

The character of the witness giving testimony apparently carried a great deal of weight and was often brought to the forefront of the case. Could facts be overturned on the character of a witness? The evidence is unclear but seems to point in that direction. Consequently, for the purpose of our reading it will be significant to see how D builds the character of Peter in both form and presentation.

The Metonymic Witness: Peter in Acts

Since at least 1957 scholars have noticed the "so called" *enhancement* of Peter in the Acts narrative of Codex Bezae.[7] Since that time, two contrasting opinions have emerged, with others holding ground somewhere in between. One position is that held by Eldon Epp, Joseph Crehan, and Richard Pervo. They view the enhancement of Peter (along with other characteristics of D such as the anti–Judaic tendency) as the result of a fundamental theological tendency by the writer of D.[8] The second position is that held by

---

was submitted on both sides of the case in written form but there is no indication of how the testimony was evaluated. For further discussion on the *Tablets* see Crook, *Legal Advocacy*, 145f.

[7]Most of the discussions concerning the role and function of Peter have centered on the issues involved in the debate over the "Western" text. The major works are: J. Crehan, "Peter According to the D Text of Acts," *Theological Studies* 18 (1957): 596-603; C. Martini, "La figura di Peetro secondo le varenti del codice D negli atti Degli Apostoli," in *Atti della XIX Settimana Biblica* (San Pietro: Brecia, 1967): 279-289; Elden J. Epp, *The Theological Tendency of Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis in Acts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966): 128, 154-164; Richard I Pervo, "Social and Religious Aspects of the Western Text," in *The Living Text*, ed. Dennis E. Groh and Robert Jewett (New York: University Press of America, 1985): 229-241; C. K. Barrett, "Is There a Theological Tendency in Codex Bezae?" in *Text and Interpretation*, ed. Ernst Best and R. McL Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979): 15-27; George E. Rice, "Is Bezae a Homogeneous Codex?" in *Perspectives in the New Testament*, ed. Charles H. Talbert (Macon: Mercer, 1985): 39-54.

[8]Epp, *Theological Tendency*, Crehan, "Peter According to the D Text of Acts," *passim*; Pervo, "Social and Religious Aspects of the Western Text," *passim*.

J. H. Ropes and C. K. Barrett. They find that such tendencies of D are general and, as Barrett states, intended "to explain and simplify, to emphasize and exaggerate, what is already to be found in other forms of the text."[9]

In the D text of Acts, Peter functions as a metonymic figure of Jesus' witness and unlike the characterization of him in the gospels, he also serves as a protagonist.[10] He is, however, not the only one. After chapter 15, Paul becomes the protagonist of the story. In this narrative context, Peter, and subsequently Paul, function to tell a story larger than themselves. In the first half of Acts it is by Peter's actions, empowered by the "Spirit," that questions are raised (2:13, 37; 3:12), beliefs are evoked (2:37; 4:4), sympathies are raised (4:23ff.), and he is revealed as the fulfillment of (1) the witness motif in Acts 1:8 (Peter is shown to be a faithful witness: 2:40-42; 4:8; 5:29; 10:44) and (2) the initiator of the Christian mission to the gentiles: 10:34ff; 11:5ff; 15:12.

To come to terms with the characterization of Peter in the D text of Acts, there are two factors to bear in mind. One is that the overall purpose of Acts is to show the movement of the gospel beyond the time of Jesus and its becoming "*unhindered.*"[11] The second is that it is typical of D to enhance and enlarge as well as change for theological reasons.[12]

---

[9]C. K. Barrett, "Is There a Theological Tendency in Codex Bezae?" 25; and J. H. Ropes, "The Beginnings of Christianity," Part I, *The Acts of the Apostles*, Vol. III, ed. F. J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake (London: Macmillan, 1926), ccxxxiii.

[10]Cf., W. S. Vorster, "Characterization of Peter in the Gospel of Mark," *Neotestamentica* 21 (1987): 73, notes that Peter all but stands in the way of the protagonist Jesus.

[11]This is the well-known thesis of Frank Stagg, *The Book of Acts*, (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1955).

[12]See Epp, *The Theological Tendency of Codex Bezae, passim.* and Bart D.

Codex D presents Peter as the protagonist of the gospel story in Acts by providing him with an (1) *enlarged* and *enhanced* characterization in the story (e.g., Peter appears as the spokesperson for the apostles, interprets events, is said to be "in the spirit," and is endowed with miraculous power) and also by (2) decreasing the status of the other apostles (e.g., the omission of "λοιπούς" in 2:37). Peter is the character around which the story in Acts chapter 1-15 revolves and all other characters in those chapters are evaluated against him. The reader is, in essence, invited to see Peter as filling the vacuum Jesus left behind; he is the metonymic image of the "witnesses" of which Jesus spoke (1:8).[13]

The Function of Other Witnesses

The issue of being a witness is not only important for Acts but it is that the story's *progression* actually hinges on this issue in many places.[14] Consequently, Peter is not the only witness in the text. Stephen and Philip also fulfill this role. Where Peter leaves off, Paul begins. Note the interesting narrative repetitions in 5:15 where the sick are brought to Peter so that his shadow might come over them and 19:12 where Paul's handkerchiefs

---

Ehrman, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture: The Effect of Early Christological Controversies on the Text of the New Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993). Contra Barrett, "Is there a Theological Tendency in Codex Bezae?"

[13]In fact, it seems to be the case that Acts is in some sense a story of the apostles learning to do all that Jesus prepared them for. See Ben Witherington, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 110-111.

[14]James Phelan, *Reading People, Reading Plots: Character, Progression and the Interpretation of Narrative* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 15-23, explains progression as a dynamic narrative event, "one that must move, in both its telling and its reception through time. In examining progression, then, we are concerned with how authors generate, sustain, develop, and resolve reader's interests in the narrative," 15.

are taken to the sick.[15] Both instances of healing are by Jesus' witnesses who never come into contact with the sick. Those who come in contact with Peter's shadow, "were set free from every sickness which each one of them had" (5:15). At the same time, those who received Paul's handkerchief's "diseases departed from them, and evil spirits went out of them" (19:12). Shlomith Rimmon-Kenan notes that this effect occurs in many literary works and creates an *analogy between characters*. She explains: "When two characters are presented in similar circumstances, the similarity or contrast between their behavior emphasizes traits characteristic of both."[16]

In fact, Peter and Paul each heal a cripple, both encounter a magician, both convert an important Gentile, both do extraordinary cures without contact with the sufferer, both undertake journeys, and both escape from prison. In all these instances, including their speeches, both Peter and Paul carry out the original command by Jesus in Acts 1:8. Importantly, both face *tensions* and *instabilities* over the issue of being a witness.[17] The resolution of these issues is what James Phelan calls *completeness*. The degree of completeness depends on how or whether the instabilities and tensions in the

---

[15]On narrative frequency see Gérard Genette, *Narrative Discourse: An Essay in Method*, trans. Jane E. Lewin (Ithica: Cornell University Press, 1980), 113-160; Shlomith Rimmon-Kenan, *Narrative Fiction* (London: Routledge, 1983), 57-60; and Sternberg, *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative,* 365ff. The repetition of these scenes tends to reinforce the characteristics of both Peter and Paul as normative.

[16]Rimmon-Kenan, *Narrative Fiction*, 70.

[17]Phelan, *Reading People, Reading Plots*, 15, points out that the movement of progression is given shape and direction by the way the story unfolds in its introduction, complication, and ability to resolve (or failure to resolve) various instabilities and tensions in the narrative. These instabilities and tensions are the focal point of the reader's interest in the narrative. Peter J. Rabbinowitz, *Before Reading: Narrative Conventions and the Politics of Interpretation* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987), 42-46 and *passim*, makes the same argument for his "conventions" which he guises under the appellations: (1) rules of notice, (2) rules of signification, and (3) rules of coherence.

narrative have been resolved.[18] *Closure*, on the other hand, refers to how the narrative signals its end.[19]

In the narrative of Acts, two of the least likely candidates for being true witnesses become the epitome of what it means to be a witness. Herein is the rub of the narrative repetition and its ability to reinforce characteristics. For example, Peter nor Paul, from what the reader knows at the beginning of this text, would be what one might call a "faithful" witness. One might ask a question of Peter and Paul once asked of Jesus (Jn 1:46), "Can anything like a witness ever come out of these two?" The narrative produces tension at this point that is resolved despite the reality that the story of Peter and Paul, in particular, has no closure.

While the issue of closure in Acts is a difficult one, the level of completeness is significant. Peter and Paul have no closure because their demise is not the point. The "acts" of Peter, and of Paul, are best characterized by their progression and pursuit toward fulfilling Jesus' command. Unlike Peter, however, Paul's story in the D text of Acts is incomplete due to the lacuna of chapters 22-28. Therefore, this study will center on Peter and how he enables the reader to understand what it means to be a "witness."

The Pentecost Scene (Acts 2:14-47)

Also known as the "day of firstfruits" (Num 28:26), Pentecost was originally a festival of Jewish origin (Lev 23:15-21). The occurrence here, however, is something new and different than expected. Robert Funk points to the visual and auditory signals that emphasize the significance of this scene. These phenomena serve as focalizers to

---

[18]Ibid., 17-18.

[19]Ibid.

attract attention both from the crowds within the narrative itself and of the reader who perceives the importance of this event because of the narrative signals present.[20]

Readers through the ages have taken these signals and understood their significance. Acts 2 is clearly the most read, memorized, debated, and studied section of the narrative. What is clear in this section, however, is that this event is the promised fulfillment of the promise issued in Luke 3:16 and forshadowed in Luke 24:46-49: "He will baptize you with the Holy Spirit and fire."

This awaited and prophesied event was left unfulfilled at the end of the Third Gospel. The event itself becomes pivotal in Acts and for the followers of Jesus. Just as important, however, is the conflict—the tensions and instability—that accompanies the event, and the response on the part of the witnesses of Jesus.

Inner Texture

The defining moments of Peter's character in the book of Acts occur within the first two chapters and particularly in this section. Because the reader is already familiar with who Peter is, and will remember his public denial, from the "former treatise," direct definition is used less frequently in this latter treatise.[21] While Jesus' character is (re)introduced to the reader (1:2-5), probably to assure that the authorial audience understands his role as Son of God, Peter and the rest of the disciples appear for the first time with Jesus and there receive their instructions and a proleptic vision of their

---

[20]Robert Funk, *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative* (Sonoma, California: Polbridge, 1988), 110-111.

[21]Shlomith Rimmon-Kenan, *Narrative Poetics* (London: Routledge, 1983), 60-61, says that "direct definition" is the "naming of a person's character qualities" and that when these qualities are named by an authoritative narrator, the reader is called to accept those qualities as true.

characterization in Acts:[22] "You will receive power, when the Holy Spirit comes upon you, and you will be *my witnesses* both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea and Samaria, and to the ends of the earth" (1:8). Jesus' statement is not only an ordination or sorts, but it also serves a literary function that empowers both the characters and the authorial audience to participate in that mission.

This statement by Jesus also has important consequences for the progression of Acts. It also has great significance for Peter's (as well as Paul's later on) characterization in that it will have an effect on the reader's understanding of the instabilities, tensions, and resolution of the narrative as the part Peter plays in those events.[23] Jesus' statement is also, a proleptic clue that points directly to Pentecost.

Moreover, because Peter is defined by the D narrator in this section as "πρῶτος" (chief/leader) among the apostles,[24] and because his role is clearly accepted by the apostles, he will speak for them and becomes representative of them through his deeds and words. They are to be evaluated on the basis of how he acts and fulfills Jesus' promise. Herein Peter's narrative purpose is becomes significant because the narrator points out from the outset of the story itself what role Peter will play in the fulfillment of

---

[22]Prolepsis is, according to Rimmon-Kenan, *Narrative Fiction*, 48, "telling the future before its time" and serves to build suspense not around the issue of "What will happen next?" but the question of "How is it going to happen?" See also Genette, *Narrative Discourse*, 48ff.

[23]While the programmatic significance of this verse is well known and generally accepted, most discussions of this text's power lean toward explaining the geographical/racial issues rather than being a witness means and how it happens. It is this latter point that is, in my view, the real story of Acts.

[24]Πρῶτος is used here as an adjective and not an adverb. See Richard R. Pervo, "The Social and Religious Aspects of the 'Western Text,'" 232.

Jesus' promise.[25] For the reader, Peter becomes a focal point around which much of the story will revolve.[26]

Indirect presentation, which is much more prevalent in Acts, is when rather than mentioning a trait, as above, the text displays and exemplifies it in some way.[27] The primary way this device occurs in Acts is by action. A trait may be implied both by one-

---

[25]Peter J. Rabinowitz, *Before Reading,* 53, argues that this type of definition is a basic gesture of noticeability that simply points out in an overt way what is essential and significant in the narrative. Similarly, Marianna Torgovnick, *Closure in the Novel* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 3-4, argues that "It is difficult to recall all of a work after a completed reading, but climactic moments, dramatic scenes, and beginnings and endings remain in the memory and decisively shape our sense of the novel as a whole."

[26]Rather than making a case for an added theological tendency on the part of the Bezaen redactors as Eldon Epp (*The Theological Tendency of Codex Bezae*) has done, my point here is to point out the reality of an "orthodox corruption." The difference is that, in Epp's work the editor of D is viewed as introducing a *theological bias* into the text. In my view, the editor(s) make the text say what it was already taken to mean. Thus in Epp's view, interpretation shaped the text rather than the text shaping (or at least attempting to shape) interpretation. Even within the synoptics, for example, Peter already holds a unique position among the followers of Jesus. Along with the sons of Zebedee and his own brother Andrew, Peter is the central figure in the intimate circle of Jesus' disciples (Cf., Mark 1:16; 5:37 Matt 4:18). Peter stands out as the disciple who speaks for the others (Mark 8:29ff.; 10:28; and parallels), and who tries to initiate Jesus' actions (Matt 14:28). Moreover, outsiders consider Peter the leader of the disciples as well (Matt 17:24). Common also to the synoptic tradition and Acts are the variegated lists of the disciples wherein Peter is always listed first among his peers (Mark 3:16; Matt 10:2; Lk 6:14; and Acts 1:13). It was Conzelmann who first noticed the characteristic expression in the Gospels and Acts "Πέτρος καί σύν αὐτῳ" to designate the followers of Jesus (Mark 1:36; 16:7; Lk 9:32; 8:45). According to the synoptics, says Conzelmann, "Peter indubitably played the role of spokesman among the twelve disciples...[and among] *the disciples of Jesus Peter, according to the united witness of the Gospel tradition, occupies a peculiarly representative position* (italics his), 31. While Conzelmann does go on to mitigate against Peter being in the position of leadership among the disciples, it must be remembered that Conzelmann's comments are in reference to (1) the UBS tradition and not the D text; and (2) Jesus is still physically present with the disciples in the synoptic narratives. More recently, William H. Shepherd, Jr., *The Narrative Function of the Holy Spirit as a Character in Luke-Acts*, SBLDS 147 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994), 158, believes similarly that "Peter is presented to the reader as a reliable commentator."

[27]Rimmon-Kenan, *Narrative Poetics*, 61-62.

time or habitual actions. Peter's actions tend to reinforce his status in the Bezaen narrative. Twice Peter stands for the disciples (1:15 and 2:14) and in 2:14 he stands with the "ten apostles" (not "the eleven") and, obviously with the authority to do so, lifts his voice (πρῶτος) "as chief" or "leader."[28] His standing in the narrative creates a disruption in both the narrator's comments—e.g., once Peter stands the narrator concludes—and the flow of the story—e.g., his standing above the other disciples show him to be in a position of authority among them.[29] Both times he stands with and for the rest of the disciples in order to explain the movement of the Spirit. This environment of being in the presence and the representative of Jesus' followers also enhances the character of Peter.

In the former text mentioned above, Peter alone is the subject of the verb "ἔστησεν." Thus he singly explains the necessity of replacing Judas and he alone "puts forth" the two candidates for the position. In the latter, he represents the "ten apostles" and explains the coming of the Holy Spirit. The result of Peter's witness is the conversion of about 3,000 souls. Peter functions in both situations as the fulfiller of Jesus' promise "you will be my witnesses" and as the metonymic image of Jesus himself for the reader.[30]

---

[28]On this usage of πρῶτος, see Dio Chrys. 19.35 and Josephus, *Ant* 7.230; 15.398 and even Matt 20:27; Mk 10:44.

[29]Rabinowitz, *Before Reading*, 65, considers this type of action to be a "rupture," a disruption intended to grab the reader's attention.

[30]In arguing for this concept, I am paying heed to the fine study by Susan Marie Prader, "Jesus-Paul, Peter-Paul, and Jesus-Peter Parallelisms in Luke-Acts: A History of Reader Response," *SBL Seminar Papers 1984* (Scholars Press, 1984), 23-39. Prader's review of the parallelomania scholarship has exhibited in this area is extensive and damning. What she does not account for, however, is that Greco-Roman readers of the early Christian era would have, in fact, recognized the interplay between the characters of Jesus, Peter, and Paul. The comparison of famous persons for the reader to compare and contrast in terms of their stature and significance in the story is most aptly found in

In literary terms, "the individuality of all the other characters is determined by their encounter with Jesus. The characters represent a continuum of responses to Jesus."[31] This habitual action of Peter taking on the role of witness and the subtle building of character in the reading process builds an analogy between the characters of Peter, Paul, and Jesus.[32] This analogy enables Theophilus to see the fulfillment of Jesus' words and realize that Peter and Paul, and thereby all those connected with them (see the discussion of dyadic personality below), are, in fact, witnesses of their Lord.[33]

Intertexture.

One of the more prolific uses of intertexture in Acts is the type referred to as "recontextualization" of the Old Testament, specifically the LXX. In a number of instances the LXX is cited without reference to writer, text, or verse.[34] Specifically in this section there are three main uses of intertexuality that catch the authorial audience's attention. The first two occur on the oral/scribal level: recontextualization and

---

Plutarch's, *The Parallel Lives*. My point here is not for parallels, but that the reader I am proposing will see in Peter and Paul's actions a reflection of Jesus' ministry and life and thereby see the former two as a witness of and for the latter.

[31]R. Alan Culpepper, *The Anatomy of the Fourth Gospel: A Study in Literary Design* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983), 104.

[32]Rimmon-Kenan, *Narrative Poetics*, 70.

[33]See the study by M. D. Springer, *A Rhetoric of Literary Character: Some Women of Henry James* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), 179. He argues similarly saying: "character is not given to us like a gift in the hand, or like a picture on the wall..it does in fact accumulate..[and] we must turn the page in order to find out what else to know about a character, what new actions and choices there may be to expand or modify our knowledge."

[34]The LXX is not, however, the only antecedent to Acts. The Third Gospel, as well as other ancient literature, are also clear antecedents for Acts.

recitation.[35] The third category, the social level, will be discussed later in this section under another heading.

The narrative of Acts begins by reciting one of its precedents, the Gospel of Luke.[36] Where Luke began with the well known promise from John, "He will baptize you with the Holy Spirit and with fire (Luke 3:16)," Acts picks up and reminds Theophilus of that same promise by connecting that proleptic prediction and its metaleptic reminder in Luke 24:39 with Jesus' words in two related texts:[37]

> Acts 1:4b-5: ἀπὸ Ἰεροσολύμον μὴ χωρίζεσθαι ἀλλὰ περιμένειν τὴν ἐπαγγελείαν τοῦ πατρὸς ἣν ἠκούσα φησιν διὰ τοῦστόματός μου. ὅτι Ἰωάνης μὲν ἐβάπτισεν ὕδατι ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ βαπτισθήσεσθε καὶ ὃ μέλλετε λαμβάνειν οὐ μετὰ βαπτισθήσεσθε ἁγίῳ οὐ μετὰ πολλὰς ταύτας ἡμέρας.
>
> Acts 1:8: Οὐχ ὑμῶν ἐστὶν γνῶαι χρόνους ἢ καιροὺς οὓς ὁ πατὴρ ἔθετο ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ ἐξουσίᾳ ἀλλὰ λήμψεσθε δύναμιν ἐπελθόντος τοῦ ἁγίου πεύματος ἐφ ὑμᾶς καὶ ἔσεσθέ μου μάρτυρες ἔν τε Ἰρουσαλὴμ καὶ πάσῃ τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ καὶ Σαμαρίᾳ καὶ ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς.

The incident and experiences at Pentecost are therefore obviously in fulfillment of Jesus' promise from the Gospel of Luke. In that sense, the Pentecost events are not entirely unexpected by Theophilus, or the authorial audience, in Acts. These words also,

---

[35]According to Robbins, *The Tapestry of Early Christianity: rhetoric, society and ideology* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 96, "recontextualization" is the intertextual use of the wording of an antecedent without noting the use of that text.

[36] Here I am asserting the position established by Mikeal Parsons and Richard Pervo, *Rethinking the Unity of Luke and Acts* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), who argue that authorial unity does not equal unity on all levels. Their words are well taken: "The relationships between these two books are relations between two books, not correspondences within a conveniently divided entirety," 126.

[37]Richard Hays refers to this effect as either "recollection" while I prefer the more common literary term metalepsis. See his *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 20. This concept points to a literary echo that links the text in which it occurs to an earlier text.

however, are a proleptic portrait of what is yet to come for the followers of Jesus. The reader of Acts will soon find that Peter fulfills these very words.

As Peter moves into the central portion of his argument against the deviant label assessed by the crowd, he uses Scripture to buttress his interpretation of the event. Using recitation on the oral/scribal level,[38] Peter serves as a character focalizer and uses in his speech intertextual LXX references in 2:17-21, 2:25-28, and 2:24-35 that function to present his ideology.[39]

Significant in this type of focalization is the use of an indicator, specifically naming. In all three instances from the LXX, Peter *names* the author of his quotation (Joel in 2:16 and David in 2:25, 34). Thus he can focus his riposte on these verses' honor and authority as Scripture, and, at the same time, offer a new understanding of the movement of the Pentecost events—they are simply the movement of God in the people's midst as promised in both Joel and in the Psalms.

Recently, Robert Brawley has argued persuasively that the hermeneutical role of Scripture in Acts is (1) to make sense of the events reported, and (2) to make sense out of the world of the narrative.[40] With that understanding, this new action of God is, according to Peter, manifest in Jesus (2:36). Thus Peter's role in bringing these

---

[38]Robbins, *The Tapestry of Early Christianity*, 121 (see also 104-107), defines recitation as "that process in which a person formally restates a tradition from the past in either verbatim wording, slightly modified wording, or significantly reformulated wording."

[39]Bill T. Arnold, "Luke's Use of the Old Testament in Acts," in *History Literature, and Society in the Book of Acts*, ed., Ben Witherington, III (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, 300-323, makes a similar point although from a slightly different perspective.

[40]Robert Brawley, *Text to Text Pours Forth Speech: Voices of Scripture in Luke-Acts* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), 79.

Scriptures to bear upon the movement of God is reminiscent of Jesus' self-claim in Luke 4:18-21. Today, these things have come to pass.

On the social level,[41] and only in D because of its proposed date of origin, parts of the Theodosian law, what will later become the Theodosian code, comes in to play as an intertextual and historical reference. The Theodosian policy against polytheism brought about a tide of violence against pagan temples. Ancient sources point to bloody clashes all around the Mediterranean world up to and into the early 390s C. E.[42]

Previous edicts had only outlawed polytheism, this new edict proclaimed true believers Catholic, all others savage and mad.[43] In a setting where a campaign against heresies is carried out under the belief that anyone who even confuses the divine law in ignorance or by neglect commits sacrilege,[44] understanding what the divine law is would be advisable. The use of Acts, what little evidence we have of its use at all, was

---

[41]Robbins, *The Tapestry of Early Christianity*, 127, defines this level as occurring when "discourse refers to information generally available to people in the Mediterranean world...[and where] the discourse evokes images of 'social reality' that every member of Mediterranean society could describe."

[42]See for example, Sozomen, *Ecclesiastical History* 7.15; Theodoret, *Ecclesiastical History* 5.29; Eunapius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 476. Modern surveys of this issue include R. A. Markus, *The End of Ancient Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 107-123 and Brown, *Power and Persuasion*, 113-115.

[43]There is an ironic connection here with a variety of intertexts from the second and third centuries. Pagan authors of that period had argued nearly the same thing about Christianity. For example, Gaius Secundus, *Letters* 10.96, says that Christianity is "a depraved and excessive superstition." Likewise, Tacitus, *Annals* 15.44.3, refers to Christianity as a "pernicious superstition" (*exitiabilis siperstitio*) and Gaius Seutonius, *Lives of the Caesars: Nero* 16.2, calls Christianity "a new and mischievous superstition" (*superstitio nova et malifca*).

[44]T. Mommsen and P. M. Meyer, *Codex Theodosianus* (Berlin, 1905): XVI.2.25. See also XVI.5.21 and 10.10, 14, 16, 21, 24.

interestingly for the purpose of thwarting heresy was in the first four centuries.[45] The edict clearly dictates that orthodoxy and citizenship are inextricably bound together. D's audience, given the Theodosian definition of what a believer is and is not, would have had a particular point of view on the text. To read against the interpretation offered by the Emperor was to bring the wrath of the Empire on one's self and family. In a world where relationships and status mattered economically and socially, it is simply difficult to conceive of anyone reading against the grain of orthodoxy.

In fact, the early believers did not read against the grain of this interpretation. The fourth-century bishop Ambrose of Milan considered Peter *firmamentum ecclesia* (support of the Church). Ambrose pointed to Peter's primacy among the Apostles and for the Church, even over that of Paul. His teachings also influenced Cassian who wrote in his treatise against Nestorius:

> If then the authority of a greater person [than Paul] would please you...let us interrogate not an inexperienced youth...nor a woman...but that great man, the disciple of disciples, the master among masters (*sed summum illum et inter discipulos discipulum et inter magistros magistrum*), who welding the government of the church possessed the authority (*prinipatum*) in faith and priesthood. Tell us therefore, tell us we beg of you, Peter, prince of the Apostles, tell us how the churches must believe in God.[46]

Cassian's writing were well known in the ancient world. Therefore, according to Hays's criteria of *availability,* Cassian, along with the Theodosian edict, provides a reliable historical echo for my reading of D. There are other echoes available as well. St. Augustine wrote:

---

[45]For an overview of the early history of Acts see W. Gasque, *A History of the Criticism of the Act of the Apostles* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975).

[46]Cassian, *Contra Nestorium* III, 12.

> So does the church act in blessed hope through this troublesome life; and this church, symbolized in its generality, was personified in the Apostle Peter on account of the primacy of his aspostleship…For the rock was Christ: and upon this foundation was Peter himself also built…And in this representation Christ is to be understood as the Rock, Peter as the church.[47]

For the authorial audience of D, Peter was who the Emperor claimed. Any reading of the text in that day would have to account for the Theodosian edict and the position of the church.

That the edicts of Theodosius enshrined Catholic Christianity as normative and orthodox is well attested in the ancient world. Roman religion had moved from normative practice to a defined set of *beliefs* set forth by the "divine apostle Peter" and written into law by Theodosius.[48]

Extratexture

Within a culture that values the system of honor and shame, this Acts passage coupled with the Theodosian edict is significant for a number of reasons. First, in the fourth century the punishment threatened by the Emperor upon those who defied the edict was seen as in tune with the very will of God. Theodosius himself boldly proclaimed, "They shall be smitten first by divine vengeance and afterwards by the retribution of our punishment, which we shall assume in accordance with the judgement of heaven (*ex caelesti arbitrio*).[49] Gratian too had proclaimed Milan that "all heresies forbidden by the

---

[47]Cited in Michael M. Winter, *Saint Peter and the Popes* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Publishers, 1960), 68. Original from Tract 124:5 in *John*, trans. M. Dodds, Edinburgh, 1874.

[48]*Theodosian Code* 16.1.2.

[49]Ibid., 16.5.15. Theodosius also claimed that anyone who belonged to any of the "diverse and perfidious sects" would pay the penalty "both to God and the laws."

laws of God and the emperor shall cease forever."[50] The propensity to equate the laws of the emperor with the laws of God introduced a new element into the legal code, the idea of "*sacrilege*."

Therefore, to disobey the "divine" orders or edict of the emperor was to commit sacrilege because the act of disobedience assumed one was greater than the emperor himself. David Hunt, in his recent work, argues that by the time of Theodosius,

> we have arrived, it would appear, at a picture of a Roman emperor whose laws prescribe true religion, disctate the beliefs require by that religion, and set the bounds of what is, and what is not, the proper worship of God...We catch sight here of something of the substructure of the Code's seemingly Olympian pronouncements of right belief.[51]

It can also be argued that the edict therefore delineates Peter's role within the book , this particular narrative, and the social context of the audience. In the larger context of the book, Peter plays the central role in the dyadic personality of the apostles.[52] While Peter is here among friends, his position as "πρῶτος" is displayed and would be recognized easily as any place of honor granted to a person or family in a dyadic personality culture. To be "πρῶτος" among the Apostles in the community of believers, because they are clearly defined as the leaders of the Jesus movement in their world, is a

---

[50]Ibid., 16.5.5.

[51]David Hunt, "Christianizing the Roman Empire: the evidence of the Code," in *The Theodosian Code*, Jill Harries and Ian Wood, ed. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), 148-149.

[52]According to Malina and Neyrey, "Honor and Shame in Luke–Acts: Pivotal Values of the Mediterranean world," in *The Social World of Luke–Acts: Models for Interpretation* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1991), 25, "In the first–century Mediterranean world, every social interaction that takes place outside one's family or outside one's circle of friends is perceived as a challenge to honor." The agonistic nature of this society was still evident even into the fourth and fifth centuries according to T. F. Carney, *The Shape of the Past: Models and Antiquity* (Lawrence, Kansas: Coronado, 1975), 122.

significant role. By the fourth-century that role is set forth in the Empire's law as a rule of orthodoxy as well.

As all other personalities were evaluated in light of Jesus in Luke, Peter now stands for the disciples in that role. In the narrative context, Peter represents himself as leader of the disciples, and in that respect he defines their character. Their honor resides both with his actions and speech. The disciples themselves obviously concur and are satisfied with his role. Not only does he stand in their stead, but he stands as "πρῶτος" among them. In the Empire too, Peter has now been placed as "leader" among his peers and has been set forth as an icon of religious orthodoxy for the Church and state.

Thus Peter's honor in the first part of the book is defined by Jesus' command in the opening scene where Jesus proleptically says, "You shall be my witnesses." Early Mediterranean persons, because of their group–oriented personalities, expected others to define for them who they were. Thus the disciples asked Jesus in the beginning of Acts: "Is it now that you will restore the kingdom to Israel?" (1:6).

While many have heard Messianic expectations in this question, and partly those expectations are there, in reality the disciples who understand the imminent loss of their leader are asking their Lord/Master to *define* for them who *they* are in light of their present situtation. "Are we now, will we now, be who we've always expected," they seem to ask. Jesus himself asked a similar question in the gospels: "Who do people say that I am?" Jesus responds, not by dodging his disciple's question, but by directly defining for them who they are: "You will be my witnesses." Jesus gives them an identity. In this first scene involving Peter, he directly responds to Jesus' words by fulfilling them and thereby making them true.

Honor is also challenged in the labeling of the movement of the spirit among the followers of Jesus. Labeling is a part of the deviance process of the Mediterranean world. According to this scenario, "[n]ames are social labels by means of which the reader/hearer comes to evaluate and categorize the persons presented in the story both negatively and positively."[53]

The charge, "They are drunk," therefore, ascribes a deviant label—"anyone defined as radically out of social place"—on the Pentecost event and all those involved.[54] Consequently the entire movement is endangered from the start. Once the charge is leveled, any person who has or who will choose to associate with a deviant group would take that label on both self and family unless the charge is revoked.

Peter's speech does just that by mounting a dramatic response to this deviant claim. In his speech Peter interprets the role of the spirit through the use of recontextualizing Scripture (see above). The positive verdict and response of the crowds—"they were cut to the heart...three thousand repent and receive baptism"—forms a successful riposte to the deviant label and honor challenge.[55] Thus Peter's honor—and subsequently all those associated with him and with the movement of God's kingdom—is raised due to the loss of honor on the part of the accusers. Yet the accusers themselves

---

[53]Malina and Neyrey, "Conflict in Luke-Acts," in *The Social World of Luke-Acts*, 69, argue that "Labels...are powerful social weapons. In the mouths of influential persons, they can inflict genuine injury when they succeed in defining a person as radically out of social place."

[54]Ibid., 100, or "'deviant' is what is perceived by members of a social group to violate their shared sense of social order."

[55]Malina and Neyrey, "Honor and Shame in Luke-Acts," 30-31, note that the riposte and public verdict involves "a grant of honor taken from the person who received the challenge and awarded to the successful challenger, or a loss of honor by the challenger in favor of the successful recipient of the challenge."

still have the option to join the followers of Jesus and thereby increase their honor as well.

Conclusion: The Reader's Reading

Attempts to discover the meaning of the Pentecost story have more often than not centered on the pyrotechnics of the event and the theology of the Spirit's advent. Others in Lukan scholarship have satisfied themselves with attempts to delineate the origin of Luke's account and to comment on its historical veracity.[56] Yet the meaning here must go beyond these issues, particularly since it is reasonable to assume that this narrative was meaningful to its first readers/hearers.

First, the story of Pentecost emphasizes the importance of the Spirit's coming and uses that event to create a scene that dramatically focuses attention on the followers of Jesus. It is worth noting that while the Spirit creates all the visual images and sound, it is the Apostles themselves that are the subject of the crowd's amazement and the displeasure of the detractors. It is therefore reasonable to assume that the Spirit's role in this scene is to focalize attention and to empower the witnesses of Jesus.

Second, this narrative sets Peter's characterization for this story. The same man who once denied Jesus, now preaches him boldly in Jerusalem itself. Peter becomes, in this scene, leader among his peers and in that respect is the standard by which all others are evaluated. His prowess is articulated throughout the scene in his abilities to interpret events, interpret Scripture, and repel the challenges of detractors and opponents.

Third, the intertexuality of this scene points to Peter's abilities as an interpreter of Scripture but, just as importantly for this study, the Theodosian edict shows how Peter

---

[56]For example, see Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 173-175.

was understood within the proposed reader's context. He is, in fact, viewed as described: chief or leader among his peers. Cassian and Augustan validate this reading as widespread and having a high degree of *volume* in the fourth-century world. It is thereby plausible to assume that the authorial audience would have understood Peter in this way.

Finally, it is through the actions of this new witness that the instabilities and tensions of the narrative are both brought about and resolved. The witnesses of Jesus, like he himself, are bold in the face of accusations, proclaiming the good news, and filled with the Spirit. Not only then is the characterization of Peter standardized, but an anti-characterization is created as well. The reader of this text learns what a real witness looks and acts like, and because all of the characters in the story are evaluated against Peter one also learns what a witness is not. This interplay is not subtle. Luke Johnson has noticed this phenomenon as well saying that "all the main characters of Acts are described according to a particular model" and can be designated as "Men of the Spirit."[57]

The Healing of the Lame Man at the Temple (Acts 3:1-26)

The story of the lame man healed at the temple gate is unique in that it presents two significant first's in the story. Peter and John are seen together for the first time. The defiance of the followers of Jesus is openly manifest for the first time. John's role in this particular story and in subsequent scenes was to provide a second witness to verify

---

[57]Luke Timothy Johnson, *The Literary Function of Possessions in Luke-Acts* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1977), 38, 40. He notes as well, "We found . . . that all the figures in this category shared a certain stereotyped description, which included being filled with the Holy Spirit, speaking God's word, performing signs and wonders, and stimulating a response of acceptance/rejection," 77.

and to validate the apostolic acceptance of Peter's actions. John himself never speaks nor acts independently.

The conflict brought about by the open defiance of the Apostle's representative serves to heighten the tension and instability in the story as a whole. Peter's actions, presumably through the Spirit, focalize the scene on the power of God working through these persons. Within the narrative context as a whole, the healing of the man by Peter and the man's continued presence as a reminder of Peter's actions are repeated six times in the discourse:

> "Why do you look at us as if by our own power or godliness we had done *this act* (τοῦτο) that he should walk? (3:12)
>
> "And by faith in his name (ὀνόματος) *you now see this man and know that his name made him strong* (θεωπεῖτε καὶ οἴδατε ὅτι ἐστερέωσεν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ)" (3:16)
>
> "'By what power, or in what name have you done this?' . . . 'If we are this day examined *by you* (ἀφ' ὑμῶν) for a good deed done to an impotent man' . . . 'Be it know to you all, and to all the people of Israel, that in the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth . . . does this man stand before you here whole'." (4:7-12)
>
> "Seeing the man that was healed standing next to them they could *do or* (ποιῆσαι ἢ) say nothing against it." (4:14)
>
> "What shall we do to these men? For that indeed a obvious sign has been brought about through them is *more than* (φανερότερόν) clear to all who dwell in Jerusalem." (4:16)
>
> "...they let them go, finding nothing that they might punish them, because of the people; for the people glorified God for that which was done. For the man was more than fory years old, on whom this sign of healing was accomplished." (4:21-22)

This repetition increases the tension and instability in the story and encourages the reader to move forward in order to learn how the witnesses will fare in the face of the temple authorities.

The advent of the Holy Spirit and the empowerment of the witnesses moves forth immediately to the steps of the temple itself. Lest anyone raise concern over who is behind this mission—and, in fact, the religious authorities will raise that very question (4:7)—the reader is repeatedly reminded that these are witnesses in the name of Jesus (3:6, 16; and 4:7, 10, 12, 17-18, 30). This continuity between Jesus' charge (1:8) and his followers actions emphasizes their role as witnesses and subsequent fulfillment of that call.

On a second level, Peter and his peers exhibit here for the first time the "signs and wonders" that exemplified Jesus' own ministry and that were part of the promised power received from the Holy Spirit (See 2:19, 22, 43). Through these events, according to Luke Timothy Johnson,

> Luke has shown how the blessings of God are being enjoyed by the restored people who responded to the Pentecost proclamation. Now he must show how in fact the apostles carry on the prophetic power of Jesus in their deeds and words, and how they are to be the leaders over this restored people.

Through Peter, the authorial audience will see exactly that, a metonymic image of Jesus.

Innertexture

In 2:43 the reader is told that many "τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα" were being done through the Apostles. This reminder is both proleptic and analeptic in that it connects with what has preceded it and with what will follow. Chapter three offers one of those promised τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα and connects with what precedes by the use of the connective phrase singular to D: "Εν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις." This connective begins a sequence of events in 3:1 that runs through 5:42 and involves the Apostles, the crowds,

the Sanhedrin, and significantly, the temple itself.[58] While John stands beside Peter in this scene, he functions throughout Acts as a scenery character only. John never speaks, offers no interpretation of Scripture, and has no role other than to serve as the necessary second witness.

The encounter with the lame man draws a picture familiar to the early world of Christianity. The lame character in this story is as undeveloped as John's character and serves as a foil for Peter's gift. His status in the story as a lame man serves to show that he is, by the religious standards of the day, unable to participate in temple worship (Lev 21:17-20; 2 Sam 5:8; *m. Shab* 6:8).

The entire incident offers another literary example of Peter's role as the metonymic image of Jesus.[59] Like his master, Peter can heal with mere words. The difference being that Peter will heal the man "ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Ναζωραίου."[60] This repetitive–progressive phrase follows from its proleptic antecedent

---

[58]Robert C. Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke–Acts: A Literary Interpretation* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990), 48. See also Funk, *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative*, 75-97.

[59]Tannehill, *Narrative Unity*, 51, notes the similarity between this incident and the incident in Luke 5:17-26 where Jesus offers healing and salvation to a paralytic. See also Charles Talbert, *Literary Patterns, Theological Themes, and the Genre of Luke–Acts*, SBLMS 20 (Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1974) who, along with Gerhard Trumpf, *The Idea of Historical Recurrence in Western Thought: From Antiquity to the Reformation* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1979), has shown the widespread use of reimaging or recurrence in both the Hebraic and Greco-Roman writing of the ancient world.

[60]The belief and use of magical formulae in the first century was rather common. See for example van der Horst, "Hellenistic Parallels to Acts," 38-39. Yet Luke goes to great lengths to distinguish here between magic and the use of τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ (see for example Acts 8:9-11, 19; 19:18-19). J. A. Zeisler, "The Name of Jesus," and C. K. Barrett, *Acts*, vol 1, 182-183, have argued convincingly that the usage here is, in fact, distinguished from magical uses and that. Barrett writes: "the evidence does not support

in 2:21, the citation from Joel: πᾶς ὃς ἂν ἐπικαλέστηται τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου σωθήσεται.[61]

The use of the τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ in the Acts narrative is striking and reinforces the characterization of Peter—and later Paul—as metonymic images of Jesus himself through the use of his name. This appellation is called upon in twelve narrative contexts in Acts either directly or by inference. Note the following outline of the use of τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ in Acts:[62]

1. Peter's sermon (2:21) [2:38*]
2. The healing by Peter and his portico speech (3:6, 16)
3. Peter and John before the Council (4:7, 10, 12, 17, 18) [4:8]
4. The believer's prayer for boldness (4:30) [4:31]
5. Peter and the Apostles before the high priest (5:28, 42*)
6. The Arrest of Stephen (6:8)
7. The preaching of Philip (8:12, 16*) [8:18]
8. Peter speaks to Cornelius and subsequent baptism (10:43, 48*) [10:44, 45]
9. Paul heals a cripple (14:10)
10. Paul preaches in Corinth (18:4, 8)
11. Paul and the Seven sons of Sceva (19:4*) [19:6]

The narrative report of the healing reveals an important emphasis, there is more hear than just that the man was healed. The text notes that he was "ἐξαλλόμενος" (leaping) and

---

the view that the name is used in Acts as a magical formula . . . [and that] . . . Acts 3 and 19 are among Luke's great anti-magical passages.

[61]The emphasis on the τῷ ὀνόμα τοῦ κυρίου is significant. In this scene and the next, the ὀνόμα τοῦ κυρίου is credited as the source of the lame man's healing on more than one occasion: 3:6. 16; 4: 7, 10, 12. The use of progressive–repetitive patterns in the biblical narrative is discussed more fully in Robert Tannehill, *The Sword of His Mouth* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975), *Phyllis Trible, God and the Rhetoric of Sexuality* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1978), *Texts of Terror: Literary–Feminist Readings of Biblical Narratives* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984), Robert Alter, *The Art of Biblical Narrative* (New York: Basic Books, 1981), and Robbins, *The Tapestry of early Christian Discourse*, especially 46-50.

[62]The use of brackets indicates reference of the τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ by inference, * indicates a D addition that affects the reading, and underlining indicates a reading unique to D.

"χαιρόμενος" (rejoicing).[63] This entire scene, with no little significance, takes place on the steps of the Temple itself. As Tannehill notes,

> The events of Acts 3 are set in the Temple or at its entrance, and this setting is significant. It helps the plot move without interruption from a healing at the temple gate, to a speech in the temple, to the immediate reaction of the temple authorities.[64]

In fact, D offers a "narrative aside"[65] in 5:12 that serves to wrap up the entirety of the Apostle's actions to that point, and in the first part of Acts Peter is representative of their actions: "Now by the hands of the Apostles many signs and wonders were done among the people; and they were all *with one mind in the temple* (καὶ ἦσαν ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἅπαντας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ)[66] in Solomon's porch." This affirmation is important in the progression of Acts. First, it clearly indicates that the fulfillment of the promises to Israel

---

[63]D here omits the second occurrence of the verb ἀλλόμαι in the latter part of the verse and, in fact, omits the entire phrase περιπατῶν καὶ ἁλλομενος και, probably because of its obvious redundancy with the former part of the verse. Interestingly, αλλομαι occurs only here and in John 4:14. The compound form ἐξαλλόμενος is a hapx logomenna in the New Testament but does occur in the LXX text of Isaiah 35:6. Thus the emphasis is placed on the lame man's "rejoicing."

[64]Tannehill, *Narrative Unity*, 52.

[65]For the literary significance of narrative asides see Stephen Sheely, *Narrative Asides in Luke Acts*, JSNTSS 72 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1992).

[66]I disagree with Cadbury (*JBL* 44 [1925]: 216-218) and the RSV translators that ὁμοθυμαδόν can be taken in the weakened sense here to mean that the people were "together." The adverb is better understood in its strongest sense "with one mind or impulse." In each of its 10 occurrences in Acts (1:14, 2:46, 4:24, 5:12, 7:57, 8:6, 12:20, 15:25, 18:12, and 19:29) this adverb is used to portray a sense of purpose and unity. It is interesting that in the occurrences that appear most debatable (e.g., 2:46 and here in 5:12), ὁμοθυμαδόν is used with either a phrase or the clear indication that the group was already physically together. Thus to repeat that implication with the softer nuance of this adverb would be unnecessarily redundant. Thus the meaning is better understood in all its uses with its full force of "with one mind or intention." See Johannes P. Louw and Eugene Nida, ed., *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament Based on Semantic Domains*, Second Edition, Vol. 1 (New York, United Bible Societies, 1989), 368, who offer only this stronger sense of the term as viable.

are both part of this new apostolic mission and that those promises are being fulfilled. The Apostles do not hesitate in these first five chapters to teach and to preach openly in the temple despite the displeasure of the religious leaders (cf. 4:2, 17, 5:28). The temple becomes for the disciples, a place of conflict in the same way that it was for Jesus.[67]

Within the speech itself, Peter does at least three things for his audience that must narratively be understood in light of their system of honor and shame. First, he corrects an inaccurate impression that the Apostles had healed this man "ὡς ἡμῶν τῇ ἰδίᾳ δυνάμι ἢ εὐσεβίᾳ" (3:12). Second, he explains that the true source of the man's healing was that "ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν ἐδόξασεν τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ Ἰσοῦν Χριστόν" (3:13). Finally, he proclaims that "ἐπιστάμεθα ὅτι ὑμεῖς μὲν κατὰ ἄγνοιαν ἐπράξατε πονηρόν" (3:17) implicating the Jewish people, albeit through their ἄγνοιαν, as the ones who "ἐβαρύνατε" (oppressed), rejected, and killed Jesus.[68]

---

[67]For a more detailed study on this theme of conflict in the temple see Joseph Tyson, *The Death of Jesus in Luke-Acts* (Columbia: South Carolina University Press, 1986) and Philip Esler, *Community and Gospel in Luke-Acts: The Social and Political Motivations of Lukan Theology,* SNTSMS 57 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 131-163.

[68]The difference between the UBS text's οἶδα and D's ἐπιστάμεθα is not simply stylistic but a clear indication of both the implication in the death of Jesus by the entire Apostolic group as represented by Peter and an admission that the leader's guilt was through ignorance. The former verb, οἶδα, indicates knowledge in the sense of having information. The latter verb, ἐπιστάμεθα, indicates possession of information with the addition of understanding the significance of that information. See Johannes P. Louw and Eugene Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament Based on Semantic* Domains, vol. 1, (New York: United Bible Societies, 1988), 28.3: 335. This nuance points toward Peter's conclusion in his speech that despite their ignorance, the people have need of repentance and having done so salvation and the fulfillment of the Abrahamic promise is theirs (3:25-26). *Contra* M. Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1954), 179, who argues that these words should be taken as synonyms.

The emphatic use of "ὑμεῖς" (3:17) directs culpability at the religious leadership and the people. It is the addition of the "μὲν . . . δὲ" construction, however, that mitigates so strongly against the Jewish people placing their actions over against the actions of God.[69] These details are part of the "concentration" and "scaffolding" of the narrative.[70]

In other words, by means of using the system of honor and shame in this scene (explained below), Peter's speech characterizes from an authoritative point of view the culpability of the people in the death of Jesus as being from "ἄγνοιαν" and at the same time reminds them of the promises offered to them through Abraham.[71] Peter, characterized by the narrator as "full of the Holy Spirit," offers his own characterization of the people. Peter portrays them as sinners in need of God's grace through Christ and continues to expand his own role as a promised witness.[72] The legitimization of healing

---

[69]Theodore Zahn, *Die Apostlegeschichte des Lucas* (Leipzig, 1922), 1, 54, fn. 62.

[70]I am using terms initiated by Peter J. Rabinowitz, *Before Reading: Narrative Conventions and the Politics of Interpretation* (Ithica: Cornell University Press, 1987), 53, who defines "concentration" as details that assist the reader in focusing attention while "scaffolding" refers to details that serve as the basic structure on which interpretation is built. In other words, because the three details mentioned above stand out as central or "concentrated" then they should therefore become part of the reader's interpretive scaffolding.

[71]The speech in chapter three, compared to Peter's speech in chapter two has a number of similarities but two striking differences: (1) there is no call to have faith in the name of Jesus and (2) there is no call to be baptized. Tannehill, *Narrative Unity*, vol 2, 58, details many of the differences and similarities between the two speeches. Consequently, that material will not be repeated here except to say that the second speech does build on the first.

[72]Rimmon-Kenan, *Narrative Fiction*, 60, 64, makes the case that characters can be defined through the direct definition their own or of another character's speech. Peter, as well, directly reveals about himself that he is in line with the promises given by Jesus in 1:8. See also Rabinowitz, *Before Reading*, 86-87, who holds that characters should be

conveys a "divine sanction" for both the lame man and Peter as a "spirit filled" and empowered witness.[73]

Intertexture

In his recent book, Robert Brawley argues that Luke and Acts engage the "sociocultural norms" of the ancient world as what he calls "ideological literature" in an attempt to revise those norms.[74] While he has blurred the lines between ideology and sociocultural norms, his general point is well taken. According to Terry Eagleton, however, ideologies function in a variety of ways. In his view, the most significant of these ways is to "lend coherence to the groups or classes which hold them" and that a dominant ideology has the ability "to intervene in the consciousness of those it subjects, appropriating and reinflecting their experience."[75] Eagleton's model would apply for the authorial audience as well as the characters in the text.

Peter utilizes scripture to tear down a prevailing ideology and replace it with a new one. He attempts this coup by means of utilizing the most persuasive tool he has available, their shared assumption about the canonicity and authority of scripture.

---

judged by their obvious traits until the text gives sufficient reason to judge them in some other way.

[73]Robert Brawley, *Luke-Acts and the Jews: Conflict, Apology, and Conciliation,* SBLMS 33 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 53-63.

[74]Robert Brawley, *Text to text Pours Fourth Speech*, 91. In his definition, ideological literature is literature that attempts to persuade.

[75]Terry Eagleton, *Ideology: An Introduction* (New York: Verso, 1991, 45. See also Bill T. Arnold, "Luke's Use of the Old Testament in Acts," in *History Literature, and Society in the Book of Acts*, ed., Ben Witherington (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 309-310.

The apostolic leader begins this process by arguing that they (Peter and John) have not produced this healing but that God has done "*this act*" (τούτῳ) in order to glorify Jesus. Never does Peter attempt to claim for himself the glory of what God is able to do through him. What we find, in fact, is that verses 12-14 in Codex Bezae contain a variety of nuances all intended to clarify for the authorrial audience who did what in this scene by means of specification.

In other words, the D text offers a more explicit explanation of exactly who each referent is in order to spell out the what might not be obvious. The text teaches the authorial audience who does what and with whom they are associated. Note how D focalizes this facet for the authorial audience:

UBS

> ἰδὼν δέ ὁ Πέτρος ἀπεκρίνατο πρὸς τὸν λαόν· ἄνδρες Ισραηλῖται, τί θαυμάζετε ἐπι τουτῳ ἢ τί ἀτενίζετε ὡς ἰδίᾳ δυνάμει ἢ εὐσεβίᾳ πεποιηκόσιν τοῦ περιπατεῖν αὐτόν ὁ θεὸς Αβραὰμ και Ισαὰκ καὶ Ιακὼβ, ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, ἐδόξασεν τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ Ισοῦ ὃν ὑμεῖς μὲν παρεδώκατε καὶ ἠρνήσασθε κατὰ πρόσωπον Πιλάτου, κρίνατος ἐκείνου ἀπολὺειν· ὑμεῖ δὲ τὸν ἅγιον και δίκαιον ἠρνήσασθε και ἠτήσασθε ἄδρα φονέα χαρισθῆναι ὑμῖν·

Codex Bezae

> ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Πέτρος εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτος Ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλῖται τί θαυμάζετε ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἢ ἡμεῖν τί ἀτενίζετε ὡς ἡμῶν τῇ ἰδίᾳ δυνάμι ἢ εὐσεβίᾳ τοῦτο πεποιηκότων τοῦ περιπατεῖν αὐτόν ὁ θεὸς Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Θεὸς Ἰσὰκ καὶ Θεὸς Ἰακώβ ὁ Θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν ἐδόξασεν τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ Ἰσοῦν Χριστόν ὃν ὑμεῖς παρεδώκατε εἰς κρίσιν καὶ ἀπηρνήσασθε αὐτὸν κατὰ πρόσωπον Πειλάτου τοῦ κρείνατος ἐκείνου ἀπολύειν αὐτὸν θέλοντος ὑμεῖς δὲ τὸν ἅγιον καὶ δίκαιον ἐβαρύνατε καὶ ἠτήσασθε ἄνδρα φονέα χαρισθῆναι ὑμῖν·

Eagleton defines this process as a "legitimization" and "universalizing" that establishes one's interests as broadly acceptable, rather than just "lending them a spurious wash of legality . . . [and eternalizing] [v]alues and interests which [*sic*] are in fact specific to a certain time and place . . . [and projecting them as] values and interests of all

humanity."[76] Thus this speech interprets the healing and its origins in the same way that the Pentecost speech in Acts 2 interprets the Pentecost event. Only here, Peter tears down the fallacious deviant label given to Jesus by revealing that God "glorified" (ἐδόξασεν) him in his death.

This tearing down takes place through the use of scripture. Peter reinforces his argument that Jesus was actually God's "παῖδα" (3:13) and that the people "oppressed" (ἐβαρύνατε) him by pointing out the evidence before them: "τοῦτον θεωρεῖτε καὶ οἴδατε ὅτι ἐστερέωσεν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ" (3:16). The discussion concerning the noun παῖδα is both long and detailed.[77] I find it better to read παῖδα with the nuance of both meanings in view and in that sense as a double entendre. Both meanings are true and both have evidence in the text of Acts and its antecedent Luke. The noun can clearly carry both meanings in this context.[78] It is significant that Peter has just offered a litany of fathers and sons from Exodus 3:6 (see also Acts 2:25-36) preceding this noun and then

---

[76]Ibid., 55-56. Unlike Eagleton, however, I am not trying to distinguish the veracity or truth claim of the ideology put forth by Peter. My assumption throughout is that Peter's ideology in the story is truthful and from God. My interests are in how this generally unpopular and unheld ideology comes to the forefront in Acts.

[77]For an good overview of the various proposals and proponents see Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 205; Jeremias, *ThWb* V, 676-713; and Conzelmann, *Acts of the Apostles,* 28.

[78]I disagree with David Moessner, "The '*script*' of the Scriptures in Acts," in *History Literature, and Society in the Book of Acts*, ed. Ben Witherington (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 218-250, and specifically, 228-229, who argues for a reading of παῖς as servant on the basis of linguistic connections with Isaiah. Moessner argues, "*In sum*, the rejection of Jesus the righteous Servant forms the focal point of the plot which God fulfilled and had already declared through the mouth of all the prophets (Acts 3:18)," 229. While his point is correct, it is only part of the issue in Peter's speech. The real rub comes as the crowds and temple representatives realize that the servant spoken of by the prophets and sent by God was also God's son (παῖς) Jesus (4:18).

levels his listeners with the reality of who Jesus was as well, God's παῖδα (son/child).[79] On the other hand, Jesus, even as God's child, was also God's παῖδα (servant), a prophet like Moses (3:22).[80] In this sense, there is a clear referent to Isaiah 53:13 (LXX): "ἰδοὺ συνήσει ὁ παῖς μου καὶ ὑψωθήσεται καὶ δοξασθήσαεται σφόδρα."[81] Peter has effectively created a double–edged sword for his hearers.

Through the use of this scripture, Peter has begun to attack the false label attached to Jesus at his crucifixion and the errant perspective of the onlookers that this lame man was healed by magic. Thus he offers conclusive evidence (3:16): "καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ πίστει τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ τοῦτον θεωρεῖτε καὶ οἴδατε ὅτι ἐστερέωσεν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ." Peter then can point to the "πονηρόν" that his audience has done in the killing of Jesus. But this speech is not simply an attempt on Peter's part to remove a label from Jesus and place it on his listeners. He does so only momentarily, to gain their attention, and in that

---

[79]This text and its antecedent from Exodus is but one of many parallels between this speech and Stephen's speech in Acts 7 (lacuna in D) noted by Earl Richard in his study *Acts 6:1-8:4: The Author's Method of Composition,* SBLDS 41, (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1978), 256.

[80]Dt 18:15-19 served as a Testimonium in the Qumran texts (4Qtest 5-8; See also 1QS 9:11) where the prophet like Moses was one of a trinity of eschatological figures expected to return. In the New Testament, this passage is directly quoted only twice—here and in 7:37 (Lacuna in D). Echoes of this idea, however, are scattered throughout the Gospels (e.g., Mk 9:7; Jn 1:21; 6:14; 7:40). While the original context points to Moses' words meaning that the ancient Israelites should not resort to magical divination in order to ascertain the will of Yahweh. Rather, Yahweh will, if the need arises, raise up a prophet to speak instead. Bruce, *The Text of Acts*, 145, notes that this text underwent subsequent changes in interpretation over the course of time so that the people began to look for one particular prophet who would announce God's will. In the Samaritan tradition, this prophet was the *taheb* ("restorer"). For this argument see C. H. H. Scobie, "The Origins and Development of Samaritan Christianity," *NTS* 19 (1972-73): 393 (390-414). By the first century, this prophet role naturally came to be associated with Jesus (F. F. Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 145).

[81]See also Wisd 2:13 and 2 Bar 70:9.

moment Peter reorients their ideological perspective in this speech by including them in the promises of God once again.[82] Quoting in verse 3:22 the text from Deut 18:15-19 LXX (and possibly Lev 23:29), Peter establishes both his own and his audience's role as heirs through the use of emphatic pronouns in 3:25 and 3:26 and with the inclusive addition of "πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν" in D (3:22).

The change from the singular pronouns in LXX text to the plural and emphatic pronouns found here is striking. The change points to the obvious attempt to include the crowds listening to Peter's speech. Thus in Peter's reorientation of the crowd's ideology through the recitation of canonical scripture,[83] the lame man's healing becomes a sign of the blessing for all those people who are listening, the descendents of the promise of Abraham (3:25).

---

[82]I disagree with Epp, *The Theological Tendency of Codex Bezae*, 42, who argues that in D the element of excuse for the Jews is "virtually absent, while that of guilt finds more emphasis." There is undoubtedly an emphasis on the *culpability* of the Jewish leadership and people in D. Note, for example, that in addition to the nuances here is the *great omission* in Lk 23:34 where the Lukan prayer of forgiveness—"πάτερ ἄφες αὐτοῖς οὐ γὰρ οἴδασιν τί ποιοῦσιν"—is omitted from the Bezaen text. Epp's argument, however, breaks down in two places. First, he points his reader only to the variants of D and minor witnesses of the 'Western' tradition that agree. This method loses the significance of the narrative whole and cumulative effect of reading. The Bezaen editor may well have introduced a number of anti-Jewish readings into the text. Those readings, however, were added into a narrative whole and must be read in light of the whole. Second, Epp overemphasizes the use of the "πονηρόν" in D to make his point concerning the guilt of the Jews. For example, D also reads "πονηρόν" in reference to Ananias (5:4): "τί ὅτι ἔθου ἐν τῇ καρσίᾳ σου ποιῆσαι πονηρὸν τοῦτο οἰκ ἐψεύσω ἀνθρώποις ἀλλα τῷ θεῷ." (See also Lk 5:22 D). Yet there is no indication that an entire group of people are singled out over the sin of two people. Peter shows the *culpability* of those responsible for the death of Jesus, but just as clearly he offers salvation to all who call on the "ὄνομα Ιησοῦ." His emphatic "finger pointing" catches the attention of those who still do not believe and, when he has their attention, Peter offers to all the same salvation found in the heirs of Abraham.

[83]Robbins, *Tapestry*, 96, defines this category as the near repetition or paraphrase of words from a previous source.

Extratexture

Given Peter's status in this narrative as a witness empowered by Jesus and through the Holy Spirit, he functions similarly to Jesus in his healing ministry. According to John Pilch,

> A central function of the his [Jesus'] healing ministry is to lead those whose lives have lost cultural meaning back to the proper purpose and direction in life. That is, the prophet–healer preaches repentance, change of heart, transformation of horizons, broadening of perspectives.[84]

The question is, "Can Pilch's definition be sustained in a fourth century reading?" Clearly it can. John Chrysostom, writing in that period, in his sermons on Acts points to this same conclusion with a sharpened twist against the Jewish people:

> Such sort of persons were the Jews; lame, and the right thing to ask for health, these ask for money, groveling on the ground: for this it was that they beset the temple—to get money. What then does Peter? He did not despise him; he did not look about for some rich subject; he did not say, if the miracle is not done to some great one, nothing great is done: he did not look for some honor from him, no, nor heal him in the presence of people; for the man was at the entrance, not where the multitude were, that is, within. But Peter sought no such object; nor upon entering did he proclaim the matter: no, it was by his hearing that he attracted the lame man to ask. And the wonder is that he believed so readily. For those who are set free of diseases of long standing, hardly believe their very eyesight. Once healed he remains with the Apostles, giving thanks to God.[85]

The change brought about is two-fold in an incident of healing like the one in this scene. First, the lame man is given self-worth, and therefore the possibility of honor because he has moved from the lower status of non-productive and inactive member of the community to a potentially active and productive member. The ancient concept of

---

[84]John Pilch, "Sickness and Healing in Luke–Acts," in *The Social World of Luke Acts*, 182.

[85]St. John Chrysostom, *Homilies on the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistle to the Romans*, A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, vol 11, ed. by Phillip Schaff (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989), 51.

honor included the representation of expected male virility. The inability to practice that representation—for example being lame and therefore unable to care for one's family, work, and protect the family honor—would bring about negative shame.[86]

This ideology stems from the division of the human body into metaphorical zones representing human behavior and interaction. Each bodily part represents an assumed function and therefore any misfortune to one of those parts brings about the verdict of non-functionality and, consequently, exclusion from the community and community functions such as temple worship. The bodily zones and their corresponding functions are as follows:[87]

Table 1

Bodily Zones and Their Functions

Zone	Bodily Parts	Functions
One	Heart/eyes	emotion-fused thought
Two	Mouth/ears	self-expressive speech
Three	Hands/feet	purposeful action

Secondly, the view of those around him—and potentially his own view of his situation—is altered because now he is no longer seen as a victim of misfortune.[88] Now

[86]Honor is generally defined as a person's self worth as defined by that person's community. Shame is the female counterpart to male honor and indicated a woman's concern to protect and conceal her family's honor status. Honor is best understood as a commodity of which there was only a limited amount available. For a fuller discussion of honor and shame in Luke-Acts chapter one and Bruce Malina and Jerome Neyrey, "Honor and Shame in Luke-Acts," in *The Social World of Luke Acts*, 65.

[87]Ibid., 204.

[88]The key to understanding health and sickness in the ancient world lies in the ideology of that day. According to Pilch, "How different but how necessary it is for us to

he is a *fortunate* receiver of God's blessing. For their world, the central question of both fortune and misfortune is "Who did this to me?"[89] This consideration creates social tension in the story because of the confusion over the healing (see 3:12 and later 4:9). The authorial audience, however, already know this healing is from God.

Particularly when read in light of the debate over who is greatest in the kingdom and the first and last sayings (Lk 22:24 and 9:46; 14:11; 18:14; 9:48; 22:26) in Luke's Gospel, the ascribed honor offered to Peter following the healing of the lame man is ironic. The reaction to Peter is similar to the reaction of Jesus' healings, nearly all of which were in violation of the purity system of the day.[90] The crowds immediately place honor on Peter at the expense of the temple and its representatives. What the temple could not do—and, in fact, where it excluded this man—the power of God through the "ὄνοματι Ἰησοῦ" as offered by Peter healed the lame man and brought him back into community. This cultural script of honor/shame is played out most specifically in the ideology of fortune.[91]

---

understand that health or well-being is but an example of *good fortune*...Alternatively, sickness is but one example of a wide range of *misfortunes,*" Ibid., 182. Peter Brown, *The Body and Society* New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 305-322, offers another view of this issue under the rubric of sexuality.

[89]Ibid., 201.

[90]For a good discussion of the purity system in connection with Jesus' perceived violation of the system see John Elliott, "Temple Verses Household in Luke-Acts, in *The Social World of Luke-Acts*, 222-223; and Jerome Neyrey, "The Symbolic Universe of Luke-Acts," in Ibid., 286-288.

[91]For an overview of the challenge/riposte cycle see Bruce Malina's, *The New Testament World: Insights from Cultural Anthropology* (Atlanta: John Knox, 1981), 30-33; or more recently his *The Social World Of Jesus and the Gospels* (New York: Routledge, 1996), *passim*. Specifically on Luke and Acts, see also Malina and Neyrey, "Honor and Shame in Luke-Acts," 25-65; and David Gowler, *Host, Guest, Enemy, and Friend: Portraits of the Pharisees in Luke and Acts* (New York: Peter Lang, 1991), 16-17.

Peter's riposte to the temple simply asserts that those who thought that they were the fortunate bearers of God's grace in the temple were not. In fact, Chrysostom believed that the miracle occurred at the temple by divine ordination in order to proclaim what God is doing through the Apostles.[92] By the crucifixion of Jesus, the crowds and the temple representatives essentially issued a challenge against the movement of God. Peter will reorient their ideology in his speech as he takes

> the declaration of Jesus as a deviant into hand and attempts to convert it into a proclamation of him as a prominent. To effect this, he portrays Jesus as the very opposite of a usurper who seeks his own glamour and who threatens society. Rather, he is God's servant (*pais*) whom God glorified. Thus his higher loyalty to God motivates his behavior.[93]

This technique of labeling is essentially an attempt to characterize through the use of epithets that will ultimately be seen as representing the person. Negative labeling techniques attempt to show the person's moral character to be "deviant" compared to social norms and thereby gain a negative social evaluation of the individual and his or her group.

Positive Labeling attempts the opposite. A positive label reveals that the person (and thereby his or her group) is in-line or above social norms and thus a prominent.[94] By using the techniques of re-labeling, Peter is able to reveal Jesus as a prominent in their society who was unjustly treated and sentenced and despite that treatment reveals his depth of honor by offering new life even to his accusers.

---

[92]Ibid., 52.

[93]Robert Brawley, *Text to Text Pours Forth Speech*, 93.

[94]For an overview of this social technique see Bruce Malina and Jerome Neyrey, *Calling Jesus Names: The Social Value of Labels in Matthew* (Sonoma: Polbridge, 1988), 35-36; and R. Webber, "Why Where the Heathen So Arrogant? The Social-Rhetorical Strategy of Acts 3-4," *BTB* 22 (1992): 16-17.

The contrasting locales in Acts (and Luke as well) have been well investigated recently and those studies have concluded that the temple was effectively being replaced by the advent of the household as the locus of God's activity.[95] Thus the significance that this reorientation of ideology occurs on the steps of the temple is no small thing.

In reality, God's presence and grace extends beyond the temple and those who participate in its functions. This theme of misfortune turned to fortune carries over to the crowds as well. Peter not only heals the lame man, but heals the crowds as well when he turns their misfortune in participating in the act of crucifying Jesus (3:14-15) to fortune by offering the blessing of Abraham and thereby God's salvation through Jesus to all those who will hear (3:25-26).

In the same way that the door to this community was opened to the lame man through Peter, the door to the kingdom is opened by Peter's offering of God's grace to the crowd. The "good news" Peter has to offer is not as exclusive as one might expect given who Peter's audience is in this scene. Yet Peter also makes its clear where the offer of this fortune originates: "For lest they should think that they received this offer from the favor of Peter, he shows that of old it was due to them, in order that they may the rather believe that such is also the will of God."[96]

---

[95]See, for example, John Elliott, *A Home for the Homeless: A Sociological Exegesis of I Peter, Its Situation, and Strategy* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981, 181, who notes that "In Luke-Acts the household is prominently contrasted to the temple, the bankrupt locus of Jewish power and piety, and to the city, the area of "Caesar's network" and locus of social control." Also see more recently the now published dissertation by David Matson, *The Household Conversions in Luke-Acts*, Ph.D. Dissertation (Baylor University: Waco, Texas, 1994) published as *The Household Conversions in Luke-Acts*, JSNT 123 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996).

[96]Chrysostom, *Homilies on Acts*, 59.

Conclusion: The Reader's Reading

The placement of this scene geographically is one of its most salient features. The immediate narrative shift from the Pentecost event to the conflict between Peter as a representative of the apostolic witnesses and the religious authorities representing the status-quo focuses both narrative tension and instability on the relationship between the witnesses and leaders. For both the crowds and the reader, Peter is able through Spirit to bring the minds and loyalties of the people in the temple area together (5:12). This comment enables the focalization of the reader's attention on the source of the man's healing (3:12), the ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Ναζωραίου.

Yet it is through the spirit-enabled witness Peter that these events occur. Like his master Peter is able to heal by fiat as he calls on the name. This ability is part of promised fulfillment of Scripture (Joel 2:38) and the words of Jesus himself (1:8). Peter is also, however, able to deconstruct a prevalent ideology within the gates of the temple itself. Through techniques of universalization and legitimization, Peter breaks down a deviant label attached by the religious authorities and replaces it with a new ideology that Jesus was and is God's "παιδα. By using Scripture, Peter again shows himself as a witness both of Jesus and to Scripture. Yet this new mission is inclusive, Peter both reveals blame and offers salvation to all persons as heirs of Abraham (3:22).

Consequently, for the reader and the crowds the name of Jesus is shown as both honorable and powerful in that it heals and restores those in need physically and spiritually. That this event takes place within the shadow of the temple itself is no small thing. The replacement of the temple by the "household" (οἶκος) of God is the underlying reality in this ideological reorientation.

The Bezean narrator offers an inside view of the response to Peter's actions that shows how belief moves among the people as they view the Spirit of God at work among them. The obvious assumption here is that (1) the fulfillment of the promises to ancient Israel are a part of this new apostolic mission—despite the culpability through "ἄγνοιαν"—and (2) that those promises are being fulfilled in the "coming together" of the people in the temple.[97] Despite the conflict with the religious leaders and authorities, the apostles do obviously gain support within the temple itself (See the narrative summary in 5:12).

Peter, as an apostolic representative and as Jesus' witness, gains honorable stature as he, through the Spirit's empowerment, breaks through the boundaries of the temple and its status-quo leadership. That stature, however, enhances both the tension and instability in this story because status in their world was gained only at another's expense.

Peter and John Before the Council (4:1-31)

The culmination of the previous scene occurs in 4:1-31. Beginning this section with an explanatory narrative aside, the narrator reveals the reason for the incarceration about to happen. This explanation serves two purposes: (1) it shows the honor challenge that is taking place in this two-fold scene between the religious leaders and the witnesses of Jesus; and (2) it moves the progression of the story along by increasing the instability in the story.

---

[97]*Contra* Epp, *The Theological Tendency of Codex Bezae*. While Epp's point concerning the so-called "anti-Judaic" bias is well taken, he has placed emphasis on only the changes in the Bezaen text as compared to other more "neutral" forms. The

Inner Texture.

The narrator notes in the aside[98] that begins this chapter that "as they were speaking these words" (λαλούντων . . . τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα), the "priests"[99] and "the Sadducees,"[100] who were "annoyed because they were teaching people and proclaimed in Jesus the resurrection from the dead" (διαπονοούμενοι διὰ τὸ διδάσκειν αὐτοὺς τὸν λαὸν καὶ ἀναγγέλλειν τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐν τῇ ἀνάστασει τῶν νεκρῶν), overtook the Apostles and placed them in custody until the next day.[101] The clear indication is that the arrest results from the Apostolic proclamation of Jesus' resurrection. The D emphasis on τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα highlights the council's concern and fear over the spreading of the apostolic message and is the basis for the council's action against Peter and John. The incident moves to the level where the council has the intent, according to D which adds in 4:21 the word "αἰτίαν" meaning to "formally charge" or "impute fault," to charge Peter

---

alterations, in order to gain a clear understanding of their effect, must be read in light of the larger narrative context.

[98]Sheeley, *Narrative Asides in Luke-Acts,* 11.

[99]Generally these are considered to be part of the temple cadre on duty that particular week. See Bruce, *The Text of Acts*, 147; Conzelmann, *Acts of the Apostles,* 32.

[100]The Sadducees, while not a specific and formal party, were formed from the higher classes of laity and priests. The discussion concerning the origin of their name and their roots is beyond the purview of this project. Suffice it to say that our information concerning their beliefs is, at best, vague since most of what is extant relates mainly to the issues on which they differed form the Pharisees. For a basic overview of the issues involved see Bruce, *The Text of Acts*, 147-148; Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary*, 215; and J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus: An Investigation into Economic and Social Conditions During the New Testament Period* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1969), 160-163.

[101]The Jewish process of placing a person in custody in the ancient world was apparently not viewed as a means of punishment but only a means of detaining until the trial or verdict could be rendered. See Rapske, *Paul in Custody*, 9-35; and John Polhill, *Acts*, 140, fn. 35.

and John in order to stop their words. Here again, D parallels the actions of Peter and Jesus, thereby enhancing the former because of his likeness to the latter. In Luke 23:22 D adds this same word, αἰτιαν,[102] to show that the religious leaders were trying to make Jesus answerable for an actual crime. Like Jesus, the Apostles now suffer under this persecution and prejudice even though now crime can be found. Specifically, however, Peter's speech in chapter three directly conflicted with the denial of resurrection in the faith system of the Sadducees (Acts 23:8). His willingness to speak in this conflicting and damning way in the temple—right under the noses of the Sadducees and priests—was a direct challenge to their authority and honor.[103]

In keeping with his style, Luke *interrupts* Peter's speech from chapter three rather than just concluding it (cf. 7:54; 10:44; 17:32; 22:22; 26:24). The technique of interruption is significant because it points the reader to important details or action in the story.[104] In this specific instance of interruption, the time of the arrest and the proclamation of salvation to Israel are nearly simultaneous.[105] The Sadducean rejection of resurrection places them in direct conflict with the Apostolic message and makes them

---

[102]D adds "αἰτίαν" replacing the word "αἴτιον" which means simply "cause."

[103]This theme of authority and honor, specifically concerning their ability to teach the resurrection, will continue as a major theme in Acts. Note for example Acts 23:6-10 and nearly all of Paul's defense speeches concern this very issue. For an overview of the this issue see Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts*, vol. 2, 286-91, 299-301, and 316-320.

[104]Rabbinowitz, *Before Reading*, 65-66, considers this type of technique a "rupture" that disrupts the even and unbroken level of the story. These ruptures attract our notice and focus our reading on particular details. In his words, "we read with the prior understanding that we are more expected to account for a detail that is stressed by a rule of notice than for a detail that is not," 53.

[105]Conzelmann, *Acts of the Apostles*, 32.

a literary protagonist in the narrative. Their presence would signal any reader familiar with their milieu to the reality of conflict in the narrative ahead. In this narrative scene, we see played out the beginnings of the struggle for the hearts of the people, both Jews and Gentiles. Thus this technique of interruption attracts the reader's attention to the significance of the controversy. The narrative aside concludes with the summation of the events to this point—while Peter and John were arrested, even still there were many who believed "καὶ ἀριθμός τε ἐγενήθη ἀνδρῶν ὡς χιλιάδεσ ε" ("and the number of believers came to be about five thousand" 4:4b).

The unfolding of the scene includes the gathering "in Jerusalem" (ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ) of the High Council consisting of rulers, elders, and scribes. This entourage is the group that made up the body of the Sanhedrin, the supreme Jewish court[106] and represented the most powerful and consciously overt opponent of Christianity in Jerusalem.[107] Their question to Peter is directed at exactly that issue: "Εν

---

[106]For an overview of the Council, its makeup, and the critical issues involved see Bruce, *The Text of Acts*, 149-150; Conzelmann, *Acts of the Apostles*, 32; Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 215-216; Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus*, 160-181; George Foot Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era,* vol. 1 (New York: Schoken Books, 1971), 82-85; Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*, vol. 2 (Edinburgh, 1885), 320ff.; and more recently E. P. Sanders, *Judaism: Practice and Belief 63 BCE–66 CE* (Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1992), *458ff.*; and Stephen G. Wilson, *Related Strangers: Jews and Christians 70–170 CE* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995), 50-51.

[107]D includes in this list of attendants "Ἰωνάθας." The reference is to the son of Annas, who followed Caiphas in 36 CE and was a just a year later replaced by his own brother Theophilus. He was assassinated by the *sicarii* during the governership of Felix. For a more detailed overview see E. M. Smallwood, "High Priests and Politics in Roman Palestine," *JTS* 13 (1962): 22; and Josephus, *Ant* 18:95. While Luke has (mistakenly?) listed Annas as the High Priest despite the fact that he held the office from 6 to 15 CE, it does seem that the title and membership in the Sanhedrin itself was retained even after departure from the actual office itself. See Bruce, *The Text of Acts,* 150, who refers to Annas as "high priest emeritus," and Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus*, 157-158, who lists a variety of incidents to show the influence of the retired high priest still

ποίᾳ δυνάμει ἢ ἐν ποίῳ ὀνόματι ἐποιησατε τοῦτο ὑμεῖς?" (4:7b). Here again, the challenge to proper authority, and thereby the Council's honor, is at the root of the issue.[108]

The question brings about an unexpected response from Peter who will essentially turn the tables on the court. Tannehill offers an interesting connection between this story and the preceding incident that brought about the arrest. He notes that

> [t]he reference to 'power' and 'name' picks up language previously used by Peter in connection with the healing (cf. 3:6, 12, 16), thereby connecting this scene to the preceding narrative and providing a perfect setup for Peter's disclosure of the healing's full meaning.[109]

Thus repetition of the phrase "τότε Πέτρος πλησθεὶς πνεύματος ἁγίου" (4:8)—and the repetition of Peter's actions[110]—reminds the reader that Peter is the empowered witness of God and the metonymic image of Jesus in this story. The proleptic effect of the healing incident in chapter three now comes to fruition in chapter four.[111] What began as

---

exerting power. Ben Witherington's (*The Acts of the Apostles*, 191) thesis that Luke is pointing to Annas as the real power behind the Apostolic arrest and persecution—especially given his role in the death of Jesus (see John 18:13)—is intriguing and probably the best solution to this troublesome text.

[108]*Contra* the older German school of thought that placed black magic as the issue in question. See for example Bauernfeind and Wikenhauser APG 52 and Conzelmann, *Acts of the Apostles*, 32-33, who takes the change from the question of resurrection to a question of "power" and "name" to be a literary seam where Luke bypasses a former question in order to answer what his real agenda is, "a theological explanation of the ὄνομα, name." Conzelmann misses the point of the concept of power and name inherent in Luke's world.

[109]Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts*, vol. 2, 60.

[110]Rimmon-Kenan, *Narrative Fiction*, 61, argues that "habitual actions tend to reveal a character's unchanging static aspect."

[111]Ibid., 48-49, defines prolepsis as a narrative technique that essentially tells an event before its time, answering the question "what will happen next?"

a show of God's power to a lame man and those watching becomes a show of God's power to the highest ruling body of the Jewish people.

As in chapter three, Peter uses this opening as an opportunity to offer a missionary speech. His immediate response cuts to the heart of the issue: "If we today are being examined *by you* (ἀφ' ὑμῶν) concerning a good deed done to a lame man..." (4:9). The "ἀφ' ὑμῶν" emphasis in D points to the culpability of the rulers and elders (4:9) "τοῦ Ἰσραήλ," also a unique D emphasis.[112] The phrase connects the vocative "Ἄρχοντες...καὶ πρεσβύτεροι τοῦ Ἰσραήλ" with the "ἀνακπεινόμεθα."[113] Thus the rejection of Jesus by the religious authorities is complete. They have rejected and persecuted both the Master and his servants (cf. Luke 20:9-19).

Peter, however, refocalizes the issue by his use of the verb "σέσωσται." The double entendre of this verb is striking. Not only does it mean that he was healed (cf. RSV: has been healed) but also that he was saved (see 4:12). Consequently, the leaders are not only questioning the power of healing but the power of salvation evident in this man. Peter's words function to reveal the "παρρησίαν" of his character. Rimmon-Kenan, in her work on narrative characterization, notes that speech can "convey character-traits through a cause and effect relationship which the reader deciphers 'in reverse': X killed the dragon, 'therefore' he is brave; Y uses many foreign words, 'therefore' she is a snob."[114] In this instance, Peter is bold enough to stand before the

---

[112]Epp, *The Theological Tendency of Codex Bezae*, 167, 170.

[113]Ibid., 120-121. In Attic Greek, ἀνακπεινόημεθα was generally used to indicate a preliminary inquiry, but in Acts it is nuanced to mean "to be put on trial" (cf. 12:19; 24:8; 25:26; 28:18). The phrase πρεσβύτεροι τοῦ Ἰσραήλ is used nowhere else in the New Testament but is frequent in the LXX.

[114]Rimmon-Kenan, *Narrative Fiction*, 64-65.

religious authorities of the day, question their authority, point to their culpability, and proclaim salvation through Jesus, '*therefore*' he is a "witness" as promised by and in the image of Jesus. The result is that the religious leaders marvel at Peter's "παρρησίαν," despite his and John's "unlearned" (ἀγράμματοί) status.

Unlike the UBS[4] (4:13), and in fact unlike most manuscripts and even the 'Western' tradition, D removes the epithet "καὶ ἰδιῶται. The obvious answer as to why the omission occurred is that the writer/editor of D felt that either καὶ ἰδιῶται was redundant with ἀγράμματοι or believed that the term was too offensive. Chrysostom distinguishes between the two terms but never explains exactly how they differ in meaning, only that they do.[115]

It is more preferable then given D's concern to show Peter as enhanced in stature and Chrysostom's acknowledgement that the term so differ to assume that D has removed the phrase to avoid lowering Peter's stature. With this omission the D text reveals a stark contrast between Peter's openness and confidence in speech, an aspect repeatedly pointed out by Chrysostom, and the fact that they were ἀγράμματοι, which should be understood in the sense of unversed in the formal training of schools.

They were the exact opposite of the scribes before whom they stood who were formally trained. This contrast D finds acceptable and even helpful because it presents Peter in a more spectacular light. Although he is "unlearned," he is able to conduct a rhetorical dialogue with those who were and even bests them in that game. The omission of καὶ ἰδιῶται indicates that while Peter may have been untrained formally, he was not

---

[115]*Acta Apost. Homil.* X, 3.

unskilled or lacking in eloquence. Chrysostom heightens Peter even further adding that his eloquence was do to his oneness with the Spirit.[116]

As a protagonist, Peter's παρρησίαν brings the Council to a crisis. They must decide what to do with these men, particularly given their power in speech and deed, as well as their continued association with Jesus. This instability in the story level is created by the influence of the Holy Spirit and Peter's subsequent παρρησίαν.[117]

This feature of the narrative served to move the story forward toward either closure or completeness. In his recent work on narrative and character, Phelan defines these concepts:

> Closure...refers to the way in which a narrative signals its end, whereas completeness refers to the degree of resolution accompanying the closure. Closure need not be tied to the resolution of instabilities and tensions but completeness always is...[and] the degree of completeness will depend upon how and whether the later instabilities have been resolved.[118]

Because Peter is clearly the protagonist in the story, the instabilities and their resolution surround his character and are focused in what he does. Thus it is significant that closure in Acts is never really signaled, but the completeness of the story is found in the fulfillment of Peter's role (and subsequently Paul's as well) as Jesus' witness in this story.

---

[116]*Homil.* X, 3.

[117]According to James Phelan, *Reading People, Reading Plots: Character, Progression, and the Interpretation of Narrative* (Chicago: Chicago University press, 1989), 15, "instability" is differentiated from "tension" in that the former occurs within the story level between characters, is created by situations, and complicated/resolved through actions, while the latter occurs on the discourse level and is the dissonance between the values, belief, opinions, knowledge, and expectations of between either the author and narrator or the authorial audience.

[118]Ibid., 17-18.

The instabilities rise as the Council decides what to do with Peter and John. The Council's amazement functions to reverse the label placed on Peter and John as "uneducated."[119] Uneducated lay people could not do what Peter has done with scripture (See Lk 24:25). D offers three interesting additions in this scene that add to the instability between Peter and the council. Verse 14 adds the phrase "seeing that the healed man was with them, they could *do or* (ποιῆσαι ἢ) say nothing in opposition." The implication is that the Council was completely powerless and without recourse (see also 4:21). In fact, unlike the UBS[4] text in verse 15 (which reads "ἀπελθεῖν"), D reads that the men "ἀπαχθῆναι" (*should be led out*), rather than simply being commanded to leave the room. The implication being that the Council was either unable to or unwilling to risk trying to *tell* them to leave. This harsher treatment indicates some level of desperation on the part of the council, they could not indict the followers so their only recourse is to forcibly remove them.

Finally, in verse 16, D adds to the phrase "that a notable sign has been performed through them is manifest (φανερὸν) to all the inhabitants of Jerusalem" the greater descriptive comparative "φανερότερον." Thus the Council admits to themselves that everyone obviously knows what Peter and his companion have brought about in the life of the formerly lame man. The use of the word σημεῖον by the Council in verse 16 also reminds the reader of the "signs and wonders" promised earlier.[120] Even the Council recognizes their advent. The council's response to the speech is heightened by the D

---

[119]Robert Brawley, *Luke–Acts and the Jews*, 55, 61-64.

[120]Here is an instance of the fulfillment of the prolepsis offered earlier that they would see and perform "signs and wonders."

addition of "συνκατατίθεσθαι" ("having agreed to the decision") to explain that the decision was officially sanctioned by the group thereby implicating them all.[121]

From the literary viewpoint of characterization, Peter's speech (4:8-12) functions to show his role as interpreter of events in the life of the people and the movement of God. D's additions throughout this narrative serve to strengthen Peter's character as a metonymic witness. In that sense, the literary function of this speech in its narrative context is similar to Peter's first speech in chapter two.

Intertexture

Robert Brawley in his recent work on intertextuality in Luke and Acts has accurately assessed the point of Peter's speech in chapter four. His argument is that Acts 4 is a straightforward juxtaposition of power and the power of persuasion. The council exhibits power, Peter and John the power of persuasion. The high priestly coterie resorts to brute force—arrest and prohibition—to quell the expansion (4:3, 18), Peter and John interpret scripture and appeal to obedience to God to advance the expanding community, that is, the shared social evaluation of Jesus (4:1, 19-20).[122]

For Luke, the central reason for the appearance of the priests, the captain of the temple, and the Sadducees is because the Apostles were "διδάσκειν...τὸν λαὸν καὶ ἀναγγέλλειν τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐν τῇ ἀνάστασει τῶν νεκρῶν" (4:2). Yet what seems to

---

[121]συνκατατίθεσθαι occurs in the New Testament only in Lk 23:51 where it refers to Joseph not agreeing to the "τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῇ πράξει" of the council and again in D's Acts 15:12. The latter passage will be discussed in chapter 5, see below.

[122]Brawley, *Text to Text Pours Forth Speech*, 95. Interestingly, Brawley sets John alongside Peter in both status and influence in this text. While from a social point of view this assertion is basically correct, it is also clear, even in the "accepted eclectic text" from which Brawley reads, that John is only present as Peter's companion and as a "second witness." In chapter four, John neither acts nor speaks.

undergird the Council's motivation in this scene is the altered and divinely inspired ideology that the claims of Peter and the Apostles are bringing about in the life of the people. At least the intensity, if not the entirety, of the response by the Council is reactive to Peter's speech which is centered on his reliance and interpretation of Psalm 117 LXX.

The power of the speech is clear in that it actually reverses the label placed on Peter and John by the Council that they were "unlearned" and places that label dishonorably back onto the Council itself.[123] If the council, with all of its training, cannot overcome these "unlearned" followers of the "deviant" criminal Jesus, then their honor must be suspect in the audience's mind. This characterization of the Council confirmed by their inability to act against Peter and John. Brawley has explained Peter's use of the Psalm with the assistance of categories from Harold Bloom's work on intertextuality:

> Peter's assertion that Jesus is the rejected stone of Ps 117:22 LXX gives the Psalm a twist that moves through...the emptying of meaning of the adage [kenosis] "The stone the builders rejected has become the head of the corner." What is proverbial rings repeatedly in human experience. But Peter's identification of Jesus as the stone freezes the proverb so that it no longer speaks in general but in one particular—kenosis—an emptying of meaning. But Peter's identification of Jesus as the stone also redirects the psalm in such a way as to subvert the council with irony—clinamen. They exercise power in subjecting Jesus to a ritual of degradation (the crucifixion), but their power is not only subordinate to divine power but against their intentions, it serves God's power. Further, Peter's identification of Jesus as the stone pushes the connotations of the psalm to a new level—hyperbole.[124]

Just as significant is Peter's metonymic use of the psalm. In this sense, the stone becomes a vivid image of Jesus and of God's grace offered to humanity.

---

[123]This entire scene with Peter and John before the council is reminiscent of Socrates before the Athenian judges in Plato, *Apology* 29 C-D.

[124]Brawley, *Text to Text Pours Forth Speech*, 101.

Peter's employment of the image of the rejected stone points the reader and listeners to a reality greater than the image itself—the continued rejection of God's plan and grace by humanity. Consequently, Peter begins his address in D by pointing specifically, the D addition here strengthens his argument, to the "rulers of the people and the elders τοῦ Ισραηλ" (4:9) as culpable.[125] This specific reference toward the leaders is paralleled by the first class conditional phrase[126]—"If we are this day examined αφ υμων" (4:9)—which assumes the reality of the premise. The parallel asserts that not only did the leaders participate in the rejection of Jesus—a point to be made clearer with the use of Psalm 117—but that this rejection continues in their blindness to the healing of the lame man and the Spirit of God in Peter.

---

[125]Epp, *The Theological Tendency of Codex Bezae*, 41ff., argues that variants like this indicate a "anti-Judaic" tendency in D. He is not alone, although his predecessors formulated a much weaker case. See for example, Peter Corssen, "Acta Apostolorum ed. F. Blass," *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* CLVIII (1896): 425-448; D. Plooij, "The Bezaen Problem," *BBC* IX (1931): 12-17; M.-J. Lagrange, *Critiue textualle*, Vol II. *La critique rationnelle* (Paris: Études Bibliques, 1935; A. F. J. Klijn, *A Survey of the Reseaches into the Western Text of the Gospels and Acts* (Utrecht, 1949); P. H. Menoud, "The Western Text and the Theology of Acts," *STNTS* II (1951): 19-32.

My point is not to introduce through the back door an argument for pro-Jewish tendencies as C. C. Torrey, *Documents of the Primitive Church* (New York, 1941) and A. Ehrhardt, "The Construction and Purpose of the Acts of the Apostles," *StudTheol* XII (1958): 45-79 have done, but to show that the argument of the entire text must be taken into account. Consequently, the Jews are culpable in D (as they are in the UBS), but no more than the rest of the people and they certainly still have a part in the promise to Abraham now manifested through Jesus. The D specific readings simply go to evidence and heighten the need for repentance, not any exclusion from the kingdom. Epp's work is marred in this sense by his method. He collects the variants and considers their volume as evidence that mitigates against the Jewish people. The alterations, even if added by a scribe trying to create an anti-Judaic tendency—and I think that doubtful—still must be read in light of the Acts text as a whole. A scribe who wanted to make that argument would have not only added "anti-Judaic" material but would have also removed "pro-Judaic" (i.e., their ability to participate in the kingdom) material. The latter does not occur in D. Therefore, for all of the Jews culpability, they also still have "favored nation status."

Although the use of Psalm 117:22 in Acts 4:11 (see also Lk 20:17) is distinct in its wording from its original context (see below), the use of this passage represents a "recitation" of the original.[127] Peter's speech has carefully called upon the scriptural context and authority of the Psalm. D continues in 4:12 to refer back to the stone—"καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἄλλῳ οὐδενί"—as the subject and points the reader to the name of Jesus as the way of salvation. The continuity here between the Abrahamic promise and faith is clear for the reader in this intertextual reference from Psalm 117:22:

LXX (Psalm 117:22)	Codex Bezae (4:11)
λίθον ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν οἱ	οὗτος ἐστιν ὁ λίθος ὁ ἐξουθενηθεὶς
οἰκοδομοῦντες οὗτος ἐγενήθη	ὑφ᾽ ὑμῶν τῶν οἰκοδόμων
εἰς κεφαλὴν γώνιας.	ὁ γενόμενος εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας.

Arguing that the function of this intertextual reference is to aid in emphasis, Brawley writes that the corporate identity of the community [is enhanced] when it states that believers lifted up their voices *homothymadon*. About five thousand believers together play out the exhortation of Psalm 117 LXX by making graceful acknowledgments to God.[128] The community of Peter and John (4:24) recognize the continuity immediately. Hearing the Apostolic report the community "ἐπιγνόντες τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνέργειαν" and quotes Psalms 145:6 and 2:1-2 (LXX) respectively and nearly verbatim. The only real alterations are those of case in order to fit the context more clearly.[129]

---

[126]On this construction see H. E. Dana and Julius R. Mantey, *A Manual Grammar of the Greek New Testament* (New York: Macmillan, 1955), § 275:1, 289.

[127]According to Robbins, *The Tapestry of Early Christianity*, 103-104 recitation may include readings that vary from exact duplications to paraphrase and may include the addition or omission of words.

[128]Brawley, *Text to Text Pours Forth Speech*, 100.

[129]LXX Psalm 145:6 reads "Τὸν ποιήσαντα τὸν οὐρανον καὶ τὴν γῆν τὴν θαλασσαν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς" while Acts 4:24 D "ὁ ποιήσας τὸν ουρανὸν καὶ τὴν

The context of the former Psalm is significant because this way of addressing God is used to reinforce God's creative activity among humanity.[130] The entire section relies on the understanding that God has acted faithfully through the promises and that humanity has responded by placing their trust in their own hands. This interpretation is clearly in view in Psalm 145:3: "Do not trust in rulers or in the children of rulers in whom there is no salvation" (my translation). The claim to salvation in the name of Jesus then is not exclusive to or of Jews or Gentiles, but encompasses all who believe.

The latter Psalm, 2:1-2, reinforces this same understanding by use of a intertextual chiasm that points the authorial audience in the right direction.

A. Ἵνα τί ἐφρύ[α]ξαν ἔθνη καὶ λαοὶ ἐμελέτησαν κενά
  B. παρέστησαν οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες συνήχθησαν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ
    C. Κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ *αὐτοῦ*.
    C. ἐπὶ τὸν ἅγιόν σου παῖδα Ἰησοῦν ὃν ἔξπρεισας
  B. Ἡρῴδης τε καὶ Πόντιος Πιλᾶτος σὺν
A. Ἔθνεσιν καὶ λαοῖς Ἰσραήλ ποιῆσαι ὅσα ἡ χείρ σου καὶ ἡ βουλή σου προώρισεν γενέσθαι.

This chiasm is formed with the recitation of the Psalm in the opening of 4:25-26 and the subsequent interpretation in 4:27 in the closure:[131]

γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοις.i LXX Psalm 2:1-2 reads "ινατί ἐφρυαξαν ἔθνη καὶ λαοὶ ἐμελέτησαν κὲνα; Παρὲστησαν οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες συνήχθησαν κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ κατὰ τοῦ ἐπιτοαυτὸ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ" while Acts 4:25-26 D has "Ινα τί ἐφρύ[α]ξαν ἔθνη καὶ λαοὶ ἐμελέτησαν κενά παρέστησαν οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες συνήχθησαν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αυτοῦ."

[130]See for example Acts 14:15 and 17:24 which both employ this same construct. This understanding is not unique to the New Testament. See also Gen 14:19; Exod 20:11; and Isa 37:16.

[131]That Psalm 2 is used to create this reinforcement in significant. Psalm 2 is one of the most cited Psalms in all of the New Testament. See for example Mark 1:11; Acts 13:33; Heb 1:5, 5:5; Rev 12:5, 19:15.

This pattern focalizes the reader's attention on the death of Jesus,[132] the doubled effect being that those who were followers became the accusers in Jesus' death and that hearing these words those Ἔθνεσιν καὶ λαοῖς Ἰσραήλ would be convicted of their role in his death. That point, however, is not the focal point of this narrative section. The focal point comes at the end the chapter in an addition particular to D:

> (4:31) And when they had prayed, the place in which they were gathered was shaken, and they were all filled with the Holy Spirit and they spoke the word of God with boldness *to all who wished to believe* (παντὶ τῷ θέλοντι πιστεύειν).[133]

While Psalm 2 points toward those who brought about the death of Jesus—both the Jews and the Gentiles in their rejection—the focus refers back to Peter's speech in chapter 3 and particularly his assertion in 3:25 that now we all participate in the promise and subsequent blessing from Abraham.[134] With this nuance the reading how now become inclusive. The context of scriptural usage in Acts 4 resides in Psalm 117. Particularly in 4:24 as the believers "lift up their voice to God" it becomes clear what all has occurred is in connection with the promise of that Psalm: (1) the healing of the lame man; (2) the fulfillment of the promises and blessings through Abraham (3:25) to "all families"; and the ability of Peter through trust in God to stand against the council.

---

[132]Brawley, *Text to Text Pours Forth Speech*, 102-107.

[133]Note the similarity with the incident in Virgil's *Aeneid* 3.84-89 where the shaking of the ground is also at the invocation in prayer of God's presence. This type of sign was commonly understood as an indication of the presence of God.

[134]Epp's, *The Theological Tendency of Codex Bezae*, 168, assertion that there are no pro-Judaic tendencies in the Western Text fails here in this text (4:31). While I would not call this a pro-Judaic tendency, by Epp's argument, this text certainly opens the door for all people's to be saved under the promise made to Abraham—Jesus is, according to Acts, the fulfillment of that promise for both Jews and Gentiles. In fairness to Epp's defense, I must add that in his work he allows readings from other Western manuscripts to speak of a Western Tradition where my project is concerned solely with D.

ExtraTexture

Well into the Roman empire and throughout its history the value system and the social thought world remained similar. The urban elite structure, as the dominant system, did not allow challenges to the system of social status and conditions. The system was, in general, accepted by countercultures of less power and influence.[135] The conflict between Peter and the Council in this scene is significant because it places a *lesser* over against a *greater* in a situation where the former cannot, or should not be able, to win. Yet the former does.

What is also clear in this narrative scene is the reality that Peter and John represent the entire Apostolic group. It is the entire following of Jesus that is placed on trial here. They are 'chief' (πρῶτος) among the Apostles, who are now to become a pattern to the rest. For the early Christian reader, this texture in the story should provide narrative suspense in the beginning and conclude with jubilation over the victory of the lesser.

Luke's story, from its very beginning in the Gospel, is a story of conflict.[136] Both Luke and Acts set the stage for conflict involving the sociological concept of deviance labeling theory. From the beginning of the story where the Sadducees reject the preaching of Peter (4:1-3) and yet 5,000 of the people gathered do believe (4:4), the

---

[135]T. F. Carney, *The Shape of the Past,* 100-103. See also Julian Pitt-Rivers, "Honour and Social Status," in *Honour and Shame: The Values of Mediterranean Society,* ed. J. G. Persistany (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), 19-78; and J. Davis, *People of the Mediterranean: An Essay in Comparative Anthropology* (London: Routledge, 1977), 127-161.

[136]According to Charles Homer Giblin, *The Destruction of Jerusalem According to Luke's Gospel* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1985), 10-18, Luke conditions his readers both to expect conflict and educates them on how to understand it.

reader of this text begins to look for this type of coming conflict. Yet this conflict must be understood within its early Christian context:

> All of the conflicts noted in Luke-Acts will be conflicts over ways to realize the traditional values of Israel; conflicts over structures, either new ones or revitalized ones, to facilitate proper obedience to the God of Israel.[137]

Particularly in the trial scenes, Peter and John—and by implication the entire movement of Jesus—face charges that define them as "deviant." To better understand this narrative event, due to the formality of the hearing before the council, it is helpful to locate the actors in a deviance labeling reading scenario.

Table 2

The Labeling Process

Agent	Character(s)	Text	Role
Rule Creators	Priests and Sadducees	4:1-3	Initiates the deviance process and mobilizes forces to make it successful
Moral Entrepreneurs	Council	4:5-7, 17-18	Primary agent in constructing meanings that define persons and their actions as deviant or not
Interest Groups	Priests, Council, Sadducees	4:2, 13, 16-18	Interpret behavior as deviant in order to prevent or correct interference in their interests

In the deviance process, as understood and practiced by those in the ancient world, there were agents of censure who were those persons responsible for the labeling of another as a deviant. These agents could be any person of great enough stature to offer

[137]Malina and Neyrey, "Conflict in Luke-Acts," in *The Social World of Luke-Acts*, 98. Carney, *The Shape of the Past*, 13 has shown that this type of process in one form or another existed through the end of the Roman empire.

the charges against the person in question. In Acts 4, this role is taken up by the priests and Sadducees on the one hand and by the council itself on the other.[138] Both have vested interests in seeing the followers of Jesus put down once and for all. The actions of these agents were generally perceived as the ability to disseminate and create respectability of the prominent ideology among the constituents. The appearance of the council as a group forms the dissemination, a public hearing of the agent's ideology.[139] The appearance of Peter and John before this group forms a *public* challenge to their preaching and thereby to the entire movement itself and all assoicated with it.[140] The process of respectability begun with the gathering of the council and its constituents, however, is interrupted by Peter's speech.

What does occur is the beginning of the process of "rule enhancement" where there is an attempt to convert others to the interests of the agents by showing the level of deviance.[141] The questions raised by the council "By what power," and "By what name" (4:7) are attempts to employ rule enhancement by revealing the lesser status of the power or authority enabled by Peter. Where the attitude toward Peter's deviant label is initially strong on the part of the rule creators who were "διαπονούμενοι" at his teaching, the

---

[138]Ibid.

[139]Ibid., 103.

[140]The Council formed here in this scene is part of the "new hierarchy" that has filled nearly all of the chief influential positions of the Temple. Moreover, these positions have been filled with members from the same family, that of Annas the high priest. That this family was so powerful is clear in their ability to hold the office for so long. Five of Annas's sons, a grandson, and a son-in-law all held the office of high priest during his life-time. For a more full discussion of this issue see P. Gaetcher, "The Hatred of the House of Annas," *TS* 8 (1947): 3-34; and Joachim Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus*, 194-198.

[141]Malina and Neyrey, "Conflict in Luke-Acts," 103.

result is a much weaker response due to his speech. The narrative response moves from the "pessimistic" (an intolerable problem) in 4:2 to "optimistic" (a passing phase) in 4:16-17.[142]

These roles are all played in the process activating deviance labeling. The process itself has three components: (1) denunciation; (2) retrospective interpretation; and (3) status degradation. In step one the accuser first attempts to remove the perpetrator from the ordinary to the "out of the ordinary."[143] Interestingly, the accusation seems to stem not just from the fact that Peter and John were teaching, but that they were teaching about his resurrection. This teaching obviously goes against the ideology of Sadducees but only in the case of Jesus is this teaching problematic for the priests because of their insistence that he was not the Messiah and their role in his death. Consequently, another process is begun: the status degradation ritual. Here the moral indignation of the group is cast upon the person.[144] Within the story, the arrest, overnight incarceration, and call before the council are all attempts intended to stigmatize the person as a deviant.

Step two, the process of reminding the onlookers of the person's deviant character, history, or associations begins with the questions of power and authority raised by the Council (4:7). The goal here is to place the person under scrutiny that reveals either his or her character and/or past to be deviant. Yet the labeling process is interrupted at this point by Peter's response. This interruption is an honor defense speech

---

[142]Malina and Neyrey define the three categories of responses as: (1) *optimistic* where the issue is viewed as passing and therefore not a difficult problem; (2) *neutral* where the problem is present but not so far outside of normal to be a major issue; and (3) *pessimistic* where the problem is intolerable. Ibid.

[143]Ibid., 105.

[144]Ibid., 107.

or, more properly, a riposte that follows a prescribed pattern for neutralizing the labeling process that can be either positive or negative:[145]

Table 3

Neutralization Stratigies

Positive Affirmation	Defensive Strategy of Evasion
1. Denial of Aggrandizement	Denial of Responsibility
2. Claim of Benefit	Denial of Injury
3. Affirmation of Beneficiary	Denial of Victim
4. Acclamation of Acclaimers	Condemnation of Condemners
5. Appeal to Higher Loyalty	Appeal to Higher Authority

Masterfully, all five levels of this process, both positive and negative are present in Peter's speech (see Table 4 below). What is learned in this process is not simply about Jesus or even the movement of God as much as it is about the labelers themselves. This process serves as a means of characterization that reveals the Council as being against the movement of God. Their denied attempt at labeling Jesus as a deviant only goes to show their own blindness to the movement of God among them.

It must be remembered, however, that the deflection of the deviant label does not equal prominence. A prominent is a person who is "'out of place' to such an extent and in such a way as to be redefined in a new, positive place—the definition, of course,

[145]This table is taken from Bruce Malina and Jerome Neyrey, *Calling Jesus Names: The Social Value of Labels in Matthew* (Sonoma: Polebridge, 1988), 102.

derives from the labelers."[146] In that sense, the above mentioned "positive affirmations" served as techniques to place Jesus in the prominent role. Thus Peter moves from accused deviant to acclaimed of Jesus as prominent. Like Jesus, Peter was labeled by the religious leaders yet despite the actions of the leaders the labels were never able to stick.

Table 4

Neutralization in Acts 4

Positive Affirmation	Text	Defensive Strategy of Evasion	Text
Denial of Aggrandizement	(4:10) "in the name of Jesus Christ"	Denial of Responsibility	(4:10) "in the name of Jesus Christ"
Claim of Benefit	(4:12) "no other name wherein we must be saved"	Denial of Injury	(4:9) "a good deed done to a impotent man"
Affirmation of Beneficiary	(4:9) "a good deed done to a impotent man"	Denial of Victim	(4:9) "a good deed done to a impotent man"
Acclamation of Acclaimers	(4:11) "He is the stone...which was made head of the corner"	Condemnation of Condemners	(4:10) "whom you crucified"
Appeal to Higher Loyalty	(4:10) "whom God raised from the dead"	Appeal to Higher Loyalty	(4:10) "whom God raised from the dead"

[146]Ibid., 96. Malina and Neyrey go on to show that a person who positively "out of place" is one who "goes beyond or stands above or encompasses the limits that usually define members of a given society . . . the prominent person is viewed as an extraordinary being," Ibid.

Usually necessary in this process is a witness of these activities positively claimed. Peter calls upon an unusual witness in this scene to make just that point, scripture. An important means of deflecting charges of deviance is the appeal to a higher authority as a witness. Peter's use of scripture in his speech allows him to use their shared perspective on the authority of scripture to deflect the label and point to Jesus as a prominent. Through the effective use of Psalm 117, Peter is able to show that Jesus is truly God's Son and Servant, that he brings benefits and not detriment to the lame man and all of the people by making them all heirs of Abraham's promise, and that despite what Jesus has done he was rejected by the religious leaders. In so doing, Peter accumulates honor at the expense of the Council.

Conclusion: "The Reader's Reading"

Peter's role in this scene is nearly directly defined from the outset in the opening narrative aside. The Bezaen aside shows that it is "τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα" that "annoyed" the religious leadership—in particular the Sadducees—because the apostles were teaching the people and proclaiming "τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐν τῇ ἀνάστασει τῶν νεκρῶν." This scene sets up another level of instabililties and tensions. Having worked a miracle of God on the steps of the temple, can Peter and his companion John survive this confrontation with priestly authority? Not simply the message, but the very hearts and souls of the people are at stake here. Can Peter again show himself as a metonymic witness in the face of the religious system of the day?

That becomes the question of the religious leaders: "ἐν ποίᾳ δψνάμει ἢ ἐν ποίῳ ὀνόματι ἐποιήχαστε τοῦτο ὑμεῖς." The question offers a direct challenge to Peter

concerning the source of his honor verses the source of honor for the religious status-quo. For the reader the issue is moot. Peter is directly defined by the narrator as being filled with the Holy Spirit and thereby that he is empowered by God and does serve as a metonymic witness of Jesus.

While this infilling of the Spirit was not directly evident to the religious leadership, the results of the infilling were. Not simply their surprise in Peter's "παρρησίαν" (boldness), nor in his ability to overcome his "ἀγράμματοι" (illiteracy), but in that the results of Peter's actions are standing before them. In the words of D, "that a notable sign is *more than evident* (φανερότερόν) to all the inhabitants of Jerusalem" (4:16) assumes even the *blind* can see this evidence.

Peter, again through the use of Scripture, his insight into human hearts, and through the filling of the Holy Spirit, acts as a witness to Jesus. His actions overcome and resolve narrative tension and instability for the reader and those in the story itself. Peter, despite his disabilities as a lesser in the eyes of the religious leadership, overcomes their greater status and honor to reveal it is by the honor and status of God that he acts. His successful riposte of the deviant label would have been nearly unheard of by someone at his status level, particularly against the powers-that-be in the council. The result is that both the reader and the crowds see that it is really the religious leadership who is deviant and against the movement of God. Yet even for them, Peter can make room in the kingdom of God.

The Scene with Ananias and Sapphira (5:1-42)

This scene is one of the more debated in Acts. F. F. Bruce, a generally conservative scholar, points to this story saying "[Luke] might well have omitted a

discredible story such as follows [5:1-11], but he chooses to record it."[147] Conzelmann agrees saying that "No historical kernel can be extracted."[148] As one of the punitive or rule (violation) miracles in Acts (cf. 13:11), it has caused much concern because of its antithetical nature in light of the miracles of Jesus.[149] Yet the importance of this story lies not in its historical veracity, but in its contribution to the portrait being drawn—albeit an antithetical one—of a witness.

Inner Texture

This "death scene" and subsequent trial constitutes a new challenge to the "witness" of Peter and the Apostles. Therein, it also brings about new tension and instability in the reading process. This scene raises to a new level the authorial audiences expectations. The first half of the scene (5:1-11) falls into two parallel and related parts (5:1-6 and 7-11) that function to present a contrast to the ideal witness presented by Peter, the Apostles, and now Barnabas (4:36-37).[150] Compare, for example the following points taken from Acts 5:1-11 in Table 5 (below). The characterization of Peter deepens in this

---

[147]Bruce, *The Text of Acts*, 162.

[148]Conzelmann, *Acts of the Apostles,* 37.

[149]G. Theissen, *Miracle Stories of the Early Christian Tradition* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1983), 106-110, defines a miracle story as: "Rule miracles seek to reinforce sacred prescriptions. They may be classified according as they justify rules, reward behaviors in accordance with the rules or punish behavior according to the rules" 106. See also Henrietta Havelaar, "Hellenistic Parallels to Acts 5:1-11 and the Problem of Conflicting Interpretations," *JSNT* 67 (1997): 63-82. That is not to say, however, that such incidents do not occur in the ministry of Jesus. See for example the withering of the fig tree in Mark 11—a story not recorded in Luke—and the "woe" sayings in Luke 21:23. Outside of the Jesus traditions, there are obvious parallels to this story in Lev 10:1-5 and Josh 7:1-26 LXX (for a fuller discussion see below).

[150]Charles Talbert, *Reading Acts: A Literary and Theological Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles* (New York: Crossroad, 1997).

scene due to several significant incidents: (1) the contrast over against Ananias and Sapphira, (2) the implication that even Peter's shadow can heal, (3) the angelic release from prison, and (4) the riposte given by Peter to the Council.

Table 5

Parallel Contrasts of a Witness in Acts 5

5:1-6	5:7-11
Ananias: 5:1	Sapphira: 5:7
Peter's response: 5:3-4	Peter's response: 5:8-9
Falls down and dies: 5:5a	Falls down and dies: 5:10a
Young men carried/buried: 5:6	Young men carried/buried: 5:10b
Great fear upon all: 5:6b	Great fear upon all: 5:11

The story is connected to the preceding scene where Joseph Barnabas (4:36-37), is introduced as a concrete example of the holding of all things in common (4:32).[151] Following the lead of Barnabas, Ananias sets the proceeds of his sale at the feet of

[151]Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts,* vol. 2, 78, shows how Luke uses the surname Barnabas (υἱὸς παρακλήσεως) as a proleptic device to reveal a minor character who will later play a more important role. He writes, "Barnabas is a first example in Acts of the tendency to introduce an important new character first as a minor character, one who appears and quickly disappears…this procedure ties the narrative together, and in each case the introductory scene contributes something significant to the portrait of the person." Interestingly, Peter is the exception to this rule. He is never introduced in this way in Acts—but is in Luke's Gospel—and therefore, in my view, serves as the "witness" against which all of the others in the text are evaluated. Peter comes on the scene and stays until his departure in chapter fifteen. By that point in the story, he has established his place in the narrative.

Peter.[152] Because this offering was part of a calculated deception by Ananias and Sapphira, Peter assesses their act as a "lie to the Holy Spirit" (5:3) and "to God" (5:4).

In what way(s) then is Peter's character directly defined in this scene? Having already begun to build a repertoire for understanding Peter's role as a witness in this narrative, the reader is gathering a clearer picture of his role as interpreter of events and proclaimer of the movement of God. In this scene, however, Peter is shown to be one who can read, reveal, and rebuke deceitful hearts and intentions.[153]

For example, in D Peter characterizes Ananias's act as "πονηρόν." Peter is here paralleled with Jesus who uniquely in D characterizes the Pharisees with the same word (Lk 5:22). This characterization also shows that in this scene the result is not a simple rebuke of words but immediate death. Tannehill says that this "scene shows no compassion toward Christians who lack complete commitment."[154] The Narrator of this

---

[152]The similarity in wording (compare 4:32, 34-35, 37 and 5:1-4) between this account and that of Barnabas is striking.

[153]Herein is another element in which Peter functions as a metonym of Jesus and his ministry. In the Third Gospel, Jesus is often portrayed as a prophet who reads, reveals, and rebukes deceptive or evil hearts and intentions. See Tannehill, *Narrative Unity*, vol 1, 43-44. This prophetic function was typical of Jesus and is commonplace in Luke's Gospel (5:22; 7:39; 9:47; 24:38).

[154]Tannehill, *Narrative Unity*, vol 2, 79. Ph.-H. Menoud, "L'Mort d'Ananias et de Sapphira (Actes 5:1-11)" in *Aux Sources de la Tradition Chrétienne*, Bibliotheque Théologique (Neuchatel: Delachaux et Nièstle, 1950), 146-154, argues that this story arose from a legend surrounding the first deaths in the Christian community that later took on an interpretation that the couple was guilty of some devious sin. In Menoud's view, Luke adapted the story to fit in with his own interests and tied it to the tradition concerning Peter and the Apostles. While Menoud's argument is virtually unprovable either way—at its best an argument from silence—it does seem that given the fierce nature of the depiction that such a story would detract from Christianity's converts rather than adding to the community. Even Jesus' judgments were not so harsh. Also, Ben Witherington's view (*The Acts of the Apostles*, 216), that Luke included the story to show the imperfections of the early community, doesn't make sense of the context. Surely, Luke's need to include this story was to encourage faithfulness and to utilize an already

scene also, however, points to Peter as the one who is able to "cure" (εἰῶντο)[155] even by his shadow: "ἀπηλλασοντο γὰρ ἀπὸ πάσης ἀσθεναίς ὡς εἶχεν ἕκαστος αὐτῶν" (5:15).[156]

The intensification of this verse raises the issue in the text from what was possible, the sense of the UBS[4] reading, and was reality according to D. Also significant in this scene is the way Peter is indirectly defined.[157] Two sets of adversaries, who are in direct contrast with Peter, are presented in 4:1-5:42.[158] The first, are the temple authorities. Peter, however, who is "filled with the Holy Spirit" again boldly *preaches* in Christ's name in 4:8-12 and 5:29-32.

---

existing tradition for excommunication in the face of what really amounts to blasphemy. See the recent work of Ivoni Richter Reimer, *Women in the Acts of the Apostles: A Feminist Liberation Perspective,* trans. by Linda M. Maloney (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995), 1-29, who offers a well-argued case for Sapphira's role as co-conspirator. Reimer concludes Peter only "uncovers" the couple's sin. I disagree in that Peter's words also contain the essence of a "rebuke" in that they "shame" the couple by the "uncovering." Reimer is correct, however, in that the judgement itself comes from God and not Peter.

[155]The UBS text reads θεραπέυειν here while D has εἰῶντο (5:16). The subtle difference in meaning between "heal" and "cure" is in the understanding that the former term generally designates treatment that relieves symptoms while the latter implies that the infirmity is now gone. See Louw and Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*, 269

[156]Note the interesting parallel to other "shadow" stories in the ancient world. One such passage is from the Roman dramatist Ennius in Cicero's *Tusc Disp* 3.12.26, where it is told of a shadow that harms those who come near. Also there is a related story in Polybus 12.12.7 where if one enters the Temple of Zeus it was possible to lose one's shadow and die. Witherington, *The Acts of the* Apostles, 227, fn., 128, notes that the shadow was often viewed as an extension of the person and possibly even the spiritual life-force of a person.

[157] Rimmon-Kenan, *Narrative Fiction*, 61ff.

[158]Robert Brawley, *Centering on God*, 145, argues that "conflict and opposition contribute particularly distinguishing marks to Peter's character." The adversaries in this scene clearly serve as ficelles.

The second adversary is the couple Ananias and Sapphira. Peter's *deadly confrontation* with this couple shows the power and authority he wields. Again, however, this power and authority come directly from God and solely by Peter's role as a witness. The reaction of Ananias to Peter's prophetic insight is that the man fell down and died at the feet of the Apostle. The verb ἐξέψυξεν (5:5) is used in a variety of ancient literature. Most specifically, it is found in medical contexts,[159] but in Acts it is found only here and in the death scene of Herod.[160]

Peter and company are also shown by the narrator as the workers of "signs and wonders" (5:12). These events bring people into the streets dragging their sick into the streets just so that "as Peter came by, his shadow might come over them" (5:15)! Such effort obviously worked "ἀπηλλάσσοντο γὰρ ἀπὸ πάσης ἀσθενίας ὡς εἶχεν ἕκαστος αὐτῶν" ("For they were set free from every sickness that each one of them had," 5:15 D). Even the guards marvel at their abilities waking the high priest early ("ἐγερθέντες τὸ πρωὶ," 5:21 D) because of the apostle's escape.

The series of adversaries (4:1-22; 5:1-11, 17-42), the prayers of the people for boldness (4:23-31), and the interspersed accounts of those who came to salvation (4:4, 32; 5:15-16) build the instabilities that create the scene in 5:21-42. Here the imprisonment of Peter and the apostles becomes an ironic nightmare for the council who find out that the *imprisoned* apostles are actually once again in the temple preaching.

---

[159]E.g., Hippocrates, *De Morbis* 1.5. This occurrence, however, does nothing to prove or dispprove that Luke was a physician. See also Ezek 21:12 LXX.

[160]For an overview of the death of Herod and its function within the narrative whole see O. Wesley Allen, *The Death of Herod: The Narrative and Theological Function of Retribution in Luke-Acts,* SBLDS 158 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997).

In this scene, the High Priest's question (5:28) sets up the contrast between Peter and the Sanhedrin, as well as another interpretive response by the apostle's spokesperson. As on previous occasions where a dispute was evident, D's version of Acts attributes this response only to Peter showing him once again as the representative of the apostolic group. Note how D enhances Peter's stature in this text. Where the UBS[4] at 5:29 reads ἀποκριθεις δὲ Πέτρος καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι εἶπαν ("But Peter and the answered saying") D has ὁ δὲ Πέτρος εἶπεν πρός αὐτοὺς ("But Peter said to them"). Peter accuses and reveals to all that the religious authorities did kill Jesus, God's Son and servant, and then he offers them the possibility and the reality of salvation. Peter understands the nature of Jesus' mission in that it extends even to his accusers.

Peter's role as a witness shows him having persistence, authority, boldness, and divine support. His ability to confront the religious leaders reveals his own stature as a follower of Jesus and as a leader of Jesus' followers. These highlighted and habitual actions offered through the indirect presentation of Peter's actions, speech, and contrast with the other characters point toward what Rimmon-Kenan says reveals "the character's unchanging or static aspect."[161]

Intertexture

Unlike the previous scenes already mentioned, this scene includes an intertextual reference on the social level.[162] Henrietta Havelaar has shown in her research that most

---

[161]Rimmon-Kenan, *Narrative Fiction*, 61. The Peter/Paul parallels in D are numerous and this text is but one more example. See Epp, *Theological Tendency*, 163-164, who summarizes the parallels in his discussion.

[162]Robbins, *The Tapestry of Early Christianity*, 127ff., argues that social intertexture "occurs when the discourse refers to information that is generally available to

interpretations of this scene refer either to the rule miracles of punishment or to the correlation between the death of the couple and the practice of excommunication by certain religious groups of the ancient world.[163] Havelaar's work argues that in this scene neither interpretation disrupts the other, but that Hellenistic parallels show how ancient readers would have understood both contexts.

For example, Havelaar cites numerous texts to show the parallel between the Acts 5 account and other stories of rule miracles. Most interesting among them are the stories from Lucian and the Cult of Men. The Lucian narrative states:

> 'See here Tychiades,' said he, perhaps you will be sorry for your joke later on. I know what happened to the man who stole the obols that we offered him (the statue of Pellichus) on the first of each month.' 'It ought to have been something very dreadful,' said Ion, 'since he committed a sacrilege (ἱερόσυλον). How was he punished (ἠμύνατο), Eucrates? 'A number of obols,' he said, 'were lying at his feet , and some other small coins of silver had been stuck to his thigh with wax, and leaves of silver, votive offerings or payment for a cure from one or another of those who through him had ceased to be subject to fever. We had a playguy Libyan servant, a groom; the fellow understood to steal (ὑφελέσθαι) and did steal everything that was there, at night, after waiting until the stature had descended. But as soon as Pellichus came back and discovered that he had been robbed, mark how he punished and exposed the Libyan! The unhappy man ran about the hall the whole night long unable to get out, just as if he had been thrown into a labyrinth, until he was finally caught in possession of the stolen property (ἔχων τὰ φώρια) when day came. He got a sound thrashing then, on being caught, and he did not survive the incident, dying a rouge's death (κᾶκως ἀπέθανεν) from being flogged.[164]

---

people in the Mediterranean world." See also Gerd Theissan, *The Social Setting of Pauline Christianity,* ed., and trans., John H. Shütz (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1982).

[163]On the former see Thiessan, *Miracle Stories*, 106-111, and on the latter see G. Forkman, *The Limits of Religious Community: Expulsions from the Religious Community within the Qumran Sect, within Rabbinic Judaism and within Primitive Christianity* (Lund: Gleerup, 1972); A. Y. Collins, "The Function of Excommunication in Paul," *HTR* 73 (1980): 251-264; and M. Weinfield, *The Organizational Pattern and Penal Code of the Qumran Sect* (Göttingen: Vandehock & Ruprecht, 1986).

[164]Lucian, *Philops* 20.1-26 (LCL). See also Hans Dieter Betz, *Lukian von Samosata und das Neue Testament: Religionsgeschichtliche und paränetische Parallelen* (Berlin: Akademie Verlage, 1961), 177-179.

Closer in detail is the text from the Cult of Men:

> Apollonius put a thousand copper dinaria in the charge of Scollus. When Apollonius demanded the money back from Scollus he swore and oath (ὤμοσε) by the above mentioned gods (Men and Artimus) to give back the total amount of the money at the fixed time. When he did not keep this promise Apollonius handed him over to the goddess. After Scollus was punished with a death penalty (κολασθέντος...ὶς θανάτου λόγον) by the gods, he was questioned by the gods after his death. His daughter Tatias has redeemed the oath and blesses mother Artimus and Men Tiamu for her forgiveness. In the year 203, the 10th of the month Xandikos.[165]

Like the Ananias and Sapphira incident, this scenario is over an amount of "stolen" money not given to its rightful owner. And in both cases the punishment was swiftly enacted—seemingly—by divine intervention.[166] The most notable difference is that in Acts there is no mention of an oath. There is, however, an element of deception that runs through both stories.[167]

What Havellar misses in her reading is the intertexture between the Acts scene and Joshua 6-7.[168] A clear connective between the two narratives is the repetitive use of

---

[165]E. N. Lane, *Corpus Monumentorum Religionis Dei Meni,* 4 vols. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1971-1978), 1.51.

[166]The debate over whether or not the death of the couple was due to a heart attack or divine fiat is fruitless. In the narrative, and because of Peter's prophetic announcement, it is clear that the death was part of some divine punishment whether directly or indirectly. See Haenchen, *The Text of Acts,* 238, who concurs. Contra Witherington, *The Text of Acts*, 215.

[167]Havelaar, "Hellenistic Parallels to Acts 5:1-11," 71, argues for just this point and focuses her attention on a variety of texts that show such deception to be taken very seriously in Hellenistic literature: e.g., Plato, *Resp* 2:382c; Ovid, *Fast* 2.261; Sextus, *Sent* 186; Appian, *Pun* 5.27; and Virgil, *Aen* 6.618-23. She does note as well that divine intervention in the form of the death sentence is not common in Hellenistic literature, although divine intervention of some form is rather commonplace. See also B. Capper, "The Interpretation of Acts 5:4," *JSNT* 19 (1983): 117-131.

[168]Ibid., 75, fn. 31, dismisses the Joshua text as unconvincing but never explains on what grounds she makes this assessment.

the verb ἐνοσφίσατο in Acts 5:2 and Josh 7:1 (ἐνοσφίσαντο) LXX and the noun νεανίσκοι in Acts 5: and Josh 6:23 (νεανίσκοις) LXX. In the Joshua narrative, Achan's sin is that he—despite the ban (ἀναθέματος)—he "kept something back" (ἐνοσφίσαντο) from the conquering of Jericho that was dedicated to the Lord (Josh 6:18-19). Due to his sin, Israel is defeated in battle (7:13). God reveals to Joshua that the one who committed the offense must be placed under the ban, and after a ritual process of elimination, Achan is identified. When Joshua demands the truth, Achan confesses and he and his family are stoned to death by the entire community (7:25).

It is pointless to spend time dealing with the similarities and differences of the two narratives. There is enough similarity—evidenced alone by the number of commentators who point to this parallel—that differences can be viewed as stylistic and contextual. Moreover, There is the late second-century Coptic reference in *The Act of Peter* (BG 8502.4:139) to Peter and his daughter—an almost too neat parallel to Ananias and Sapphira—who sell a piece of property and act *appropriately* with the proceeds:

> And [when he made] his [i.e., Ptolemy] will, he wrote in a piece of land in the name of my daughter, since because of her he believed in God and was saved. I myself took care of the administration entrusted to me most carefully. I sold the land. But I sent *the entire sum of money* to the poor. Know then, O servant of Christ Jesus, that God [watches over those who] are his and he prepares what is good for each one.[169]

The message offered in the use of this social intertextual type scene and its second century interpretation remains: the misappropriation and deceit of possessions and of gifts is an offense against the community and God.

---

[169]James M. Robinson, ed., *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*, Rev Ed (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996). Emphasis mine.

This particular sin requires radical punishment.[170] In both instances, in the Hebrew scriptures and the New Testament, the punishment exacted is death. The narrative aside in 5:12 functions to encapsulate and summarize the results of the scene: "And by the hands of the Apostles were many signs and wonders (σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα) brought about among the people."[171] Through focalizing the results and defocalizing the scene itself in this aside, the narrator leaves no doubt, it is through the hands of the apostles—and Peter in particular, that God works in this scene. Also significant here is the lesson learned by the community and the reader, membership in the community of faith is not to be taken lightly.

Extratexture

The trial portion of this narrative relates specifically to the question of the community's honor—and therefore as their benefactor, God's honor—as represented by Peter. The benefactor, or patron, was the "one who uses his/her influence to protect and assist some other person who becomes his/her 'client,' who in return provides to this patron certain valued services."[172] This situation was indicative of the way society worked and the necessity of those with less relying on the favoritism of those with more.

---

[170]See also Luke T. Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles,* Sacra Pagina Series Vol 5, ed. Daniel Harrington (Collegeville, Minn.: Michael Glazier, 1992), 91-92; and Witherington, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 213-214, with whom I agree.

[171]Not only are the signs and wonders common in Acts (e.g., 2:43; 4:16, 22, 30; 5:12; 6:8; 8:6, 13, 14:3; 15:12) but also in the LXX (e.g., Deut 34:10-12; Pss 77:43; 104:27; 134:9).

[172]John H. Elliott, "Patronage and Clientism in Early Christian Society," *Forum* 3 (1984): 42. The number of studies on this concept are legion. Most significant, however, are Richard Saller, *Personal Patronage under the Early Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); Carney, *The Shape of the Past*; Frederick Danker, *Benefactor: Epigraphic Study of a Graeco-Roman and New Testament Semantic Field* (St. Louis:

> It is no accident that societies such as those of the first century Mediterranean region, which place a high value on favoritism and give it form through dyadic alliance building often are also described as societies characterized by strong feelings and expressions of distrust, envy, and vindictiveness. Many such societies institutionalize the development of clearly recognized rules concerning the right, duties, form and proper participants in the act of vengeance.[173]

It was within this context that Jesus called his followers to be his "witnesses." Structurally and ideologically in their world, that calling was viewed as antagonistic and made the followers of Jesus a "faction." Malina defines a faction as a

> coalition of persons (followers) recruited personally, according to structurally diverse principles by or on behalf of a person in conflict with another person(s) with whom they (coalition members) were formerly united over honor and/or control of resources and/or 'truth.'[174]

As a faction, the Jesus movement in Acts has the advantage of newer tactics generally unseen by the prevailing factions or ideologies and newer "prizes" or rewards for those who follow (e.g., honor and spiritual power).

In Malina's reading scenario there are four results of this process of factionalism that apply to the movement presently under consideration in Acts. The first concerns the

---

Clayton Publishing House, 1982; and more recently, Bruce Malina, *The Social World of Jesus*, 134-178.

[173]Carl H. Landé, "Introduction: The Dyadic Boss of Clientelism," in Steffen W. Schmidt, James C. Scott, Carl Landé, and Laura Guasti, ed., *Friends, Followers, and Factions: A Reader in Political Clientelism* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1977), xxxii.

[174]Malina, *The Social World of Jesus*, 163. Malina, 163-166, further develops this idea by pointing out that there are six essential features characteristic of factions: (1) factions are generally recruited personally by or "in the name of" a person in conflict with another (thus Jesus recruits his "witnesses" and they in turn recruit from among the people); (2) rivalry is basic to the reality of factions (this explains much of the conflict present in the Gospels and Acts over the Jesus movement); (3) factions tend to be competitive (the urgency of the New Testament attests to this reality); (4) factions begin within larger groups (Jesus began his ministry within the promised people of Israel and moved outward); (5) factions are only as strong as their leader(s) (explaining the longevity of the Jesus movement); (6) the movement of the faction depends upon its ability to grow with limited resources (thus the call to be "witnesses").

creation of new strategies among the factions.[175] For example, among the Temple authorities we find an increase in their willingness to arrest, persecute, and even punish members of the larger group in order to eliminate rivals, i.e., Jesus and his followers. The sheer number of trial scenes in Acts and the vast amount of dialogue given to the characters of those scenes attest to this point. Most of the speeches occur in this type of setting are generally considered defense speeches. For the followers of Jesus, the immanent loss of the physical presence of their leader spawns a heightened sense of expectation for divine intervention in their lives, an intervention that does occur (at Pentecost), only not in the way the Apostles initially expect.

Second, the advent of these new "witnesses" of Jesus on the landscape of the first century brings about a new ideological system and a victory they never expected: the downfall of the Temple and the subsequent increase in non-Israelite membership in the faction. Third, Malina states that factions dealing with rapid growth cannot contend with the competition for position within the group and the need for "new prizes" or rewards.[176] It is no small thing that the early followers of Jesus altered their membership rules and created a situation where (4:32) "οὐκ ἦν διάκρισις ἐν αὐτοῖς οὐδεμία." The anger from the council and high priest (5:17, "But the high priest *rose up*, and all that were with him") evidences their frustration at their inability to quell this movement. Fourth, the growth of the faction also creates competition for resources and situations where sub-

---

[175]Ibid.

[176]Ibid.

factions exist who see the available resources as either desirable or undesirable and therefore threatening.[177]

The result is conflict, particularly over one of the resources in question in this narrative—the loyalty of the people. As a limited commodity, this resource in particular is deeply significant. Again, the response from the faction of the Sadducees and high priest[178]—"ἐπλήσθησαν ζήλου"[179] (5:17)—evidences and essentially foreshadows the upcoming conflict. At the same time, their response serves to heighten both the tension and instability. Given the previous order against public proclamation (Acts 4), the Apostles are now arrested by the religious leaders and placed in custody publicly.[180] The eagerness of the council to expedite the proceedings against Peter and the other disciples is revealed in 5:21 where D alone reads "ἐγερθέντες τὸ πρωὶ" ("having been awaked early"). D introduces an important element to this scene with the words "καὶ ἐπορεύθη εἷς ἕκαστος εἰς τὰ ἴδια" (5:18).[181]

---

[177]Ibid.

[178]The noun αἵερεσις is not used here in the sense of "heresy" but in its more general sense of the term being sect, school of thought, or faction. This usage is consistent throughout Acts with the Pharisees (15:5; 26:5) and the followers of Jesus (24:5, 14, 22). This sense is also the way in which Josephus uses the term to speak of the Jew's three main schools of thought (*Ant* 18.9-11; *Jewish War* 2:118-119). Also see Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers*, 1:18, 20, who uses the term in this same nuance.

[179]Often in Hellenistic literature ζήλου (probably jealousy here) is connected with the urge to eliminate opponents (Plutarch, *Moral* 487F; Plato, *Laws* 869E-870A; *Wis* 2:24; Philo, *Joseph* 12; cf. Acts 7:9, 17:5).

[180]I agree with Polhill, *Acts*, 166, that the better reading here is "placed them in custody publicly" rather than the more often translated "public custody." The former reading indicates an attempt to shame the apostles by placing a deviant label on them.

[181]The phrase is ambiguous and can be translated in either of two ways. It can mean that the members of the council went to their own home or that the disciples went

The incarceration focuses this challenge again on the question of where the power of God resides. For the reader, the issue is immediately resolved as "an angel/messenger of the Lord" releases the apostles so that they can again enter the temple area and continue their call to *witness* (5:20). The central point of the narrative from a social perspective, however, is 5:12 which names the bottom line of the conflict: "many signs and wonders were being worked among the people and they were all with one mind *in the temple*" ("ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ" D).

The issue of honor—whose side God is one—is at stake in the minds and the hearts of the people. The direct challenges offered in this narrative scene have only served to raise the tension and instability to an very high level. With this understanding, Gamaliel's speech makes sense as he argues for a means to keep some honor either way. To be caught going against God's representatives would be no less than suicide in the eyes of the people, not to mention what it means to go against God's power. Epp reads the text in this way saying

> the implication of the D-text, and this high compliment to the apostolic office, along with the suggestion of possible divine sanctions upon them [the council], by a member of the opposition group not only enhances the apostles, but also reveals the seriousness of any further actions against them.[182]

D continues this course of raising the status of Peter and the apostles and lowering the honor of the council by adding to the words of Gamaliel in this scene: "You will not be

---

to their own place, referring to the place of their incarceration or what we consider solitary confinement. D's addition in verse 19 of "τότε", according to Epp, *Theological Tendency*, 129, tightens the relationship between verses 18 and 19 so that the latter reading is preferable and makes more sense of the context.

[182]Epp, *Theological Tendency*, 131.

able to hinder them; *neither you, nor kings, nor tyrants. Therefore keep away from these men*" (5:39).[183]

Conclusion: Reading the Reading

The Ananias and Sapphira story serves to show the reader a "negative" example of the witnesses of Jesus. This contrast reinforces the already prevalent characterization of Peter as a witness and metonymic image of Jesus. The introduction to this scene provides a narrative example of "sharing" within the community (4:32-35). Barnabas sets the *good* example, laying his proceeds at the feet of the apostles. The couple, however, suffer the same fate as Achan in Joshua 7. Both negative "follower" stories exemplify the same characteristics: (1) the holding back of goods with a deceitful intention; (2) the confrontation with God's representative; and (3) the excommunication of the "follower" by death. The result speaks to the sin of the negative example offered:

> They [the couple] did not recognize that God is the "knower of hearts" and that by testing these apostles they were challenging *prophets*; Peter meets the challenge easily. . He shows himself to be a prophet cutting through their conspiracy: he can read their hearts and knows before they can even speak a lie that they have "falsified the Spirit" by their fraud. The power of his prophetic presence is so palpable that when he states the truth to each of the conspirators, they die.[184]

Intertextual investigation reveals that ancient readers would be aware of this type of story in their context and would understand it as a serious offense in both its enactment and result. This part of the scene in particular serves as both warning against deception and encouragement toward faithfulness. The continuance of the scene into the temple area and subsequent incarceration serves to enhance further the characterization of the

---

[183]The D text adds to 5:39: "οὔτε ὑμεῖς οὔτε βασιλεῖς οὔτε τύραννοι ἀπέχεσθε οὖν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπον τούτων."

[184]Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 92.

apostolic representative. Peter not only functions prophetically (5:1-11), and as a healer both physically and spiritually (5:12-16), but he is protected by divine hands as well (5:19-26). If the opening portion of the scene concerns warning against deception and encouragement toward faithfulness, then this latter portion shows the results of faithfulness even in the face of danger. Peter's boldness to stand before the religious leadership and proclaim "We must obey God rather then human authority,"[185] stands out as the epitome of faithfulness in a follower. The danger of deceptive actions is alluded to once again lest the reader or the religious leaders forget the couple as Gamaliel clearly says, "Refrain from these men and let them alone, *not defiling your hands*" ("μὴ μιάναντες τὰς χεῖρας," 5:38).

The scene culminates with an assessment by the narrator in the form of an ironic narrative aside that points to the key issues in the latter portion of the scene:

> The *apostles* (ἀπόστολοι) therefore departed from the presence of the Council, rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer dishonor for the name. And every day, in the temple and at home the ceased not to teach and preach the *Lord* (κύριον) Jesus as the Christ (5:41-42).

Despite the Council's initial anger (5:17-18, 27-28), the *apostles* leave the temple area unharmed and unscathed in their witness. In fact, they continue *daily* to teach and preach in the temple that the Lord Jesus is the Christ.

The irony for the ancient reader, the authorial audience, is the allusion to rejoicing over suffering dishonor for the name of Jesus when, in fact, no *dis*honor was suffered. It is in reality the Council who finds themselves in the position of dishonor as the apostles show themselves as faithful, empowered, and protected witnesses of God.

---

[185]Note that D has only Peter utter these words omitting the phrase "and the apostles answered and said" and adding the directive "Peter said *to them*" (52:9).

The Scene with Simon (8:9-24)

The lack of introduction to Philip in the text points to the reality that the reader is already familiar with him and his position. There is no need to introduce Philip as a historical character because like Peter before him, Philip's role in this text is to function as a witness and carry out the command offered by Jesus (1:8). Philip as a character is not as important what he will accomplish, the role he will fulfill as a witness in his own respect.[186] Because Peter has already established the role of the apostles in this text, the authorial audience knows what to expect of Philip. This function, however, occurs alongside another literary purpose within the narrative itself; Philip serves as a "forerunner" to the "culminator" (Peter) in much the same way that John the Baptist served as a forerunner to Jesus.[187] This parallel continues the metonymic image theme so prevalent in Acts.

Inner texture

This two-part narrative scene is not without some noticeable rough edges.[188] The first part of the scene involves Philip and his initial altercation with Simon. The altercation occurs on the heals of a Lukan narrative aside in 8:1-3. The second part, which is clearly dependent on the first part, involves Peter and John—although John is

---

[186]Yet oddly enough, monographs on Philip and his role in the text are few and far between. The most notable exception is the recent work of E. Scott Spencer, *The Portrait of Philip in Acts: A Study of Roles and Relations* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992).

[187]Ibid. Spencer's categories are, however, taken entirely from Tannehill, *Narrative Unity*, 102, who uses the terms "initiator" and "verifyer."

[188]On the questions concerning the sources and seams in this passage see Conzelmann, *Acts of the Apostles*, 62ff., and Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 216ff.

again silent— and their "culmination" of Philip's work.[189] The entire scene rests on Luke's summary statement; a statement that functions both as a connective from the previous chapter and as a proleptic overview of what is about to occur: "They were therefore scattered about preaching the word," ("οἱ μὲν οὖν διασπαρέντες διῆλθον εὐαγγελιζόμενοι τὸν λόγον," 8:4).

The entire scene focuses on the characterization of the various players in the narrative and their interplay with each other. Like the previous scenes, the tension and instabilities focus on the witnesses of God and their ability to overcome the barriers of false witnesses, false ideologies, and false intentions.

Philip is mentioned first and thereby becomes the subject of the summary statement in 8:4: "εὐαγγελιζόμενοι τὸν λόγον."[190] Philip immediately goes down to "Σαμαρίας ἐκήπρυσσεν αὐτοῖς τὸν Χριστόν" (8:5) following the "διωγμὸς μέγας καὶ θλεῖψις" (8:1) that scattered (διεσπάρησαν) the followers of Jesus throughout Judea and Samaria. The irony of this persecution lies in its role in bringing about the mission in Samaria.[191]

Despite the persecution, Philip is directly defined in this section as a "preacher of the good news," a role reserved solely for Peter, John, and Stephen up to this point. The

---

[189]I agree here with Tannehill, *Narrative Unity*, 103, who argues that Peter and Philip are essentially working hand-in-hand.

[190]While some of the so-called "Western" manuscripts—e.g., E, it^{p2}, syr^{p}, and additionally Augustine—add τοῦ θεοῦ, D does not include this reading in either the Greek or Latin.

[191]The sociological and intertextual dimensions of this new mission field will be discussed below. Suffice it to say here that the movement of the mission to the Samaritans was of no small significance. It is one of the culminating events of Jesus' words "in all of Judea, Samaria and unto the ends of the earth" (Acts 1:8).

inclusion of another "witness" does not decrease the status of Peter in this narrative particularly since he will intervene and complete Philip's work. Robert Tannehill has shown evidence of the continuity between how Philip functions in the narrative and how Jesus functioned in Luke. As Jesus proclaims ("κηρύσσω," Luke 4:18, 19, 44; 8:1; 9:2) so does Philip (Acts 8:5). Where Jesus preaches concerning the "reign of God" ("ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ," Luke 4:43; 8:1; 9:2) so does Philip (Acts 8:12). As further evidence, Philip even calls upon the "name" of Jesus ("ὀνόματος," Acts 8:12), exorcises "unclean spirits" (Acts 8:7), heals the paralyzed (Acts 9:33), and through his witness brings about "much joy" and "many" healings. The focus is that Philip is performing the same evangelistic mission as Jesus and his witnesses and that he, like all of the witnesses, function metonymically.[192] Hearing of the "signs" ("σημεῖα,"8:13) produced through Philip's ministry, the Apostles send Peter and John (8:14).

Over and against this characterization of Philip are Simon and the Samaritans. Both are pictured as characters standing outside the community of God's people. The Samaritans, decedents of the intermixed people from the Assyrian conquest of the Northern Kingdom (2 Kgs 17:24-41), were considered half–breeds and later were thought to be idolatrous apostates by the Jewish people (see e.g., Isa 8:4; Amos 3:9, 12: 8:14; Hos 8:5-6; Mic 1:5-6).[193] Yet these people are not Gentiles either. Their religious and

---

[192]Tannehill, *Narrative Unity,* 103-104.

[193]Evidence of the deep rift between the Jewish people and their Samaritan cousins abounds. In Josephus, for example, there is the story of Mannasseh, the brother of the Jewish high priest, who marries a Samaritan woman and was subsequently exiled from Jerusalem (*Antiquities*, 11.8.2f.). Jospehus also records the story of John Hyrcanus, the Hasmonean leader, who destroyed a Samaritan temple and furthered a deep resentment between the two peoples (*Antiquities*, 13.10.2-3 §§ 275-283; see also the following incidents *Antiquities*, 11:8-6; 18:2.2.; *Life*, 52 § 69; and *War*, 2.12.3). Other

national status was simply in question—they were half–breeds from "τὸ ἔθνος τῆς Σαμαρίας" (8:9).

Simon, similarly, is a person whose religious association is in question. Susan Garrett has recently argued that:

> All efforts to gain access to the historical Simon via the Acts account will meet with obstacles, perhaps insurmountable. But even if Luke's portrayal of Simon as one who practiced "magic" is of dubious value for rediscovering the historical Simon, the portrayal may provide a different sort of historical information, concerning the way that early Christians viewed their own traditions about miracle workers vis-à-vis the analogous traditions of their competitors.[194]

What is clear is that "magician" was a deviant label used in the ancient world to discredit an opponent. The label placed on Jesus in Luke 11:15 was similar: "He casts out demons by Beelzebul."[195] This label generally refers to a magician's willingness to beguile the people. Charles Talbert in his recent commentary sums up the view of that day: "According to Mediterranean belief, magicians looked for customers not converts."[196]

---

sources indicate similar resentment. See for example, *m. Shebitth* 8:10 which says "He that eats the bread of the Samaritans is like to the one that eats the flesh of swine."

[194]Garrett, *The Demise of the Devil*, 62. The history of research into Simon is lengthy. For a good but slightly dated overview see Wayne A. Meeks, "Simon Magnus is Recent Research," *RSR* 3 (1977): 137-142. The significant works are R. Bergmeier, "Die Gestalt des Simon Magus in Act 8 und in der simonianischen Gnosis—Aporien einer Gesamtdeutung," *ZNW* 77 (1986): 267-275; Leon Cerfaux, "Simon le magicien à Samarie," in *Recueil Lucien Cerfaux*, Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum lovaniesium VI-VII (Gebloux: J. Duculot, 1954), 1:259-262; J. M. D. Derrett, "Simon Magus (Acts 8:9-24)," *ZNW* 73 (1982): 52-68; and M. Gourgues, "Esprit des commencements et ésprit des prolongements dans les Actes: note su le 'Pentecôte des Samaritaines,' (Actes viii:5-25)," *RB* 93 (1986): 376-385.

[195]Other sources that use this epithet in a similar way include Justin, *Dialogoue* 69; *b. Sanhedrin* 43a; *b. Sota* 22a; Philostratus, *The Life of Appolonius of Tyana, Letters,* 1, 2, 5, 8, 16, 16, 17; Juvenal, *Satires*, 6.542-47; Pliny, *Natural History*, 30.2.11; Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel*, 9.8.1-2; and Orgien, *Contra Celsus* 1.6, 28, 38).

[196]Charles H. Talbert, *Reading Acts: A Literary and Theological Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles* (New York: Crossroad, 1997), 85.

This interpretation is reinforced by Simon's own perspective of himself offered in the narrative: "λέγων εἶναί τινα ἑαυτὸν μέγαν" (8:9). The hingepoint of the entire narrative scene focuses on 8:10-12. The question of where and with whom the power of God resides is unclear in the eyes of the Samaritan people: of Simon they say "οὗτός ἐστιν ἡ σύναμις τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ καλουμένη μεγάλη" (8:10).[197] Thus the issue here is not unlike the unbelief and misbelief found in the previous scenes.

Philip's role in this narrative is defined through indirect presentation. According to this category, Philip preaching in "the name of Jesus Christ" (8:12) produces amazing results: the people believe, Simon himself believes and is baptized, and the Apostles even hear from a distance that the Samaritans have received the word of God (8:14). This presentation of Philip allows him to be viewed analogously to Peter and thereby to Jesus. Not only has the Gospel spread as Jesus predicted and commanded, but also the witnesses are growing in number.[198]

---

[197]Garrett, *Demise of the Devil*, 67, points out, "This honoring of Simon smacks of idolatry: it is the worship of a power that is supposedly 'of God,' but actually of an agent far more malevolent. That Simon does not repudiate the acclaim, but rather, cultivates it by performing magic tricks over a long period of time and 'making himself out to be someone great'...does not bode well for the magician. In Luke's narrative world, all others who 'fail to give God the glory' meet an unhappy end." Garrett points to Luke's treatment of false prophets in order to back up her interpretation. The other instances of this behavior (Acts 7:51-52; 13:4-12 and Luke 6:26) are offered over and against Luke's view of Jesus as the prophet like Moses. The point being that Luke attempts to focus the reader toward an accurate (Luke 1:1 ἀκριβῶς) understanding of who is the true prophet of God and who is not. While the label "false prophet" is not used, the term "magician" is clearly close in meaning and usage.

[198]Rimmon-Kenan, *Narrative Fiction,* 70, writes that when characters are viewed in circumstances that are similar—such as Peter and Philip/Philip and Jesus—then similarities and contrasts between their behavior will emphasize traits that are characteristic of characters.

What role then, or better, how will the reader understand the advent of Peter and John into this scene when the situation seems well under control? Peter's arrival marks a transition in the narrative. When Peter appears, Philip falls to the background and is not heard from again in this context. The crux of the issue here lies in the narrative summary in 8:15-16: "When they came down, they prayed for them that they might receive the Holy Spirit, for the Spirit as yet had not fallen upon any of them." Peter and John pray for the people, lay hands on them, and they receive the Spirit.[199] What the text does not tell us is whether or not Simon received the Spirit at this time.[200] The inference being that his conversion was not genuine. This view is confirmed as Simon begins to plot in his heart, a view given by the narrator, as to how he might get this power.

Whereas the people have found a new relationship with God and have answered the question of where God's power resides, Simon's words are telling of his understanding. He believes that Peter, John, and Philip have a greater power than he, but in his mind this power is one that can be manipulated. For Simon, it is a matter of

---

[199]There is no set procedure being announced here or elsewhere (*Contra* Garrett, *Demise of the Devil*, 69). The Spirit comes and goes as it wills. Even within Acts the Spirit comes in different ways and at different times. In 2:38 the Spirit is linked with baptism. In the present scene (8:15-17), the Spirit comes after baptism and through the laying on of hands. In 9:17-18 the Spirit comes through the laying on of hands but before baptism. Yet in 10:44-48 the Spirit comes through the preaching of Peter and leads to baptism. Interestingly, this expression is the one found most often in Paul's writings (e.g., 1 Cor 2:1-4; Gal 3:1-5; 1 Thess 1:5). For a more detailed overview see Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 57; and Talbert, *Reading Acts*, 86.

[200]I disagree with Witherington, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 286, who believes that the narrative aside in 8:16 is to explain to the reader—Theophilus—the difference in the reception of the Holy Spirit here and in 2-3. Luke's emphasis does not point toward any concern in showing a unified explanation of the Spirit's coming. See Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 151; and Talbert, *Reading Acts*, 86-87, who concur. What Witherington suggests is evident in various narratives that speak of the Spirit's advent. Luke's purpose in this aside is to note who *received* the Spirit—the people—and who did not—Simon.

learning the secret, purchasing the power, and then being able to manipulate that power himself.

The advent of Peter and John serves to validate not Philip's witness, but the reception of the Gospel to a new people. In fact, the exact same thing occurs in 11:22 when Barnabas goes to investigate the conversion of some Greeks who hear the Gospel. This view is confirmed by the actions of Peter and John. Once they arrive, they realize the Samaritan people have believed but have not received the Spirit and they pray for them and lay hands on them (8:15-17). Once they received the Spirit, Peter and John have validated the experience of the Samaritan people. The Gospel goes forth as Jesus had said (Acts 1:6-8). The converse happens, however, with Simon. Whereas the faith of the people is validated, Simon is found to be lacking and only interested in what he can gain from manipulating the Spirit.

The height of the narrative is found in the confrontation between Peter and Simon. From the beginning of the scene the reader was informed that the people believed: "When they heard, the crowds gave heed to those things said by Philip" (8:6). So the real question brought to the forefront in this scene is where the power of God really resides—in Simon's magic or the Apostle's witness in the name of Jesus? The crowds are confused in their loyalties. The reader and the crowds, however, are able to see Simon crumble under the power of Peter, Philip, and John. In fact, not only does Simon recognize that the power of the Spirit carried by and flowing through the witnesses of Jesus is greater than his own magic, but he comes to fear the power. Having made his offer—"He brought then money, *calling them alongside* (παρακαλῶν) and saying, 'Give

to me this power, that on whomever *I also* (ἵνα ᾧ ἄν) lay my hands, that one may receive the Holy Spirit" (8:19)—Simon is rebuked by Peter.

Not unlike the previous incident with Ananias and Saphira, Peter understands the intentions—although they are not clearly articulated—and the heart of the person. The difference in the two narratives is that the wayward couple's fate was immediate, in this narrative scene only Simon's money is cursed. The authorial audience should understand that the couple attempted to deceive the Spirit.

Simon, on the other hand, simply doesn't understand the Spirit. He has yet to come to Christ. Therein is another lesson for the authorial audience, believers are held accountable, maybe more so. Consequently, Peter makes room for Simon in the kingdom: "Repent therefore from your wickedness" (8:22). It is striking how Simon is characterized in this narrative by his speech and by the speech of others.[201] The people have seen him in the past as "the power of God called great" (8:10). But his own speech reveals a very different character. Faced with the power of God in the witnesses of Christ Jesus, Simon is reduced to bribery, greed, and ultimately tears of shame and/or fear: "Who did not stop weeping many tears" (ὅς πολλὰ κλαίων διελίμπανεν, 8:24).[202]

---

[201]Rimmon-Kenan, *Narrative Fiction*, 65, identifies this aspect of characterization as revelatory of a character's traits through a cause and effect relation that reader discerns in reverse.

[202]The tears of Simon, a Bezaen addition, seem to point toward either his remorse and repentance or his fear of the punishments spoken of by Peter. The former appears more likely since, as mentioned above, Peter's curse was limited to Simon's money. In the Clementine tradition, *Clem Hom*, XX.21; *Recog*, X.63, Simon's tears are indicated to be from rage and disappointment. Bruce Metzger, *A Textual Commentary of the Greek New Testament* (Stuttgart: United Bible Societies, 1971), 358, notes that διελίμπανεν occurs only here and in 17:13 (Bezae) in the New Testament.

Simon's character is corrupted by money like many others in the text of Acts.[203] Over against Simon's character is Peter. From the moment he enters the scene he takes center stage. Philip says and does nothing else in the presence of Peter.

Yet the mission is clearly cooperative and not exclusive. Not only is the gospel unhindered in its telling but it also knows no boundaries in its witnesses. Peter's ability to bring about the Spirit must be understood in the light of both Philip's work and the validation by the representative of the established Jerusalem Church. The advent of the Spirit here does two things: (1) it validates that the gospel has in fact gone outside of the expected boundaries; and (2) it points the reader toward an unexpected end.

Peter's rebuke of Simon ends abruptly with Simon in tears (Acts 8:24 D). Yet there is no indication of whether or not Simon ever received the Spirit. Peter and John leave for Jerusalem. Philip moves on to Gaza. Simon's end is left incomplete. What does this unfinished ending reveal about this scene? There are a variety of options. Susan Garrett in her recent work has helpfully listed the major alternatives. She concludes that either: (1) Luke expected his readers to know that Simon had never repented and that he did go on to accomplish even worse deeds; (2) Luke knew Simon and his followers and offers the chance for salvation as an invitation to Simon and anyone with him; and her own opinion that (3) Simon's repentance is not the point of the narrative and is therefore not included.[204] For Garrett, the point is to show that the devil

---

[203]Note, for example, Judas (1:18), Ananias and Sapphira (5:1-11), the owners of the slave girl/fortune teller (16:16-19), and Demetrius the silver worker (19:24-27).

[204]Garrett, *The Demise of the Devil*, 73-74.

is, in this text, overcome and now the gospel can move forth unhindered even by the devil.[205]

I think Garrett is correct in her assessment of this unfinished passage. More importantly, the narrative effect in this passage validates her thesis. The unfinished nature of the text points to a lack of closure that stands out in the reading process. What happens to Simon? We will find out more about Philip, but he too will disappear without closure. We will find out more about Peter, but he will also disappear without closure. The text as it stands lacks closure for any of characters, except Jesus. Therein may well be the point, this story is about the mission of Jesus and how it comes about.

Yet, while there is no closure, the text does have completion. "Closure," writes James Phelan, "refers to the way in which a narrative signals its end…[but]need not be tied to the resolution of instabilities and tensions of the narrative."[206] Completion, however, "refers to the degree of resolution…[and] will depend upon whether and how the later instabilities have been resolved."[207] The instabilities in this narrative centered around the preaching of the word by the scattered followers of Christ and focused on the question of where the power of God resides (8:10 over against 8:12). From this encounter the reader can now know that the power of God is greater than the forces of this world and that the power to resist and overcome those forces now resides in the witnesses of Jesus. The story, therefore, has a proleptic note about its own end which will lack closure but have a high level of completeness.

---

[205]Ibid., 75.

[206]Phelan, *Reading People, Reading Plots,* 17-18.

[207]Ibid.

Intertexture

This narrative scene draws on two forms of intertexture that give the story its significance. On the one hand, this scene employs the power of a social intertext that offers an explanation of the role of Simon in this text as a magician and his motivations in the narrative.[208] On the other, the story culminates with a scriptural (oral-scribal) intertext that does not explain but sets precedent for those who attempt to use the power of God for their own purposes.[209] On the social level, there are several texts that reveal the nature of how Simon and the idea of a magician were understood.

From the earliest interpreters of this text it is clear that Simon was revered among the Samaritan populace and that they thought he was "God above all power and authority and might" and the "he [too] thought he was god."[210] In *Acts of Peter* 4 Simon "says that he is the great power of God and that without God he does nothing."[211] Similarly, in Pseudo–Clementine *Homilies* 2, 22, 2-3 Simon refers to himself as the "Mighty power of God" and as the "The Standing One." Even in Irenaeus, *Against Heresies* 1, 16, 1-3,

---

[208]According to Robbins, *The Tapestry of Early Christianity*, 127, social intertexture is "when the discourse refers to information that is generally available to people in the Mediterranean world. The presupposition is that the discourse evokes images of 'social reality' that every member of Mediterranean society could describe in a series of sentences."

[209]Ibid. Robbins defines this level of intertexture as "when wording from other written or oral texts appears in the text under investigation," 121.

[210]Citations from Justin Martyr's *Dialogue with Trypho* 120:6 and *Apology* 1:26 respectively. For a complete but dated overview of the ancient interpretations of Simon see Robert P. Casey, "Note xiii. Simon Magus," in *The Beginnings of Christianity*, Part I, eds., F. J. Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, Vol V (London: Macmillan and Co., 1933), 151-163.

[211]Interestingly, in this account Simon attempts a feat of levitation while in Rome but the incantation is broken by Peter and the magician falls to the earth, is badly injured, and subsequently dies (*Acts of Peter* 32).

Simon appears nearly god-like as a incarnate human come to save his beloved Helena (see also Justin *Apologies* 1.26). According to Hippolytus, Simon moves from heretic to competitor of Christianity by claiming that if he were buried alive he would rise again on the third day. Hippolytus evaluates Simon saying: "οἱ οὖν τὸ προσταχθὲν ἐποίησαν ὁ δέ ἀπέμεινεν ἕως νῦν" (*Ref* 6.2.3).[212]

What seems most reasonable is that Luke has recorded in Acts 8 Simon's initial contact with Christianity and that later interpreters in the second century have shown how Simon attempted to copy what he could not purchase.[213] This reading is in line with the general understanding of the role of a "magician" in the early world. Charles Talbert in his recent work on Acts has provided a helpful overview of how the term "magician" was understood. He writes, "It [magician] was what one called one's opponent to discredit him."[214] Justin uses the term as he describes how the Jewish leaders referred to Jesus—"They dared to call him a magician" (*Dialogue* 69)—in Luke 11:15. Talbert notes as well that the religious leaders also used this term in reference to Samaritans (*b. Sota* 22a: "as a Samaritan or as a magician") and that pagans used the term of

> maverick philosophers (e.g., Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius of Tyana,* where Apollonius's opponents call him a magician, and the biography which, in part, is written to defend him against the charges; cf. Also Apollonius of Tyana, *Letters* 1, 2, 5, 8, 16, 17); of Jews (Juvenal, *Satires* 6.542-47), especially Moses (Pliny,

---

[212]Care must be taken in the evaluation of the evidence of Simon. Clearly, the Christian writers of the second century had an ax to grind in their portrayal of Simon. The most recent attempts to unearth the historical Simon have failed due to their contradictory and confusing results. A reasonable assessment of the possible views and attempts is Wayne Meeks, "Simon Magus in Recent Research," *RelSRev* 3 (1977): 137-142.

[213]See Pheme Perkins, *Gnosticism and the New Testament* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 9ff., who holds a similar position.

[214]Talbert, *Reading Acts*, 84.

> *Natural History* 30.2.11; Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 9.8.1-2); and of Jesus (Origen, *Contra Celsus* 1.6, 28, 38).[215]

The second level of intertexture in this scene validates the understanding of the first. Not only was Simon considered a "magician" and attempted "thief" of the Spirit, he was also viewed as an idolater. From the oral–scribal level the phrase in Acts 8:23—"gall of bitterness"—points the reader to LXX Deut 29:17. This text is from the blessings and curses of Deut 28-29. Used also by Paul in Gal 3:10 and Rom 2:9, these blessings and curses are significant for the texts of Luke and Acts.[216] While Haenchen attempts to reduce the intertextuality here to a mere "metaphor,"[217] the importance of this reference resides in its narrative meaning within Deuteronomy. In that context, the reference "gall of bitterness" points to a curse placed on those who commit idolatry (Deut 29:18) against the covenant. The reality of this curse is exceedingly harsh:

> The Lord would not desire to be gracious to that one, but rather the anger of the Lord and the jealousy [of the Lord] would burn against that person, and all of the curses of this covenant that are written in the book of this law would cling to that person, and the Lord would blot out that person's name from under heaven Deut 29:19).

Consequently, Peter reveals from Scripture that while many of the Samaritans have received salvation—and thereby have also received the Holy Spirit as well—Simon is

---

[215]Ibid. See also Ramsay MacMullen, *Enemies of the Roman Order: Treason, Unrest, and Alienation in the Empire* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966), 95-162.

[216]Note for example the several places where this section of Deuteronomy is echoed in both Luke and Acts: Luke 1:42/Deut 28:4; Luke 21:24/Deut 28:64; Acts 22:11/Deut 28:22; and Acts 23:3/Deut 28:22.

[217]Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 305.

still an idolater. His sin subject to punishment "εἰς ἀπώλειαν" (Acts 8:20), and a possibly harsh punishment at that.[218]

Susan Garret has successfully shown how this scene also utilizes Isa 58:6 by citing its words "bond of iniquity" as the present state of Simon. Isa 58:6, she notes,

> summarizes for Luke Jesus' task in confronting Satan (cf. Acts 10:38): Jesus was anointed with the Spirit that he might 'loosen the bonds of wickedness, undo the bands of the coercing yoke, send the oppressed into freedom, and break apart every unjust contract.' Now Peter tells Simon that the yoke stills weighs upon his neck—in other words, Simon is still in bondage to Satan…Thus Simon's offer of money to Peter is for Luke not only blasphemous but absurd: the magician wanted to purchase divine authority while still trapped under diabolical authority. The prevalent view of the day comes true. As a magician, Simon is shown to be a

vile person out for his own honor.[219] Yet despite Simon's heralding by the Samaritan people, he is no match for the witnesses of Jesus.

Extratexture

The intersection of the portraits in this scene is enhanced by the nuances of the social constructs present. While Simon is not directly called a "magician" (μάγος) in this scene, he is one who practices "magic" ("μαγεία") and from these actions has achieved the title of "someone called great" (μεγάν). This "achieved honor" is different and subordinate to "ascribed honor." The former refers to honor that comes in virtue of one's

---

[218]The term "ἀπωλείαν" means literally "to destroy" or "to disregard the value of something so that it is wasted." Either meaning is possible here but the latter is a more intriguing possibility since Peter does open the door for the salvation of Simon unlike the detailed "ἀπωλείαν" of Ananias and Sapphira.

[219]Ben Witherington, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 283, has noted that interpreters must be careful not to read intertextual references from the second and third centuries back into the Acts text. In this project, however, that is exactly my point. The fourth-century reader proposed here would read this scene with all of these intertexts in mind. Simon's character was defamed and therefore, regardless of the historical man's intentions, Simon became the villain.

performance. This type of honor is inevitably challenged and not considered as stable as honor that is ascribed.[220] It would come as no surprise then that Simon would feel the pressure of Philip's presence among the people.

Given Simon's status among the people and his embeddedness in the guild of magical performers,[221] the presence of the followers of Jesus—persons also possessing powers to produce "signs and wonders"—would have produced a situation of social tension over honor. Because persons from group oriented societies tend to make sense of others by assessing them "sociologically" and not "psychologically," stereotypes are a typical means of categorization that enabled persons of the ancient world—in particular--to make sense of everyday reality. Stereotypes allow persons to understand their roles in relation to everyone else around them. Consequently, through time people gained set expectations and fixed ideas of what certain roles meant. In other words, group oriented persons perceived themselves and those around them in terms of qualities that identified their role expectations (both met and unmet). A person's ability to achieve expected roles was considered maintenance work (i.e., social "*oughts*") and only through specified means could one increase status.[222]

---

[220]Malina and Neyrey, "Honor and Shame in Luke-Acts," 47.

[221]Socially, "embeddedness" is defined by Bruce Malina, *The New Testament World: Insights from Cultural Anthropology* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1993), 68, as when a person in a group oriented society "would perceive himself or herself as a distinctive whole set in relation to other such wholes and set within a given social and natural background; every person is perceived as embedded in some other, in a sequence of embeddedness so to say."

[222]The most recent and helpful work on this concept is Bruce Malina and Jerome Neyrey, *Portraits of Paul: An Archaeology of Ancient Personality* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1996).

Conclusion: Reading the Reading

In a number of ways this conflict is reminiscent of the conflict with Ananias and Sapphira (5:1-11). Peter again is viewed as a prophet who knows the heart and intentions of people even when they are secret.[223] He understands the misuse of possessions and the Spirit by his ability to read intentions. He alone among the apostles offers rebuke for deceptive and impure actions. In both instances, his rebuke is instructional for the deceptive parties (and the reader). They learn not to falsify sharing in the community and not to deceive apostolic/prophetic authority. The major difference, of course, is in the punishment/results of the rebuke. Whether Peter's rebuke *caused* the death of the couple or they died of fear is unanswerable with the evidence we have. The point is that the infraction was serious and it resulted in the death of two persons presumably without any ability to repent. In Simon's case, Peter offers an opportunity for repentance although the narrative is open ended as to whether Simon ever did so.

The linchpin of this narrative centers on the struggle over the power of God and where the people believe it resides. We have already seen in other narrative struggles over the issues of power and honor. In this scene, the issue is clearly named: "Give to me this power, that on whomever *I also* lay my hands, that one may receive the Holy Spirit" (8:19). There is no question here over the superiority of the power of God compared to powers of this world, even Simon acknowledges that reality. Notice, however, the confusion of the crowds in their fickle characterizations of Philip and Simon shows how their loyalties go to the power broker of the moment (8:9, 10, 11, 12).

---

[223]Paul will function in the same way later in the narrative. His encounters with persons of deception all have their own distinctive elements but serve to show how the witness of Jesus can overcome such barriers (See 13:6-11; 16:6-18; 19:11-20).

Philip and Simon battle over the loyalty of the people. It is the advent of Peter, however, that seals the fate of Simon and finally gains the loyalty of the people and thereby—hopefully—the reader.[224] It not until Peter arrives and speaks that the Spirit arrives and only Peter is able to reduce Simon to tears—an unheard of public action for a man in the ancient world—and turn him toward possible repentance. This reaction signals the end of the instabilities in the narrative in that Peter wins the struggle for locus of power as Simon is shown to be a person of little honor and as he crumbles under the rebuke of Peter.

The resolution of the narrative's instabilities points to another significant theme connected to Jesse's command in Acts 1:8. Another group of disenfranchised persons—the Samaritans—are accepted into the family of God. Thereby, the inclusivity of the mission is enhanced and upheld. The other side of this inclusivity, however, is found in the rebuke stories of chapters 5 and 8. Both stories point the reader to the reality that while the Gospel is inclusive it does demand change in the heart and spirit of the individual. This change—at least in Acts—is a dangerous thing to counterfeit.

Peter's status at the end of this narrative is set both as a prophet like Moses and as a metonymic image of his Lord. Shown as faithful in his service even in the face of danger, incisive in his evaluation of person's intentions and actions, and filled with the Spirit in his ability to bring about signs and wonders through healings and even his rebukes, Peter functions as representative of both his Lord and the apostolic cadre.

---

[224]The issue over whether or not the intended reader was or was not Christian is moot and unanswerable. See the various commentaries for the theories available.

Conclusion: A Reading of the whole Reading

What lessons has the text taught us in this reading? What have we discovered about Peter and, more importantly, about the mission of God in Acts through this part of the exercise? For years scholars have approached this text with questions of origin and sources in mind. To that end B. H. Streeter has said many a scholar "has met his [or her] Waterloo in the attempt to account for, or explain away, the existence of the Bezaen text."[225] Here, the question is not about origin or source. Nor is it about finding the intention behind the variants to see theological bias as Epp has done.[226]

The evidence revealed in this discussion of the D text results from the assumption that fourth and fifth century reader's read this text as it stands and without asking the above questions. They assumed the text meant what it said and, in fact, altered the text to make it say more clearly what they believed it meant. In his recent work, Manlio

---

[225]B. H. Streeter, "Codices 157, 1071 and the Caesarean Text," in *Quantulacumque: Studies Presented to Kirsopp Lake* (London, 1937), 150.

[226]Epp, *The Theological Tendency of Codex Bezae*, see his introduction and also 165-166. Epp assumes that the editors of the D text all had theological motivations in mind in their alterations. While his point is well taken, I think it more correct to say that early editors of all religious texts more generally altered the text to make it say what it was already understood to mean. This view is put for by Bart D. Ehrman, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture*, 3-4, and also held by Harry Gamble, *Books and Readers in the Early Church: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 126, who argues that "What is too little recognized is that in antiquity the conscientious reader was always interested in the correction of textual corruptions since, given the conditions of the production and transmission of texts, the accuracy of a text was necessarily an open question...In the absence of controlled transmission, an ancient text acquired stability not in proportion to the extent of the authority lodged in it, but by the broad circulation of enough copies to establish and sustain a consistent, self-reinforcing textual tradition." See also Wayne Meeks, *The Origins of Christian Morality: The First Two Centuries* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 2-3, who argues, similarly, that the changes wrought by Constantine and those who followed changed morality and its agents forever. This change encouraged the reading of biblical texts among the populace like never before.

Simonetti has shown how the new policy toward the Church begun by Constantine altered the development of how and what audience read Scripture. The new expansion of Christianity simply brought about the need for new initiates, who were uneducated in the allegorical methodology, to have familiarity with Scripture. This movement, which he refers to as an "anti-allegorizing reaction," was accompanied by a new interest in the historical, scientific, and archeological aspects of the biblical witness. In other words, a more literal interpretation of the text began to rule the day.[227]

Therefore, the audience of these first 8 chapters of Acts in Bezae will make assumptions, hear through a variety of baggage, and learn in a particular way as reading takes place. These conventions all take place at a variety of levels in the reading process and can be accounted for only on a basic level. The psychology of this process is well beyond the purview of this dissertation. Yet at the same time, these conventions make up the way readers read. Consequently, the question at hand concerns what the reader of Bezae's Acts has read—understood—to this point.

(1) This first half of this narrative focuses on Peter and his mission as a called *witness* of Jesus. Without alteration from the familiar UBS tradition, Peter and the other apostles are called to serve as Jesus' witnesses (1:8). This distinguishing aspect of the Acts story is well known and generally accepted among interpreters both ancient and modern.[228] Yet Peter is not the only witness in the story. Stephen, Philip, Barnabas, and later Paul all also serve in this role. It is Peter, however, especially in D who serves as a

---

[227] Manlio Simonetti, *Biblical Interpretation in the Early Church: An Historical Introduction to Patristic Exegesis* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1994), 53ff.

[228]Interestingly, while commentators acknowledge the significance of 1:6-11 for the whole of Acts, there is no general acceptance of the purpose of Acts. See Robert Maddox, *The Purpose of Luke-Acts* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1982), 19-23.

protagonist to the story and is the first representative of the apostolic followers of Jesus. The story moves along the thread of his call to witness and both tensions and instabilities of the story itself surround Peter's actions and responses. In nearly every scene in the first 8 chapters—with the exception of the Stephen narrative—Peter functions to resolve the narrative's instability. The reader then learns to watch Peter and what he does. His character builds as the narrative moves deeper into the story and with each episode, the reader learns to trust and is subtly encouraged to emulate Peter's witness.

Moreover, the numerous ways in which Peter functions metonymically offer the reader a clear parallel to Jesus in Acts. Not that Peter becomes "Christ-like" in the sense of a typology, but that Peter does become the solid rock upon which the early church movement is built. He functions both in the stead of Jesus who is no longer physically present and in the true sense of the word as a "witness."[229] Not unlike the dyadic personality and family honor system of the ancient world, this metonymical function allows the reader to see Jesus both in and through Peter.

(2) While the Bezaen additions do add an element of hostility, particularly between the religious leadership and the apostles, the total narrative effect of these additions does not make Acts any more anti-Jewish than any one of the Gospels. Jesus is consistently portrayed as being the greater leader, more spiritual, more persons oriented,

---

[229]According to Strathmann, "μάρτυς,"in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament,* vol. IV. trans. Geoffrey Bromiley, ed. Gerrhard Kittel (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1967). 474-514, the noun μάρτυς comes from a root that means "to remember," "to bear in mind." Its other forms—e.g., the verb μαρτυρεῖν and the secondary noun μαρτυριον—also carry the nuance of remembering with addition of being able to prove it. The term stems from the ancient legal sphere and denotes there a person who can speak from experience. Within the New Testament the term is used to indicate speaking well of a person on the basis of personal experience. See Louw and Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*, 418-419.

may knowledgeable about the law, and closer to God than any of the religious leadership of the day. If anything, D's additions seem to level the playing field making the apostles as witnesses as effective followers of God in Acts as Jesus is in the Gospels.

(3) In these chapters Peter functions not as one of the apostles but as representative of the apostolic group. From his first appearance in the narrative (1:13, 15) he is always and without exception mentioned first by narrator in lists of the apostles. Peter is the first of the apostles to speak and in the majority of instances when an apostle speaks it is Peter. Whenever he is present among his peers he alone speaks for them. Moreover, D's consistent attempts to enhance the character of Peter often takes place by "showing" that he speaks for the rest, in their place, or that he alone speaks.[230] Before the Council, only Peter speaks and it is Peter alone who functions as a prophet and offers words of rebuke. Other apostles are at times present, although John is his companion most of the time. Never is there a word of disagreement and never does John even speak, act, or interact with other persons in the text. The entire focus is on Peter. In the two instances where other witnesses are introduced into the narrative, Peter does not participate directly in the scene with Stephen at all (6:8-8:1a) but he completes the work of Philip whose preaching is a result of the dispersion following Stephen's death (8:2-29).[231]

---

[230]The only instance to the contrary is 6:2-3 where "the twelve" are together and an unnamed person speaks. This narrative voice is best understood, however, as the narrator summarizing events for the reader because no speaker is identified and because the statement in question is encapsulated by a narrative aside and is most likely part of that aside (6:1, 5).

[231]Note: the first Bezaen lacuna begins following 8:29. For more on this break in the narrative see chapter 3 of this dissertation.

This consistent characterization reinforces the static nature of Peter's role in the narrative. Time after time he overcomes barriers and answers to no authority but God. Peter, like his Lord, functions as an example for the reader. In this way, he affirms both Jesus' call and Theodosius' claim of Peter's "*divinium*."

(4) Peter in his first speech quotes from Joel concerning the *signs* and *wonders* that will accompany the advent of the Spirit. The narrative aside in 2:43 directly informs the reader that "many signs and wonders were done by the apostles." Throughout the narrative in the first part of Acts, Peter is the worker of these events. His healing of the lame man (3:6-10), his ability to quell the questions of the Council and even reorient their interpretation of the events despite his "unlearned" status (4:8-13), his role in the death of Ananias and Sapphira (5:1-9), his ability to heal with only the passing of his shadow (5:15-16), his protection and release by the *messenger* of God (5:19), his ability to bring about the Spirit (8:14-16), and his prophetic insight into the hearts of all of persons (820-23) all point toward a truly empowered witness.

(5) Yet the most intriguing function of Peter's character in this narrative is his prophetic role. Called forth as the prophets of old and given a message to speak, Peter serves as a prophet who is an interpreter of scripture, events, and persons. The result of this reading then is that Peter is viewed in this narrative as the fulcrum along which the narrative progresses. His character is the protagonist that pushes the story forward through the creation and resolution of instabilities and tension in the narrative and reader's world It now remains to consider the latter chapters and end of Peter's character in the narrative.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Reading of the Witnesses: The Acts of Peter Part II

Introduction

Following the outline of chapter four, the purpose of this chapter is to continue the examination of the Petrine texts in Acts. This chapter will examine Acts chapters 11, 12, and 15. Chapter 15 is most significant because of its focus on the culmination of the instabilities and tensions raised in chapter 10. These final appearances of Peter in the Acts story move to a high point in the narrative and find their fruition at the Jerusalem council. When viewed against the previous chapter, and the texts considered there, it is easy to see the significance of Peter's function and role as a witness. Peter fulfills the call and command of Jesus articulated from the very beginning of Acts: "You shall be my witnesses . . . to the ends of the earth."[1] Herein Peter serves in the Acts narrative as a metonymic image of Jesus for both the characters in the story and for the authorial audience[2]

This process of metonymy is one of the artistic aspects indicative of both Luke and Acts. Richard Pervo in one his recent works on Luke, for example, refers to this process as part of the writer's significant abilities: "One of Luke's primary artistic gifts is the capacity to spring imagination by a word or a phrase rather than by elaborate or

---

[1]Jesus's statement here in Acts 1:8 is not simply a geographic assertion but points to a greater reality. Conzelmann, *Acts*, 7, is clearly correct. This verse is clearly connected with Luke 24:47 and thereby is a reference to the salvation of all peoples.

protracted exposition.[3] In other words, Peter becomes so associated with both his called role, and the Lord he serves, that mere mention of the apostolic leader in a scene brings about repeatedly affirmed connotations.

There are, however, some blurred images in this portrait. Peter's witness encounters a number of tensions and instabilities that provide interest and progress for the story.[4] The authorial audience reads on because the question is dually: "What is a witness?" and "What can a witness do in the face of so many barriers?" Peter answers those questions quite capably. There is also another question that looms large in the background. This question focuses on the nature of God's people and is raised by Jesus' command to witness to "the ends of the earth." What will this kind of witness do to the people of God? The authorial audience is left with this tension to resolve and looks to Peter for the answer.

In that sense, it is clear that Acts is not about the Apostles. Peter's disappearance at the end of chapter 15 in this view also makes sense. Acts is about the role, the image, the call they are commanded to fulfill, "you shall be my witnesses" (1:8). There is no attempt in Acts to tell the story of Peter or of the Apostles. Peter and the apostles serve to assist the authorial audience in understanding the idea of "witness" and what that will mean for the people of God. Peter is the example of how that role is fulfilled in the first part of Acts. Before any further questions can be answered, however, it is necessary to

---

[2]For a definition of metonymy, see chapter 3, fn 14.

[3]Richard I. Pervo, *Luke's Story of Paul* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990) 13.

[4]Phelan, *Reading People, Reading Plots*, 15, makes the point that *instabilities* are those unstable relations within the story and *tensions* are those unstable relations in the discourse.

address one of the physical characteristics of D that provides some barrier to this investigation.

The Bezaen Lacuna and its Effect

Probably the least well known and least commented upon characteristics of the D text of Acts are the physical lacunae occurring in the middle and at the end of the text. Missing from the middle of the Acts text are approximately eight leaves of the manuscript containing 8:29 to 10:14 in the Greek and 8:20 to 10:4 in the Latin.[5] The variety of questions concerning the overall length of the manuscript as a whole, its probable contents, and number of total leaves are unresolvable.

In his magisterial examination of this codex, David Parker investigated these issues and concluded that concerning these issues we can only deal in probabilities.[6] There simply is not enough evidence to make a determination one way or the other. The issue for this dissertation, however, does not concern the historical problems noted above nor the resolution of those problems from a text critical point of view but, rather, the question is how such a gap in the text can and will effect our reading. The advent of literary theory onto the biblical landscape has brought about new discussions of "gaps" in

---

[5]Also missing are 21:2-10, 16-18; 22:10-20; and all that follows 22:29. In other words, an entire quarter of the book is lost. The present extent of the entire manuscript is 406 leaves containing in the Greek column, Mt 1:20-3:7; 3:16-6:20; 9:2-27:1; 27:12-28:20; Jn 1:1-16; 3:26-18:13; 20:13-21:25; Luke (the full text); Mk 1:1-16:15; Acts 1:1-8:29; 10:14-21:2; 21:10-16, 18-22:10; 22:20-29; and on the Latin side, Mt 1:12-2:20; 3:8-6:8; 8:27-26:27;27:2-28:20; Jn 3:16-18:2; 20:1-21:25; Luke (the full text); Mk 1:1-16:; 3 Jn 11-15; Acts 1:1-8:20; 10:4-20:31; 21:2-7, 10-22:2; 22:10-20.

[6]David C. Parker, *Codex Bezae: An Early Christian Manuscript and its Text* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 9.

narratives.[7] While this concept is a relatively recent addition to biblical studies, it is not new to secular literary investigation.[8] Wolfgang Iser has articulated the essence of literary gaps:

> Whenever the reader bridges the gaps, communication begins. The gaps function as a kind of pivot on which the whole text–reader relationship revolves. Hence the structured blanks of the text stimulate the process of ideation to be performed by the reader on terms set by the text.[9]

Therein, however, is the problem as well as the solution. The problem is that the Bezaen lacunae are not "structured" omissions. They have occurred solely on the grounds of physical textual breakdown, some abuse, or intentional vandalism and were never intended as part of the reading experience by the author or editors. In that sense, *we* cannot ever really "bridge the gap" in the way that Iser indicates. Note that the *we* here refers to the modern audience of this present dissertation. The authorial audience of D, presumably, had no gaps to fill since those readers had the text before the loss of text occurred. For the readers of this dissertation to use this method and read this text, we must deal with the gaps as we have them. *We* can not do all that the authorial audience could or would have done. Yet Iser has also argued that no story

---

[7]One of the better discussions on this topic is in Meir Sternberg, *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative: Ideological Literature and the Drama of Reading* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987). The numerous references are too many to mention but see particularly 235-263 and the index under "Gap" (550) and "Gap-filling" (551).

[8]Even literary theorists, however, borrowed this idea from psychoanalytical research into communication and perception. The originating literature in that field is R. D. Laing, H. Phillipson, and A. R. Lee, *Interpersonal Perception: A Theory and Method of Research* (New York, 1966) and R. D. Laing, *The Politics of Experience* (Harmondsworth, 1968).

[9]Wolgang Iser, *The Act of Reading: A Theory of Aesthetic Response* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), 169.

> can ever be told in its entirety. Indeed , it is only through inevitable omissions that a story will gain dynamism. Thus whenever the flow is interrupted and we are led off in unexpected directions, the opportunity is given to us to bring into play our own faculty for establishing connections—for filling in gaps left by the text itself.[10]

The question concerns how we can, or whether we can, make those connections. Shlomith Rimmon-Kenan has taken up Iser's idea and applied it in a more nuanced manner that is applicable here. Arguing that holes and gaps are both inevitable and central to a text, Rimmon-Kenan uses the following analogy: "How to make a bagel? First you take a hole . . . How to make a narrative text? In exactly the same way."[11] Holes exist in all narratives no matter how detailed the presentation is. There are always further questions and unresolved issues left over.

In her work, Rimmon-Kenan suggests that there are several types of gaps that occur within a narrative text. On the most basic level she distinguishes between *temporary* and *permanent* gaps. The latter—the type presently faced in the Bezaen lacuna—indicates that the gap remains open even after the text ends.[12] Because we as modern readers of D are aware of these (physical) gaps in the text, the gaps are *prospective* and part of our reading process will be an attempt to fill them in. To read as the authorial audience might have *we* must find a means to focus our attention on the same details and scaffolding that the first readers of D would have noticed.

---

[10]Wolgang Iser, *The Implied Reader: Patterns of Communication in Prose Fiction from Bunyan to Beckett* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), 285.

[11]Shlomith Rimmon-Kenan, *Narrative Fiction: contemporary poetics* (New York: Routledge, 1983), 127.

[12]Ibid., 128. Rimmon-Kenan notes that the distinction between these two types can only be made in retrospect and that this process is part of the dynamics of reading. Obviously, she did not have in mind the kind of physical gap presented in D.

There are a number of options before us. First, it would be possible to use the UBS[4] text to fill in the lacuna, realizing that we would be missing any Bezaen nuances of the story in this section. The greatest problem with this solution is that the stories in the two texts are different stories, albeit only slightly. To follow this course would be to give in to harmonization and to assume that D is a *corrupted* text rather than a story in its own right.

Second, it is possible to recover a small amount of the story from the Latin side of D and from there to extrapolate the rest of the story.[13] The problems here are many. Only a small amount of the story is recoverable from the Latin column (10 verses) which mitigates against any sort of full understanding of D's account. It is also clear that the Latin column is not just a Latin version of the same story but is in itself a different telling of the same story. The nuance here is significant. Any retelling of the story that includes different details, different nuances of characters or themes, different languages calling for a different way of interpreting represents another telling of the story altogether. The temptation to fill in the gap with another version of the story must be resisted in order to preserve the present narrative's story line and particular emphases.

There is, however, a third and more palatable option available. While D does lose the entirety of 8:29-10:14 in the Greek, it is at the same time true that D never deviates from the events as told in other manuscripts of the same story. In other words, D is much like one of the Synoptic Gospels telling the same story, following the same pattern of telling, but doing so in its own distinctive manner. Unlike the synoptics, D never deviates

---

[13]The Latin column contains 10 more verses than the Greek (the Latin begins again at 10:4 whereas the Greek not until 10:14).

from the *order* of telling events. We can therefore assume that what D is missing is the same events as told in the UBS[4] and the Latin side (d) of D. What do not know is how D would have nuanced story differently, or do we?

Fortunately, in Acts 11:1-18 Peter retells some of the events recorded in the latter part of chapter 9 and in the first part of chapter 10. Assuming that the D text is consistent with other manuscripts in *what* it tells in those verses, we can use the information from chapter 11 to fill in the gap from chapters 9 and 10. The only exceptions are that in chapter 11 Peter does not retell the incident with Tabitha/Dorcas and that in the UBS[4] tradition the versions in chapter 10 and 11 have some strikingly different emphases.[14] With these issues in mind, it is possible to use d in conjunction with reading chapters 10 and 11 together to form the narrative whole. This option provides the most consistent and probable information of the possibilities available based on the evidence we have and therefore will be the chosen course.

The Cornelius Scene
(10:14-48 with reference to 11:5-11)

What is clear in this passage is that the events narrated occurred because of the capital punishment of Stephen (cf. 8:1, 4; 11:19) and the resultant scattering of the followers. In fact, there is no real link between what precedes this narrative account and its telling.[15] The implication is that the conflict instigated with Stephen (7:1-8:1a) has

---

[14]In the UBS[4] version, the chapter 10 account is the most full telling of the story. Chapter 11 is a recounting that leaves out details, has some different emphases, and is told by Peter acting as the narrator (chapter 10 is narrated by the narrative voice of Acts).

[15]See Philip Esler, *Community and Gospel in Luke-Acts*, 96 and Tannehill, *Narrative Unity*, 2:147, with whom I concur. Tannehill, in fact, states that "Because the

now created a new level of tension in the story. The gospel for which Stephen died did not go with him, it has, in fact, actually spread because of his martyrs death, his witness. The narrative aside in 11:19-20 explains this reality in graphic terms

> They therefore that were scattered (διασπαρέντες) abroad upon the tribulation that arose from Stephen traveled as far as Phoenicia and Cyprus and Antioch, speaking the word to none except to the Jews. But there were some of them, persons of Cyprus and Cyrene, who, when they were come to Antioch spoke to the Greeks [D omits καί], preaching the Lord Jesus *Christ* (χρν). And the hand of the Lord was with them.

The aside actually goes on to explain that Barnabas was called to go to Antioch (11:23), met up with Paul (11:25), and that the ministry of witness in Judea flourished (11:28-30).

What stands out in this narrative scene is the tension and instability created by the dream and its meaning for the witnesses of Jesus. For the first time in the narrative, there will be dissension among the followers over a theological issue.[16] This event creates a new and highly important level of tension and instability. That scholarship has also struggled with this instability brought about by the intervention is evident in the comments by Haenchen:

> Here stands revealed a peculiarity of Lucan theology which can scarcely be claimed as a point in its favor: in endeavoring to make the hand of God visible in the history of the Church, Luke virtually excludes all human decision. Instead of the realization of the divine will *in* human decisions, *through* human decisions, he shows us a series of supernatural interventions in the dealings of men: the

---

latter is caused by *the scattering* (emphasis mine), an event placed some time before Peter's visit with Cornelius, it is possible to assume that the conversion of Cornelius and the spread of the gospel to Antioch were taking place in the same time period. In any case, the one did not cause the other" (2:147).

[16]Acts 6:1-7 records a dissention over a functional issue. While it is true that the Acts 6 scene also has to do with Jewish and Gentile relationships, the conflict there is clearly over a moral issue of caring for those in need. For an overview of the issues involved in this scene see Witherington, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 240-251, who cites the relevant literature.

> appearance of the angel, the vision of the animals, the prompting of the Spirit, the pouring our of the ecstatic πνεῦμα. As Luke presents them, these divine incursions have a such compelling force that all doubt in the face of them *must* be stilled. They compellingly prove that God and not man is at work. The presence of God must be directly ascertained. But here faith loses its character of true decision, and the obedience from faith which Luke would have liked to portray turns into something utterly different: the twitching of human puppets.[17]

Richard Pervo agrees with Haenchen saying that "Such an unabashedly concrete and unreflective theology fully deserves the label 'popular'" and that virtue "triumphs over all evil because God is on the side of the virtuous."[18] Both scholars, however, have focused their attention too closely on the intervention arguing that it must historically be a Lukan editorial to the events.

The real "rub" of this narrative for the authorial audience, however, comes not in the movement of the gospel outside of expected boundaries—that has already taken place (8:14ff.)—nor in Peter's dreams and visions—events typical of prophets (cf. 2:17-18)—but in the narrative course begun with the death of Stephen and the scattering of the witnesses that has moved the story toward the internal dilemma that will culminate at the Jerusalem council (15:1-30) and find its resolution there (15:12).[19]

The tension focuses on Peter's dream, but the instability in the story is due to the dissension created over the issue of discerning the true followers of God. Who are God's

---

[17]Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 362.

[18]Richard I Pervo, *Profit with Delight: The Literary Genre of the Acts of The Apostles* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987), 74.

[19]I place a great deal of significance on D's narrative summary of the Council: "συνκατατεθεμένων δὲ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Πέτρου εἰρημένοις." Other manuscripts add this explanitory phrase as well: syr^{h} with * Ephraem. For a more complete discussion of this prhase and its role in the story, see below my explanation of the Jeruslam Council.

people according to Acts? For the first time in the narrative, the believers themselves will question the movement of God. This issue focalizes in 11:1-3. The programmatic significance of this question in the story is clear because of the narrative repetition of Peter's dream on the one hand and realization of its meaning (10:28 and 11:4-17), also recorded twice, on the other. This technique is notable in Acts but is used only here and in the three-fold repetition of Paul's conversion. The weight of this issue in these middle chapters of Acts is evidenced by the four-fold repetition of the story of Cornelius's conversion (10:1-48; 11:1-18; 15:7-11; and 15:13-21).[20]

Inner texture

In his book, *The Credibility of the Acts of the Apostles*, Frederick Chase calls the events recorded in this narrative scene "the Pentecost of the Gentile world."[21] Even though Peter was not the first to convert a Gentile in the story of Acts (see 8:26-29),[22] "The conversion of the Ethiopian was a private and isolated event that had no effect" and therefore "the Cornelius episode is a breakthrough for the Gentile mission."[23] The real boundary overcome is not in association—association obviously already occurred or there

---

[20]Basically unnoticed in scholarship is that James's speech (15:13-21) is a final retelling of this story. The repetition here is clearly for emphasis and points to significance of the event in the plot. On this narrative technique see Mark Allen Powell, *What is Narrative Criticism?* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990), 39. Only Paul's conversion (3 times) comes close to the number of times this story is retold (4 times).

[21]F. H. Chase, *The Credibility of the Acts of the Apostles* (London: Macmillan, 1902), 79.

[22]D ends abruptly at 8:29 with eight leaves of the codex missing from its original form.

[23]Tannehill, *Narrative Unity*, 137.

would have been no marketplace in the first-century world[24]—but is in the mindset of the Jewish followers themselves. The story itself concerns the attitudes of the Jewish Christians toward their Gentile brothers and sisters, but it is not about Jewish and Gentile relations. The plot of the story runs along the tension and instability of defining the people of God.

The story as we have it in D creates a call to obedience from a direct command of God. According to Peter's retelling of the story in 11:4-17 he was in Joppa when the vision occurred. The extant d version (10:4-14) of the story, which is essentially the same as the UBS[4], is as follows:

> *Et trepidus factus dixit quid dne dixit autem ei orationis tuae et aelemosynae ascenderunt in recordatione coram deo et nunc mitte uiros in ioppen et accersi simonem qui cognominatur petrus hic est ospirans aput simonem pellionem cuius est domus iuxta mare ut autem dissit angelus qui loquebatur ei uacatis duobus famulorum eius et militem fidelem ex his qui praesto erant ennarruit illis uisum et misit illos in ioppen postera autem die iter illis facientibus et adpropiantibus ciuitati ascendit petrus in cenaculum et horabit circa hora sexta factus est autem esuriens et bolebat gustare praeparantibus uero ipsis cecidit super eum mentis stupor et uidit caaelumapertum ex quattuor principiis ligatum uas quo dam et linteum splendidum quod differebatur de caelo in terram et erant omnia quadripedia et serpentia et uolatilia caeli. Et facta est uox ad eum petre surge immola et mandu ca.*[25]

---

[24]In 8:28 for example Peter advises the group that it was ἀθέμιτόν for a Jew to associate with or even visit a foreigner. Rather than "unlawful"—an obviously incorrect translation given that there was no formal law forbidding association with non-Jews—this noun is better understood in its weaker sense, "taboo" or "discouraged." Jubilees 22:16 is representative of Jewish thought: "Keep yourself separate from the nations, and do not eat with them, and do not imitate their rituals, nor associate with them." While no formal prohibition existed, a Jew needed to be ready to suffer the consequences of such contact. Early Roman historians reflect frustration with this segregationist attitude (see Juvenal, *Sat* 14.104ff. and Tacitus, *Hist* 5.5.).

[25]In fear he stared and said, "What is it lord?" The angel answered, "your prayers and your alms have gone before God as a memorial. Now send men to Joppa for a certain man named Simon, who is also known as Peter. He is staying with Simon, a tanner, whose house is by the sea. When the angel who had been speaking to him had left, he

With no significant changes, d tells the story of Peter's vision in much the same way it is recounted in chapter 11, only in synopsis form. This similarity speaks to the import of this text which hinges not in the vision itself but in the subsequent revelation about what God is doing in the lives of people. The vision serves as a means to help Peter and the movement understand God's intention for the kingdom that will be brought about through the witness of the followers. That revelation is seen most clearly by the authorial audience in Peter's words.

Peter's speech in chapter 11 is identified by Johnson as *forensic rhetoric* that in this instance omits the usual *preamble* and moves directly to the *narratio*.[26] The speech concludes with a *peratio* in the form of a question: ἐγὼ τὶς ἤμην δυνατὸς κωλῦσαι τόν θεὸν τοῦ μὴ δοῦναι αὐτοῖς πνεῦμα ἅγιον πιστεύσασιν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ; (11:17). The effect in this speech, a type of *metasasis*, is that Peter transfers responsibility for his actions from a decision made on his own to a response to the call of God.[27] It is therefore God who is responsible for what happened in Cornelius's house, not Peter who is only God's representative. This scene is not unlike the scene at the temple gate where Peter denounces having any power over what took place there.

---

called two of his servants and a faithful soldier from those who were present, and telling them everything, he sent them to Joppa. About noon the next day, as they were on their way and nearing the city, Peter went up on the roof to pray. He became hungry and wanted something to eat. While it was being prepared he fell into a trance. He saw the heavens opened and something like a large sheet coming down, being lowered to ground by its four corners. In it were all of the quadrupeds and serpents and creatures that fly in the sky. And a voice came to him that said "get up, Peter, kill and eat." Translation mine. I have in my Latin quotation followed the Scrivner edition of Codex D, which uses "u" in the place of "v."

[26]Johnson, *Acts*, 200.

[27]Marion Soards, *The Speeches in Acts*, 77.

The narrative effect of this retelling is noteworthy. It is important to note here that the order is not a narrative order as told in chapter ten, at least in the extant manuscript tradition. Peter presents the events in the order of his own experience thus his vision is now first and Cornelius's vision is recounted only after Peter comes into the Gentile home. Peter's retelling is an attempt to accurately portray *how* these events came about. The changing of Peter's mind and those of his audience, however, stems solely from God's command, not from a new way of thinking.

Peter is clearly portrayed here as responding to God's call and has in no way come to this insight through a process of events. The extradiegetic narrator tells that Peter explained this event καθεζῆς (11:4). This adverb is the same one used in Luke 1:3 to explain the approach and reliability of the entire whole of Luke's work. Thereby, the reader and the hearers of Peter's speech are to assume his reliability in telling these events. Coupled with the already well-formed characterization of Peter, this literary notice assists the authorial audience in dealing with the narrative's tension.

These are not the only helps, however, offered to the authorial audience. Peter states that his vision was accompanied by "signs from heaven" in the form of the Spirit (11:15). That he was, in fact, instructed by the same Spirit in the presence of six other Jewish witnesses to go to Cornelius's home (11:12). These men also saw everything that took place in Cornelius's house and can testify to Peter's words. The cumulative effect is that this event should be understood as in continuity with the Pentecost event in chapter two.

Echoing an Old Testament reference from Ezekiel 4:14, Peter's voice in D returns in 10:14 questioning God's intention. Given the three-fold repetition of this encounter

with God, we can surmise that what Peter had just heard was God's voice telling him not call unclean what God has made clean. Just as Peter had gone into this ecstatic state (recounted in 11:4), he now leaves that state: "when he came to himself" (10:17). The effect in D being that Peter was in a prophetic mode—ecstacy[28]—and therefore hearing the very voice of God. The ecstatic trance and the reference to Ezekiel both serve to place Peter in a tradition of those who hear God's voice and those who struggle with that hearing. Peter's initial response is therefore not a surprise.

The amount of time and space set aside in this story for this particular incident and its ramifications are evidence of the deep significance that should be placed here. According to Johnson, "In a very real sense, the entire section from chapter ten through chapter fifteen is dominated by the crisis precipitated by Cornelius' and Peter's visions."[29] The mimetic and diegetic roles of the narrative in this scene coincide with Johnson's assessment. Throughout this scene there is a high level of repeated discourse where the reader is told by characters information already offered by the narrator.[30]

On the other side, Robert Funk has offered much in the way of illuminating the difference between the mimetic and diegetic elements of this scene. In Funk's view, the entire scene forms a funnel effect where one scene is placed inside another in order to focalize the entire event. In the process, the usual extradiegetic narration becomes

---

[28]The LXX uses ἔκσατσις to translate the Hebrew that comes over Adam (Gen 2:21) and Abraham (Gen 15:12).

[29]Johnson, *Acts*, 186.

[30]Roland Barthes, "L'analyse structurale du récit à propos d'Actes X-XI," *Researches de Science Religieuse* 58 (1970): 17-37, esp. 33-34.

intradiegetic.[31] The narrative progression in this particular scene revolves around the tension and instability created by God's command to Peter (10:14-16 D) and the simultaneous vision to Cornelius (recounted in 10:30-33 D). The entire Pentecost event is looming in the background of this scene as an analeptic device. Given what occurred at Pentecost and the claims made there—and, of course those claims are part of Jesus' proleptic call to his followers—the reader is forced upon hearing Peter and Cornelius's visions to ask "How can this command happen?"[32]

As a witness and representative of the followers of Jesus, Peter's vision asserts his role further. No other apostle is the benefactor of this communication from God nor does any other follower attempt to move the apostolic witness in this direction of inclusivity. Peter is thereby directly defined by his reception of the vision and his subsequent struggle as the single representative of the group and as the leader in accomplishing the mission set forth by Jesus. Moreover, since this vision comes from God—the most authoritative voice in the text—the authorial audience and even the apostles in the story are called upon to accept this characterization.[33]

---

[31]Funk, *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative*, 150-152. See also David Rhoads and Donald Mitchie, *Mark as Story: An Introduction to the Narrative of a Gospel* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1982), 70.

[32]Rimmon-Kenan, *Narrative Fiction,* 48 defines this question as central to proleptic devices. In this type of pure prolepsis, the reader is actually faced with the future event even before it happens. Thus Jesus' command "You shall be my witnesses . . . to the ends of the earth" (1:8) and the Pentecost event itself have already shown the future. This scene in chapter ten only brings about the question of whether or not God really intended salvation to go to the Gentiles.

[33]Ibid., 60. Rimmon-Kenan says that this type of direct definition when it comes from an authoritative voice and can produce a "rational, authoritative and static impression." The point here is not to show the greatness of Peter over and against the

Yet the command of God creates an implicit level of tension and instability in the story and for the reader. For the characters in the story, Peter will face the narrative instability of deciding the meaning of his vision which he "doubted" (10:17). Peter reacts to the vision as if he were being given a test, an honor challenge from God, responding with the defense that he has never eaten "anything common or unclean" (10:14). Moreover, Peter must deal with another level of instability once he finds the meaning of the vision in that he connect the meaning with the situation before him.

The authorial audience, however, is faced with the tension of dealing with what seems to be a change in Old Testament law, for now God is declaring that "God is respecter of persons" (10:35). These occurrences in the text all play a role in the progression of the text along the lines set forth by Jesus from the beginning (1:8). Ultimately, this story is really about conversion: the conversion of Cornelius and his household, the conversion of Peter, the conversion of the followers of Jesus, and finally—and hopefully—the conversion of the authorial audience.

In dealing with this instability, Peter, at the Spirit's call (10:19-20), receives the Gentile messengers into his dwelling and thereby offers them hospitality.[34] The Spirit, well aware of Peter's διηπόρει (10:17) now tells him go to these persons "I have sent . . .

---

other followers but to show that it is Peter who is chosen as representative of them and that God is at work through him in a unique way.

[34]The social scripts that are overridden in this passage will be discussed more fully below. For now, suffice it to say that the Jewish idea of defilement prohibited Gentile's from eating or staying in Jewish homes. See Colin House, "Defilement by Association: Some Insights from the Usage of *Koinos/Koinoo* in Acts 10 and 11, *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 21 (1983): 144f.

μηδὲν διακρινόμενος" (10:20).[35] While this direct command may elevate some of the instability with an assurance that these men are, despite their status as Gentiles, responding to God's call through the Spirit, it actually creates further tension and instability. For both the authorial audience and Peter the real meaning of the vision is not yet overtly named. Peter asks his guests τί θέλετε and opens the door for part of the answer he was seeking in 10:17. The two men tell Peter of Cornelius's vision and call (10:22) and in response to their words he lodges them and leaves with them the next day.

Upon his arrival at the house, the reader is told that Cornelius ἦν προσδεχόμενος (was *expecting*) the group and Peter signifying his belief that the Spirit would be faithful in bringing Peter to him.[36] This *act of faith* only serves to engender more trust both on the part of Peter and the reader. D indicates that in excitement over the advent of Peter, one of the servants ran ahead to inform Cornelius of their impending arrival (10:25: προσεγγίζοντος δὲ τοῦ πέτρου εἰς τὴν καισαρίαν προδραμὼν εἰς τῶν δούλων διεσάφησεν παραγεγονέναι αὐτόν ὁ δὲ κορνήλιος ἐκπηδήσας καὶ).[37] Upon arrival, Cornelius honors Peter by dropping to his feet in a stature of worship and adoration.

---

[35]Although the active voice of διακρινόμενος is usually understood in the sense of distinguishing one thing from another, the middle voice—as we have it here—is better understood in the sense of "to doubt or to hesitate." Curiously, in 11:12 this same term is used in the active voice. For a more full discussion of that change see below. Note also Richard Pervo's comments in his *Luke's Story of Paul*, 38.

[36]The UBS[4] text here reads προσδοκῶν ("waiting") signifying a more passive and less confident stance. For the nuances of these terms, see Walter Bauer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), 712.

[37]Epp's suggestion that the servant who "προδραμόων" was one posted by Cornelius to watch for the Apostle's arrival is dubious at best. The second Aorist participle "προδραμόων" comes from προτρέχω which means to "run ahead" or "run toward." The indication in D is that (1) Cornelius "ης προδεχομενος αυτους" the group

The characterization of Peter in this portion of the chapter hinges on three unrelenting aspects of his character. This type of repetition serves to reinforce certain aspects of character because the authorial audience comes to expect the same kind of response. First, Peter is characterized as moving into new territory both physically and ideologically. In successive fashion, eight verbs that point to physical progress but that also show ideological progress occur between 10:23 and 10:33. These verbs are used to indicate Peter's movement toward this new revelation of God. These verbs of movement also point to a repetitive construct that focuses the reader's attention on Peter's unrelenting character and the progression of the narrative itself along the lines of tension and instability (see Table 6 below).[38]

Because the progression is tied at this point to the issues concerning God's command to Peter, these verbs of movement assist the authorial audience in understanding that a change is taking place before their own eyes. This effect occurs because the verbs function as a literary device that points to a change in location, both physical and ideological. The authorial audience moves with Peter as he progresses from an expected place, his own acceptable dwelling and social norms, to the home of Gentile and a new understanding about God's kingdom that overrules those formerly and deeply

---

(see 11:14 where Cornelius states he was informed by the Spirit of Peter's coming); and (2) the only "servants" mentioned to this point are those who came for Peter. It is best not to read more into the text there than the text itself will support. This approach also mitigates against the position of Hanson (*NTS* XII [1965-66], 221) who argues that the servant was one of Peter's and went ahead to inform Cornelius. Not only does the text not support this hypothesis but since Peter did not know Cornelius, how would the servant know who to look for upon his arrival?

[38]See Robbins, *The Tapestry of Early Christian Discourse*, 46-50; and Funk, *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative*, 184.

held social norms. This progression in and of itself is another technique of raising the level of tension and instability by heightening anticipation and suspense over the resolution. The authorial audience sees and hears what Peter sees and hears, yet is also a distant observer without an inside view of Peter.

Table 6

Verbs of Movement

Verb Root	Meaning	Usage
εἰσέρχομαι	Come, go, enter into, share in.	"And on the next day he got up and went (ἐζῆλθεν) with them and some of the believers from Joppa went with him" (10:23).
εἰσέρχομαι	Come, go, enter into, share in.	"And on the next day he went into (εἰσῆλθεν) Caesarea" (10:24).
προσεγγίζω	Aproach, Come near.	"And as Peter was coming near (προσεγγίζοντος) to Ceasarea" (10:25).
εἰσέρχομαι	Come, go, enter into, share in.	"And he went in (εἰσηλθών) and found that many had come together" (10:27).
εἰσέρχομαι	Come, go, enter into, share in.	"I came (ἦλθον) without hesitation when I was sent for by you" (10:29).
παραγίνομαι	Come, arrive, be present.	"He, when he comes (παραγενόμενος), shall speak to you" (10:32)
παραγίνομαι	Come, arrive, be present.	"Therefore, I sent for you asking you to come (ἐλθεῖν), and you have done well and have come with speed (ἐν τάχει παραγενόμενος)" (10:33).

Second, the authorial audience also realizes that Peter is shown as a follower of the Spirit even when he has doubt (10:17). This reality in the story reinforces Peter's

stature as a true follower of Jesus and, at the same time, teaches the authorial audience about trusting God. The movement in the narrative begins on an initial level with Peter's doubt which is overcome by the command of the Spirit to μηδὲν διακρινόμενος (10:20). Not only does the Spirit speak to Peter, but Peter obeys without hesitation. The result is that when Peter acts he allows the Spirit to move and the Holy Spirit falls on the entire house of Cornelius (10:44).

The narrative continues forward, introducing a second level of doubt characterized by the leaders in Jerusalem (11:1-18). This level is overcome by the testimony of Peter concerning God's intervention in his own life and the life of Cornelius. Here the result is that the leaders themselves believe and even glorify God because the Gentiles have also been given salvation (11:18).

The third level of doubt occurs in the Jerusalem council itself where the Pharisaic party doubts the validity of this advent of God's Spirit on the Gentiles. They too, however, although less enthusiastically, are convinced by Peter—and to a lesser extent Paul and James—that salvation has come to the Gentiles (see the discussion on chapter 15 below). Each of these levels enhances Peter's stature as a witness of Jesus and his ability to fulfill that role even when the call goes beyond his personal boundaries.

Finally, Peter shows a willingness to follow God's command even when it means reorienting his own personal and ideological perspective. Peter's response to God's command is initially very strong. It is almost as if Peter views this vision as a test. He uses the adverb μηδαμῶς which expresses a strongly held negative response. In fact, this adverb is found in the New Testament only in 10:14 (lacuna in D) and in Peter's retelling

of this story in 11:8.[39] He is able, however, to come to a very different ideological stance and by the end of this scene offers a new Christological assertion concerning the Gentiles:

> Can any person forbid the water that these should not be baptized, which have received the Holy Spirit as well as we? Then he commanded them to be baptized in the name of the Lord (τοῦ κυπίου) Jesus Christ.

Now Jesus is truly, in the eyes of Peter and the reader, Lord of *all*.

Intertexture

The weight of this narrative scene in the story of Acts should not be underestimated. The amount of space dedicated to this single event points the reader to the importance of its role in the story as a whole.[40] In fact, this single event will now dominate both the tension and instability of the narrative until chapter fifteen and, when resolved, Peter will exit the story. Three times in these chapters (10:1-48; 11:1-18; and 15:6-11) the Cornelius episode is rehearsed for the reader. Given the connection with the Third Gospel, this new episode in the life of the Gospel should be no surprise. Starting in Luke 2:32 the reader was initially told that Jesus would be a light to the nation of the Gentiles. The reader is offered the preaching of John who proclaims that "all flesh shall see the salvation of God" (Luke 3:6 from Isa 40:5). In the conclusion of the Third Gospel

---

[39]The adverb does occur in the LXX to express similar negative responses. See for example Gen 18:25; Jonah 1:14; and Ezek 4:14 and 21:5. The most interesting LXX example is Ezek 4:14 where God commands the prophet to tell the people to eat their bread "unclean" and Ezekiel replies: "By no means, Lord God, I have never defiled myself from my youth up to now."

[40]This scene, unlike Philip's encounter with the Ethiopian, obviously has more far-reaching results. While there are a number of differences in the two stories, the most significant here is that Peter actually goes into the Gentile's house. On the importance of this indicator see Martin Dibelius, "The Conversion of Cornelius," in *Studies in the Acts*

Jesus also articulates this message saying that salvation would be preached "to all the nations" (Luke 24:47). Then in the opening scene of Acts (1:8), Jesus again reminds his followers of this reality only this time in the form of a command saying that they will be "witnesses to the ends of the earth." Yet the crux of this narrative scene rests most significantly not on these allusions from Luke's Gospel, but on the citation in Acts 2:17 from Joel 3:1-5. Here the promise of salvation is placed in context in this scene by the first speech to a specifically Gentile audience and the last offered by Peter in Acts.

Unlike Acts 2-3, there are no explicit citations from the Old Testament. There are, however, a number of allusions that are woven throughout the text. For example, the text of Ps 107:20 probably lies behind Acts 10:38c, and Isa 61:1 and Isa 52:7 behind Acts 10:38a. It is, however, this text's reliance on an earlier reference that catches the authorial audience's attention.

While previous sections in this project on intertexuality have focused on the oral-scribal level, in this scene it is the historical level that takes priority. This level of intertextuality "'textualizes' a past experience into 'a particular event' or 'a particular period of time."[41] More so than in any other speech, both previous and subsequent, Peter recounts the Jesus story here in comprehensive fashion. Possibly this comprehensive retelling is necessary because the audience is Gentile in composition, but clearly it is part of a literary plan to make his point: salvation has come to all who believe in the name of

---

of the Apostles, trans. by Mary Ling (London: SCM Press, 1951), 118-122, and more recently Matson, *The Household Conversion Stories in Acts*.

[41] Robbins, *The Tapestry of Early Christian Discourse*, 124. For a fuller discussion of this level see Ibid., 118-120 and 124-127 and J. Louis Martyn, *History and Theology in the Fourth Gospel* (New York: Harper and Row, 1968).

Jesus the Christ. Notice that in Peter's recitation of the story all of the elements of the gospel are included:

> The word was sent to the children of Israel by the preaching of Jesus (10:36);
> The word began in Galilee (10:37);
> Was baptized (10:37);
> Was filled with the Holy Spirit (10:38);
> Went about doing good and healing (10:38);
> God raised Jesus up on the third day (10:41);
> Jesus was seen by witnesses including the apostles (10: 40);
> The Apostles walked with Jesus for forty days (10:41).[42]

Peter's historical echoes bring about many images for his audience. Each of the events Peter refers to is taken from the Gospel story as told by Luke in the Third Gospel and the other Evangelists. Peter's discourse evokes images of Jesus' ministry that define him as God's Son. By using historical intertextual echoes from the ministry of Jesus, Peter is able to retell the story and include in his retelling the possibility of salvation for the house of Cornelius (10:43). The importance of this event, however, goes beyond the house of Cornelius alone. What we find here are the initial rumblings of a new definition of the people of God.

Extratexture

There is no doubt in the text that Cornelius is known as a Gentile by the opponents of Peter (11:3). Because of his status as a non-Jew, Peter's association with him has raised the levels of tension. The authorial audience, however, already accepting of and likely comprised of Gentiles would have been inclined to read this text as an

---

[42]C. H. Dodd ("The Framework of the Gospel Narrative," in *New Testament Studies* [Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 1953], 1-11, esp. 9) called this recitation a sort of resume of the *kerygma*.

affirmation of their position in God's kingdom. Yet within the story, when his opponents came before Peter they uttered charges, an honor challenge, that focuses on his willingness to have table fellowship with Gentiles: "You went with uncircumcised men and you ate with them" (11:3).[43] Cornelius' service as a centurion would have assured that he was not a Jew since Jews were disallowed from military service.[44]

Although initially the tension and instability is between Peter and Cornelius (10:28), both levels shift so that in the end the tension and instability is again between Peter and the religious leadership (11:3). Peter's interaction with Cornelius, particularly entering his home, broke a cultural script that barred social intercourse between Jews and Gentiles. Moreover, Peter's assertion that God, too, entered this Gentile house and now resides there would have been anathema for the religious of that day.[45] This scene highlights again Peter's role as a metonymic image of Jesus. Peter's actions effectively link him to the ministry of Jesus as one who interprets the kingdom of God to the people. Jesus serves in this instance as an authoritative precedent for Peter.

---

[43]See Philip Elser, *Community and Gospel in Luke-Acts: The Social and Political Motivations of Lukan Theology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 40-41, who enumerates four instances of this kind of tension in the story: 10:1-11; 16:11-15; 16:25-34; 18:1-11.

[44]According to Everett Ferguson ("A History of Palestine from the Fifth Century B. C. to the Second Century A. D.," in *The World of the New Testament*, ed. Everett Ferguson [Austin: R. B. Sweet, 1967], 57) Jews, since the time of Julius Caesar, were exempted from any military service at all.

[45]Esler, *Community and Gospel in Luke-Acts,* 76-86) makes a strong case with literary and historical evidence to show that there was, in fact, a Jewish ban on eating with Gentiles. Esler concludes his findings saying: "The antipathy of Jews towards table-fellowship with Gentiles, in the full sense of sitting around a table with them and sharing the same food, wine and vessels, was an intrinsic feature of Jewish life centuries before and after our period" (84).

The challenge by the religious authorities serves as a lynchpin for this retelling of the Cornelius story. The religious leaders point specifically to Peter's willingness to break the social script of not eating with Gentiles. They have no real concern over Peter's conversion of this Gentile house because they do not respect his authority to do so.[46] Unlike the audience, the religious leaders have not accepted Peter as a viable witness of Jesus. Their concern rests only on Peter's acceptance of orthodox expectations of Jewish males.

Conclusion: Reading the Reading

The Cornelius event brings about a new level of tension and instability to the Acts story. In this event, Peter's witness opens the door for the entrance of the Gentiles into the house of Israel. Ignoring the typical social scripts and boundaries separating Jews from Gentiles, Peter hears the voice of God and responds. This voice begins a theological/ideological progression for Peter, the authorial audience, and the church. This progression was no small thing. Despite Cornelius's status in the ancient world as a man and as a "God-fearer," he was still a gentile and considered "unclean." This movement for Peter would have been unthinkable to undertake on his own, which is what his opponents suppose he has done. It is in his speech that Peter unleashes the reality of this event. God called Peter and he responded. Evidence of this call and appropriate response is found in the advent of the Holy Spirit upon the house of Cornelius. In the same way

---

[46]Dibelius, *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles*, 118-119, argued for this same reading: "It is not the centurion's belief which is being proved, but the apostles right to enter the house of uncircumcised men—and then not in order to convert the uncircumcised to Christ, but in order to eat with them.

Peter denied having power at the temple gate, here he too focuses on God's action in this event. In fact, the narrative itself is focalized so closely on this event that chapters 10-15 will be almost entirely taken up with this issue.

The command of God not to call unlcean what God has made clean serves as notice that the people of God are being redefined in this event, the movement here shifts from food to people. Peter's narrated progression in this story and in his understanding of God's intention enables the authorial audience to move with him in the story's telling. As Peter progresses, so does the audience. As Peter moves from his former way of thinking to realizing the implications of Jesus' command (1:8), the audience of the text is able to move with him on this journey because the authorial audience recognizes Peter as trustworthy and as a metonymic image of Jesus.

Peter's stature through these movements is further enhanced in a several ways. First, although he doubts, Peter always acts when God calls. His faithfulness to the mission is never in question. Second, even when faced with the questions of the religious leadership, Peter remains faithful to God's call. Through his speech he even overcomes the negative perspective of the leadership and enables them to begin their own journey of redefinition as well. Third, Peter is the only one of the Twelve entrusted with this vision and subsequent experience. Not only does this reality signal that Peter is the leader of the group but also that Peter serves as God's voice in interpreting events and in the offering of a new definition of the people of God

Because the authorial audience learns to read this text in the process of the reading experience, what the audience picks up along the way aids in the interpretive process. Consequently not only is Peter's character built along the reading journey, but also the

audience learns to "hear" and watch for the "signs and wonders" that accompany Peter's witness. For example, in Peter's speech in chapter 2 (v 17), Peter used the citation from Joel that God would pour out the Holy Spirit. Here in this text, that promise becomes more true than anyone could have imagined. By overtly breaking the social scripts of his day, but doing so by the call of God, Peter effectively serves as the builder of a new house for the people of God, a house where all God' s people are welcome and invited to come.

The Escape from the Powers of Herod (12:1-24)

In his book, *Profit with Delight*, Richard Pervo comments that this story is one of the most delightful in Acts, combining humor with suspense.[47] The story, however, is not unlike other stories of escape from the hands of the powerful (see e.g., Acts 5:18-20; 16:23-39; 27; and Matt 2:13-23). This narrative scene points out that unrighteous rulers can not hinder the progress of the gospel.

Inner Texture

D assists the authorial audience in understanding that we have encountered a change of scene in the story. In the previous chapter D focused on the church in Antioch and now the story shifts to the church in Judea (ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ"). Chapter twelve not only offers this scene change but also a vague time reference as well: Κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον δὲ

---

[47]Pervo, *Profit with Delight*, 58ff. Pervo's larger thesis that Acts is a type of historical novel that includes some history but much more fiction has met with mixed reviews. See for example D. R. Edwards, *JBL* 108 (1989): 353-355; J. Jervell, *JTS* 40 (1989): 569-571; Marion Soards, *JAAR* 58 (1990): 307-310; and Mikeal Parsons, *Interp* 43:4 (1989): 407-410.

τὸν καιρόν Ἡρῴδης ὁ βασιλεὺς.[48] The reason Herod felt the need to execute James, the brother of John and one of the Twelve, is unclear. The narrative purpose of this telling, however, is obvious. D sets the tension and instability at a high level by showing the seriousness of the threat before Peter and the other followers. This purpose is overtly revealed in D's version of 12:3:

UBS[4]

Ἰδὼν δὲ ὅτι ἀρεστόν ἐστιν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις προσέθετο συλλαβεῖν καὶ Πέτρον ἦσαν δὲ ἡμέραι τῶν ἀζύμων.

D

Καὶ ἰδὼν ὅτι ἀρεστόν ἐστιν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἡ ἐπιχείρησις αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς πιστοὺς προσέθετο συνλαβεῖν καὶ Πέτρον ἦσαν δὲ αἱ ἡμέραι τῶν ἀζύμων.[49]

This tension is heightened even further by Herod's intention to wait until after the Passover festival before bringing Peter to trial. The legal reason for this delay is debated,[50] but the narrative function, however, is clear. The delay allows time for the resolution of this situation through the prayers of the believers. D further characterizes the actions of Herod as pleasing to the religious officials and Herod himself as wanting to please. Realizing that the killing of James gained him official pleasure, Herod sought out Peter as well. These three elements all set the stage for an account that is full of tension, irony, and surprise.

---

[48]The phrase "now about that time King Herod" allows placement of these events somewhere between C. E. 41-44 when Herod was in power. For an overview of the issues behind the date of these events and scholarly hypotheses, see Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 279-280 and C. K. Barrett, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles*, vol. 1, The International Critical Commentary, ed., J. A. Emerton, C. E. B. Cranfield, and G. N. Stanton (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1994), 573-574.

[49]A related variant occurs in 18:12 that shows the religious leaders themselves undertaking similar action.

[50]For the many possible solutions see Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 281-282.

The narrative explanation of Peter's escape, according to Charles Talbert, forms a miracle story in three parts: (1) the problem—imprisonment (12:3-5a); (2) the solution—prayer (12:5b) and its answer (12:6-12); and (3) the reactions to the miracle—by the church (12:13-17) and by the authorities (18-19).[51] The problem stems from Herod's acclimation by the religious authorities for his execution of James. He attempts to further his acclaim by also seizing Peter, imprisoning him, and planning to bring him before the people. The implication is not to have a public trial, but a public execution.[52]

The stage is now set and the narrator of D is ready to start the actual story about Peter. The use of μὲν οὖν (12:5) sets this section apart from the rest. This literary technique is a favorite of the Acts narrator to begin a new story that is connected with the preceding narrative.[53] In other words, the first four verses function in the story as an aside that sets the stage and raises the level of tension and instability in this scene.

The problem is resolved with a typically Christian solution, prayer. Despite their doubts, note verse 15 seems to indicate the followers could not believe their prayers worked, Peter is able to escape. Interesting in this text is that while the believers pray for Peter's release, no such prayer is offered for Paul in the later chapters during his incarcerations (chaps 22ff.). Peter is the leader of the group and the other followers are greatly concerned about his safe release, even if they are not hopeful. D's text provides a

---

[51]Talbert, *Reading Acts*, 119.

[52]See Witherington, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 385, and Barrett, *Acts*, 577.

[53]Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 142, notes that this technique is used in 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, 17, 30; 19:32, 38; 23:18, 22, 31. None of these occurrences are unique to D. See also Stephen Levinsohn, *Textual Connections in Acts* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987) who also argues for the significance of this technique in Acts.

more intensive reading that portrays a scene of greater desperation than the UBS[4] tradition:

UBS[4]	D
προσευχὴ δὲ ἦν ἐκτενῶς γινομένη ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πρὸς τὸν θεὸν περὶ αὐτοῦ.	Πολλὴ δὲ προσευχὴ ἐν ἐκτνίᾳ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πρὸς τὸν θεὸν περὶ αὐτοῦ.

D uses the intensive Πολλὴ in addition to ἐκτενίᾳ in order to indicate not just the kind of prayer but also the amount of prayer offered. The portrait drawn in D is of a united group praying for their leader either *en masse* or continuously or both. D also focuses attention more closely on the object of the community's prayers adding a second reference to Peter: "περὶ αὐτοῦ."

These prayers lead to the resolution of Peter's immanent danger and of one level of tension and instability. Chained to two guards, with two others standing by at the gates, Peter sleeps so soundly and peacefully that D indicates the angel of the Lord had to "νύξας" (literally "stab" but here "nudge" or "poke") Peter in order to wake him.[54] D also emphasizes that the angel "stood by Peter" upon appearance indicating allegiance and support for Peter.

UBS[4]	D
Καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄγγελος κυπίου ἐπέστη	Καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄγγελος κυπίου ἐπέστη τῷ Πέτρῳ

There would be no question in the minds of the guards, or the authorial audience, for whom this angel has come.

---

[54]The UBS[4] has here the softer πατάξας meaning "a light blow" or "push." See Bauer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*, 634.

The angel commands Peter to act and he responds, following the angel out of the prison. Despite his initial sleepy concerns over what was happening (12:9), Peter goes with the angel and escapes from the hand of Herod. The miraculous opening of the shackles, the opening of the gate, and the lack of any confrontation with the guards all point to God's intervention and salvation, promised "signs and wonders." As Peter left the prison area, he "went down seven steps" ("κατέβησαν τοὺς ζ βαθμοὺς")[55] entered into the street and the angel left him there. The seven steps seem be a literary focalizing device that changes the scene and points toward freedom.

Having descended the steps, Peter is able to come to himself and proclaim in faith that he know knows the truth, "the Lord has sent an angel and delivered me out of the hand of Herod, and from all of the expectations of the people of the Jews" (12:11). This internal summary[56] focalizes the scene on one particular ideological facet and informs the reader of the results of the believer's prayers and affirms God's intervention.[57] Peter's interior monologue serves to bring his own ideological position to bear upon the events that occurred. These events will be affirmed for the authorial audience who already

---

[55]While the "seven steps" emphasis in D is well known, it has tended to fuel debated between locations of imprisonment. Haenchen, *Acts*, 384 discusses the various options and concludes that we have no real means of knowing where Peter was held nor what the significance of the steps were for D.

[56]Internal summaries are occur in both Luke and Acts (see Lk 7:39, 12:17-19; 12:45; 15:18-20; 16:3-4; 18:4-5; 20:13) as well as in the Old Testament (e.g., 1 Sam 18:17b, 21a) and Greek and Roman sources (e.g., in Apollonius, *Argonautica* 3.772-801; Vergil, *The Aeneid* 4.534-552; Ovid, *Metamorphosis* 10.319-333; Xenophon of Ephesus, *Ephesian Tale* 1.4.1-7).

[57]Rimmon-Kenan, *Narrative Fiction*, 81. See also Rabinowitz, *Before Reading*, 65ff., who refers to this technique as a "rupture" that attracts the authorial audience's attention and tends to give that detail great significance.

knows about the "much" (Πολλη) and "fervent" (ἐκτενία) prayer (12:5) offered on Peter's behalf (περὶ αὐτοῦ).

The reaction of the believers forms an ironic account of near slapstick quality. When Peter arrives at the house of Mary, the mother of John Mark, he pounds on the door and is greeted by a familiar maid named Rhoda. The maid recognizes Peter's voice, and having been a part of this prayer vigil on his behalf, becomes so excited that she leaves him out in the street while she runs to tell everyone their prayers worked.

There is a clear connection here between this story and the scene with Mary and the women at the empty tomb. Neither Rhoda nor Mary and the other women come expecting to find that God has indeed acted. The disciples, again, do not believe the testimony of a woman because, not unlike their response to Mary, they think Rhoda is μαίνῃ (literally "she has lost her mind" or is "mad"). Here is yet another instance where the experiences of Peter are like those of Jesus. The disciples did not believe the earliest reports of his escape either (Lk 24:11). D attempts to make the believers look somewhat better by adding "τυχόν" to their response, "*Perhaps* it is his angel" (12:16), since she had not seen him but only heard his voice.[58] It is not until they actually see Peter again, as with Jesus and the disciples in Luke 24, that they believe. Peter, enters the house according to D (εἰσῆλθεν) which emphasizes the salvific nature of the events. The twist in the story is that God's representative does not go to the temple upon his release but goes to where he will find other servants of God's mission. There he retells the story,

---

[58]We could also read this response as a jeer or taunt where the disciples laugh at her and proclaim "*Perhaps,* it was his angel." This response certainly would not bode well for the disciples and is unlikely given that there is no rebuke toward the disciples for their unbelief.

again affirming God's hand greater than Herod's, and commands the followers to inform James and the other believers.[59] Peter then leaves for another place.

The reaction among the authorities once Peter's escape was made known is also telling. Among the soldiers, D indicates that there was a commotion but does not include οὐχ ὀλίγος a typical form of understatement (see e.g., 15:2; 17:4, 12; 19:23, 24) found in the UBS[4] text at 12:18. This change nullifies any possibility that the commotion here might be conceived as actually a small stir. The effect of the escape becomes clear as Herod himself searches for Peter (12:19), executes the guards, and then leaves in disgrace for the capital at Caesarea. The Code of Justinian was clear that any guard who allowed a prisoner to escape would suffer the same fate intended for the escaped prisoner. The authorial audience would have expected no less from an ancient Roman emperor.

The story of Herod continues and the authorial audience learns of his end. The text offers us more concerning the ultimate demise of Herod than we learn of the apostles themselves. These details, or the lack thereof, serve the purpose of the narrative whole. The authorial audience will learn through Herod's experience what it means to oppose God. While it seemed that Herod survived this encounter with Peter, after negotiating peace, or better surrender, from the cities of Tyre and Sidon, Herod displayed himself in

---

[59]Richard Bauckham ("James and the Jerusalem Church," in *The Book of Acts in its First Century Setting: Palestinian Setting*, vol. 4, ed., Richard Bauchkham [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans], 416-480) uses this verse to argue that this account reveals how power was passed from Peter to James, and from the apostles to the elders. This hypothesis, however, fails to explain why Peter and the apostles are still in authority in later scenes (e.g., 15:2, 4, 6, 22 and 16:4). It may be better to assume that James is another leading figure among the group, as is Paul, which explains James's power at the Jerusalem council. In this text Peter is not deferring to James but merely informing another leader among the group who is not present about recent details.

royal regalia before the people. Because of his prowess in this negotiation, Herod's subjects hail him having the voice of not a man, but a god.

The authorial audience will immediately find this epithet questionable because the reader's ideology comes from the higher perspective of the narrator and Peter. The authorial audience knows that Herod is powerless before God. This fact is then proven to the people as well. Trying to usurp the place of God is punishable by death. Immediately, an angel of the Lord struck Herod, because he did not give God proper due. D makes the account much more vivid than the UBS[4] version, stating that καὶ καταβὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος γενὸμενος σκωληκόβρωτος ἔτι ζῶν καὶ οὕτως ἐξέψυξεν (12:23). The implication here is to make sure there was no doubt the worms ate Herod alive and not that he was consumed after death. The narrative function of this passage is to focalize the reality of what happens to rulers who oppose God. The self deifying ruler Herod is humiliated in front of his own loyal subjects by the hand of God. Generally speaking, Acts (and Luke as well) is favorable of the Roman leadership.[60] Yet this chapter reveals very clearly the reality of opposing God. There is, however, another implication of this scene, the results such opposition has on the believers themselves: "But the word of God grew and multiplied" (12:24).

Intertexture

Intertexture occurs on two levels in this narrative scene, oral-scribal and social. Beginning with the latter, according to Robbins, social intertexture is "where the

---

[60]E.g., Acts 13:4-12; 16:19-39; 17:1-9; 18:12-17; 19:23-41; 22:22-29; 23:10; 23:12-33.

discourse refers to information that is generally available to people in the Mediterranean world."[61] Type scenes would therefore be considered a kind of social intertexture because they were generally known and understood to evoke a particular image or ideology.[62] For example, Peter's escape from prison was, according to Origen,[63] a miracle story similar to another escape legend found in Euripides. His story tells of the escape of several maidens from their prison and chains.[64] Several other stories of this type exist as well.[65] Charles Talbert argues that these type scenes or *Gattung* are stories of liberation and "were told to say that there is nothing, certainly not a hostile ruler, that can prevent the deity and his followers from conquering the world."[66]

This type scene also intermixes with echoes from the oral-scribal level in chapter 12. Using both the type scene motif and allusions from Old Testament texts in tandem, D is able to help the reader see more clearly the power that the early Church wields in its

---

[61]Robbins, *The Tapestry of Early Christianity*, 127. Robbins' definition is not as clear as it could be. His point is that this level refers to information or images that members of that world could easily describe or understand.

[62]Allen, *The Death of Herod,* 29-74, enumerates a number of type scene that would have been available to Luke's authorial audience of Acts in the first-century. Unfortunately, most of Allen's examples are too far removed in time from the authorial audience of D to be helpful. What Allen does show, however, is that such type scene were common and did influence the authorial audience's reading of the text.

[63]*Against Celsus* 2.34.

[64]Euripides, *The Bacchae* 443-448.

[65]Talbert, *Reading Acts*, 120-122, details escape legends including Ovid's *Metamorphasis* 3.690-710, Artapanus, *Concerning the Jews* as reported in Eusebius's, *Preparation for the Gospel* 9.27, Clement of Alexandria, *Miscellanies*, 1.23, and even later apocryphal Acts.

[66]Ibid., 121.

prayer, the power of Peter as a metonymic witness, and the impotence of the political authorities. Three significant Old Testament texts ring with echoes in this story in Acts.

The first, Isaiah 14:12-20 LXX, is in the form of a *mashal* against the king of Babylon who has declared himself like God.[67] This scene resonates with Herod's throne incident just before his demise. According to Isaiah, the king of Babylon has

> said in his heart, 'I will go up to heaven, I will set my throne above the stars of heaven. I will sit on a high mountain, on the high mountains of the North. I will go above the clouds and I will be like the Most High.[68]

Yet God has responded and said:

> But now you shall go down to hell, even to the foundations of the earth . . . But you will be thrown down upon the mountains as a loathed carcass with many dead who have been pierced with swords, going down to the grave. As a garment defiled with blood will not be pure, neither shall you be pure because you have destroyed my land and have killed my people. You will not endure forever, you are an evil seed.[69]

Ezekiel utters a similar prophecy against the King of Tyre who has also allowed himself to be viewed as a god and did not give to God the glory due.

Three times Ezekiel repeats the charge against the King, "Because your heart has been exhaulted and you have said, 'I am God'" (28:2, 6, 9). Then Ezekiel (LXX) offers the Word of the Lord as a sentence for this sin saying, "Therefore, behold, I will bring on thee strange plagues from the nations . . . and they shall bring you down . . . You will

---

[67]The Hebrew root "מָשָׁל" means literally "to be like" but has a range of meaning from "proverb" to "prophetic utterance." As the background for Jesus' parables (see Bernard Brandon Scott, *Hear Then the Parable*,[Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989], 8-19), a *mashal* story is a proverbial like wisdom story that relates well-known truths.

[68]Isaiah 14: 13-14. Translation mine.

[69]Isaiah 14:19-20. Translation mine.

perish by the hands of foreigners among the multitude of the uncircumcised, for I have spoken it says the Lord."[70]

This theme is also present in Daniel but in this instance King Nebuchadnezzer actually learns from the event. According to this story, the King proclaimed "Is this not great Babylon, which I have built for a royal residence, by the might of my power, for the honor of my glory?" (4:27). Not unlike Acts account where "immediately" following the sin, here Daniel reports that

> While the word was yet in the King's mouth (Ἔτι τοῦ λόγου ἐν τῷ στόματι τοῦ βασιλέως ὄντος), there came a voice from heaven, saying . . . 'and they will drive you out from humanity and your dwelling place will be among the wild animals of the field and they will feed you with grass as an ox and seven times will pass over you until you know that the Most High is Lord of the kingdom of humanity and the Lord will give to whomever the Lord will please (4:28-29).

Having spent some time in the field, disgraced as a bovine, Nebuchadnezzer lifted his eyes to heaven, repented and praised God saying, "Now therefore I Nebuchadnezzer praise and greatly exalt and glorify the King of heaven, for all of the Lord's works are true, and the Lord's paths are judgement, and all that walk in pride the Lord is able to humble" (4:34). While Nebuchadnezzer survives his sin, he learns the lesson that this type scene has to teach—anyone who tries to usurp God's place will suffer the judgement of God.

This theme is, however, not unique to the biblical witness. Josephus records three similar incidents that follow this pattern.[71] Herodotus tells of how the gods bring to

---

[70]Ezekiel 28:7-10. Translation mine.

[71]Josephus, *Antiquities* 17.6.5 168-170; 18.8.9 30619.8.2 349-350. All three stories recount rulers who exalted themselves and then were judged by God.

humiliation anyone who dared equate themselves with the gods.[72] Some of these sources even echo the means of Herod's demise. In the heroine's song from Judith 16:17 the Lord's judgement is described with a high degree of intextual volume:

> Woe to the nations that rise up against my people! The Lord almighty will take vengeance on them in the day of judgement; *the Lord will send fire and worms into their flesh*; they shall weep forever in pain.

Tertullian recounts the story of the ruler Claudius Lucius Herminianus of Cappadocia who became enraged that his wife had become Christian. He subsequently began to treat Christians with great cruelty. Claudius was therefore struck with an illness that caused him to be eaten by "living" worms. Tertullian records him subsequently saying, "Let no one know of this, lest the Christians rejoice and Christian wives take encouragement!" Later he recanted his sin in having lead so many astray and "nearly died a Christian himself."[73]

In Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* is the story of the emperor Galerius who, because of his persecution of Christians, brought upon himself Divine judgement:

> Therefore punishment from God came upon him, beginning with his flesh, and proceeding to his soul. For an abscess suddenly appeared in the midst of the secret parts of his body, and from it a deeply perforated sore, which spread irresistibly into his inmost bowels. An indescribable multitude of worms sprang from them, and a deathly odor arose, as the entire bulk of his body had, through his gluttony, been changed, before his sickness, into an excessive mass of soft fat, which became putrid, and thus presented an awful and intolerable sight to those who came near.[74]

---

[72]Herodotus 7.10.

[73]*To Scapula* 3.

[74]*Ecclesiastical History* 8.16.3-4. Lactantius, *De mort. Pers.* 33, also describes this event and the disease but embellishes the story to say that the stench of his disease pervades "not only the palace, but even the whole city!"

Galerius, unlike the others recounted so far, neither died immediately nor was cured. His sickness brought about a recantation on his part in the form of an edict. This edict had two significant results, it restored Christians to the status of "good disposition" with the state and allowed open Christian practice of worship.[75]

The most interesting and similar echo comes from a grotesquely vivid account in the deuterocanonical book, II Maccabees. Here the report of the campaign by Antòichus Epiphananes includes his demise for trying to overthrow God's people and believing he was a ruler "who could touch the stars of heaven" (9:10). Overcome with gastrointestinal pain, eaten up with worms, and giving off an intolerable stench, Antiochus repented before his death, saying the truth, "Mortals should not think they are equal to God" (9:12). While the volume of these echoes is high, the larger question concerns the availability. Would the authorial audience have had access to this type scene through the sources listed above? Given the number of references, their distribution in both Christian and non-Christian sources, and the fact that Chrysostom refers at least to Josephus in reference to the Acts 12 account, the answer must be an affirmative one.[76] The authorial audience would most likely have heard this level of the echo and understood its voice.[77] Even rulers are subject to God.

On the scribal level of intertexture, it is Luke 24 that functions as a type scene for Acts since Peter is typecast in the role of a witness in the image of Jesus. In fact, the

---

[75]*Ecclesiastical History* 8.17.6. The edict was issued in April, 311. Galerius suffered for months and finally died in the May of the next year (312).

[76]*Homily on the Acts of the Apostles* 27.

[77]See also Allen, *The Death of Herod,* who makes a similar point for the reader of Acts in the first century.

mirror images of Jesus and Peter in this chapter are many and create a parallel effect that allows the authorial audience to see one in the other. The following chart is illustrative of the parallels that enhance the metonymy between Jesus and Peter.

Table 7

Parallels between Jesus and Peter in Chapter 12

Action	Jesus (Lk)	Peter (Acts)
Laying on of hands	9:44; 20:19	21:1
Arrest	2 2:54	12:3
Herod participated in imprisonment	23:6-12	4:27; 12:1
Delivered over to authorities	23:25; 24:7	12:4
Leading forth	23:1, 6	12:4
Imprisoned during Passover	22:1	12:2
Escape (death/prison)	24:23	12:7ff.
Announcement by women not believed	24:21	12:15
Joy overwhelms	24:21	12:14
Questions is this an apparition (Ghost/angel)?	24:24:37	12:15
Withdrawal of Jesus/Peter	24:51	12:17

The escape of Peter from prison at the hand of Herod is enhanced, empowered, and given force through the use of type scenes both on the oral-scribal and social levels of intertexture. Continued through his witnesses and especially Peter, Jesus is shown to be

alive and at work in the lives of believers. Neither death nor political power is able to hinder the witness of the church.

Extratexture

In his study of the Roman republic and the way that society functioned, T. F. Carney has argued "This was a society based on patronage, not class stratification; so little pyramids of power abounded. And men of influence seldom survived if unaccompanied."[78] This system, according to historian Peter Brown, was better known as "the notion of friendship" and it "provided a language with which to speak, in acceptable terms, of the hard facts of patronage and alliance" in that world.[79] Herein lies much of the importance of Christian community in the late Roman world.

The community aspect of this Acts 12 is striking. Peter's community prays for a miracle and receives one. Herod, with the community of Roman power at hand, is publicly disgraced. Like the council scene from Acts 4 (see chap 4), this scene also involves an attempt to label the followers of God as deviants. Inherent in this scene is a power struggle between Peter and the other followers and the *powers-that-be*. Because of the prayers of Peter's community, the labeling process is denied and Herod finds himself in a position of losing honor.

Despite his ability and authority to arrest Peter, Herod is unable to keep the apostolic leader incarcerated. Herod's assassination of James and subsequent arrest of Peter also formed a direct challenge to the followers and thereby to God. This is the first

---

[78]Carney, *The Shape of the Past*, 63.

[79]Brown, *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity*, 45.

step in the formal process of challenge-riposte.[80] The second level of this process concerns the perception of the message by the individual(s) to whom it is directed and the public at large.[81] For the community of believers, the arrest brings about the necessity of a time of prayer. Despite their concerns, the community places their faith not on the mercy of the court but in the hands of God. Peter is so unaffected by Herod's attempt to control him that he is able to sleep quite soundly.

Herod's attempt to take away the reputation of Peter fails. Herod is subsequently judged not just by the authorial audience or the narrative audience, but also by God. This judgement forms the resolution to both tension and instability in the narrative. Herod loses both his honor and his life for attempting to usurp the place of God. This reverse characterization, on the other hand, affirms Peter's place as a called witness of his Lord. Note for example how Chrysostom's characterization focuses on Peter's prowess: "But this was all the better for Peter (being kept in prison), who was thereby made more approved, and evinced his own manly courage . . . See Peter sleeping and not in distress or fear!"[82] On the other, it serves to affirm for the authorial audience that Herod and what he represented was evil.

Conclusion: Reading the Reading

In a scene that should have ended in the demise of the followers of Jesus, Peter and the followers prevail. This unlikely turn of events might well have been unexpected

---

[80]See Robbins, *Exploring the Texture of Texts*, 80. For a more complete overview of this process, including the levels of labeling see chap. 4, 175ff.

[81]Ibid.

[82]*Homilies on Acts*, 26.

to the characters in the story but not for the authorial audience who has already seen Peter escape the hand of the Rome on a previous occasion. Yet this scene is unique in that the build up of tension and instability is overt by the narrative description of the scene itself and the events leading up to Peter's arrest. The killing of James, the arrest itself, and Herod's plan to wait out the religious holiday come together to enhance and focalize the narrative tension.

The followers are woefully armed to face the power of Rome, especially a ruler who is out to make himself look good in the eyes of the religious powerbrokers. Consequently the followers turn to the only resource they have, prayer to their benefactor, God. At the height of the tension in the story, God intervenes with "signs and wonders."

The story moves to the point where the authorial audience receives a significant interpretive clue. After Peter escapes, he comes to himself and realizes what has happened. Going down "seven steps" Peter literally left behind any doubt that God was with him and brought salvation to him. This physical movement also represents an ideological move for Peter. He leaves behind any doubt as he decends those seven steps. Peter's voice articulates the point of this scene: "the Lord has sent and angel and delivered me out of the hand of Herod and from all of the expectations of the people of the Jews" (12:11). This interior monologue is provided by Peter and is therefore trusted by the authorial audience as the correct interpretation of these events because of Peter's metonymic status.

D utilizes the escape type scene and the *mashal* against the tyrant type scene in order to make its point clear. As conventions the authorial audience would have well known and understood, these type scenes focalize on the narrative point, no one can

oppose God's mission. Herod becomes the foil by which that point is proven in this narrative scene. Because that reality is also true in the narrative whole of Acts, then it follows that because Peter is the metonymic image of Jesus as a witness in Acts God is with him and no one can oppose Peter either as long as he follows God's will. Herod becomes the unfortunate *case-in-point*. His narrated demise reveals that Peter is following God's will, that God is with Peter in power and Spirit, and that God has every intention in seeing that the mission will succeed.

The Scene During the Jerusalem Council (15:1-12 [13-29])

No doubt this chapter has elicited passionate debate among scholarship over the years.[83] Scholarship has had no problem recognizing the importance of Acts 15. Recently, Ben Witherington wrote, "It is no exaggeration to say that Acts 15 is the most crucial chapter in the whole book."[84] While his comment is well taken as far as it goes, he has not stated enough to make the case all that it needs to be. Acts 15 occupies this place of crucial importance not just because of what it offers that is new or revelatory, but also because it is the culmination and summation of what precedes it. The writer of Acts has subtly but rigorously used scene after scene, speech after speech, incident after incident to help the authorial audience come to understand a new definition of the "the people of God." This new understanding is based neither on ethnic origin nor any ritual

---

[83]For a concise but well-done overview, see Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 455-460.

[84]Witherington, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 439.

observance, it is centered in and on a messianic faith. Luke Timothy Johnson summarizes, correctly in my view, what the writer of Acts accomplishes in chapters 1-15:

> He establishes as a fundamental principle that the Church's responsibility is not to dictate God's action but discern it, not to close the Scriptures to further interpretation but to open them. He asserts unequivocally that the authentic people of God is one in which all nations can share as equals, and that since God has shown himself to be without discrimination, so must the Church itself.[85]

Acts has in this sense given an essential and programmatic expression to the nature of the people of God as a people of faith and inclusivity. Both the form and function of this chapter point toward this singular goal. In fact, the tension and instability in the narrative are resolved in the culmination of this chapter. Interestingly, Joseph Fitzmyer in his recent commentary notes that in his translation and by his count chapters 1-14 have 12,385 words and chapters 15-28 have 12,502 words.[86] This scene is both the physical and literary center of the story.

Inner texture

The final chapter of Peter's literary life in Acts begins by immediately raising the amount of tension and instability to a crisis level. The chapter begins by focalizing the heart of the issue in the form of a controversy: must Gentiles follow the religious customs of the Jews? While the authorial audience knows that the Gentiles have, in fact, been

---

[85]Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 280.

[86]Joseph Fitzmyer, *Acts of the Apostles: A New Translation with Commentary* (New York: Doubleday, 1997), 538. See also Conzelmann, *Acts*, 121, who concurs. Obviously because of the lacunae in D and the D enhancements this count is not accurate. Yet Fitzmyer's point is still valid since the lacunae stemmed from deterioration or vandalism and was not intentional. We must therefore assume that D's version was originally the same approximate length as the UBS tradition.

welcomed by God that knowledge is unknown by those in the discourse level of the text. Marianna Torgovnick has argued:

> It is difficult to recall *all* of a work after a completed reading, but climactic moments, dramatic scenes, and beginnings and endings remain in the memory and decisively shape our sense of the novel as a whole.[87]

By starting this scene with a narrative aside that clearly articulates the issue at hand, D has placed this issue at the forefront for the authorial audience. This literary move sets the stage for and allows the authorial audience to expect some future resolution. The question, the tension and instability, stems from whether or not resolution will and if so, how?

This story will develop dramatically and end with a climatic moment of resolution. This stance as a centerpoint in the larger story also provides this narrative with a privileged position. It is both a summation of what precedes it and anticipates what is yet to come. As the authorial audience is learning to read this text of Acts, this narrative scene stands out in the hierarchy of organization. This position is what Peter Rabbinowitz calls a rule of concentration.[88] Certain rules of notice in the text inform us where we should, as readers, focus our attention. The opening lines of this story do exactly that for this story, but also the position of this scene in the larger story points to the significance of this scene for the whole, a significance long noted by scholars such as Fitzmyer, Conzelmann, and numerous others.

---

[87]Marianna Torgovnivk, *Closure in the Novel* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 3-4.

[88]Rabbinowitz, *Before Reading*, 52.

A second issue raised by this scene is what Rabbinowitz refers to as scaffolding.[89] This technique assumes that the stressed features in a text serve as the basic structure on which we, and the authorial audience, should build our interpretation. This scene as a whole is privileged on one level by its position. It is also privileged through the technique of repetition. The issue of who makes up the people of God has been on the forefront for the authorial audience ever since Jesus' proclamation and call to the disciples in 1:8: "You shall be my witnesses." "Witnesses to whom?" the authorial audience must ask. The story that unfolds is a final attempt to define the people of God.

The dispute raised in this chapter is quickly resolved through a series of speeches by the witnesses of Jesus. The first of these speeches is by Peter. The narrator reports that the apostles and elders were gathered to consider the issue raised by those from Judea. After a period of questioning, ἀνέστησεν ἐν πνεύματι Πέτρος καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς (15:6). D places the emphasis not on Peter standing to speak as in the UBS[4] tradition, but on the Spirit filling Peter and compelling him to stand and to speak. His words are not his own but come from God. He is a prophet in their midst. Of the three speeches in this chapter, only Peter's is characterized in this way.

In 11:5-17 Peter recounted the same events that he will tell the group here. The two accounts contain a variety of differences in their telling, however, but the differences exist for a significant reason. The retelling in chapter 11 is a more personal story that involved Peter's own shift from one place to another in light of God's call and in the face of criticism.

---

[89]Ibid.

This present version is a more solidly theological statement of what Peter believed God did in the Cornelius event. In the former telling he was learning, here in this telling he is resolved. With a series of strong verbs with God as the subject, Peter announces God's actions and intentions. Peter argued that God had "*chosen*" (15:7);[90] God had "*testified*" (15:8); God had "*given*" the Holy Spirit (15:8); and God "*made* no distinction between us and them, *cleansing* their hearts by faith" (15:9).

The turning point in Peter's speech comes with the indicator νῦν ("Now") in 15:10.[91] Having drawn his theological view from his past experiences with God and God's Spirit, Peter applies what he has learned to the issue before him. In other words, Peter believes that putting God to the test by demanding that the Gentiles obey the law is equivalent to "hindering" God's purpose, something Peter has already recognized he could not do (11:17) and something even the power of Rome could not do (12:23).

The most evident indicator of Peter's role in this scene is the change in the hearts of the audience. Where before there was "no small dispute" (15:2) and "much discussion" (15:7), now at the end of Peter's speech, according to D (15:12), συνκαταεθεμένων δὲ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Πέτρου εἰρημένοις and the multitude is left in silence. The speech by Paul and Barnabas, which is not narrated only

---

[90]D has ἐν ἡμεῖν ("among us") rather than the UBS[4] ἐν ὑμῖν ("among you"). The force of D's reading makes it clear that Peter is arguing that he was chosen from among the apostolic circle for this mission. The emphasis of this reading is that Peter is again shown as *primus inter pares* ("greatest among equals"). This position is a typical placement for Peter in sources contemporary with D's authorial audience such as Irenaeus, *Adv hear* 3.3.1 and Tertullian, *Adv Marc* 4.5.2.

[91]Soards, *The Speeches in Acts*, 93, points toward the use of this rhetorical device as a way of revealing a major moment in the story. The use of this device is common.

mentioned, in tandem with the speech by James serve to undergird and offer support for what Peter has already accomplished.

The narrative effect being that Peter is once again seen as the leader of the disciples and their representative. His role, however, is now finished. He has accomplished his purpose in this narrative. The tension and instability created over this issue is resolved by Peter's redefinition of what it means to be a part of the people of God.

The speech by Paul and Barnabas is only summarized, pointing to the signs and wonders God has brought about in their ministry. It is the speech by James that is significant but only because it forms a conclusion to Peter's words. Where Peter has cited his experience and the experience of the Gentiles as proof, James will turn to scripture to provide even further validation.

James's authority in the text and for the audience is altogether puzzling. He is never introduced so we must assume the characters of the story, and the authorial audience, were familiar with both him and his authority. He functions in this scene as a judge who can decide what action will be taken. James, however, gains much of his authority in this text only by building on what Peter has already stated to be the truth. Consequently, James calls upon Peter as his authority for what has already happened—"Simeon has already recounted how God did first visit the Gentiles, to take out of them a people for God's name" (15:14)—and on scripture as his authority to validate the

---

See e.g., 3:17; 7:34; 10:5; 13:11; 20:22, 25; 22:16; 23:21. See also 4:29; 5:38; 20:32 which all use the related form καὶ τὰ νῦν.

events.[92] James's language articulates what Peter has already proven. Verse 14 uses in conjunction with the Gentiles the title "λαός" which has been used elsewhere in Acts only to refer to the people of ancient Israel (cf. 2:47; 3:23; 4:10; 5:12; 7:17, 34; 13:17). Now that same title refers to the Gentiles as a people from whom God will choose a new people. James then points to scripture as validating Peter's interpretation of events (15:15).[93]

The conclusion of the speech brings about two events. First, James adjudicates a decision that follows what Peter has already said, albeit with some few additions. The "apostolic decree" actually occurs in three places in Acts—15:20; 15:29; and 21:25. All three of the occurrences contain textual problems in the various manuscripts and there is an enormous amount of literature that has tried to unravel the issues raised in these variants.[94] The thesis of the whole comes across in the decree's unique D reading (15:20):

---

[92]James uses the more literal Semitic form of Peter's name (Συμεὼν). This occurrence is the only use of this name for Peter in Acts (cf. II Pet 1:1). Interestingly, Chrysostom mistakenly read this text as referring to the Simeon of Luke 2 (*Homily* 33). Stephen Fowl, "The Simeons of 15:14: A Comparison between Reader and Author Oriented Criticisms," *AAR/SBL Abstracts 1995* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995) 124-125, attempts to argue that this text is polyvalent and embraces both Simeons.

[93]The importance of James's use of scripture will be dealt with in the following section below.

[94]For an overview of the various issues and the theories put forth, see Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, 429-434 and Bruce, *The Text of Acts*, 342-343. While these theories and discussions are important, it is also true that for D's authorial audience this text was authoritative and may well have been "the" text that informed their piety. Epp, *The Theological Tendency of Codex Bezae*, 108-111, places the emphasis of the D version on an attempt to distance "from the Judaizing viewpoint and, by so doing, its distance from the viewpoint of Judaism itself, at least in its ritual and ceremonial emphasis" (110). Yet Epp has completely overlooked the context of the scene as a whole. This scene is about redefining the people of God, not an overt attempt to be "anti-Jewish." The point of this text is not to be against Judaism but to open the kingdom to both Jews and Gentiles.

"καὶ ὅσα μὴ θέλουσιν ἑαυτοῖς γείνεσθαι ἑτέροις μὴ ποιεῖτε" ("and that whatever they would not have done to themselves you should not do to others"). This negative version of the "golden rule" and its complimentary version in the letter written to the Gentiles (15:29) opens the door for the Gentiles to enter without retaining any of the Jewish ceremonial concerns. The central concern of James's requirements was to avoid pagan practices and social activities. At the bottom line, James agrees with Peter and calls for the door to be opened to their Gentile brothers and sisters.

Intertexture

What empowers this entire scene is the use of Peter's past experience and present proclamation, "God . . . giving to (upon) them (ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς) the Holy Spirit" (15:8), and James's use of scripture to validate Peter's experience and proclamation. James's speech, and not Peter's, contains a significant intertextual echo on the oral-scribal level. For the authorial audience, this intertext gives validation from ancient Israel's history that God has always intended for the kingdom to include all humanity and it comes from their representative, the Hebrew leader James.

Through James's words and use of this intertext, Peter's viewpoint is given a higher status and raised to the most authoritative voice in the text. As the most authoritative voice in the text, the authorial audience can understand why the elders of the Church "agreed to what had been spoken by Peter" (15:12). His viewpoint overshadows and alters all other ideologies in the text.

Much ink has been spent over concerns of whether or not James might have really been willing to quote not the Hebrew, but the LXX version of Amos 9:11-12, the text

from which James gathers his support. Three issues inform these concerns. First, not only did many in the audience James was speaking to come from Antioch, and thereby they needed to hear scripture in their own language, but also it has already been shown by Hengel and others that Hellenization had a far reaching effect on Jews from the first century onward.[95]

Second, there is some poetic irony in James's uses of the LXX. In his speech he argues for the inclusion of the Gentiles and then uses scripture in *their* language and not his own to prove his point. James's willingness to use the LXX validates his point further, God is the God of all persons and James feels free to use the non-Jewish form of the Hebrew scriptures in his argument in order to make his case. The startling effect of this kind of textual "rupture" would surely have perked up the ears of his audience and of the authorial audience as well. The case in point is that scholarship has continued to

---

[95]Martin Hengel, *The Hellenization of Judea in the First Century after Christ* (Philadelphia: Trinity, 1989). Richard Bauckham ("James and the Gentiles," 160-161) has recently also argued that, "When Lake and Cadbury remark that the LXX here is "apparently based on a misreading of the original Hebrew," and conclude that, "It is incredible that a Jewish Christian could thus have used the LXX in defiance of the Hebrew," they entirely misread the way in which Jewish exegesis of this period treated the biblical text, as the Dead Sea Scrolls in particular have now made clear to us. A Jewish Christian familiar with both the Hebrew and LXX of this verse would not regard the latter as a misreading of the Hebrew. He may have known a Hebrew text like that translated by the LXX, but even if not, would have recognized that the LXX represents, not a misreading, but either a variant text or a deliberate alternative reading of the text. Jewish exegetes were accustomed to choosing among the variants the reading which suited their interpretation, or to exploiting more than one . . . The "misreading" of the Hebrew text proposed by Amos 9:12 is quite comparable with many examples of deliberate "alternative readings" in the Qumran pesherim. Thus there is not the slightest difficulty in supposing that a Jewish Christian exegete, familiar with the Hebrew text of the Bible but writing in Greek, should have welcomed the exegetical potential of the LXX text of Amos 9:12 as a legitimate way of reading the Hebrew text of that verse."

consternate over whether or not James would really have ever quoted from the Greek LXX.

In the way James uses this intertext, the interpretation moves from the ancient Hebrew, which is anti-universalistic in its context and meaning, to the LXX which is translated as an inclusive text, to the D text which focuses almost singularly on the inclusiveness of God. By this movement from an exclusive to inclusive reading of the text, James is able to show from scripture that Peter's experience is not only valid but part of God's plan for the kingdom.

LXX Amos 9:11-12[96]	D Acts 15:16-17[97]
[11]Εν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἀναστήσω τὴν σκηνὴν Δαυὶδ τὴν πεπτωκυῖαν, καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσω τὰ πεπτωκότα αὐτης, καὶ τὰ κατεσκαμμένα αὐτῆς ἀναστήσω, καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσω αὐτὴν καθὼς αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ αἰῶνος. [12]Οπως ἐκζητήσωσιν οἱ κατάλοιποι τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, ἐφ᾽ οὕς ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς, λέγει Κύριος ὁ ποιῶν πάντα ταῦτα.	[11]Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπιστρὲφω καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσω τὴν σκηνὴν Δαυὶδ τὴν πεπτωκυῖαν, καὶ τὰ κατεσκαμμένα αὐτῆς [12]ὅπως ἂν ἐκζητήσωσιν οἱ κατάλοιποι τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν Κύριον καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, ἐφ᾽ οὕς ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς, λέγει Κύριος ὁ ποιῶν ταῦτα.

The Lord will return to rebuild the fallen house of David, says James through this intertext, "so that" (ὅπως) all other peoples may seek the Lord. The importance of this echo stems from its universalistic implications. According to this reading of the text, the

---

[96]"In that day, I will raise up the house of David that is fallen and will rebuild the ruins of it. I will set up the parts of it that have broken down, and I will build it up as in the ancient days so that the remnant of the people, and all the Gentiles by whom my name is called may seek me, says the Lord who does all these things." Translation mine.

[97]"After these things I will return, and I will build again the house of David which is fallen and I will rebuild the ruins of it. I will set it up so that the remnant of the people may seek after the Lord and all of the Gentiles by whom my name is called, says the Lord who does all these things." Translation mine.

eschatological restoration of God's people has *always* included the Gentiles who seek God. In fact, this restoration is intended to attract Gentiles to God.[98] James's interpretation focuses on the ideological shift that this group must make, God is the God of all peoples. Verse 18 then forms a conclusion to this echo that says God long ago, "from the beginning of his work" (15:18), knew that that this would happen.

Extratexture

In a recent monograph, David Matson has successfully argued for the type scene of "household conversion stories" in Acts.[99] The redefinition of the people of God that is addressed in this scene is part of another line of tension throughout the story, the conversion of various households.

John Elliott has argued that the household serves as the most apposite sphere and symbol of social life for illustrating features of life under the reign of God. In this connection the institution of kinship and family based on consanguinity and affinity provides a model for a community of fictive kin united by the bonds of mercy, faith, and

---

[98]This reading differs significantly from the Hebrew text. Ben Witherington, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 459, argues correctly that the differences between the Hebrew and the LXX versions of the Amos text are because the former speaks of Israel "not only regaining all its own land but also 'possessing the remnants of Edom and all the nations which are called by my name,' while the Greek version speaks of the remnant of humankind (*Adam*) seeking God. These two very different renderings come chiefly through two different vocalizations of two key words: (1) instead of *yaresh* (will posses) as in the MT, the LXX presupposes the reading *daresh* (will seek); and instead of *edom*, *adam* is assumed. There is further difference that in the MT 'remnant' is seen clearly as the object of the verb 'possess.' See also Craig A. Evans, "Prophecy and Polemic: Jews in Luke's Scriptural Apologetic," in Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders, *Luke and Scripture: The Function of Sacred Tradition in Luke-Acts* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 207.

[99]Matson, *The Household Conversion Stories in Acts*.

filial obedience. The boundaries of this symbolical family or household are expanded to include the marginalized, the outcasts, Samaritans, and Gentiles.[100] For the authorial audience, the tension and the instability of the story have increased from the opening chapter to this point because of questions over who may enter the household of God (cf. 1:8). The denouement comes finally at the resolution of both issues by the conversion of another household, the household of the Gentiles as a people.

This conversion allows the authorial audience to accept a new ideology that has taken shape ever since Jesus' initial call to his disciples in chapter 1, the movement of the kingdom out of the temple and into the household. This inclusive movement opens the front door for a new religious space that can and will welcome all who enter.

For the authorial audience of D, this new space validates an already growing sentiment among the Christian populace. In the new household, there is a distinctive Christian emphasis that overshadows the Jewish roots of the kingdom. For example, in the "apostolic decree" there is no attempt to hold the Gentiles to any religious ceremonial observance.

In fact, the emphasis in the decree in D is completely moral. By the time of the authorial audience, writers had already begun to interpret the text in this way. For example, Gregory of Nyssa (330-395 CE) referred to the decree as calling for the abstinence of "the pollution around idols, the disgusting smell and smoke of sacrifices, the defiling gore about the altars, and the taint of blood from the offerings."[101]

---

[100]John Elliott, "Temple Verses Household in Luke Acts," 227.

[101]*Vita. Greg. Thaumaturg.*, PG 46.944 as cited in Witherington, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 462.

The victory of the new household ironically shaped the ideology of God's kingdom in an unexpected way. The Jews who were concerned about the acceptance of Gentiles, by the fourth century, found themselves being legislated by those "Christian" Gentiles and their "Christian" leaders. Both Constantine and Constantius, for example, had forbidden apostasy from Christianity to Judaism.[102] Gratian would later (383 CE) include the possibility of punishment for this offence.[103] Laws were also enacted by Constantine that forbade Jews from enslaving a Christian.[104]

While no law to this effect is preserved as such, there was a law from 415 CE that says in accordance with the law of Constantine any Jew who had a Christian slave must hand that slave over to the Church.[105] Constantius went so far as to say that any Jewish person who bought a Christian slave would have them confiscated and that if those slaves were circumcised, the owner would receive capital punishment.[106] No Jew was to take a Christian woman in marriage, nor could a Christian marry a Jewish woman.[107] Although Theodosius himself was generally just and fair to the Jewish people and did not overtly oppress them, unlike his predecessors, it is also true that the Jews were separated out and viewed as being outside of the household of God.

---

[102]*Codex Theodosianus* XVI 8.1.

[103]Ibid. XVI 7.3.

[104]Eusebius, *Vit. Const.* IV 27.

[105]*Codex Theodosianus*, XVI 8.22.

[106]Ibid., XVI 9.2.

[107]Ibid., III 7.2.

Conclusion: Reading the Reading

The issues surrounding the Jerusalem council are legion.[108] Yet those issues are not concerns that are significant here. What is of concern is the role this chapter plays in the narrative whole. It is clear that the narrative has built since the initial command of Jesus in chapter 1 to the resolution of that command in chapter 15. Functioning as a "rupture" in the text, this event brings about the necessity for the resolution of narrative tension and instability. Through three speeches, two narrated and one unarrated, chapter 15 forms a final word on the people of God.

Filled with God's Spirit Peter rises to speak just as he did in chapter two. Again he will function as interpreter of events. For the authorial audience the question of what it means to be a witness is resolved in Peter's actions. To be a witness means to hear and follow the call of God, even when that call beckons one beyond the boundaries of what is acceptable and normative. Up to this point in the narrative, Peter alone has spoken for the followers of God. Interpreting God's actions in the Cornelius event, Peter stands as a prophet in their midst. The followers recognize Peter's status as a metonymic witness and his words as from God. They assent to position and interpretation.

Yet it is James who interprets scripture and thereby offers another level of validation to Peter's words. James interprets what has occurred in the ministry of Peter as both inevitable and expected. God has always planned to open the kingdom to all people. God has opened this door by using Peter as a metonymic image of Jesus as a witness.

---

[108]For a recent overview and critique of the many positions including the relationship between Acts 15 and Galatians 2 see Craig Hill, *Hellenists and Hebrews: Reappraising Division within the Earliest Church* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 107-143.

Conclusion: Reading the Reader's Whole Reading

The start of this project was an attempt to understand the D text of Acts by focusing on one of the text's main characters, Peter. For the fourth-century reader, the authorial audience of D, we must understand that this text was read in whole as it stands and without reference to other manuscripts of Acts. Fourth-century readers did not practice source criticism. The text was read to initiate the neophyte Christian and to enhance the discipleship of the mature Christian.[109] Given the conventions discussed above and the particular nuances of the D text, what would the authorial audience have understood from this reading?

(1) Like the previous chapter, the focus in this chapter remains on Peter and his called mission as a witness. His unrelenting character as a metonymic image of Jesus remains and is further enhanced. Peter is shown as endowed with, protected by, and sent forth with God's Spirit. The story and its instabilities and tensions revolve around this very issue. The authorial audience finds the greatest suspense in waiting to see how God will work through Peter in light of this confrontation or that event. In chapters 11, 12, and 15 it is Peter each time who resolves the tensions and instabilities. Yet Peter is always able to assert that it is not he but God working through him that these resolutions occur.

There continues to be a clear parallel between the experiences of Peter and those of Jesus. This linkage enables the authorial audience to see a connective parallel between the two. It is not that Jesus has just called Peter, Jesus has empowered and filled Peter. It

---

[109]For an overview of the use of scripture in the ancient world see the recent work of Simonetti, *Biblical Interpretation in the Early Church*, 53ff.

is not that Peter acts as a witness, it is that Peter stands in the place of Jesus. Peter acts as the hands and feet of the resurrected Christ in the world. For the authorial audience the clear message is not that Peter is a great Apostle and we should strive to be like him. The message is that this is what it is like to be a witness and Jesus can do this very thing through the reader too.

(2) The conversion stories in this section of Acts function to assist the authorial audience in understanding the nature of the mission Peter was called to enact. The Cornelius episode unleashes what was only barely evident in the first nine chapters, that the people of God are being redefined. Nearly all commentators recognize the crucial function of the Cornelius episode in Acts.

By entering the house of this Gentile upon the call of God, Peter opens the door for a new definition of God's people. No longer can anyone who does not wish to hinder God's Spirit attempt to keep outside any person on the basis of ethnic or racial boundaries. This new definition radically changes the religious ideology of the day. No longer is the temple seen as the locus of God's actions with the people. Now it is within the household, in fact any household, that God may be found. A new sacred space is born and an old one passes away. The conversion of Cornelius was a second "Pentecost" in both form and function.

(3) Peter disappears from the narrative in this section. While this resolution does not provide closure, there is much more the authorial audience may well want to know about Peter, it does provide completion. Peter has served his purpose in Acts and performed well his role as a witness and representative of the Twelve. Paul will assume

the protagonist role in the latter part of Acts and function also as a witness but as one unconnected with the Twelve.

It is fair to say then that Peter's narrative function was to provide for the authorial audience an example of what it meant to be a witness, to reveal how Jesus could work through a witness, and to accomplish the mission Jesus called Peter to, the redefinition of the people of God. All of these are accomplished in the first fifteen chapters. The disappearance of Peter after chapter 15 is most easily explained by reading the text in this manner.

CHAPTER SIX

Conclusion

By applying to Codex Bezae a more functional approach that interprets the text as it was intended—as scripture for a community of believers—this study has attempted to move beyond viewing D as a compilation of textual variants composing a more "wild" textual tradition. From this application a clear and distinct conclusion emerges: D portrays Peter as a "witness" who displays a metonymic image of Jesus and who thereby aids in the assimilation of a new kingdom ideology. This new ideology, that God's kingdom is no longer to be understood as limited by space or by barriers, provides varying degrees of tension and instability along which the plot of the story moves and finds its resolution.

The unique D tradition admittedly consists of a number of readings not found in the UBS[4] tradition. But the uniqueness of D is not simply its variant readings, but how these readings affect the meaning of the text as a whole. Eldon Epp's work, for example, has shown how the unique readings of D can be understood to form what he calls an "anti-Judaic bias."[1] The concern here, however, is not about the variants and what bias they reveal about the scribes or even the "author" of the text. Here the question is how a reader, specifically a hybrid reader we have called the authorial audience, given the unique readings of D, might well have understood what the text means. This project should not be confused with a quest for the historical community of Codex Bezae. It is an attempt to understand how readers from a general context would have understood this

---

[1]Epp, *Theological Tendency*, 165ff.

text given its unique readings. Consequently, I have not argued that this text was written for any one particular community but have placed the manuscript in a potential place of origin, as defined by David Parker,[2] and have asked how a general community, given its context and ideological commitments, would have understood this unique text.

Results of the Study

(1) That the influence of the Theodosian edicts and practice played a significant role in the way the readers of D read Acts is clear. The change of tides in the ancient world provided a means for a new ideology to come to the shores of Christian understanding of scripture. No longer a community of persecution, Christianity through both theological and imperial rhetoric changed the course of history. Readers in that context would have well understood the popular, or maybe better, *orthodox* understanding of the text. That is not to say that all readers read in this way. Certainly there were those who read against the grain either by choice or misunderstanding. Generally speaking, however, the reading provided in this project is both plausible and carries the merit of coinciding with the evidence we have available.

(2) For the readers of this text Peter is the protagonist of the first half of the story. His literary role is confirmed in several ways. First, he provides a connective factor along which the plot of the story moves and finds its greatest interest. As one of the few enduring characters in Acts, at least through chapter 15, Peter follows a narrative trajectory that moves him from a would-be-follower who denied Jesus to a witness that provides a metonymic image of Jesus himself. Peter's interaction with narrative tensions

---

[2]*Codex Bezae*, 117.

and instabilities allows the reader to look to Peter in the same way readers look to Jesus in the Gospels. Peter is the force to reckon with for anyone who dares to oppose God's mission. Peter interprets scripture, provides signs and wonders, understands the human heart and motives, reveals a distinct faith of great magnitude, and functions as the leader of the apostles/witnesses. Through Peter as a witness, and to some extents through others as well, Jesus remains in this story as the central character. Yet none of these distinctives function to promote Peter himself but to highlight what Peter is doing. He is acting as he is called and empowered through God's Spirit.

Second, Peter as protagonist resolves the tensions and instabilities raised by the various literary foils in the text. Whether it be a lame man or the religious leaders, Peter's function is to bring upon their actions the new ideology of God's kingdom. He functions in other words not unlike the prophet verses king pattern common in the Old Testament LXX. He proclaims God's intentions and kingdom on all who will hear and even to those who would prefer not to hear.

Third, all of the important emphases of the text in the first 15 chapters are focalized by their connection with Peter. Whether it be the misunderstanding of Pentecost or the reality of God's universal kingdom, Peter is the scaffolding upon which these issues are built, worked out, and set before the reader for attention. Other followers serve to reinforce the role of a witness as defined by Peter's character.

Fourth, Peter, as the metonymic image of Jesus, also provides for the reader a positive paradigm of recognition and response. Peter both hears the call of God and responds to that call. Despite the many hindrances placed before him, Peter's character

never waivers from God's mission. The oppositional foils in the text—the religious leaders for example—function to enhance Peter's stature as a witness. The result of these encounters is that the reader can see clearly both how a witness should function and the results of such faithfulness.

(3) It is true that differences between Codex Bezae and the UBS[4] are only slight in many instances. Yet this type of investigation is not an attempt to weigh out the variances in order to speak of any theological tendency. Rather, the force of the variants emphasized in this study is their placement and type. Texts like this were meant to be read inclusively, not variant by variant or by theological lines of thought, but from beginning to end. The additions, deletions, and alterations play a role in reshaping the meaning of the whole. This reading emphasizes not what was in the mind of the author/editor(s), but what those individuals wanted to place in the mind of the reader. The result is to find an unmistakable emphasis on Peter as a witness of Jesus and on his role in bringing about a new ideological revival in the people of God.

(4) While Peter disappears in chapter 15, this resolution does not provide closure. There is much more the authorial audience may well want to know about Peter. But the importance of this text does not reside in what we do not know about his character, the text is self-sustained and has given us the evidence we need to decipher its meaning. In that sense, there is completion in the narrative. Peter has served his purpose in Acts and performed well his role as a witness of Jesus and representative of the Twelve. Paul will assume the protagonist role in the latter part of Acts and function also as a witness but as one unconnected with the Twelve. Peter's narrative function was to provide for the authorial audience an example of what it meant to be a witness, to reveal how Jesus could

work through a witness, and to accomplish the mission Jesus called Peter to, the redefinition of the people of God. All of these are accomplished in the first fifteen chapters.

Contribution to Scholarship

What contribution has this study made to research on Acts? There are three intertwined distinctions of this study that have added to the already growing literature on Acts. First, this study has taken seriously the function and form of Codex Bezae as a manuscript containing scripture. For a group of ancient readers, this text was their scripture and it informed their spiritual lives and service to God. In that, this study has undertaken the means to read the text for meaning rather than seeing it as a window to a historical world likely unavailable to modern eyes.

Second, scrutiny of Peter and the texts accompanying him has shown that his stature did in fact rise in importance for ancient readers. Particularly for the readers of Codex Bezae, Peter became a symbol of Jesus himself. Not because Peter was venerated as something like Jesus, but because he epitomized what Jesus called his followers to be and to do. Peter therefore is revealed as a metonymic witness, mirroring his Lord in word and deed. While this enhanced stature is not a new revelation in scholarship, no one has undertaken the task of seeing how this stature, or whether it, functions in the narrative whole. Even Catholic scholars, generally given to the important place of Peter in the early Church, have not focused their work on holistic readings.

What this study has shown in that Peter's stature is not just raised, it is enhanced not just by the variants, but by the reading of the whole. The story in D helps the reader move from an old way of thinking to a new one, from an old ideology to a kingdom

ideology. Following Peter, the reader grows in understanding as he does. The reader discovers along with Peter God's real intention for the kingdom.

Third, this study has shown that ancient manuscripts have a greater value than their textual variants. There is no backdoor attempt here to argue for the primacy of Bezae over other traditions, but simply a notice that individual manuscripts were read by real readers. Unlike our UBS^4 compilation, a real audience used Bezae. While all of these steps are fledgling, they are steps in the right direction.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

Selected Greek Text of Codex Bezae: Annotated and Translated

Introduction

The following selected text will be annotated with these basic insignia. Underlined text will indicate those places where D differs from the UBS[4] text by alteration of spelling, change of word placement, or change of case, mood, tense, or number. **Bolded text** will indicate those places where D includes text not in the UBS[4] text. [Bracketed text] will signify those places where D has omitted text in that is in the UBS[4] without any other alterations. These insignia will be included in the Greek side of this appendix only.

ΠΡΑΞΕΙΣ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ

1 Τὸν μὲν πρῶτον λόγον ἐποιησάμην περὶ πάντων, ὦ Θεόφιλε, ὧν ἤρξατο [ὁ] Ἰησοῦς ποιεῖν τε καὶ διδάσκειν, [2]ἄχρι ἧς ἡμέρας ἀνελήμφθη ἐντειλάμενος τοῖς ἀποστόλοις διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου οὓς ἐξελέξατο **καὶ ἐκέλευσε κηρύσσειν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον**.

[3]οἷς καὶ παρέστησεν ἑαυτὸν ζῶντα μετὰ τὸ παθεῖν αὐτὸν ἐν πολλοῖς τεκμηρίοις, [δι᾽] τεσσεράκοντα ἡμερῶν ὀπτανόμενος αὐτοῖς καὶ λέγων τὰ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ· [4]καὶ συναλιζόμενος **μετ᾽ αὐτῶν** παρήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων μὴ χωρίζεσθαι ἀλλὰ περιμένειν τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ πατρὸς ἣν ἠκούσατε **φησιν διὰ τοῦ στόματός** μου, [5]ὅτι Ἰωάννης μὲν ἐβάπτισεν ὕδατι, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ βαπτισθήσεσθε **καὶ ὃ μέλλετε λαμβάνειν** οὐ μετὰ πολλὰς ταύτας ἡμέρας **ἕως τῆς πεντηκοστῆς**.

[6]Οἱ μὲν οὖν συνελθόντες **ἐπηρώτων** [ἠρώτων] αὐτὸν λέγοντες· κύριε, εἰ ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ἀποκαθιστάνεις **εἰς** τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Ἰσραήλ; [7] **καὶ** εἶπεν [δὲ] πρὸς αὐτούς· οὐχ ὑμῶν ἐστιν γνῶναι χρόνους ἢ καιροὺς οὓς ὁ πατὴρ ἔθετο ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ ἐξουσίᾳ, [8]ἀλλὰ λήμψεσθε δύναμιν

1 The former book I wrote, O Theophilus, about all that Jesus began both to do and to teach, [2]until the day in which he was received up, after that he had given commandment through the Holy Spirit to the apostles whom he had chosen, and ordered to proclaim the gospel

[3]To whom he showed himself alive after his passion by many proofs, appearing to them in the period of forty days, and speaking the things concerning the kingdom of God [4]and, being assembled together with them, he ordered them not to depart from Jerusalem, but to wait for the promise of the Father, which you heard, he said, from my mouth [5]for John indeed baptized with water; but you will be baptized with the Holy Spirit, which you are about to receive after these many days until the Pentecost.

[6]They, therefore, when they had come together, asked him saying, "Lord, will you at this time restore the kingdom of Israel?" [7]And he said to them, "It is not for you to know times or seasons, which the Father hath set within his own authority. [8]But you will receive power, when the Holy Spirit

ἐπελθόντος τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐφ᾽ ὑμᾶς καὶ ἔσεσθε μου μάρτυρες ἔν τε Ἰερουσαλὴμ καὶ πάσῃ τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ καὶ Σαμαρείᾳ καὶ ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς. [9]Καὶτὰ εἰπόντος [βλεπόντων] αὐτοῦ [ἐπήρθη καὶ] νεφέλη ὑπέλαβεν αὐτὸν **καὶ ἀπήρθη** ἀπὸ [τῶν] ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν. [10]καὶ ὡς ἀτενίζοντες ἦσαν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν πορευομένου αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄνδρες δύο παρειστήκεισαν αὐτοῖς ἐν ἐσθῆτι λευκῇ, [11]οἳ καὶ εἶπαν· ἄνδρες Γαλιλαῖοι, τί ἑστήκατε ἐμβλέποντες εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν; οὗτος ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὁ ἀναλημφθεὶς ἀφ᾽ ὑμῶν **οὕτος** [εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν οὕτως] ἐλεύσεται ὃν τρόπον ἐθεάσασθε αὐτὸν πορευόμενον εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν.

[12]Τότε ὑπέστρεψαν εἰς Ἰερουσαλὴμ ἀπὸ ὄρους τοῦ καλουμένου Ἐλαιῶνος, ὅ ἐστιν ἐγγὺς Ἰερουσαλὴμ σαββάτου ἔχον ὁδόν. [13]καὶ ὅτε εἰσῆλθον ἀνέβησαν, εἰς τὸ ὑπερῷον οὗ ἦσαν καταμένοντες, ὅ τε Πέτρος καὶ Ἰωάννης καὶ Ἰάκωβος καὶ Ἀνδρέας, Φίλιππος καὶ Θωμᾶς, Βαρθολομαῖος καὶ Μαθθαῖος, Ἰάκωβος Ἀλφαίου [καὶ] Σίμων ὁ ζηλωτὴς καὶ Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου. [14]οὗτοι πάντες ἦσαν προσκαρτεροῦντες ὁμοθυμαδὸν τῇ προσευχῇ σὺν **ταῖς** γυναιξὶν καὶ **τέκνοις καὶ** Μαριὰ [τῇ] μητρὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς αὐτοῦ.

[15][Kai] ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις ἀναστὰς **ὁ** Πέτρος ἐν μέσῳ τῶν **μαθητῶν** [ἀδελφῶν] εἶπεν· ἦν **γὰρ** [τε] ὄχλος ὀνομάτων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ὡς ρκ [ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι]· [16]ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, δεῖ πληρωθῆναι τὴν γραφὴν ἣν προεῖπεν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον διὰ στόματος Δαυὶδ περὶ Ἰούδα τοῦ γενομένου ὁδηγοῦ τοῖς συλλαβοῦσιν **τὸν** Ἰησοῦν, [17]ὅτι κατηριθμημένος ἦν ἐν ἡμῖν **ὃς** [καὶ] ἔλαχε τὸν κλῆρον τῆς διακονίας ταύτης. [18]οὗτος μὲν οὖν ἐκτήσατο χωρίον ἐκ μισθοῦ τῆς ἀδικίας καὶ πρηνὴς γενόμενος ἐλάκησεν μέσος καὶ ἐξεχύθη πάντα τὰ σπλάγχνα αὐτοῦ· [19]**ὅ** καὶ γνωστὸν ἐγένετο πᾶσιν τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν Ἰερουσαλήμ, ὥστε κληθῆναι τὸ χωρίον ἐκεῖνο τῇ [ἰδίᾳ] διαλέκτῳ αὐτῶν Ἀκελδαμάχ, τοῦτ᾽ ἔστιν χωρίον αἵματος. [20]γέγραπται γὰρ ἐν βίβλῳ ψαλμῶν· γενηθήτω ἡ ἔπαυλις αὐτοῦ ἔρημος καὶ μὴ **ᾖ ὁ κατοικῶν ἐν αὐτῇ** [ἔστω ὁ ατοικῶν ἐν αὐτῇ] καί· τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν αὐτοῦ λαβέτω ἕτερος. [21]δεῖ οὖν τῶν συνελθόντων ἡμῖν ἀνδρῶν ἐν παντὶ χρόνῳ ᾧ εἰσῆλθεν καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἐφ᾽ ἡμᾶς ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς, [22]ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ βαπτίσματος Ἰωάννου ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ἧς ἀνελήμφθη ἀφ᾽ ἡμῶν, μάρτυρα τῆς ἀναστάσεως αὐτοῦ σὺν ἡμεῖν γενέσθαι ἕνα τούτων. [23]Καὶ ἔστησεν δύο, Ἰωσὴφ τὸν καλούμενον Βαρσαββᾶν ὃς ἐπεκλήθη Ἰοῦστος, καὶ Μαθθίαν. [24]καὶ προσευξάμενοι εἶπαν· [σὺ] κύριε καρδιογνῶστα πάντων, ἀνάδειξον ὃν ἐξελέξω ἐκ τούτων τῶν δύο [ἕνα] [25]**ἀνα**λαβεῖν **τόπον** τὸν τόπον τῆς διακονίας ταύτης καὶ ἀποστολῆς ἀφ᾽ ἧς παρέβη Ἰούδας πορευθῆναι εἰς

comes upon you; and you will be my witnesses both in Jerusalem, and in all Judaea and Samaria, and to the uttermost parts of the earth." [9]And when he had said these things, a cloud received him, and he was taken away out of their sight. [10]And while they were looking intently into heaven as he went, behold, two men stood by them in white apparel; who also said, [11]"You men of Galilee, why do you stand looking into heaven? This Jesus, who was received up from you, shall so come in the same way as you saw him going into heaven.

[12]Then they returned to Jerusalem from the mount called Olives, which is near Jerusalem, a sabbath day's journey away. [13]And when they had come in, they went up into the upper chamber, where they were waiting; both Peter and John, James and Andrew, Philip and Thomas, Bartholomew and Matthew, James of Alphaeus, Simon the Zealot, and Judas of James. [14]They all with one accord, continued intently in prayer, with the women and children, and Mary the mother of Jesus, and his followers.

[15]And in these days Peter stood up in the midst of the disciples, and said, for there was a multitude of persons together about a hundred and twenty, [16]Men and brethren it was needful that this scripture should be fulfilled, which the Holy Spirit spoke before by the mouth of David concerning Judas, who was guide to them that took Jesus. [17]For he was numbered among us, and received his portion in this ministry. [18]Now this man obtained a field with the reward of his iniquity; and falling headfirst he burst asunder in the middle, and all his bowels gushed out. [19]And it became known to all the dwellers at Jerusalem; insomuch that in their language that field was called *Akeldamach*, that is, The field of blood. [20]For it is written in the book of Psalms, *Let his habitation be made desolate, And let no man dwell therein: And his overseership let another take.* [21]Of the men therefore that have accompanied with us all the time that the Lord Jesus Christ went in and went out among us, [22]beginning from the baptism of John, unto the day he was received up from us, of these must one become a witness with us of his resurrection. [23]And he (Peter) put forward two, Joseph called Barnabas, who was surnamed Justus, and Matthias. [24]And they prayed, and said, You, Lord, who knowest the hearts of all people, show from these two the one whom you have chosen, [25]to take the place in this ministry and apostleship, from which Judas fell away, so that he might go to his own place. [27]And they gave lots for them; and the lot fell upon Matthias; and he was numbered with the twelve apostles.

τὸν τόπον τὸν ἴδιον. [26]καὶ ἔδωκαν κλήρους αὐτοῖς καὶ ἔπεσεν ὁ κλῆρος ἐπὶ Μαθθίαν καὶ συγκατεψηφίσθη μετὰ τῶν [ἕνδεκα] **ιβ** ἀποστόλων.

Chapter 2:14-47

2 Τότε σταθεὶς δὲ ὁ Πέτρος σὺν τοῖς δεκα **ἀποστόλοις** ἐπῆρεν **πρῶτος** τὴν φωνὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ **εἶπεν** [ἀπεφθέγξατο αὐτοῖς]. ἄνδρες Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ πάντας οἱ κατοικοῦντες Ἰερουσαλὴμ, τοῦτο ὑμῖν γνωστὸν ἔστω [και] ἐνωτίσασθε τὰ ῥήματα μου. [15]οὐ γὰρ ὡς ὑμεῖς ὑπολαμβάνετε οὗτοι μεθύουσιν, [ἔστιν γὰρ] οὔσης ὥρας [τρίτη] τῆς ἡμέρας **γ**, [16]ἀλλὰ τοῦτο ἐστιν τὸ εἰρημένον διὰ τοῦ προφήτου [Ἰωήλ]·

[17]ἔσται ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις, λέγει [ὁ θεός] **κύριος**, ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος μου ἐπὶ πᾶσας σάρκα, καὶ προφητεύσουσιν οἱ υἱοὶ **αὐτῶν** [ὑμῶν] καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες **αὐτῶν** [ὑμῶν] καὶ οἱ νεανίσκοι [ὑμῶν] ὁράσεις ὄψονται καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι [ὑμῶν] ἐνυπνίοις ἐνυπνιασθήσονται· [18]καί **ἐγὼ**[γε] ἐπὶ τοὺς δούλους μου καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς δούλους μου [ἐν] **καὶ ἐπὶ** τὰς **δούλας μου** [ἡμέραις ἐκείναις] ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος μου [καὶ προφητεύσουσιν]. [19]καὶ δώσω τέρατα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἄνω καὶ σημεῖα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κάτω, [αἷμα καὶ πῦρ καὶ ἀτμίδα καπνοῦ]. [20]ὁ ἥλιος μεταστραφήσεται εἰς σκότος καὶ ἡ σελήνη εἰς αἷμα, πρὶν ἐλθεῖν ἡμέραν κυρίου τὴν μεγάλην καὶ [ἐπιφανῆ]. [21]καὶ ἔσται πᾶς ὃς ἂν ἐπικαλέσηται τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου σωθήσεται.

[22]Ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλῖται, ἀκούσατε τοὺς λόγους τούτους· Ἰησοῦν τὸν Ναζωραῖον, ἄνδρα [ἀποδεδειγμένον] ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ **δεδοκιμασμένον** εἰς ὑμᾶς δυνάμεσι καὶ τέρασι καὶ σημείοις [οἷς] **ὅσα** ἐποίησεν δι᾽ αὐτοῦ ὁ θεὸς ἐν μέσῳ ὑμῶν καθὼς αὐτοὶ οἴδατε, [23]τοῦτον τῇ ὡρισμένῃ βουλῇ καὶ προγνώσει τοῦ θεοῦ ἔκδοτον **λαβόντες** διὰ χειρὸς ἀνόμων προσπήξαντες ἀνείλατε, [24]ὃν ὁ θεὸς ἀνέστησεν λύσας τὰς ὠδῖνας **ᾅδου** [τοῦ θανάτου] καθότι οὐκ ἦν δυνατὸν κρατεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ. [25]Δαυὶδ γὰρ λέγει εἰς αὐτόν· προορώμην τὸν κύριον ἐνώπιον μου διὰ παντός, ὅτι ἐκ δεξιῶν μού ἐστιν ἵνα μὴ σαλευθῶ. [26]διὰ τοῦτο ἠυφράνθη ἡ καρδία μου καὶ ἠγαλλιάσατο ἡ γλῶσσα μου, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἡ σάρξ μου κατασκηνώσει ἐφ᾽ ἐλπίδι, [27]ὅτι οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψεις τὴν ψυχήν μου εἰς ᾅδην οὐδὲ δώσεις τὸν ὅσιον σου ἰδεῖν διαφθοράν. [28]γνώρισας μοι ὁδοὺς ζωῆς, πληρώσεις με εὐφροσύνης μετὰ τοῦ προσώπου σου. [29]Ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, ἐξὸν εἰπεῖν μετὰ παρρησίας πρὸς ὑμᾶς

Chapter 2:14-47

2 But then Peter, standing up with the ten apostles, lifted up his voice as leader (or "chief"), and said, You men of Judea, and all you that dwell at Jerusalem, this is known to us, listen to my words. [15]For these (people) are not drunk as you suppose; because it is just the third hour of the day; [16]but this is that which has been spoken by the prophet.

17It will be in the last days, says the Lord, I will pour forth of my Spirit upon all flesh. And their sons and their daughters shall prophesy, And the young men, shall see visions, And the old men shall dream dreams; [18]and on my servants and on my hand maidens I will pour out my Spirit. [19]And I will show wonders in the heaven above, and signs on the earth below; [20]the sun will be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood, before the day of the Lord comes, that great (day). [21]And it will be, that whoever will call on the name of the Lord will be saved.

[22]You men of Israel, hear these words, Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God unto us by mighty works and wonders and signs, that God did by him before you, even as you yourselves know; [23]who was delivered up by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God, you took, and by the hand of lawless men did crucify and kill him; [24]whom God raised up, having loosed the pains of Hades, because it was not possible that he should be holden of it. [25]For David said concerning him, I beheld my Lord always before my face; For he is on my right hand, that I should not be moved; [26]Therefore my heart was glad, and my tongue rejoiced; Moreover my flesh also shall dwell in hope: [27]Because you will not leave my soul in Hades, Neither will you give your Holy One to see corruption. [28]you made known to me the ways of life; you shall make me full of gladness with your countenance. [29]Men and brethren, I say unto you freely of the patriarch David, that he both died and was buried, and his tomb is with us unto this day. [30]Being therefore a prophet, and knowing that God had sworn with an oath to him, that of the fruit of his heart according to the flesh he would raise up the Christ, [31]and set him upon his throne: [he foreseeing this spoke] of the resurrection of the Christ, that neither was he left in Hades, nor did his flesh see corruption. [32]This Jesus therefore did God

περὶ τοῦ πατριάρχου Δαυὶδ ὅτι καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν καὶ ἐτάφη, καὶ τὸ μνῆμα αὐτοῦ ἔστιν ἐν **παρ** [ἡμῖν] ἄχρι τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης. [30]προφήτης οὖν ὑπάρχων καὶ εἰδὼν ὅτι ὅρκῳ ὤμοσεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς ἐκ καρποῦ τῆς **καρδίας αὐτοῦ κατὰ σάρκα ἀναστῆσαι τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ** [ὀσφύος αὐτοῦ] καθίσαι ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ, [31]προιδὼν ἐλάλησεν περὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὅτει οὔτε ἐνκατελείφθη εἰς ᾅδου οὔτε ἡ σὰρξ αὐτοῦ εἶδεν διαφθοράν. [32]τοῦτον [τὸν] **οὖν** Ἰησοῦν ἀνέστησεν ὁ θεός, οὗ πάντες [ἡμεῖς] **μάρτυρες** ἐσμεν μάρτυρες· [33]τῇ δεξιᾷ οὖν τοῦ θεοῦ ὑψωθείς **καὶ** τήν [τε] ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ πατρός, ἐξέχεεν [τοῦτο ὃ ὑμεῖς καὶ] **ὅ καὶ** βλέπετε καὶ ἀκούετε. [34]οὐ γὰρ Δαυὶδ ἀνέβη εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς, **εἴρηκεν γὰρ αὐτος** λέγει [δὲ αὐτός· εἶπεν ὅς] **κύριο τῷ κυρίῳ μου· Κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου**, [35]ἕως θῶ τοὺς ἐκθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου. [36]ἀσφαλῶς οὖν γινωσκέτω πᾶς **ὁ** οἶκος Ἰσραὴλ ὅτι καὶ κύριον [αὐτὸν] καὶ χριστὸν ὁ θεός ἐποίησεν, τοῦτον Ἰησοῦν ὃν ὑμεῖς ἐσταυρώσατε.

[37]**τότε πάντες οἱ συνελθόντες καὶ** ἀκούσαντες δὲ κατενύγησαν τὴν καρδίαν **καὶ τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν** εἶπον τε πρὸς τὸν Πέτρον καὶ τοὺς [λοιποὺς] ἀποστόλους· τί **οὖν** ποιήσωμεν, ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί; **ὑποδεειξατε ἡμειν**. [38]Πέτρος δὲ πρὸς αὐτούς φησίν. μετανοήσατε, καὶ βαπτισθήτω ἕκαστος ὑμῶν ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι **τοῦ κυρίου** Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν [ὑμῶν] καὶ λήμψεσθε τὴν δωρεὰν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. [39]ὑμεῖν γάρ ἐστιν ἡ ἐπαγγελία καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις ὑμῶν καὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς εἰς μακράν, ὅσους ἂν προσκαλέσηται κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν. [40]ἑτέροις δὲ λόγοις πλείοσιν διεμαρτύρατο καὶ παρεκάλει αὐτοὺς λέγων· σώθητε ἀπὸ τῆς γενεᾶς ταύτης τῆς σκολιᾶς. [41]οἱ μὲν οὖν [ἀποδεξάμενοι] τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ ἐβαπτίσθησαν καὶ προσετέθησαν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρα ψυχαὶ ὡσεὶ τρισχίλιαι. [42]**καὶ** ἦσαν προσκαρτεροῦντες τῇ διδαχῇ τῶν ἀποστόλων **ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ** καὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τῇ κλάσει τοῦ ἄρτου καὶ ταῖς προσευχαῖς.

[43]ἐγίνετο δὲ πάσῃ ψυχῇ φόβος, πολλὰ τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα διὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐγίνετο. [44]πάντες τε οἱ πιστεύοντες ἦσαν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ εἶχον πάντα κοινὰ [45]καὶ **ὅσοι** κτήματα **εἶχον ἢ** ὑπάρξεις ἐπίπρασκον καὶ διεμέριζον αὐτὰ **καθ' ἡμέραν** πᾶσι ἄν τις χρείαν εἶχεν· [46]**πάντες** τε προσκαρτεροῦντες **ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ κατ' οἶκους ἄν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό** [ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ] κλῶντες τε [κατ' οἶκον] ἄρτον μετελάμβανον τροφῆς ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει καὶ ἀφελότητι καρδίας [47]αἰνοῦντες τὸν θεὸν καὶ ἔχοντες χάριν πρὸς ὅλον τὸν [λαόν] **κόσμον**. ὁ δὲ κύριος προσετίθει τοὺς σῳζομένους καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό **ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησιᾳ**.

raise up, of that we all are witnesses. [33]Being therefore by the right hand of God exalted, and having received of the Father the promise of the Holy Spirit, he hath poured forth upon you this, which you both see and hear. [34]For David ascended not into the heavens; for he said himself The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit on my right hand, [35]Till I make your enemies The footstool of thy feet. [36]Let all the house of Israel know assuredly that God hath made [him] both Lord and Christ, this Jesus whom you crucified.

[37]Then all who had come together, when they heard this, were cut in their heart, and some of them said to Peter and the apostles, Men and brethren, what therefore shall we do? [38]Show us, And Peter said to them, Repent and be baptized every one of you in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ for the remission of sins; and you will receive the gift of the Holy Spirit. [39]For to us is the promise, and to our children, and to all that are afar off, even as many as the Lord our God shall call unto him. [40]And with many other words he testified, and exhorted them, saying, Save yourselves from this crooked generation. [41]They then that believed his word were baptized; and there were added [to them] in that day about three thousand souls. [42]And they continued steadfastly in the apostles' teaching in Jerusalem, and the fellowship, in the breaking of the bread, and the prayers.

[43]And fear came upon every soul and many wonders and signs were done by the Apostles. [44]And all that believed were together, and had all things common [45]and as many as had possessions or goods sold them, and parted them day by day to all those who had need. [46]And all continued steadfastly, in the temple, and in their homes together breaking bread they did take their food with gladness and singleness of heart, [48]praising God, and having favor with all the world. And the Lord added those that were being saved day by day together in the Church.

3 Ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις Πέτρος καὶ Ἰωάννης ἀνέβαινον εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν **τὸ δειλεινὸν** ἐπὶ τὴν ὥραν ἐνάτην τῆς προσευχῆς. [2]καί **ἰδού** τις ἀνὴρ χωλὸς ἐκ κοιλίας μητρὸς αὐτοῦ [ὑπάρχων] ἐβαστάζετο, ὃν ἐτίθουν καθ' ἡμέραν πρὸς τὴν θύραν τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὴν λεγομένην Ὡραίαν τοῦ αἰτεῖν ἐλεημοσύνην παρ' αὐτῶν εἰσπορευομένων **αὐτῶν** εἰς τὸ ἱερόν· [3]**οὗτος ἀτενίσας τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ** ἰδὼν Πέτρον καὶ Ἰωάννην μέλλοντας εἰσιέναι εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, ἠρώτα **αὐτοὺς** ἐλεημοσύνην [λαβεῖν]. [4]**ἐμβλέψας δὲ ὁ** [ἀτενίσας δὲ] Πέτρος εἰς αὐτὸν σὺν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ **καὶ** εἶπεν· **ἀτένεισον** [βλέψον] εἰς ἡμᾶς. [5]ὁ δὲ **ἀτενείσας** [ἐπεῖχεν] αὐτοῖς προσδοκῶν τι λαβεῖν παρ' αὐτῶν. [6]εἶπεν δὲ **ὁ** Πέτρος· ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσίον οὐχ ὑπάρχει μοι, ὃ δὲ ἔχω τοῦτο σοι δίδωμι· ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Ναζωραίου περιπάτει. [7]καὶ πιάσας αὐτὸν τῆς δεξιᾶς χειρὸς ἤγειρεν [αὐτόν]· **καὶ** παραχρῆμα **ἐστάθη καὶ** ἐστερεώθησαν αὐτοῦ αἱ βάσεις καὶ τὰ σφυδρά, [8]καὶ ἐξαλλόμενος ἔστη καὶ περιεπάτει καὶ **χαιρὸμενος καὶ** εἰσῆλθεν σὺν αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν [περιπατῶν καὶ ἁλλόμενος καὶ] αἰνῶν τὸν θεόν. [9]καὶ εἶδεν πᾶς ὁ λαὸς αὐτὸν περιπατοῦντα καὶ αἰνοῦντα τὸν θεόν· [10]ἐπεγίνωσκον δὲ αὐτὸν ὅτι αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ πρὸς τὴν ἐλεημοσύνην καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῇ ὡραίᾳ πύλῃ τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ ἐπλήσθησαν θάμβους καὶ ἐκστάσεως ἐπὶ τῷ **γεγενὶμένῳ** [συμβεβηκότι] αὐτῷ.

[11][Kratoῦντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸν] **ἐκπορευομένου δὲ τοῦ** Πέτρον καὶ Ἰωάννην συνέδραμεν **κρατῶν** [πᾶς ὁ λαὸς πρὸς] αὐτοὺς **οἱ δὲ θαμβηθέντες ἔστησαν** [ἐπι] τῇ στοᾷ ἡ καλουμένῃ Σολομῶντος ἔκθαμβοι. [12]ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Πέτρος **εἶπεν** πρὸς **αὐτος** [τὸν λαόν]· ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλῖται, τί θαυμάζετε ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἢ ἡμῖν τί ἀτενίζετε ὡς **ἡμῶν τῇ** ἰδίᾳ δυνάμι ἢ εὐσεβείᾳ πεποιηκόσιν τοῦ περιπατεῖν αὐτόν; [13]ὁ θεὸς Ἀβραὰμ καὶ **θεὸς** Ἰσὰκ καὶ **θεὸς** Ἰακώβ, ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, ἐδόξασεν τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν **Χριστὸν** ὃν ὑμεῖς παρεδώκατε **εἰς κρίσιν** καὶ **ἀπηρήασαθε αὐτὸν** [ἠρνήσασθε] κατὰ πρόσωπον Πειλάτου, **τοῦ** κρίναντος ἐκείνου ἀπολύειν **αὐτὸν θέλοντος**· [14]ὑμεῖς δὲ τὸν ἅγιον καὶ δίκαιον **ἐβαρύνατε** [ἠρνήσασθε] καὶ ἠτήσατε ἄνδρα φονέα χαρισθῆναι ὑμεῖν, [15]τὸν δὲ ἀρχηγὸν τῆς ζωῆς ἀπεκτείνατε ὃν ὁ θεὸς ἤγειρεν ἐκ νεκρῶν, οὗ ἡμεῖς μάρτυρες ἐσμεν. [16]καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ πίστει τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ τοῦτον ὃν θεωρεῖτε καὶ οἴδατε, **ὅτι** ἐστερέωσεν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἡ πίστις ἡ δι' αὐτοῦ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ τὴν ὁλοκληρίαν ταύτην ἀπέναντι πάντων ὑμῶν. [17]Καὶ νῦν, ἀδελφοί, **ἐπιστάμεθα** [οἶδα] ὅτι **ὑμεῖς μὲν** κατὰ ἄγνοιαν ἐπράξατε **πορηρόν** ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες ὑμῶν·

3 Now in those days Peter and John were going up into the temple in the evening at the ninth hour, that of prayer. [2]And, behold, a certain man, that was lame from his mother's womb was being carried, this one they laid daily at the door of the temple called Beautiful to ask alms of them that were entering into the temple. [3]He fixing steadily his eyes, and seeing Peter and John about to go into the temple, asked alms from them. [4]And Peter, looking on him with John, said, Look steadily on us. [5]And he looked steadily on them, expecting to receive something from them. [6]But Peter said, Silver and gold have I none; but what I have, that give I you. In the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, walk. [7]And he took him by the right hand, and raised him up. And immediately he stood; and his feet and ankles received strength. And leaping up, he stood, and walked rejoicing, and entered with them into the temple praising God. [9]And all the people saw him walking and praising God. [10]And they knew him, that it was he who sat for alms at the Beautiful Gate of the temple; and they were filled with wonder and amazement because of what had happened unto him.

[11]And as Peter and John went out, he went out with them, and held them and were standing astonished in the porch that is called Solomon's, greatly wondering. [12]But Peter answering said to them, You men of Israel, why do you marvel at this? Why do you look at us, as though by our own power of godliness we had done this thing that he should walk? [13]The God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, the God of our ancestors has glorified his servant Jesus Christ, whom you delivered up to judgment, and denied him before the face of Pilate, when he had judged and wished to release him. [14]But you oppressed the Holy and Righteous One, and asked for a murderer to be granted unto you. [15]And you killed the Prince of life; whom God raised from the dead; of which we are witnesses. [16]And by faith in his name you behold this man and know that his name made him strong, and the faith which is by him hath given him this perfect soundness in the presence of you all. [17]And now, men and brethren, we know that you did a wicked thing in ignorance, as did also your rulers. [19]But the things which God foretold by the mouth of all the prophets, that his Christ should suffer, God has thus fulfilled. [19]Repent therefore, and turn again, that your sins may be blotted out, that so there may come seasons of refreshing from the face of the Lord; [20]and that he may send the Christ who has been appointed for you, even Jesus, [21]whom heaven must receive until the times of

[18]ὁ δὲ θεός, ἃ προκατήγγειλεν διὰ στόματος πάντων τῶν προφητῶν παθεῖν τὸν χριστὸν [ἐπλήρωσεν] οὕτως. [19]μετανοήσατε οὖν καὶ ἐπιστρέψατε εἰς τὸ ἐξαλειφθῆναι [ὑμῶν] τὰς ἁμαρτίας, [20]ὅπως ἂν ἐπέλθωσιν καιροὶ ἀναψύξεως ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ἀποστείλῃ τὸν προκεχειρισμένον ὑμῖν χριστόν Ἰησοῦν, [21]ὃν δεῖ οὐρανὸν μὲν δέξασθαι ἄχρι χρόνων ἀποκαταστάσεως πάντων ὧν ἐλάλησεν ὁ θεὸς διὰ στόματος τῶν ἁγίων [ἀπ' αἰῶνος] αὐτοῦ προφητῶν. [22]Μωϋσῆς μὲν εἶπεν **πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν** ὅτι προφήτην ὑμεῖν ἀναστήσει κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὑμῶν ὡς ἐμοῦ· αὐτοῦ ἀκούσεσθε κατὰ πάντα ὅσα ἂν λαλήσῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς. [23]ἔσται δὲ πᾶσα ψυχὴ ἥτις ἂν μὴ ἀκούσῃ τοῦ προφήτου ἐκείνου ἐξολεθρευθήσεται ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ. [24]καὶ πάντες δὲ οἱ προφῆται ἀπὸ Σαμουὴλ καὶ τῶν κατεξῆς [ὅσοι] **ὅ** ἐλάλησαν καὶ κατήγγειλαν τὰς ἡμέρας ταύτας. [25]ὑμεῖς ἐστε οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ τῆς διαθήκης ἣν ὁ θεὸς διέθετο πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ὑμῶν λέγων πρὸς Ἀβραάμ· καὶ ἐν τῷ σπέρματι σου ἐνευλογηθήσονται πᾶσαι αἱ πατριαὶ τῆς γῆς. [26]ὑμεῖν πρῶτον ἀναστήσας ὁ θεὸς τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ [ἀπέστειλεν αὐτὸν] **ἐξαπέστειλεν** εὐλογοῦντα ὑμᾶς ἐν τῷ ἀποστρέφειν ἕκαστον [ἀπὸ] **ἐκ** τῶν πονηριῶν ὑμῶν.

[18]But those things, which God before had showed by the mouth of all his prophets, that Christ should suffer, he has so fulfilled. [19]Repent you therefore, and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out, when the times of refreshing shall come from the presence of the Lord; [20]and he shall send Jesus Christ, which before was preached unto you: [21]whom the heaven must receive until the times of restoration of all things, whereof God spoke by the mouth of his holy prophets. [22]Moses indeed said unto our ancestors, a prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you of our brethren; to him like unto myself shall you hearken in all things whatsoever he shall speak unto you. [23]And it shall be, that every soul, that will not listen to that prophet, will be utterly destroyed from among the people. [24]Yes, and all the prophets, from Samuel and them that followed after, as many as have spoken, they also told of these days. [25]You are the children of the prophets, and of the covenant that God made with your ancestors, saying unto Abraham. And in thy seed will all the families of the earth be blessed. [26]Unto you first, God having raised up his Servant, sent him to bless you, in turning away every one of you from your evil doings.

4:1-31

4 Λαλούντων δὲ αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸν λαὸν **τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα** ἐπέστησαν αὐτοῖς οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ [ὁ στρατηγὸς τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ] οἱ Σαδδουκαῖοι, [2]διαπονούμενοι διὰ τὸ διδάσκειν αὐτοὺς τὸν λαὸν καὶ ἀναγγέλλειν [ἐν τῷ] **τὸν** Ἰησοῦν **ἐν** τὴ ἀνάστασιν τῶν νεκρῶν, [3]καὶ ἐπέβαλοντες αὐτοῖς τὰς χεῖρας καὶ ἔθεντο εἰς τήρησιν εἰς τὴν [αὔριον] **ἐπαύριον**· ἦν γὰρ ἑσπέρα ἤδη. [4]πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν ἀκουσάντων τὸν λόγον ἐπίστευσαν καὶ **ἀριθμός τε** ἐγενήθη [ἀριθμὸς τῶν] ἀνδρῶν ὡς χιλιάδες ε.

[5]Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν αὔριον **ἡμέραν** συναχθῆναι [αὐτῶν τοὺς] ἄρχοντας καὶ [τοὺς] **οἱ** πρεσβυτέρους καὶ γραμματεῖς ἐν Ἰερουσαλήμ, [6]καὶ Ἄννας ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ Καϊφας καὶ Ἰωναθας καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ ὅσοι ἦσαν ἐκ γένους ἀρχιερατικοῦ, [7]καὶ στήσαντες αὐτοὺς ἐν [τῷ] μέσῳ ἐπυνθάνοντο· ἐν ποίᾳ δυνάμει ἢ ἐν ποίῳ ὀνόματι ἐποιήσατε τοῦτο ὑμεῖς; [8]Τότε Πέτρος πλησθεὶς πνεύματος ἁγίου εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς· ἄρχοντες τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ πρεσβύτεροι **τοῦ Ἰσραήλ**, [9]εἰ ἡμεῖς σήμερον ἀνακρινόμεθα [ἐπὶ] **ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἐπ** εὐεργεσίᾳ ἀνθρώπου ἀσθενοῦς ἐν τίνι οὗτος σέσωται, [10]γνωστὸν ἔστω πᾶσιν ὑμεῖν καὶ παντὶ τῷ λαῷ Ἰσραὴλ ὅτι ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι

4:1-31

4 And as they spoke these words unto the people, the priests and [the captain of the temple] and the Sadducees came upon them, [2]being greatly troubled because they taught the people, and proclaimed Jesus in the resurrection of the dead. [3]And they laid hands on them, and put them in prison until the next day since it was now evening. [4]But many of them that heard the word believed; and the number also of the believers came to be about five thousand.

[5]And it came to pass on the next day, that the rulers and elders and Scribes were gathered together in Jerusalem; and Annas the high-priest, and Caiaphas, and Jonathas and Alexander, and as many as were of the kindred of the high-priest. [7]And when they had set them in the midst, they inquired, By what power, or in what name have you done this? [8]Then Peter, filled with the Holy Spirit, said unto them, You rulers of the people, and elders of Israel, [9]if we this day are examined by you concerning a good deed done to an impotent man, by what means this man is made whole, [10]be it known unto you all, and to all the people of Israel, that in the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, whom

Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Ναζωραίου ὃν ὑμεῖς ἐσταυρώσατε, ὃν ὁ θεὸς ἤγειρεν ἐκ νεκρῶν, ἐν τούτῳ οὗτος παρέστηκεν ἐνώπιον ὑμῶν ὑγιής. [11]οὗτος ἐστιν ὁ λίθος, ὁ ἐξουθενηθεὶς ὑφ' ὑμῶν τῶν οἰκοδόμων, ὁ γενόμενος εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας. [12]καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἄλλῳ οὐδενὶ **οὐ** [ἡ σωτηρία, οὐδὲ] γὰρ ἐστιν ἕτερον ὄνομα ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν τὸ δεδομένον ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἐν ᾧ δεῖ σωθῆναι ἡμᾶς. [13]Θεωροῦντες δὲ τὴν τοῦ Πέτρου παρρησίαν καὶ Ἰωάννου καὶ καταλαβόμενοι ὅτι ἄνθρωποι ἀγράμματοι εἰσιν [καὶ ἰδιῶται] ἐθαύμαζον ἐπεγίνωσκον δὲ αὐτοὺς ὅτι σὺν τῷ Ἰησοῦ ἦσαν, [14]τόν ἄνθρωπον βλέποντες σὺν αὐτοῖς ἑστῶτα τὸν τεθεραπευμένον οὐδὲν εἶχον **ποιῆσαι ἢ** ἀντειπεῖν. [15]κελεύσαντες [δὲ] αὐτοὺς ἔξω τοῦ συνεδρίου [ἀπελθεῖν] συνέβαλλον πρὸς ἀλλήλους [16]λέγοντες· τί ποιήσωμεν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τούτοις; ὅτι μὲν γὰρ γνωστὸν σημεῖον γέγονεν δι' αὐτῶν πᾶσιν τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν Ἰερουσαλὴμ φανερὸν **ἐστιν** καὶ οὐ δυνάμεθα ἀρνεῖσθαι· [17][ἀλλ'] ἵνα μὴ ἐπὶ πλεῖον διανεμηθῇ εἰς τὸν λαὸν ἀπειλησώμεθα **οὖν** αὐτοῖς μηκέτι λαλεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τούτῳ μηδενὶ ἀνθρώπων. [18]**συνκαταλαλεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τούτῳ μηδενὶ ἀνθρώπων συνκατατιθεμένων δὲ αὐτων τῇ γνώμῃ φωνήσαντες αὐτοὺς** [καὶ καλέσαντες αὐτοὺς] παρήγγειλαν τὸ κατὰ τὸ μὴ φθέγγεσθαι μηδὲ διδάσκειν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Ἰησοῦ. [19] ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ Πέτρος καὶ Ἰωάννης εἶπον πρὸς αὐτούς· εἰ δίκαιον ἐστιν ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ ὑμῶν ἀκούειν μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ θεοῦ, κρείνατε· [20]οὐ δυνάμεθα γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἃ εἴδαμεν καὶ ἠκούσαμεν [μὴ] λαλεῖν. [21]οἱ δὲ προσαπειλησάμενοι ἀπέλυσαν αὐτούς, μὴ εὑρίσκοντες **αἰτίαν** τὸ πῶς κολάσωνται αὐτούς, διὰ τὸν λαόν, ὅτι πάντες ἐδόξαζον τὸν θεὸν ἐπὶ τῷ γεγονότι· [22]ἐτῶν γὰρ πλειόνων **μ** ἦν [τεσσεράκοντα] ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐφ' ὃν γεγόνει τὸ σημεῖον τοῦτο τῆς ἰάσεως.

[23]Ἀπολυθέντες δὲ ἦλθον πρὸς τοὺς ἰδίους καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν ὅσα πρὸς αὐτοὺς οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι εἶπαν. [24]οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες **καὶ ἐπιγνόντες τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνέργιαν** ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἦραν φωνὴν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ εἶπαν· δέσποτα, σὺ ὁ **θεὸς ὁ** ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς, [25]**ὃς διὰ πν** [ὁ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν] διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου στόματος **ἐλάλησας** Δαυὶδ παιδός σου [εἰπών]· ἵνα **τί** ἐφρύαξαν ἔθνη καὶ λαοὶ ἐμελέτησαν κενά; [26]παρέστησαν οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες συνήχθησαν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ κατὰ τοῦ χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ. [27]συνήχθησαν γὰρ ἐπ' ἀληθείας ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ ἐπὶ τὸν ἅγιον σου παῖδα Ἰησοῦν ὃν ἔχρισας, Ἡρῴδης τε καὶ Πόντιος Πιλᾶτος σὺν ἔθνεσιν καὶ λαοῖς Ἰσραήλ, [28]ποιῆσαι ὅσα ἡ χείρ σου καὶ ἡ βουλή σου προώρισεν γενέσθαι. [29]καὶ τὰ νῦν, κύριε, ἔφιδε ἐπὶ τὰς ἀπειλὰς αὐτῶν καὶ δὸς τοῖς δούλοις σου

you crucified, who God raised from the dead, in him does this man stand here before you whole. [11]He is the stone that was rejected by the builders which was made the head of the corner. [12]And in none other is there (anything), for there is no other name under heaven given to us, wherein we must be saved. [13]Now when they saw the boldness of Peter and John, and had perceived that they were unlearned men, they marveled; but they knew about them, that they had been with Jesus. [14]Seeing the man that was healed standing with them, they could do or say nothing against it. When they had commanded that they should be led out of the Council, they conferred among themselves, saying, [16]What shall we do to these men? For indeed, that a notable sign has been done through them is more than well known to all that dwell in Jerusalem, and we cannot deny it. [17]So that it spread no further among the people, let us threaten them, that they speak from now on to no one in this name. [18]And when they had agreed to this decision they called them, and charged them not to speak nor teach in the name of Jesus. [19]But Peter and John answered and said unto them, Whether it be right in the sight of God to listen to you rather than to God, you be the judge, for we cannot [20](but) speak the things that we saw and heard. [21]And they, when they had further threatened them, let them go, finding nothing how they might punish them, because of the people; for all men glorified God for that which was done.

[23]For the man was more than forty years old, on whom this sign of healing was wrought. [23]And being let go, they came to their own company, and reported all that the chief priests and the elders had said unto them. [24]And they, when they heard it, and recognized the working of God, lifted up their voice to God with one accord, and said, O Lord, you are the God that made the heaven and the earth and the sea, and all that is in them. [25]Who by the Holy Spirit, by the mouth of David your servant ssaid, Why did the Gentiles rage, And the peoples imagine vain things? [26]The kings of the earth set themselves in array, And the rulers were gathered together, Against the Lord, and against his Anointed. [27]For the truth in this city, against thy holy Servant Jesus, whom you anointed, both Herod and Pontius Pilate were gathered together with the Gentiles and the peoples of Israel, [28]to do what your hand and your counsel foreordained to come to pass. [29]And now, Lord, look upon their how they threaten and grant unto your servants to speak thy word with all boldness, while you stretch forth your hand to heal, and that signs and wonders may be done through the name of thy holy Servant Jesus. [31]And when they had prayed, the place was shaken wherein they

μετὰ παρρησίας πάσης λαλεῖν τὸν λόγον σου, [30]ἐν τῷ τὴν χεῖρα σου ἐκτείνειν εἰς ἴασιν καὶ σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα γίνεσθαι διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ ἁγίου παιδός σου Ἰησοῦ. [31]καὶ δεηθέντων αὐτῶν ἐσαλεύθη ὁ τόπος ἐν ᾧ ἦσαν συνηγμένοι, καὶ ἐπλήσθησαν ἅπαντες τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος καὶ ἐλάλουν τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ μετὰ παρρησίας **παντὶ τῷ θέλοντι πιστεύειν**.

were gathered together: and they were all filled with the Holy Spirit, and they spoke the word of God with boldness, to every one who wished to believe.

5:1-42

5 Ἀνὴρ δέ τις ὀνόματι Ἀνανίας σὺν Σαφφύρᾳ τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπώλησεν κτῆμα [2]καὶ ἐνοσφίσατο [ἀπὸ] **ἐκ** τῆς τιμῆς, συνειδυίης καὶ τῆς γυναικός, καὶ ἐνέγκας μέρος τι παρὰ τοὺς πόδας τῶν ἀποστόλων ἔθητο. [3]εἶπεν δὲ ὁ Πέτρος πρὸς Ἀνανίαν, διὰ τί ἐπλήρωσεν ὁ σατανᾶς τὴν καρδίαν σου, ψεύσασθαι σε τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα καὶ νοσφίσασθαι **σε** ἀπὸ τῆς τειμῆς τοῦ χωρίου; [4]οὐχὶ μένον σοὶ ἔμενεν καὶ πραθὲν ἐν τῇ [σῇ] ἐξουσίᾳ ὑπῆρχεν; τί ὅτι ἔθου ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου [τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτο] **ποιῆσαι πονηρὸν τοῦτο**; οὐκ ἐψεύσω ἀνθρώποις ἀλλὰ τῷ θεῷ. [5]ἀκούων δὲ ὁ Ἀνανίας τοὺς λόγους τούτους **παραχρῆμα** πεσὼν ἐξέψυξεν, καὶ ἐγένετο φόβος μέγας ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς ἀκούοντας. [6]ἀναστάντες δὲ οἱ νεώτεροι συνέστειλαν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐξενέγκαντες ἔθαψαν.

[7]Ἐγένετο δὲ ὡς ὡρῶν [τριῶν] γ διάστημα καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ μὴ ἰδυῖα τὸ γεγονὸς εἰσῆλθεν. [8][ἀπεκρίθη] δὲ πρὸς αὐτὴν **ὁ** Πέτρος· εἰπερωτήσω **σε εἰ ἄρα** [μοι εἰ τοσούτου] τὸ χωρίον **τοσούτου** ἀπέδοσθε; ἡ δὲ εἶπεν· ναί, τοσούτου. [9]ὁ δὲ Πέτρος πρὸς αὐτήν· τί ὅτι συνεφωνήθη ὑμῖν πειράσαι τὸ πνεῦμα κυρίου; ἰδοὺ οἱ πόδες τῶν θαψάντων τὸν ἄνδρα σου ἐπὶ τῇ θύρᾳ καὶ ἐξοίσουσιν σε. [10]**καὶ** ἔπεσεν παραχρῆμα πρὸς τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξέψυξεν· εἰσελθόντες δὲ οἱ νεανίσκοι εὗρον αὐτὴν νεκρὰν καὶ **συνστείλαντες** ἐξενέγκαν **καὶ** ἔθαψαν πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς, [11]καὶ ἐγένετο φόβος μέγας ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς ἀκούοντας ταῦτα.

[12]Διὰ δὲ τῶν χειρῶν τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐγίνετο σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα πολλὰ ἐν τῷ λαῷ. καὶ ἦσαν ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἅπαντες ἐν **ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἐν** τῇ στοᾷ Σολομῶντος, [13]τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν [οὐδεὶς] ἐτόλμα κολλᾶσθαι αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐμεγάλυνεν αὐτοὺς ὁ λαός. [14]μᾶλλον δὲ προσετίθεντο πιστεύοντες τῷ κυρίῳ, πλήθη ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν, [15]ὥστε κατὰ [εἰς τὰς] πλατείας ἐκφέρειν τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς **αὐτῶν** καὶ τιθέναι ἐπὶ κλιναρίων καὶ κραβάττων, ἵνα ἐρχομένου Πέτρου κἂν ἡ σκιὰ ἐπισκιάσῃ τινὶ αὐτῶν. [16]**ἀπηλλάσσοντο γὰρ ἀπὸ πάσ ἀσθενίας ὡς εἶκεν ἕκαστος αὐτῶν** συνήρχετο

5:1-42

5 But a certain man named Ananias, with Sapphira his wife [2]sold a possession and kept back part of the price, his wife also being privy to it, and brought a certain part, and laid it at the apostles' feet. [3]But Peter said to Ananias, Why had Satan filled your heart to lie to the Holy Spirit, to keep back part of the price of the land? Whiles it remained, did it not remain your own? [4]And after it was sold was it not in your power? How is it that you have conceived in your heart to do this wicked thing? Your have not lied to us but to God. [5]And when he heard these words, Ananias immediately fell down and died, and great fear came upon all that heard it. [6]And the young men arose and wrapped him, and they carried him out and buried him.

[7]And it was about the space of three hours after when his wife, who did not knowing what had happened, came in. [9]And Peter said to her I will ask you if you sold the land for so much. [10]She then said, Yes, for so much. But Peter (replied) to her, How is it that you have agreed together to tempt the Spirit of the Lord? Behold, the feet of those who have buried your husband are at the door, and they will carry you out. [10]And she fell down immediately at his feet, and died. And the young men came in, and found her dead; and having wrapped her they carried her out, and buried her by her husband. [11]And great fear fell upon the whole church, and upon all that heard these things.

[12]And by the hands of the apostles were many signs and wonders done among the people; and they were all with one accord in the temple in Solomon's porch. [13]But of the rest, no one joined himself to them; even though the people magnified them. [14]And there were more added to them, believing on the Lord, multitudes both of men and women. [14]So many that they carried out their sick into the streets, and laid them on beds and couches, that, as Peter came by, at the least his shadow might overshadow some of them. For they were set free from every sickness that each one of them had. [16]And there came together into Jerusalem a multitude from the

δὲ καὶ πλῆθος τῶν πέριξ πόλεων Ἰερουσαλὴμ φέροντες ἀσθενεῖς καὶ ὀχλουμένους ἀπὸ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων [οἵτινες ἐθεραπεύοντο ἅπαντες] **καὶ ἐθῶντο πάντες**.

17 Ἀναστὰς δὲ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ πάντες οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ, ἡ οὖσα αἵρεσις τῶν Σαδδουκαίων, ἐπλήσθησαν ζήλου 18καὶ ἐπέβαλον τὰς χεῖρας ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀποστόλους καὶ ἔθεντο αὐτοὺς ἐν τηρήσει δημοσίᾳ. 19**καὶ ἐπορεύθη εἰς ἔκαστος εἰς τὰ Ἴδια. Τότε διὰ** νυκτὸς ἄγγελος κυρίου [διὰ ἀνοίξας] **ἀνέωξεν** τὰς θύρας τῆς φυλακῆς ἐξαγαγών τε αὐτοὺς εἶπεν· 20πορεύεσθε καὶ σταθέντες λαλεῖτε ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῷ λαῷ πάντα τὰ ῥήματα τῆς ζωῆς ταύτης. 21ἀκούσαντες δὲ εἰσῆλθον ὑπὸ τὸν ὄρθρον εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ἐδίδασκον. Παραγενόμενος δὲ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ **ἐγερθέντες τὸ πρωὶ καὶ** συνεκάλεσαν τὸ συνέδριον καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γερουσίαν τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἀπέστειλαν εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἀχθῆναι αὐτούς. 22οἱ δὲ ὑπηρέται παραγενόμενοι **καὶ ἀνοίξαντες** τὴν φυλακὴν οὐχ εὗρον αὐτοὺς **ἔσω** ἀναστρέψαντες **καὶ** ἀπήγγειλαν 23λέγοντες ὅτι τὸ δεσμωτήριον εὕρομεν κεκλεισμένον ἐν πάσῃ ἀσφαλείᾳ καὶ τοὺς φύλακας ἑστῶτας ἐπὶ τῶν θυρῶν, ἀνοίξαντες δὲ ἔσω οὐδένα εὕρομεν. 24ὡς δὲ ἤκουσαν τοὺς λόγους τούτους ὅ τε στρατηγὸς τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς, διηπόρουν περὶ αὐτῶν τί ἂν γένοιτο τοῦτο. 25παραγενόμενος δέ τις ἀπήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς ὅτι ἰδοὺ οἱ ἄνδρες οὓς ἔθεσθε ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ εἰσὶν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἑστῶτες καὶ διδάσκοντες τὸν λαόν. 26Τότε ἀπελθὼν ὁ στρατηγὸς σὺν τοῖς ὑπηρέταις ἤγαγον αὐτοὺς [οὐ] μετὰ βίας, ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ τὸν λαὸν μὴ λιθασθῶσιν.

27 Ἀγαγόντες δὲ αὐτοὺς ἔστησαν ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ. καὶ ἐπηρώτησεν αὐτοὺς ὁ [ἀρχιερεὺς] **ἱερεὺς** 28λέγων· οὐ παραγγελίᾳ παρηγγείλαμεν ὑμῖν μὴ διδάσκειν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τούτῳ; ἰδοὺ πεπληρώκατε τὴν Ἰερουσαλὴμ τῆς διδαχῆς ὑμῶν καὶ βούλεσθε ἐπαγαγεῖν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς τὸ αἷμα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου [τούτου] **ἐκείνου**. 29[ἀποκριθεὶς] **πειθαρχεῖν δὲ θεῷ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνθρώποις ὁ** δὲ Πέτρος [καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι] εἶπεν **πρὸς αὐτοὺς** [πειθαρχεῖν δεῖ θεῷ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνθρώποις]. 30ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν ἤγειρεν Ἰησοῦν ὃν ὑμεῖς διεχειρίσασθε κρεμάσαντες ἐπὶ ξύλου· 31τοῦτον ὁ θεὸς ἀρχηγὸν καὶ σωτῆρα ὕψωσεν τῇ δόξῃ αὐτοῦ δοῦναι μετάνοιαν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν **ἐν αὐτῷ**. 32καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν μάρτυρες **πάντων** τῶν ῥημάτων τούτων καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ὃν ἔδωκεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς πειθαρχοῦσιν αὐτῷ. 33Οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες διεπρίοντο καὶ ἐβούλοντο ἀνελεῖν αὐτούς. 34ἀναστὰς δέ τις ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου Φαρισαῖος ὀνόματι Γαμαλιήλ, νομοδιδάσκαλος τίμιος παντὶ τῷ λαῷ, ἐκέλευσεν **τοὺς ἀποστόλους** ἔξω βραχὺ [τοὺς ἀνθρώπους] ποιῆσαι 35εἶπέν τε πρὸς **τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ τοὺς**

cities round about, bringing sick folk, and them that were filled with unclean spirits and all were cured.

17But the high priest rose up, and all those who were with from the Sadducees, and they were filled with jealousy; 18and laid hands on the apostles, and put them in prison and each one of them went to his own home. 19Then by night an angel of the Lord opened the doors of the prison, and brought them out, and said, 20Go and stand and speak in the temple to the people all the words of this Life. 21And when they head this, they entered into the temple about early morning and taught. But the high priest came, and they that were with him, having been roused early, called the council together, and all the senate of the children of Israel, and sent to the prison to have them brought. 22But the officers having come and opened the prison found them gone; and they returned, and repoted, saying, 23The prison-house we found shut, and the guards standing at the doors; but when we had opened we found no one within. 24Now when the captain of the temple and the chief priests heard these words, they were greatly perplexed concerning them and about how this would grow.

[redacted] stoned.

27And when they had brought them they set them before the Council. And the priest asked them, saying, 28Did we not strongly charge you not to teach in this name? And, behold, you have filled Jerusalem with your teaching, and wish to bring that man's blood upon us. 29But Peter said to them, 30We must obey God rather than rulers. The God of our ancestors raised up Jesus, whom you killed, hanging him on a tree. 31God exalted him for his glory to be a Prince and a Savior, to give repentance to Israel, and remission of sins in him. 32And we are witnesses of all these things; and so is the Holy Spirit, whom God hath given to them that obey him. (33) But they, when they heard this, were cut to the heart, and were minded to slay them. 34But there stood up one of the council, a Pharisee, named Gamaliel, a teacher of the law, had in honor of all the people, and commanded to set the apostles aside a little while. 35And he said to the rulers and those of the council, You leaders of Israel, reconsider about touching these men, what you are about to do. 36For before these days rose up Theudas, acting as if he were somebody great, a number of men , about four hundred, joined themselves to him; who was slain by himself, and of all those who followed him

συνέδρους [αὐτούς]· ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλῖται, προσέχετε ἑαυτοῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τούτοις τί μέλλετε πράσσειν. [36]πρὸ γὰρ τούτων τῶν ἡμερῶν ἀνέστη Θευδᾶς λέγων εἶναι τινα **μέγαν** ἑαυτόν, ᾧ προσεκλίθη ἀριθμὸς ἀνδρῶν ὡς τετρακοσίων· ὃς **διελύθη αὐτὸς δι' αὐτοῦ** [ἀνῃρέθη] καὶ πάντες ὅσοι ἐπείθοντο [αὐτῷ διελύθησαν] καὶ ἐγένοντο εἰς οὐδέν. [37]μετὰ τοῦτον ἀνέστη Ἰούδας ὁ Γαλιλαῖος ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς ἀπογραφῆς καὶ ἀπέστησεν λαὸν **πολὺν** ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ· κἀκεῖνος ἀπώλετο καὶ πάντες ὅσοι ἐπείθοντο αὐτῷ διεσκορπίσθησαν. [38]καὶ τὰ νῦν **εἰσιν ἀδελφοι** λέγω ὑμῖν, ἀπόστητε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τούτων καὶ [ἄφετε] **ἐάσατε** αὐτούς **μὴ μιάναντες τὰς χεῖρας**· ὅτι ἐὰν ᾖ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἡ βουλὴ αὕτη ἢ τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο, καταλυθήσεται, [39]εἰ δὲ ἐκ θεοῦ ἐστιν, οὐ δυνήσεσθε καταλῦσαι αὐτούς, [μήποτε καὶ θεομάχοι εὑρεθῆτε] **οὔτε ὑμεῖς οὔτε βασιλεῖς οὔτε τύραννοι. Ἀπέχεσθε οὖν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τούτων μή ποτε θεονάχοι εὑρεθητε** ἐπείσθησαν δὲ αὐτῷ [40]καὶ προσκαλεσάμενοι τοὺς ἀποστόλους δείραντες παρήγγειλαν μὴ λαλεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ ἀπέλυσαν **αὐτούς**. [41]Οἱ μὲν οὖν **ἀποστολοι** ἐπορεύοντο χαίροντες ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ συνεδρίου, ὅτι ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος κατηξιώθησαν ἀτιμασθῆναι, [42]πᾶσαν δὲ ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ κατ' οἶκον οὐκ ἐπαύοντο διδάσκοντες καὶ εὐαγγελιζόμενοι τὸν **κύριον** χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν.

Galilee, in the days of the enrolment, he drew many people after him. He also perished, and all, as many as obeyed him were scattered abroad. [39]And now, my friends; I say unto you, Refrain from these men, and leave them alone, do not defile your hands; for if this counsel or this work is of human origin it will be overthrown; [39]but if it is of God, you will not be able to hinder them; neither you nor kings nor tyrants: keep away therefore from these men, otherwise you may be found fighting against God. [40]And to him they agreed, and when they had called the apostles before them, they beat them, and charged them not to speak in the name of Jesus, and let them go. [41]The apostles therefore left the presence of the Council, rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer dishonor for the name. [42]And every day, in the temple and at home they continued to teach and preach the Lord Jesus as the Christ.

8·9-24

8 Ἀνὴρ δέ τις ὀνόματι Σίμων προϋπάρχων ἐν τῇ πόλει μαγεύων ἐξιστάνων τὸ ἔθνος τῆς Σαμαρίας, λέγων εἶναι τινα ἑαυτὸν μέγαν, [10]ᾧ προσεῖχον πάντες ἀπὸ μικροῦ ἕως μεγάλου λέγοντες· οὗτος ἐστιν ἡ δύναμις τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ καλουμένη μεγάλη. [11]προσεῖχον δὲ αὐτῷ διὰ τὸ ἱκανῷ χρόνῳ ταῖς μαγίαις ἐξεστακέναι αὐτούς. [12]ὅτε δὲ ἐπίστευσαν τῷ Φιλίππῳ εὐαγγελιζομένῳ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐβαπτίζοντο ἄνδρες τε καὶ γυναῖκες. [13]ὁ δὲ Σίμων καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπίστευσεν καὶ βαπτισθεὶς ἦν **καὶ** προσκαρτερῶν τῷ Φιλίππῳ, θεωρῶν τε σημεῖα καὶ δυνάμεις μεγάλας γινομένας ἐξίστατο.

[14] Ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀπόστολοι ὅτι δέδεκται ἡ Σαμάρεια τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀπέστειλαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς Πέτρον καὶ Ἰωάννην, [15]οἵτινες καταβάντες προσηύξαντο περὶ αὐτῶν ὅπως λάβωσιν πνεῦμα ἅγιον· [16]οὐδέπω γὰρ ἦν ἐπὶ οὐδενὶ αὐτῶν ἐπιπεπτωκός, μόνον δὲ βεβαπτισμένοι ὑπῆρχον εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ **Χριστοῦ**. [17]τότε ἐπετίθεσαν τὰς χεῖρας ἐπ'

8:9-24

8 But there was a certain man, Simon by name, who had practiced in the city sorcery, and amazed the people of Samaria, saying that he himself was someone great; [10]all of them from the least to the greatest listened to him eagerly, saying, This man is the power of God which is called Great. [11]And they listened to him, because for a long time he had amazed them with his practice of magic. [12]But when they believed Philip preaching good tidings concerning the kingdom of God and the name of Jesus Christ, they were baptized, both men and women. [13]And Simon himself also believed, and was baptized, and he continued with Philip; and saw signs and great miracles wrought, he was amazed.

[14]Now when the apostles which were at Jerusalem heard that Samaria had received the word of God, they sent to them Peter and John; [15]who when they had come down, prayed for them, that they might receive the Holy Spirit, [16]for as yet the Spirit had not fallen upon them; they had only been baptized into the name of the Lord Jesus Christ. [17]Then they laid their hands upon them, and they

αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐλάμβανον πνεῦμα ἅγιον. [18]ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Σίμων ὅτι διὰ τῆς ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν τῶν ἀποστόλων δίδοται τὸ πνεῦμα **τὸ ἅγιον** προσήνεγκεν αὐτοῖς χρήματα [19]**παρακαλῶν καὶ** λέγων· δότε καμοὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ταύτην ἵνα ᾧ ἂν ἐπιθῶ **κἀγὼ** τὰς χεῖρας λαμβάνῃ πνεῦμα ἅγιον. [20]Πέτρος δὲ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν· ἀργύριον σὺν σοὶ εἴη εἰς ἀπώλειαν ὅτι τὴν δωρεὰν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνόμισας διὰ χρημάτων κτᾶσθαι· [21]οὐκ ἔστιν σοι μερὶς οὐδὲ κλῆρος ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ, ἡ γὰρ καρδία σου οὐκ ἔστιν εὐθεῖα ἔναντι τοῦ θεοῦ. [22]μετανόησον οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς κακίας σου ταύτης καὶ δεήθητι τοῦ κυρίου, εἰ ἄρα ἀφεθήσεταί σοι ἡ ἐπίνοια τῆς καρδίας σου, [23]**ἐν γὰρ πικρίας** [εἰς γὰρ χολὴν] πικρίας καὶ σύνδεσμον ἀδικίας [ὁρῶ] σε ὄντα. [24]ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Σίμων εἶπεν **πρὸς αὐτούς· παρακαλῶ** δεήθητε ὑμεῖς [ὑπὲρ] **περὶ** ἐμοῦ πρὸς τὸν **θεὸν** [κύριον] ὅπως μηδὲν ἐπέλθῃ **μοι τούτων τῶν κακῶν** [ἐπ' ἐμὲ] ὧν εἰρήκατε **ὃς πολλὰ κλαίων οὐ διελίμπανεν.**

received the Holy Spirit. [18]Now when Simon saw that through the laying on of the apostles' hands the Holy Spirit was given, he brought them money, asking them and saying, [19]Give me also this power, that on whoever I also lay my hands, that one may receive the Holy Spirit. [20]But Peter said unto him, Your silver perish with you because you have thought to obtain the gift of God with money. [21]You have neither part nor share in this matter for your heart is not right before God. [22]Repent therefore from this your wickedness, and pray the Lord that, if possible, the intent of your heart will be forgiven you. For I see that you are in the gall of bitterness and in the chains of wickedness. (24) And Simon answered and said to them I beg you pray for me to God that none of these evils of which you have spoken come upon me. And he ceased not to shed many tears.

The Greek text of D is here lacking from 8:29-10:14. The Latin side (d) of D, however, does include from 10:4-14 and is included with translation below.

10:4-48

10 *Et trepidus factus dixit quid dne dixit autem ei orationis tuae et aelemosynae ascenderunt in recordatione coram deo* [5]*et nunc mitte uiros in ioppen et accersi simonem qui cognominatur petrus* [6]*hic est ospirans aput simonem pellionem cuius est domus iuxta mare* [7]*ut autem dissit angelus qui loquebatur ei uacatis duobus famulorum eius et militem fidelem ex his qui praesto erant* [8]*ennarruit illis uisum et misit illos in ioppen* [9]*postera autem die iter illis facientibus et adpropiantibus ciuitati ascendit petrus in cenaculum et horabit circa hora sexta* [10]*factus est autem esuriens et bolebat gustare praeparantibus uero ipsis cecidit super eum mentis stupor* [11]*et uidit caaelumapertum ex quattuor principiis ligatum uas quo dam et linteum splendidum quod differebatur de caelo in terram* [12]*et erant omnia quadripedia et serpentia et uolatilia caeli.* [13]*Et facta est uox ad eum petre surge immola et mandu ca.* [14]ὁ δὲ Πέτρος εἶπεν , μηδαμῶς κύριε ὅτι οὐδέποτε ἔφαγον πᾶν κοινὸν ἢ ἀκάθαρτον. [15]φωνησας **δὲ** πάλιν ἐκ δευτέρου πρὸς αὐτόν· ἃ ὁ θεὸς ἐκαθάρισεν, σὺ μὴ κοίνου. [16]τοῦτο δὲ ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τρίς καὶ [εὐθὺς] ἀνελήμφθη **πάλιν** τὸ σκεῦος εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν.

[17]Ὡς δὲ ἐν ἑαυτῷ διηπόρει ὁ Πέτρος τί ἂν εἴη τὸ ὅραμα ὃ εἶδεν, **καὶ** εἰδοὺ οἱ ἄνδρες οἱ

10:4-48

10 In fear he (Peter) stared and said, "What is it lord?" The angel answered, "your prayers and your alms have gone before God as a memorial. [5]Now send men to Joppa for a certain man named Simon, who is also known as Peter. [6]He is staying with Simon, a tanner, whose house is by the sea. [7]When the angel who had been speaking to him had left, he called two of his servants and a faithful soldier from those who were present, [8]and telling them everything, he sent them to Joppa. [9]About noon the next day, as they were on their way and nearing the city, Peter went up on the roof to pray. [10]He became hungry and wanted something to eat. While it was being prepared he fell into a trance. [11]He saw the heavens opened and something like a large sheet coming down, being lowered to ground by its four corners. [12]In it were all of the quadrupeds and serpents and creatures that fly in the sky. [13]And a voice came to him that said "get up, Peter, kill and eat." [14]Buut Peter said, By no means Lord, for I have never eaten anything that is profane or unclean. [15]The voice said to him again a second time, "What God has cleansed, you will not call unclean." [16]And this was done three times and the vessel was received up again into heaven.

[17]Now when he came to himself Peter doubted

ἀπεσταλμένοι ἀπὸ τοῦ Κορνηλίου **ἐπερωτήσαντες** [διερωτήσαντες] τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ Σίμωνος ἐπέστησαν ἐπὶ τὸν πυλῶνα, [18]καὶ φωνήσαντες ἐπυνθάνοντο εἰ Σίμων ὁ ἐπικαλούμενος Πέτρος ἐνθάδε ξενίζεται. [19]τοῦ δὲ Πέτρου διενθυμουμένου περὶ τοῦ ὁράματος εἶπεν αὐτῷ τὸ πνεῦμα· ἰδοὺ ἄνδρες [τρεῖς] ζητοῦντες σε, [20]ἀλλὰ ἀναστὰ κατάβηθι καὶ πορεύου σὺν αὐτοῖς μηδὲν διακρινόμενος ὅτι ἐγὼ ἀπέσταλκα αὐτούς. [21]**τότε** καταβὰς ὁ Πέτρος πρὸς τοὺς ἄνδρας εἶπεν· ἰδοὺ ἐγώ εἰμι ὃν ζητεῖτε· τίς ἡ αἰτία δι' ἣν πάρεστε; [22]οἱ δὲ εἶπαν· Κορνήλιος ἑκατοντάρχης, ἀνὴρ δίκαιος καὶ φοβούμενος τὸν θεόν, μαρτυρούμενος τε ὑφ' ὅλου τοῦ ἔθνους τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἐχρηματίσθη ὑπὸ ἀγγέλου ἁγίου μεταπέμψασθαι σε εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκοῦσαι ῥήματα παρὰ σοῦ. [23]**τότε** [εἰσκαλεσάμενος] **εἰσαγαγὼν ὁ Πέτρος** [οὖν αὐτοὺς] ἐξένισεν. Τῇ δὲ ἐπαύριον ἀναστὰς ἐξῆλθεν σὺν αὐτοῖς καί τινες τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἀπὸ Ἰόππης συνῆλθον αὐτῷ. [24]τῇ δὲ ἐπαύριον εἰσῆλθεν εἰς Καισάρειαν. ὁ δὲ Κορνήλιος ἦν προσδεχόμενος αὐτοὺς συγκαλεσάμενος τοὺς συγγενεῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἀναγκαίους φίλους **περιέμεινεν**. [25][Ὡς δὲ ἐγένετο τοῦ εἰσελθεῖν τὸν] **δὲ τοῦ** Πέτρον **εἰς τὴν Καισαρίαν προδραμὼν εἷς τῶν δούλων διεσάφησεν παραγεγομέναι αὐτόν** [συναντήσας αὐτῷ] ὁ **δὲ** Κορνήλιος **ἐκπηδήσας καὶσυναντὴσας αὐτῷ** πεσὼν [ἐπὶ] τοὺς πόδας προσεκύνησεν **αὐτόν**. [26]ὁ δὲ Πέτρος ἤγειρεν αὐτὸν λέγων· **Τί ποιεῖς; κἀγὼ** [ἀνάστηθι· καὶ ἐγὼ αὐτὸς] ἄνθρωπος εἰμι **ὡς καὶ σύ**. [27]καὶ [συνομιλῶν αὐτῷ] εἰσῆλθεν **τε** καὶ εὑρεν συνεληλυθότας πολλούς, [28]ἔφη τε πρὸς αὐτούς· ὑμεῖς **βέλτιον** ἐφίστασθε ὡς ἀθέμιτον ἐστιν ἀνδρὶ Ἰουδαίῳ κολλᾶσθαι ἢ προσέρχεσθαι **ἀνδρὶ** ἀλλοφύλῳ· καμοὶ ὁ θεὸς ἔπέδιξεν μηδένα κοινὸν ἢ ἀκάθαρτον λέγειν ἄνθρωπον· [29]διὸ καὶ ἀναντιρρήτως ἦλθον μεταπεμφθείς **ὑφ' ὑμῶν**. πυνθάνομαι οὖν τίνι λόγῳ μετεπέμψασθε με; [30]καὶ ὁ Κορνήλιος ἔφη· ἀπὸ **τῆς** [τετάρτης] **τρίτης** ἡμέρας μέχρι [ταύτης] τῆς **ἄρτι** ὥρας ἤμην **νηστεύων τὴν** ἐνάτην **τε** προσευχόμενος ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ μου, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀνὴρ ἔστη ἐνώπιον μου ἐν ἐσθῆτι λαμπρᾷ [31]καὶ φησίν· Κορνήλιε, εἰσηκούσθη σου ἡ προσευχὴ καὶ αἱ ἐλεημοσύναι σου ἐμνήσθησαν ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ. [32]πέμψον οὖν εἰς Ἰόππην καὶ μετακάλεσαι Σίμωνα ὃς ἐπικαλεῖται Πέτρος, οὗτος ξενίζεται ἐν οἰκίᾳ Σίμωνος βυρσέως παρὰ θάλασσαν **ὃς παραγενόμενος λαλήσει σοι**. [33]ἐξαυτῆς οὖν ἔπεμψα πρὸς σέ **παρακαλῶν ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ἡμᾶς** σύ δὲ καλῶς ἐποίησας **ἐν τάχει** παραγενόμενος. νῦν οὖν πάντες ἡμεῖς ἐνώπιον **σου** [τοῦ θεοῦ πάρεσμεν] ἀκοῦσαι **βουλόμενοι παρὰ σοῦ** [πάντα] τὰ προστεταγμένα σοι ὑπὸ τοῦ [κυρίου]

what this vision which he had seen should mean: and, behold the men that were sent from Cornelius, having asked about Simon's house, [19]they stood before the gate, and called and asked whether Simon, which was surnamed Peter, was lodging there. [19]And while Peter though on the vision, the Spirit said unto him, [20]Behold men seek thee. But arise, and go down, and go with them doubting nothing; for I have sent them. [21]Then Peter went down to the men and said, Behold I am he who you seek. What do you wish? [23]And they said to him, A certain Cornelius, a centurion, a righteous man, and one that fears God, and well reported of by all the nation of the Jews, was directed by a holy angel to send for you at his house, and to hear words from you. [23]Then Peter invited them in and gave them lodging. [24]And in the morning he got up and went out with them, and a few of the believers from Joppa accompanied him. And on the next day he entered into Caesarea. And Cornelius was expecting them, and having called together his relatives and his near friends, he was waiting for them. [25]And as Peter was drawing near to Caesarea one of the servants ran forward and announced that he had arrived. And Cornelius sprang up and met him, and fell down at his feet, and worshipped him. [26]But Peter raised him up saying What are you doing? I myself am a man just as you are. [27]And he went in, and found many had come together. [28]And he said unto them, You yourselves know very well how that it is an unlawful thing for a man that is a Jew to join himself or come to one that is of another nation. And now God showed that I should not call any man common or unclean. [29So] when I was sent for I came without objection. I ask therefore why have you sent for me? [30]And Cornelius said, three days ago at this very hour I was praying, and keeping the ninth hour and was fasting, and keeping the ninth hour of prayer in my house, and behold, a man stood before me in bright apparel, and said, (31) Cornelius, your prayer is heard, and your alms have been remembered in the sight of God. [32]Send therefore to Joppa, and ask for Simon, who is called Peter; he is staying in the house of Simon a tanner by the seaside. When he comes he will speak to you. [33T]herefore I sent for you asking that you come to us; and you have done well coming with speed. Now therefore we all in your sight want to hear from you that which has been commanded to you by God.

[34]And Peter opened his mouth and said, Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons; [35]but in every nation anyone that fears God, and works righteousness, is acceptable to God. [36]For the word which God sent to the children of Israel, preaching good tidings of peace by Jesus Christ,

θεοῦ.

[34]Ἀνοίξας δὲ τὸ στόμα Πέτρος εἶπεν· ἐπ' ἀληθείας καταλαμβάνομαι ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν προσωπολήμπτης ὁ θεός, [35]ἀλλ' ἐν παντὶ ἔθνει ὁ φοβούμενος αὐτὸν καὶ ἐργαζόμενος δικαιοσύνην δεκτὸς αὐτῷ ἐστιν. [36]τὸν **γὰρ** λόγον ὃν ἀπέστειλεν τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ εὐαγγελιζόμενος εἰρήνην διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὗτος ἐστιν πάντων κύριος, [37]ὑμεῖς οἴδατε τὸ γενόμενον [ῥῆμα] καθ' ὅλης Ἰουδαίας, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα ὃ ἐκήρυξεν Ἰωάννης, [38]Ἰησοῦν τὸν ἀπὸ Ναζαρέθ, ὡς ἔχρισεν αὐτὸν ὁ θεὸς ἁγίῳ πνεύματι καὶ δυνάμει **οὗτος** ὃς διῆλθεν εὐεργετῶν καὶ ἰώμενος πάντας τοὺς καταδυναστευομένους ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου, ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ἦν μετ' αὐτοῦ. [39]καὶ ἡμεῖς μάρτυρες **αὐτοῦ** [πάντων] ὧν ἐποίησεν ἔν τε τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ Ἰερουσαλήμ. ὃν καὶ ἀνεῖλαν κρεμάσαντες ἐπὶ ξύλου, [40]τοῦτον ὁ θεὸς ἤγειρεν **μετὰ** τῇν τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ ἐνφανῆ γενέσθαι, [41]οὐ παντὶ τῷ λαῷ, ἀλλὰ μάρτυσιν τοῖς προκεχειροτονημένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἡμεῖν, οἵτινες συνεφάγομεν καὶ συνεπίομεν αὐτῷ **καὶ συνανεστράφημεν** μετα τὸ ἀναστῆναι αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν **ἡμέρας μ**· [42]καὶ **ἐνετειλατο** [παρήγγειλεν] ἡμεῖν κηρύξαι τῷ λαῷ καὶ διαμαρτύρασθαι ὅτι οὗτος ἐστιν ὁ ὡρισμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κριτὴς ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν. [43]τούτῳ πάντες οἱ προφῆται μαρτυροῦσιν ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν λαβεῖν διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ πάντα τὸν πιστεύοντα εἰς αὐτόν. [44]Ἔτι λαλοῦντος τοῦ Πέτρου τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα ἐπέσεν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς ἀκούοντας τὸν λόγον. [45]καὶ ἐξέστησαν οἱ ἐκ περιτομῆς πιστοὶ ὅσοι συνῆλθαν τῷ Πέτρῳ, ὅτι καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἔθνη ἡ δωρεὰ τοῦ πνεύματος ἁγίου ἐκκέχυται· [46]ἤκουον γὰρ αὐτῶν λαλούντων γλώσσαις καὶ μεγαλυνόντων τὸν θεόν. [τότε ἀπεκρίθη] **εἶπεν δὲ ὁ** Πέτρος· [47]μήτι τὸ ὕδωρ κωλῦσαι δύναται τις τοῦ μὴ βαπτισθῆναι **αὐτοὺς** [τούτους] οἵτινες τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἔλαβον **ὥςπερ** καὶ ἡμεῖς; [48]**τότε** προσέταξεν αὐτοὺς βαπτισθῆναι ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. τότε **παραεκάλεσαν** [ἠρώτησαν] αὐτὸν **πρὸς αὐτοὺς διαμει1ναι** [ἐπιμεῖναι] ἡμέρας τινάς.

11:1-18

11 Ἤκουσαν δὲ οἱ ἀπόστολοις καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶς οι **ἐν τῇ** [ὄντες κατὰ τὴν] Ἰουδαίαν ὅτι καὶ τὰ ἔθνη ἐδέξαντο τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ. [2]Ὅτε δὲ ἀνέβη] **ὁ μὲν οὖν** Πέτρος **διὰ ἱκανοῦ χρόνου ἠθέλησε πορευθῆναι** εἰς Ἰερουσαλήμ, **καὶ προσφωνήσας τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς καὶἐπιστηριξας**

you know that which took place throughout all Judaea; for beginning from Galilee, after the baptism which John preached, even Jesus of Nazareth, [39]whom God anointed with the Holy Spirit and with power. He went about doing good, and healing all that were oppressed of the devil; for God was with him. [39]And we are his witnesses of the things which he did both in the country of the Jews, and in Jerusalem; whom also they killed, hanging him on a tree. [40]God raised him up after the third day, [41]and gave him to be made known, not to all the people, but to witnesses that were chosen before of God, even to us, who did eat and drink with him, and traveled with him, after he rose from the dead for forty days. [43]And he called us to preach to the people, and to testify that this is he who is ordained of God to be the Judge of the living and the dead. [43]To him all of the prophets bear witness, that through his name every one who believes on him will be forgiven of sins. [44]While Peter was speaking these words, the Holy Spirit fell on all them that heard the word. [45]And they of the circumcision who believed were amazed, as many as came with Peter, because that on the Gentiles also the gift of the Holy Spirit was poured out. [46]For they heard them speak with uncertain tongues and magnify God. [47]And Peter said, Can anyone forbid the water, that these should not be baptized, who have received the Holy Spirit as well as we? [48]Then he commanded them to be baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ. Then they asked him to remain with them for a few days.

11:1-18

11 Now it was heard by the apostles and the believers who were in Judaea that the Gentiles also had received the word of God. [2]Peter therefore for a considerable time wished to journey to Jerusalem; and he called the believers to him, and established them; making a long speech, and teaching them throughout the villages. He also went to meet them,

αὐτούς πολὺν λόγον ποιούμενος διὰ τῶν χωρῶν διδάσκων αὐτούς ὃς καὶ κατήντησεν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀπήγγιλεν αὐτοῖς τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ. οἱ **δὲ** ἐκ περιτομῆς **ἀδελφοὶ** διεκρίνοντο [3]λέγοντες ὅτι εἰσῆλθες πρὸς ἄνδρας ἀκροβυστίαν ἔχοντας καὶ συνέφαγες **σὺν** αὐτοῖς. [4] Ἀρξάμενος δὲ Πέτρος ἐξετίθετο αὐτοῖς **τὰ** καθεξῆς λέγων· [5]ἐγὼ ἤμην ἐν πόλει Ἰόππῃ προσευχόμενος καὶ εἶδον ἐν ἐκστάσει ὅραμα, καταβαῖνον σκεῦος τι ὡς ὀθόνην μεγάλην τέσσαρσιν ἀρχαῖς καθιεμένην ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ἦλθεν ἄχρι **ἐως** ἐμοῦ. [6]εἰς ἣν ἀτενίσας κατενόουν καὶ εἶδον τὰ τετράποδα τῆς γῆς καὶ τὰ θηρία καὶ τὰ ἑρπετὰ καὶ τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. [7]**καὶ** ἤκουσα δὲ φωνῆς λεγούσαν μοι· ἀναστά, Πέτρε, θῦσον καὶ φάγε. [8]εἶπα δέ· μηδαμῶς, κύριε, ὅτι κοινὸν ἢ ἀκάθαρτον οὐδέποτε εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸ στόμα μου. [9][ἀπεκρίθη δὲ] **ἐγένετο** φωνὴ ἐκ [δευτέρου ἐκ] τοῦ οὐρανοῦ· ἃ ὁ θεὸς ἐκαθάρισεν, σὺ μὴ κοίνου. [10]τοῦτο δὲ ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τρίς, καὶ ἀνεσπάσθη πάλιν ἅπαντα εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν. [11]καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐξαυτῆς τρεῖς ἄνδρες ἐπέστησαν ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐν ᾗ ἦμεν, ἀπεσταλμένοι ἀπὸ Καισαρείας πρός με. [12]εἶπεν δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα μοι συνελθεῖν αὐτοῖς [μηδὲν διακρίναντα]. ἦλθον δὲ σὺν ἐμοὶ καὶ οἱ ἓξ ἀδελφοὶ οὗτοι καὶ εἰσήλθομεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ ἀνδρός. [13]ἀπήγγειλεν δὲ ἡμῖν πῶς εἶδεν ἄγγελον ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ σταθέντα καὶ εἰπόντα **αὐτῷ**· ἀπόστειλον εἰς Ἰόππην καὶ μετάπεμψαι Σίμωνα τὸν ἐπικαλούμενον Πέτρον, [14]ὃς λαλήσει ῥήματα πρὸς σὲ ἐν οἷς σωθήσῃ σὺ καὶ πᾶς ὁ οἶκος σου. [15]ἐν δὲ τῷ ἄρξασθαι με λαλεῖν ἐπέπεσεν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ὡς **καὶ** καὶ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἐν ἀρχῇ. [16]ἐμνήσθην δὲ τοῦ ῥήματος τοῦ κυρίου ὡς ἔλεγεν· Ἰωάννης μὲν ἐβάπτισεν ὕδατι, ὑμεῖς δὲ βαπτισθήσεσθε ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ. [17]εἰ οὖν τὴν ἴσην δωρεὰν ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς [ὁ θεὸς ὡς καὶ] ἡμῖν πιστεύσασιν ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, ἐγὼ τίς ἤμην δυνατὸς κωλῦσαι τὸν θεόν **τοῦ μὴ δοῦναι αὐτοῖς πνεῦμα ἅγιον πιστεύσασιν ἐπ αὐτῷ**; [18] Ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα ἡσύχασαν καὶ ἐδόξασαν τὸν θεὸν λέγοντες· ἄρα καὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ὁ θεὸς τὴν μετάνοιαν εἰς ζωὴν ἔδωκεν.

and he reported to them the grace of God. But the believers that were of the circumcision argued with him, saying, [3]You went to those who are uncircumcised, and ate with them. [4]But Peter began, and explained the matter to them in order, saying, [5]I was in the city of Joppa praying; and in a trance I saw a vision, somethin like a large sheet descending down from heaven by four corners, and it came even to me. [6]When I looked at it closely I saw fourfooted beasts of the earth, and the wild beasts, and creeping things, and fowls of the heaven. [7]And I heard a voice saying to me, [8]Rise, Peter, kill and eat. But I said, By no means, Lord; for nothing common or unclean hath ever entered into my mouth. [9]But there was a voice to me out of heaven, What God has cleansed, you will not call unclean. [10]And this happened three times; then everything was drawn up again into heaven. [11]And behold, three men stood before the house in which we were, having been sent from Caesarea to me. [12]And the Spirit told me to go with them. And these six brothers also accompanied me; and we entered into the man's house; [13]and he told us how he had seen an angel standing in his house, saying to him, Send to Joppa and fetch Simon who is called Peter, [14]who will speak to you words by which you and all your house will be saved. [15]And as I began to speak to them, the Holy Spirit fell on them, just as on us at the beginning. And I remembered the word of the Lord, how that he said, John indeed baptized with water; but you will be baptized with the Holy Spirit. [17]If then (God) gave unto them the like gift as God did also unto us, when we believed on the Lord Jesus Christ, who was I that I could hinder God, that I should not give them the Holy Spirit when they believed? [18]And when they heard these things, they held their peace; and glorified God, saying, Then to the Gentiles God has also given repentance unto life.

12:1-24

12 Κατ' ἐκεῖνον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν ἐπέβαλεν τὰς χεῖρας Ἡρῴδης ὁ βασιλεὺς κακῶσαι τινας τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας **ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ.** [2]**καὶ** ἀνεῖλεν δὲ Ἰάκωβον τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰωάννου μαχαίρῃ. [3]**καὶ** ἰδὼν ὅτι [ἀρεστόν] ἐστιν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις **ἡ ἐπιχείρησις αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς πιστοὺς** προσέθετο συλλαβεῖν καὶ Πέτρον, ἦσαν δὲ αἱ ἡμέραι τῶν ἀζύμων. [4]**τοῦτον** [ὃν καὶ] πιάσας ἔθετο εἰς

12:1-24

12 Now about that time Herod the king put violent hands on certain of the Church in Judaea. [2]And he killed James the brother of John with the sword. [3]And when he saw that his laying hands on the faithful pleased the Jews, he proceeded to seize Peter also. And those were the days of unleavened bread. [4]And when he had taken him, he put him in prison, and delivered him to four sqauds of soldiers to guard him; intending after the Passover to bring

φυλακὴν παραδοὺς τέσσαρσιν τετραδίοις στρατιωτῶν φυλάσσειν [αὐτόν], βουλόμενος μετὰ τὸ πάσχα ἀναγαγεῖν αὐτὸν τῷ λαῷ. [5]ὁ μὲν οὖν Πέτρος ἐτηρεῖτο ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ· **πολλὴ** δὲ προσευχὴ ἦν ἐκτενῶς γινομένη **περὶ αὐτοῦ** ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πρὸς τὸν θεὸν περὶ αὐτοῦ.

[6]Ὅτε δὲ ἤμελλεν προαγαγεῖν αὐτὸν Ἡρῴδης, τῇ νυκτὶ ἐκείνῃ ἦν ὁ Πέτρος κοιμώμενος μεταξὺ δύο στρατιωτῶν δεδεμένος ἁλύσεσιν δυσὶν φύλακες δὲ πρὸ τῆς θύρας ἐτήρουν τὴν φυλακήν. [7]καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄγγελος κυρίου ἐπέστη **τῷ Πέτρῳ** καὶ φῶς ἔλαμψεν ἐν τῷ οἰκήματι· **νύξας δὲ τὴν** πατάξας δὲ τὴν πλευρὰν τοῦ Πέτρου ἤγειρεν αὐτὸν λέγων· ἀνάστα ἐν τάχει. καὶ ἐξέπεσαν [αὐτου] αἱ ἁλύσεις ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν. [8]εἶπεν δὲ ὁ ἄγγελος πρὸς αὐτόν· ζῶσαι καὶ ὑπόδησαι τὰ σανδάλια σου. ἐποίησεν δὲ οὕτως. καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· περιβαλοῦ τὸ ἱμάτιον σου καὶ ἀκολούθει μοι. [9]καὶ ἐξελθὼν ἠκολούθει καὶ οὐκ ᾔδει ὅτι ἀληθές ἐστιν τὸ γινόμενον διὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου· ἐδόκει δὲ ὅραμα βλέπειν. [10]διελθόντες δὲ πρώτην καὶ δευτέραν φυλακὴν ἦλθαν ἐπὶ τὴν πύλην τὴν σιδηρᾶν τὴν φέρουσαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἥτις αὐτομάτη ἠνοίγη αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐξελθόντες **κατέβησαν τοὺς ζ βαθνοὺς καὶ** προῆλθον ῥύμην μίαν, καὶ εὐθέως ἀπέστη ὁ ἄγγελος ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ. [11]Καὶ ὁ Πέτρος ἐν ἑαυτῷ γενόμενος εἶπεν· νῦν οἶδα ἀληθῶς ὅτι ἐξαπέστειλεν κύριος τὸν ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξείλατο με ἐκ χειρὸς Ἡρῴδου καὶ πάσης τῆς προσδοκίας τοῦ λαοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων. [12]**καὶ** συνιδὼν [τε] ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τῆς Μαρίας τῆς μητρὸς Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἐπικαλουμένου Μάρκου, οὗ ἦσαν ἱκανοὶ συνηθροισμένοι καὶ προσευχόμενοι. [13]κρούσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν θύραν τοῦ πυλῶνος προσῆλθεν παιδίσκη ὑπακοῦσαι ὀνόματι Ῥόδη, [14]καὶ ἐπιγνοῦσα τὴν φωνὴν τοῦ Πέτρου ἀπὸ τῆς χαρᾶς οὐκ ἤνοιξεν τὸν πυλῶνα, εἰσδραμοῦσα δὲ ἀπήγγειλεν ἑστάναι τὸν Πέτρον πρὸ τοῦ πυλῶνος. [15]οἱ δὲ **ἔλεγον** πρὸς αὐτὴν [εἶπαν]· μαίνῃ. ἡ δὲ διϊσχυρίζετο οὕτως ἔχειν. οἱ δὲ ἔλεγον· ὁ ἄγγελος αὐτου ἐστιν. [16]ὁ δὲ Πέτρος ἐπέμενεν κρούων· **ἐξανοιξαντες** [ἀνοίξαντες] δὲ **καὶ ἰδόντες** [εἶδαν] αὐτὸν καὶ ἐξέστησαν. [17]κατασείσας δὲ αὐτοῖς τῇ χειρι ἵνα σειγᾶσωσιν **εἰσῆλθεν καὶ** διηγήσατο αὐτοῖς πῶς ὁ κύριος αὐτὸν ἐξήγαγεν ἐκ τῆς φυλακῆς εἶπεν τε· ἀπαγγείλατε Ἰακώβῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ταῦτα. καὶ ἐξελθὼν ἐπορεύθη εἰς ἕτερον τόπον.

[18]Γενομένης δὲ ἡμέρας ἦν τάραχος οὐκ ὀλίγος ἐν τοῖς στρατιώταις τί ἄρα ὁ Πέτρος ἐγένετο. [19] Ἡρῴδης δὲ ἐπιζητήσας αὐτὸν καὶ μὴ εὑρών, ἀνακρίνας τοὺς φύλακας ἐκέλευσεν ἀπαχθῆναι, καὶ κατελθὼν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας εἰς Καισάρειαν διέτριβεν.

[20]Ἦν δὲ θυμομαχῶν Τυρίοις καὶ Σιδωνίοις· **οἱ** δε ὁμοθυμαδὸν **ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν πόλεων** him forth to the people. [5]Peter therefore was kept in the prison, but much fervent prayer about him was made by the church to God about him.

[6]And the same night when Herod was about to bring him forth, Peter was sleeping between two soldiers, bound with two chains and the guards in front of the door were watching the prison. [7]Suddenly an angel of the Lord stood by Peter, and a light shined into the cell, and the angel poked Peter on the side and woke him, Get up quickly. And his chains fell from his hands. [8]The angelsiad to him, Fasten your belt and put on your sandals, and Peter did. And the angel said to him, Wrap your cloak around you and follow me. [9]And he went out and followed, but he did not realize that what was happening with the angel's help was real; because he believed he was seeing a vision. [10]And when they were past the first and the second guard, they came to the iron gate that leads to the city, which opened for them of its own accord, and they went out and went down seven steps and walked along a lane and the angel left him. [11]When Peter came to himself, he said, Now I know the truth, that the Lord has sent me an angel and has delivered me from the hand of Herod, and from all of the expectations of the people of the Jews. [12]As soon as he realized this, he went to the hous eof Mary the mother of John, who was called Mark, where many of the believers were gathered together and were praying. [13]And when he knocked at the door of the gate, a maid named Rhoda came to answer. [14]When she recognized Peter's voice, she did not open the gate because of her joy and ran in and announced that Peter was standing at the gate. [15]And they said to her, You are out of your mind! But she insisted that it was so. They said, possibly it is his angel. [16]Meanwhihle, Peter had continued knocking and when they opened the gate they saw him and were amazed. [17]But he motioned to them with his hand to be silent, he came in and described for them how the Lord had brought him out of the prison. And he added, Tell this to James and the believers. Then he left and went to another place.

[18]When morning came, there was a stir among the soldiers over what had happened to Peter. [19]When Herod had searched for him and did not find him, he questioned the guards, and commanded that they should be executed. Then he went down from Judea to Caesarea and stayed there.

[20]For he was highly displeased with those Tyre and Sidon but they came in agreement from both cities and came to the king an dpersuaded Blastus the king's chamberlain, they asked for peace because their country was fed from the king's country. [21]And upon a certain day Herod put on his royal robes, took his seat on the platform and

παρῆσαν πρὸς **τὸν** βασιλέα [αὐτὸν] καὶ πείσαντες Βλάστον, τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ κοιτῶνος τοῦ **αὐτοῦ** ἠτοῦντο εἰρήνην διὰ τὸ τρέφεσθαι τὰς χώρας αὐτῶν **ἐκ** [ἀπὸ] τῆς βασιλικῆς. [21]τακτῇ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ ὁ Ἡρῴδης ἐνδυσάμενος ἐσθῆτα βασιλικὴν [καὶ] καθίσας ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἐδημηγόρει πρὸς αὐτούς, [22]**καταλλαγέντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῖς τυρίοις ὁ δὲ** δῆμος ἐπεφώνει· Θεοῦ φωνὴ καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώπου. [23]παραχρῆμα δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπάταξεν ἄγγελος κυρίου ἀνθ' ὧν οὐκ ἔδωκεν δόξαν τῷ θεῷ, καὶ **καταβὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος** γενόμενος σκωληκόβρωτος **ἔτι ζῶν καὶ οὕτως** ἐξέψυξεν. [24]Ὁ δὲ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ ηὔξανεν καὶ ἐπληθύνετο.

delivered a public speech to them after being reconciled with the Tyrians. [22]And the people kept shouting, The voice of a god, and not a mortal. [23]And immediately and angel of the Lord struck him down because he had not given the glory. And he came down from the throne and while he was still living he was eaten by worms and died. [24]But the word of God grew and multiplied.

15:1-29

15 Καί τινες κατελθόντες ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐδίδασκον τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ὅτι, ἐὰν μὴ περιτμηθῆτε **καὶ** τῷ ἔθει τῷ Μωϋσέως, **περιπατῆτε** οὐ δύνασθε σωθῆναι. [2]γενομένης δὲ στάσεως καὶ ζητήσεως οὐκ ὀλίγης τῷ Παύλῳ καὶ τῷ Βαρναβᾷ [πρὸς] **σὺν** αὐτοῖς, [ἔταξαν ἀναβαίνειν] **ἔλεγεν γὰρ ὁ Παῦλος μένειν οὕτος καθὼς ἐπιστευσαν διισσξυριζόμοενος οἱ δὲ ἐληλυθόντεςἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ παρήγγειλαν αὐτοῖς τῷ** Παῦλον καὶ Βαρνάβᾳ καί τινας ἄλλοις [ἐξ αὐτῶν] **ἀναβαίνειν** πρὸς τοὺς ἀποστόλους καὶ πρεσβυτέρους εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ **ὅπως κριθῶσιν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς** περὶ τοῦ ζητήματος τούτου. [3]Οἱ μὲν οὖν προπεμφθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας διήρχοντο τήν τε Φοινίκην καὶ Σαμάρειαν ἐκδιηγούμενοι τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν τῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ ἐποίουν χαρὰν μεγάλην πᾶσιν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς. [4]παραγενόμενοι δὲ εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ παρεδέχθησαν **μεγάλως ὑπὸ** [ἀπὸ] τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, ἀνήγγειλαν [τε] ὅσα ὁ θεὸς ἐποίησεν μετ' αὐτῶν. [5]**οἱ δὲ παραγγείλαντες αὐτοις ἀναβαῖνειν πρὸς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους** ἐξανέστησαν λέγοντές [δέ] τινες [τῶν] ἀπὸ [τῆς αἱρέσεως] τῶν Φαρισαίων πεπιστευκότες ὅτι δεῖ περιτέμνειν αὐτοὺς παραγγέλλειν δὲ τηρεῖν τὸν νόμον Μωϋσέως.

[6]Συνήχθησαν τε οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ [οἱ] πρεσβύτεροι ἰδεῖν περὶ τοῦ λόγου τούτου. [7]Πολλῆς δὲ ζητήσεως γενομένης ἀνέστησεν **ἐν πνεύματι** Πέτρος **καὶ** εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς· ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε ὅτι ἀφ' ἡμερῶν ἀρχαίων [ἐν] ὑμεῖν ὁ θεὸς ἐξελέξατο διὰ [τοῦ] στόματος μου ἀκοῦσαι τὰ ἔθνη τὸν λόγον τοῦ εὐαγγελίου καὶ πιστεῦσαι. [8][καὶ] ὁ **δὲ** καρδιογνώστης **ὁ** θεὸς ἐμαρτύρησεν αὐτοῖς δοὺς τὸ πνεῦμα **ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τὸ πνεῦμα** τὸ ἅγιον καθὼς καὶ ἡμεῖν [9]καὶ οὐθὲν διέκρινεν μεταξὺ ἡμῶν τε καὶ αὐτῶν τῇ πίστει

15:1-29

15 And certain men came down from Judaea and were teaching the believers, saying, Unless you are circumcised and walk after the custom of Moses, you cannot be saved. [2]And Paul and Barnabas had no small dissension and questioning with them, for Paul spoke strongly,maintaining that they should remain as they were when they believed. But those who had come from Jerusalem, charged them, Paul and Barnabas and certain others, to go up to Jerusalem to the apostles and elders that they might be judged before them about this question. [3]They therefore, being brought on their way by the Church, passed through both Phoenicia and Samaria, declaring the conversion of the Gentiles; and they caused great joy to all the believers. [4]And when they had come to Jerusalem, they were welcomed by the Church and the apostles and the elders, and they reported all things that God had done with them. [5]But those who had charged them to go up to the elders, being certain of the sect of the Pharisees who believed, rose up saying, It is necessary to circumcise them, and to order them to keep the law of Moses.

[6]And the apostles and elders were gathered together to consider of this matter. [7]After there had been much debate, Peter rose up in the Spirit and said unto them, Men and brethren, you know how a good while ago God made choice among us that by my mouth the Gentiles should hear the word of the Gospel and believe. [8]And God, who knows the heart, testified to them, giving them the Holy Spirit, even as God did to us; [9]and God made no distinction between us and them, cleansing their hearts by faith. [10]Now therefore why do you tempt God, putting a yoke upon the neck of the disciples, which neither our ancestors nor we were able to bear? [11]But we believe that we shall be saved through the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, just like

καθαρίσας τὰς καρδίας αὐτῶν. [10]νῦν οὖν τί πειράζετε τὸν θεὸν ἐπιθεῖναι ζυγὸν ἐπὶ τὸν τράχηλον τῶν μαθητῶν ὃν οὔτε οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν οὔτε ἡμεῖς ἰσχύσαμεν βαστάσαι; [11]ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ πιστεύομεν σωθῆναι καθ' ὃν τρόπον κακεῖνοι.

[12]**συνκαταεθεμένων δὲ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Πέτρου εἰρημένοις** ἐσίγησεν [δὲ] πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος καὶ ἤκουον Βαρναβᾶν καὶ Παῦλον ἐξηγουμένων ὅσα ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν δι' αὐτῶν. [13]Μετὰ δὲ τὸ σειγῆσαι αὐτοὺς **ἀναστὰς** [ἀπεκρίθη] Ἰάκωβος [λέγων] **εἶπεν**· ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, ἀκούσατε μου. [14]Συμεὼν ἐξηγήσατο καθὼς πρῶτον ὁ θεὸς ἐπεσκέψατο λαβεῖν ἐξ ἐθνῶν λαὸν τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ. [15]καὶ **οὕως** [τούτῳ] συμφωνοῦσιν οἱ λόγοι τῶν προφητῶν καθὼς γέγραπται· [16]μετὰ **δὲ** ταῦτα **ἐπιστρεψω καὶ** [ἀναστρέψω] καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσω τὴν σκηνὴν Δαυὶδ τὴν πεπτωκυῖαν καὶ τὰ κατεσκαμμένα αὐτῆς ἀνοικοδομήσω καὶ ἀνορθώσω αὐτήν, [17]ὅπως ἂν ἐκζητήσωσιν οἱ κατάλοιποι τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸν [κύριον] **θεὸν** καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐφ' οὓς ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομα μου ἐπ' αὐτούς, λέγει κύριος ποιήσει ταῦτα [18]γνωστὸν ἀπ' αἰῶνος **ἐστιν τῷ κυπίῳ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ**. [19]διὸ ἐγὼ κρείνω μὴ παρενοχλεῖν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐπιστρέφουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν, [20]ἀλλὰ ἐπιστεῖλαι αὐτοῖς τοῦ ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν ἀλισγημάτων τῶν εἰδώλων καὶ τῆς πορνείας [καὶ τοῦ πνικτοῦ] καὶ τοῦ αἵματος **καὶ ὅσα μὴ θέλουσιν ἑαυτοις γεινεσθαι ἑτέροις μὴ ποιεῖτε**. [21]Μωϋσῆς γὰρ ἐκ γενεῶν ἀρχαίων κατὰ πόλιν τοὺς κηρύσσοντας αὐτὸν ἔχει ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς κατὰ πᾶν σάββατον ἀναγινωσκόμενος.

[22]Τότε ἔδοξε τοῖς ἀποστόλοις καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις σὺν ὅλῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐκλεξαμένους ἄνδρας ἐξ αὐτῶν πέμψαι εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν σὺν τῷ Παύλῳ καὶ Βαρναβᾷ, Ἰούδαν τὸν καλούμενον Βαρσαββᾶν καὶ Σείλαν, ἄνδρας ἡγουμένους ἐν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, [23]γράψαντες **ἐπιστολήν** διὰ χειρὸς αὐτῶν **περιέχουσαν τάδε**· Οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἀδελφοὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν καὶ Συρείαν καὶ Κιλικίαν τοῖς ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἀδελφοῖς χαίρειν. [24] Ἐπειδὴ ἠκούσαμεν ὅτι τινὲς ἐξ ἡμῶν ἐξελθόντες ἐτάραξαν ὑμᾶς λόγοις ἀνασκευάζοντες τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν οἷς οὐ διεστειλάμεθα, [25]ἔδοξεν ἡμῖν γενομένοις ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐκλεξαμένοις ἄνδρας πέμψαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς σὺν τοῖς ἀγαπητοῖς ἡμῶν Βαρναβᾷ καὶ Παύλῳ, [26]ἀνθρώποις παραδεδωκόσι τὰς ψυχὴν αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. [27]ἀπεστάλκαμεν οὖν Ἰούδαν καὶ Σιλᾶν καὶ αὐτοὺς διὰ λόγου ἀπαγγέλλοντας [τὰ] αὐτά. [28]ἔδοξεν γὰρ τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ καὶ ἡμεῖν μηδὲν πλεῖον ἐπιτίθεσθαι ὑμῖν βάρος πλὴν τούτων [τῶν] ἐπάναγκες, [29]ἀπέχεσθαι

they were.

[12]And the elders agreed to what Peter has said and all the multitude kept silence. Then they listened to Barnabas and Paul report what signs and wonders God had done among the Gentiles through them. [13]And after they had held their peace, James rose up and said, [14]Men and brethren, listen to me. Symeon has reported how God first visited the Gentiles, to take out of them a people for his name. [15]And to this agree the words of the prophets, as it is written,[16]After these things I will return, And I will build again the tabernacle of David which is fallen; And I will build again the ruins of it; And I will set it up. [17]That all people may seek after the Lord, And all the Gentiles upon whom my name is called says the Lord who does these things. [18]Known unto the Lord from the beginning is God's work. [19]Therefore my judgment is that we do not trouble those Gentiles who are turning to God. [20]but that we should write to them to abstain from the pollution of idols, and from fornication, and from blood; and that what ever they would not have done to them, you should not do to others. [21]For in every city, for generations past, Moses has had those that preach proclaim him, for he has been read aloud every Sabbath in the synagogues. [22]Then it seemed good to the apostles and elders, with the whole church, to choose men out of their company and send them to Antioch with Paul and Barnabas, Judas called Barabbas, and Silas, chief men among the believers. [23]And they wrote a letter by their hands saying, The apostles and the elders to the believers who are of the Gentiles in Antioch and Syria and Cilicia, greeting. [24]Since we have heard that certain persons who have gone, though with no instructions from us, have troubled you with words, unsettling your minds, [25]we have decided unanimously, to choose representatives, and send them to you with your beloved Barnabas and Paul, [26]men that have risked their lives for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ in every trial. [27]We have sent therefore Judas and Silas, who themselves will tell you the same things by word of mouth. [29]For it seemed good to the Holy Spirit and to us, to lay upon you no greater burden than these necessary things. [29]That you abstain from idol sacrifices, and from blood, and from fornication, and what ever you would have done to you, you do not do to another. If you keep yourselves from these you will do well, being sustained by the Holy Spirit. Farewell.

εἰδωλοθύτων καὶ αἵματος [καὶ πνικτῶν] καὶ πορνείας **καὶ ὅσα μὴ θέλετε ἑαυτοῖς γείνεσθαι ἑτέρῳ μὴ ποιεῖν ἀφ'** [ἐξ] ὧν διατηροῦντες ἑαυτοὺς εὖ πράξετε **φερόμενοι ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι**. ἔρρωσθε.

WORKS CITED

Achtemeier, Paul. "*Omne verbum sonat*: The New Testament and the Oral Environment of Late Western Antiquity." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 109 (1990): 3-27.

Aland, Kurt and Barbara Aland. *The Text of the New Testament: An Introduction to Critical Editions and to the Theory and Practice of Modern Textual Criticism.* Translated by Erroll F. Rhoads. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987.

Allen, O. Wesley. *The Death of Herod: The Narrative and Theological Function of Retribution in Luke-Acts,* Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series 158. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997.

Alter, Robert. *The Art of Biblical Narrative.* New York: Basic Books, 1981.

Althusser, Louis. *Lenin and Philosophy*. Translated by B. Brewster. London: Monthly Review, 1971.

Arnold, Bill T. "Luke's Use of the Old Testament in Acts." In *History Literature, and Society in the Book of Acts*. Edited by Ben Witherington, III, 300-323. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Auwers, J. -M. "Le colloque international sur le Codex Bezae," *Revue Théologique de Louvain* 26 (1995), 405-412.

Bagnall, Roger S. "Conversion and Onomastics: A Reply," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 69 (1987): 243-250.

_____. "Religious Conversion and Onomastic Change in Early Byzantine Egypt," *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 19 (1982): 105-124.

Bal, Mieke. *Narratology: introduction to the theory of narrative.* Translated by Christine van Boheemen. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985.

Balogh, Josef. "Voces paginarum: Beiträge zur Geschichte des lauten Lesens und Schreibens," *Philogogus* 82 (1927): 84-240.

Barnes, T. D. "Panegyric, History, and Hagiography in Eusebius' *Life of Constantine*." In *The Making of Orthodoxy: Essays in Honour of Henry Chadwick*. Edited by R. Williams. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Barret, C. K. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles*. The International Critical Commentary, Vol. 1. Edited by J. A. Emerton, C. E. B. Cranfield, and G. N. Stanton. Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1994.

_____. "Is there a Theological Tendency in Codex Bezae?" In *Text and Interpretation: Studies in the New Testament Presented to Matthew Black*. Edited by Ernest Best and R. McL. Wilson, 15-27. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979.

_____. "Luke-Acts." In *Scripture Citing Scripture: Essays in Honour of Barnabas Lindars*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Barthes, Roland. "L'analyse structurale du récit à propos d'Actes X-XI," *Researches de Science Religieuse* 58 (1970): 17-37.

_____. *S/Z*. New York: Hill & Wang, 1974.

Bauckham, Richard, ed. *The Gospels for all Christians: Rethinking the Gospel Audiences*. Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, 1998.

Bauer, Walter. *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and other Early Christian Literature*. Translated by William F. Arndt, F. Wilbur Gingrich, and Frederick W. Danker. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979.

_____. *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity*. Translated by Robert Kraft et al. Edited by Robert Kraft and Gerhard Krodel. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971.

Bauman, R. A. *Lawyers and Politics in the Early Roman Empire: A Study between the Roman Jurists and the Emperors from Augustus to Hadrian*. Munich, N.P., 1989.

Birdsall, J. N., Review of *Le Texte occidental des Actes des Apôtres: Reconstitutheological ion et réhabililtation*, by Boismard, M. -E. and A. Lamouille. In *Journal of Theological Studies* 39 (1988): 571-577.

_____. "The geographical and cultural origin of the Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis: a survey of the *status questionis* mainly from the paleographical standpoint." In *Studien zum Text und zur Ethik des Neuen Testaments: Festschrift zum 80. Geburtstag von Heinrich Greeven*. Edited by Wolfgang Schrage, 103-114. New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1986.

Black, Matthew. "The Holy Spirit in the Western Text of Acts." In *New Testament Textual Criticism: Its Significance for Exegesis*. Edited by Eldon Jay Epp and Gordon Fee. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981.

_____. *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts*. 2nd Edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1954.

Blass, F. *Acta Apostolorum sive Lucae ad Theophilum liber alter*. Editio Philologica. Göttingen, 1895.

Bloom, Harold. *The Anxiety of Influence*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973.

Boismard, M. -E "The Text of Acts: A Problem of Literary Criticism? In *New Testament Textual Criticism, Its Significance for New Testament Exegesis: Essays in Honour of Bruce M. Metzger*. Edited by E. J. Epp and Gorden Fee, 147-157. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981.

Boismard, M. -E. and A. Lamouille, *Le Texte occidental des Actes des Apôtres: Reconstitution et réhabililtation*, 2 Vols. Synthése 17. Paris, 1984.

Booth, Wayne C. *The Rhetoric of Fiction*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press,1961.

Bornemann, F. A. *Acta Apostolorum ab Sancto Luca conscripta ad Codicis Cantabriensis*. Grossenhain and London, 1848.

Bovon, François. *Luc le théologien: Vingt-cing ans de recherches (1950-1075)*. Neuchatel and Paris: Delachaux & Niestlé, 1978.

Brawley, Robert L. *Text to Text Pours Fourth Speech: Voices of Scripture in Luke-Acts*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995.

Brightman, F. E. "On the Italian Origin of Codex Bezae: The Marginal Notes of Lections," *Journal of Theological Studies* 1 (1900): 446-454

Brown, Peter. *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity: Towards a Christian Empire*. Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1988.

_____. *The Body and Society*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1988.

_____. *The Making of Late Antiquity*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987.

Bruce, F. F. *The Acts of the Apostles*. 3rd ed. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990.

Burrus, Virginia. *The Making of a Heretic: Gender, Authority, and the Priscillianist Controversy*. Berkeley: University of California press, 1995.

Callahan, Allen D. "Again the Origin of Codex Bezae," In *Codex Bezae: Studies from the Lunel Colloquium, June 1994*, ed. D. C. Parker and C. –B Amphoux, 56-64. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996.

Cameron, Averil. *Christianity and the Rhetoric of the Empire: The Development of Christian Discourse*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.

_____. *The Later Roman Empire: AD 284-430*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993.

Carney, T. F. *The Shape of the Past: Models and Antiquity*. Lawrence Kansas: Coronado, 1975.

Carroll, John T. "The Uses of Scripture in Acts." In *Society of Biblical Literature 1990 Seminar Papers*. Edited by David J. Lull. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990.

Chase, F. H. *The Credibility of the Acts of the Apostles*. London: Macmillan, 1902.

_____. *The Old Syriac Element in Codex Bezae*. London, 1893.

Chatman, Seymore. *Story and Discourse: Narrative Structure in Fiction and Film*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1978.

_____. *Story and Discourse*. Ithica: Cornell University Press, 1978.

Chrysostom, St. John. *Homolies on the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistle to the Romans*. Edited by Phillip Schaff. Vol 11, A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989.

Clark, W. P. and B. M. W. Knox. "Silent Reading in Antiquity." *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 9 (1968): 421-435.

_____. "The Use of the Septuagint in Acts." in *The Beginnings of Christianity*, Vol. 2, Edited by F. J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, 66-105. London: Mcamillan, 1922.

Collinet, Paul *Historie de l'Ecole de Droit de Berouth*. Etudes historiques sur le Droit de Justinien 10. Paris, 1925.

Conzelman, Hans. *The Theology of St. Luke*. London: Faber, 1960.

_____. "The Address of Paul on the Areopagus." In *Studies in Luke-Acts*. Edited by Leander E. Keck and J. Louis Martyn. Nashville: Abingdon, 1966.

Crehan, J. "Peter According to the D Text of Acts." *Theological Studies* 18 (1957): 596-603.

Crook, J. A. *Legal Advocacy in the Roman World*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995.

Cullmann, Oscar. *The Earliest Christian Confessions*. Translated by J. K. S. Reid. London: Lutterworth Press, 1949.

Culpepper, Alan. "Commentary on Biblical Narratives: Changing Paradigms," *Foundations and Facets Forum* 5:3 (1989), 89.

_____. *The Anatomy of the Fourth Gospel: A Study in Literary Design*. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983.

Dana, H. E. and Julius R. Mantey. *A Manual Grammar of the Greek New Testament*. New York: Macmillan, 1955.

Danker, Frederick. *Benefactor: Epigraphic Study of a Graeco-Roman and New Testament Semantic Field.* St. Louis: Clayton Publishing House, 1982.

Darr, John. "Glorified in the Presence of Kings: A Literary-Critical Study of Herod the Tetrarch in Luke-Acts," Ph.D. Diss. Vanderbilt University, 198.

_____. *On Character Building: The Reader and the Rhetoric of Characterization in Luke-Acts.* Literary Currents in Biblical Interpretation. Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1992.

Davis, J. *People of the Mediterranean: An Essay in Comparative Anthropology*. London: Routledge, 1977.

de Sainte-Croix, Geoffrey Ernest Maurice "Why Were the Early Christians Persecuted?" *Past and Present* 26 (1963): 6-38.

de Vogel, K. Sneyders, "Le Codex Bezae, est-il d'origine sicilienne?" *Bulletin of the Bezaen Club* 3 (1926): 10-13.

Delebecque, E. *Les Deux Actes des Apôtres,* Etudes bibliques 6. Paris, 1986.

Dewey, J. *Markan Public Debate*, Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series 48. Chico: Scholars Press, 1980.

Dibelius, Martin. "The Text of Acts: An Urgent Critical Task," Chap. in *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles*, ed. Heinrich Greeven, 83-92. London: SCM Press, 1956.

Docherty, Thomas. *Reading (Absent) Character*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983.

Dodd, C. H. "The Framework of the Gospel Narrative." In *New Testament Studies*. Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 1953, 1-11.

Dodds, E. R. *Pagan and Christian in the Age of Anxiety.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965.

Doran, Robert. *Birth of a Worldview: Early Christianity in Its Jewish and Pagan Context*. San Francisco: Westview, 1995.

Downey, Glanville. *Antioch in the Age of Theodosius the Great*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962.

Drury, John. *Tradition and Design in Luke's Gospel: A Study in early Christian Historiography*. Atlanta: John Knox, 1977.

Eagleton, Terry. *Ideology: An Introduction*. New York and London: Verso, 1991.

Ehrman, Bart D. *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture: The Effect of Early Christological Controversies on the Text of the New Testament*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Elliott, J. K., Review of *Le Texte occidental des Actes des Apôtres: Reconstitutheological ion et réhabililtation*, by Boismard, M. -E. and A. Lamouille. *Novum Testamentum* 29 (1987): 285-289.

Elliott, John. *What is Social Scientific Criticism*? Philadelphia: Fortress, 1993.

Epp, Eldon J.*The Theological Tendencies of Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis in Acts*, SNTS 3. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966.

Esler, Philip. *Community and Gospel in Luke-Acts: The Social and Political Motivations of Lukan Theology.* Society of New Testament Studies Monograph Series 57. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Evans, Craig A. "Prophecy and Polemic: Jews in Luke's Scriptural Apologetic." In Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders, 205-247. *Luke and Scripture: The Function of Sacred Tradition in Luke-Acts*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993.

Ferguson, Everett. "A History of Palestine from the Fith Century B. C. to the Second Century A. D." In *The World of the New Testament*. Edited by Everett Ferguson, 45-68. Austin: R. B. Sweet, 1967.

Fitzmeyer, Joseph. *The Gospel According to Luke: I-IX.* New York: Doubleday, 1970.

_____. *Acts of the Apostles: A New Translation with Commentary*. Anchor Bible Series 31. New York: Doubleday, 1997.

Fowl, Stephen. "The Simeon's of 15:14: A Comparison between Reader and Author Oriented Cristicisms," *AAR/SBL Abstracts 1995*. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995, 124-125.

Fowler, Robert. *Loaves and Fishes: The Function of the Feeding Stories in the Gospel of Mark*. Chico, California: Scholars Press, 1981.

Fox, Robin Lane. *Pagans and Christians*. New York: Knopf, 1987.

Frend, W. H. C. *The Rise of Christianity.* Philadelphia: Westminster, 1987.

Funk, Robert. *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative*. Sonoma, CA: Polebridge, 1988.

Gamble, Harry. *Books and Readers in the Early Church: A History of Early Christian Texts.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995.

Gardner, Jane F. *Being a Roman Citizen.* New York: Routledge, 1993.

Garrett, Susan R. *The Demise of the Devil: Magic and the Demonic in Luke's Writings*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1989.

Gasque, W. *A History of the Criticism of the Act of the Apostles*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975.

Genette, Gérard. *Narrative Discourse: An essay in Method.* Translated by Jane E. Lewin, 113-160. Ithica: Cornell University Press, 1980.

Gero, Stephen. "Galen on the Christians: A Reappraisal of the Arabic Evidence." *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 65 (1990): 371-404.

Giblin, Charles Homer. *The Destruction of Jerusalem According to Luke's Gospel.* Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1985.

Gilliard, Frank. "More Silent Reading in Antiquity: *Non Mone Verbum Sonabat.*" *Journal of Biblical Literature* 112 (1993): 689-694.

Goulder, Michael. *Type and History in Acts.* London: SPCK, 1964.

Grant, Robert M. "Christians and Imperial Economic Policy in the Early Fourth Century," In *Studies in New Testament and Early Christian Literature: Essays in Honor of Allen P. Wikgren.* Edited by David E. Aune, 137-163. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972.

Green, G. Roger. "Jesus as Prophet in Luke-Acts," Ph.D. Diss. The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1976.

Guterman, Simeon. *Religious Toleration and Persecution in Ancient Rome.* Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood, 1971.

Hanson, R. P. C. "The Provenance of the Interpolator in the 'Western' Text of Acts and of Acts itself." *New Testament Studies* 12 (1966): 211-230.

Hausman, Robert. "The Function of Elijah as a Model in Luke-Acts," Ph.D. Diss. University of Chicago, 1976.

Havelaar, Henrietta. "Hellenistic Parallels to Acts 5:1-11 and the Problem of Conflicting Interpretations." *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 67 (1997): 63-82.

Hays, Richard. *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.

Hemer, Colin. *The Book of Acts in the Setting of Hellenistic History.* Edited by Conrad Gempf. Winona Lake Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1990.

Hengel, Martin. *The Hellenization of Judea in the First Century after Christ.* Philadelphia: Trinity, 1989.

Highet, Gilbert. *The Classical Tradition: Greek and Roman Influences on Western Literature.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957.

Hirsch, E. D. Jr., *Cultural Literacy: What Every American Needs to Know.* New York: Vantage Books, 1988.

Hochman, Baruch. *Character in Literature*. Ithica: Cornell University Press, 1985.

Hollander, John. *The Figure of Echo: A Mode of Allusion in Milton and After*. Berkley: University of California Press, 1981.

Holmes, Michael W. "Early Textual Activity and the Text of Codex Bezae in Matthew." Ph.D. Diss. Princeton University, 1984.

Holtz, L. "L'écriture Latine du Codex Bezae," in In *Codex Bezae: Studies from the Lunel Colloquium, June 1994*, ed. D. C. Parker and C. -B. Amphoux, 14-55. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996.

House, Colin. "Defilement by Association: Some Insights from the Usage of *Koinos/Koinoo* in Acts 10 and 11." *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 21 (1983): 134-159.

Hunt, David. "Christianizing the Roman Empire: the evidence of the Code." In *The Theodosian Code*. Edited by Jill Harries and Ian Wood, 143-153. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995.

Hussey, J. M. *The Byzantine World*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1961.

Irigoin, J. L'écriture grecque du Codex de Béze." In *Codex Bezae: Studies from the Lunel Colloquium, June 1994*, ed. D. C. Parker and C. -B. Amphoux, 3-13. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996.

Iser, Wolfgang. *The Act of Reading: A Theory of Aesthetic Response*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1978,

_____. *The Implied Reader: Patterns of Communication in Prose Fiction from Bunyan to Beckett*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974.

Jakobson, Roman. "Two Aspects of Language and Two Types of Aphasic Disturbances." In *Fundamentals of Language*. Mouton: The Hague, 1971.

Jameson, Frederick. *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981.

Jenkyns, Richard. *The Victorians and Ancient* Greece. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1980.

Jeremias J. *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus: An Investigation into Economic and Social Conditions During the New Testament Period*. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1969.

Johnson, Luke Timothy. *The Acts of the Apostles*, Sacra Pagina Series, Vol 5, Edited by Daniel Harrington. Collegeville, Minn.: Michael Glazier, 1992.

_____. "On Finding the Lukan Community: A Cautious Cautionary Essay." In *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers* 16. Edited by G. MacRae, 87-100. Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1976.

_____. *The Literary Function of Possessions in Luke-Acts.* Missoula: Scholars Press, 1977.

Jones, A. H. M. *History of the Later Roman Empire: A Social, Economic, and Administrative Survey*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964.

Judith Still and Michael Worton, "Introduction." In *Intertextuality: Theories and Practice*. Edited by Judith Still and Michael Worton, 1-44. Manchester: Manchester University Press. 1990.

Kee, Howard Clark. *Community of the New Age*. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1977.

Kelly, J. N. D. *Jerome: His Life, Writings, and Controversies*. New York: Harper and Row, 1975.

Kermode, Frank. *The Genesis of Secrecy: On the Interpretation of Narrative.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977.

Kilpatrick, G. D. "Some Quotations in Acts" In *Les Actes des Apôtres—traditions, rédaction, théologie*. Edited by J Kremer, 47-59. Leuven: University Press, 1978.

King, Noel Q. *The Emperor Theodosius and the Establishment of Christianity.* Philadelphia: Westminster, 1960.

Koch, D-A. *Die Schrift als Zuege des Evangeliums: Untersuchngen zur Verwendung und zum Verständis der Schrift bei Paulus*. Tübingen: Mohr, 1986.

Kristeva, Julia. *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1980.

Kümmel, W. G. *Introduction to the New Testament*. Translated by Howard Clark Kee. Nashville: Abingdon, 1975.

LaHurd,Carol Joan Schersten. "The Author's Call to the Audience in the Acts of the Apostles: A Literary–Critical–Anthropological Reading," Ph.D. Diss., University of Pittsburgh, 1987.

Laing, R. D., H. Phillipson, and A. R. Lee. *Interpersonal Perception: A Theory and Method of Research*. New York, 1966.

Lake, K. and H. Cadbury. *The Beginnings of Christianity*. Vols I-V. London: Macmillan, 1933.

Lake, Kirsopp. "On the Italian Origins of Codex Bezae and Codex 1071," *Journal of Theological Studies* 1 (1900): 441-4445.

Landé, Carl H. "Introduction: The Dyadic Boss of Clientelism." In *Friends, Followers, and Factions: A Reader in Political Clientelism*. Edited by Steffen W. Schmidt, James C. Scott, Carl Landé, and Laura Guasti, i-xxxiii. Berkley: University of California Press, 1977.

Lategan, Bernard C. "Coming to Grips with the Reader," *Semeia* 48 (1989): 3-24.

Le Boulluec, Alain. *Notion d'hérésie dans la littérature grecque II^e-III^e siècles*. Paris: Études augustiniennes, 1985.

Leclerc, J. *Dèfense des sentimens de quelques thèologians d'Hollande sur l'historie critique du Vieux Testament contre la rèsponse du Prieur de Bolleville.* Amsterdam, 1686.

Lim, Richard. *Public Disputation, Power, and Social Order in Late Antiquity*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.

Lohse, E. "Lukas als Theologe der Heilsgeschichte." *Evangelical Theology* 14 (1954): 256-275.

Louw, Johannes P. and Eugene Nida, ed. *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament Based on Semantic Domains*. Second Edition, Vols. 1-2. New York, United Bible Societies, 1989.

Ludemann,Gerd. *Heretics: The Other Side of Christianity*. Translated by John Bowden. London: SCM, 1996.

MacMullen, Ramsay. *Christianizing the Roman Empire*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984.

Maddox, Robert. *The Purpose of Luke-Acts*. Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1982.

Mailloux, Steven. *Rhetorical Power*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989.

Malina, Bruce and Jerome Neyrey. *Calling Jesus Names: The Social Value of Labels in Matthew*. Sonoma: Polebridge, 1988.

_____. *Portraits of Paul: An Archaeology of Ancient Personality*. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1996.

Malina, Bruce. *The New Testament World: Insights from Cultural Anthropology*. Atlanta: John Knox, 1981.

_____. *The Social World Of Jesus and the Gospels*. New York: Routledge, 1996.

Mann, Michael. *The Sources of Social Power*. Vol 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

Markus, R. A. *The End of Ancient Christianity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

Marshall, I. Howard. *Luke: Historian and Theologian*. Exeter: Paternoster, 1970.

Martin, Raymond A. *Syntactical Evidence of Semitic Sources in Greek Documents*. Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series 3. Cambridge, Mass: Society of Biblical Literature, 1974.

Martini, C. "La figura di Peetro secondo le varenti del codice D negli atti Degli Apostoli." In *Atti della XIX Settimana Biblica*. San Pietro: Brecia, 1967, 279-289.

Matthews, John. *Western Aristocracies and the Imperial Court: A.D. 364-425*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975.

McLynn, Neil B. *Ambrose of Milan: Church and Court in a Christian Capital*. Berkley: University of California Press, 1994.

Meeks, Wayne A. "Simon Magnus in Recent Research." *Religious Studies Review* 3 (1977): 137-142.

_____. *The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983.

Metzger, Bruce. *A Textual Commentary on the New Testament*. Stuttgart: United Bible Societies, 1971.

Moessner, David. "The '*script*' of the Scriptures in Acts." In *History Literature, and Society in the Book of Acts*. Edited by Ben Witherington, 218-250. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Momigliano, A. "Pagan and Christian Historiography in the Fourth Century A.D." In *Conflict Between Paganism and Christianity in the Later Roman Empire*. Edited by A. Momigliano. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1963.

Mommsen, T. and P. M. Meyer, *Codex Theodosianus*. Berlin, 1905.

Moore, Stephen D. "Narrative Homiletics: Lukan Rhetoric and the Making of the Reader," Ph.D. Diss., University of Dublin, Trinity College, 1986.

Nestle, E. *Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the Greek New Testament*. London, 1901.

Neyrey, Jerome ed., *The Social World of Luke-Acts* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1991).

Olster, David M. *Roman Defeat, Christian Response, and the Literary Construction of the Jew*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994.

Parker, D. C. *Codex Bezae: An Early Christian Manuscript and its Text*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Parsons, Mikeal C. and Richard I. Pervo. *Rethinking the Unity of Luke and Acts*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993.

Pasquali, G. "Die Composition der *Vita Constantini* des Eusebius," *Hermes* 45 (1910): 368-386.

Pelikan, Jaroslav. *Christianity and Classical Culture: The Metamorphosis of Natural Theology in the Christian Encounter with Hellenism*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993.

Pervo, Richard I. *Luke's Story of Paul*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990.

_____. "Social and Religious Aspects of the Western Text." In *The Living Text*. Edited by Dennis E. Groh and Robert Jewett, 229-241. New York: University Press of America, 1985.

_____. *Profit with Delight: The Literary Genre of the Acts of The Apostles*. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987.

Phelan, James. *Reading People, Reading Plots: Character, Progression and the Interpretation of Narrative*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989.

Pitt-River, Julian. "Honour and Social Status" In *Honour and Shame: The Values of Mediterranean Society*. Edited by J. G. Persistany, 19-78. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966.

Pott, A. *Der abendländische Text der Apostelgeschichte und die Wir-Quelle*. Leipzig, 1900.

Potter, David. *Prophets and Emperors: Human and Divine Authority from Augustus to Theodosius*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Powell, Mark Allen. *What is Narrative Criticism?* Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990.

Prader, Susan Marie. "Jesus-Paul, Peter-Paul, and Jesus-Peter Parallelisms in Luke-Acts: A History of Reader Response." *SBL Seminar Papers 1984*. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1984, 23-39.

Price, Martin. *Forms of Life*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983.

Pucci Pietro. *Odysseus Polutropos: Intertextual Readings in the Odyssey and the Iliad*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987.

Rabbinowitz, Peter J. *Before Reading: Narrative Conventions and the Politics of Interpretation.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987.

Radway, Janice. *Reading the Romance: Women, Patriarchy, and Popular Literature.*

Reimer, Ivoni Richter. *Women in the Acts of the Apostles: A Feminist Liberation Perspective.* Translated by Linda M. Maloney. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995.

Rice, George E. "The Alteration of Luke's Tradition by the Textual Variants in Codex Bezae," Ph.D. Diss. Case Western Reserve University, 1974.

_____. "Is Bezae a Homogeneous Codex?" In *Perspectives on the New Testament*, Edited by Charles Talbert. Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 1985.

Richard, Earl. *Acts 6:1-8:4: The Author's Method of Composition.* SBLDS 41. Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1978.

Rimmon-Kenan, Shlomith. *Narrative Fiction: Contemporary Poetics*. New York: Routledge, 1983.

Rives, J. B. R*eligion and Authority in Roman Carthage from Augustus to Constantine.* Oxford: Clarendon, 1995.

Robbins, Vernon K. "The Social Location of the Implied Author of Luke-Acts." In *The Social World of Luke-Acts: Models for Interpretation*. Edited by Jerome H. Neyrey, 305-332. Peabody, Mass: Hendrickson, 1991.

_____. *The Tapestry of Early Christian Discourse: rhetoric, society and ideology.* New York: Routledge, 1996.

Rosner, Brian S. "Acts and Biblical History." In *The Book of Acts in Its Ancient Literary Setting*. Edited by Bruce W. Winter and Andrew D. Clark, 65-82. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993.

Ruether, Rosmary Radford. "Judaism and Christianity: Two Fourth Century Religions," *Studies in Religion* 2:1-10 (1972): 1-27.

Saller, Richard. *Personal Patronage under the Early Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

Schieffer, R. "Von Mailand nach Canossa." *Deutsches Archive für Erforschun des Mittelters* 28 (1972): 333-370.

Schmidt, Darrell. "The Historiography of Acts: Dueteronomistic or Hellenistic?" *SBL Seminar Papers*. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985, 417-427.

Scott, Bernard Brandon. *Hear Then the Parable*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989.

Scrivner, Frederick H., ed., *Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis Being an Exact Copy, in Ordinary Type, of the Celebrated Uncial Graeco-Latin Manuscript of the Four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles*. Pittsburgh Reprint Series 5. Edited by Dikran Y. Hadidian. Pittsburg: Pickwick, 1978.

Seeters, John Van. *In Search of History: Historiography in the Ancient World and the Origins of Biblical History*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983.

Sheelely, Stephen M. *Narrative Asides in Luke-Acts*. Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 72. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992.

Shepherd, William H. Jr. *The Narrative Function of the Holy Spirit As A Character in Luke-Acts*. Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series 147. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994.

Simonetti, Manlio. *Biblical Interpretation in the Early Church: An Historical Introduction to Patristic Exegesis*. Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1994.

Slusser, Michael. "Reading Silently in Antiquity." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 111 (1992): 499.

Soards, Marion. *The Speeches in Acts: Their Content, Context, and Concerns*. Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1994.

Springer, Mary Doyle. *A Rhetoric of Literary Character*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978.

Staley, Jeff. *The Print's First Kiss: A Rhetorical Investigation of the Implied Reader in the Fourth Gospel*, Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series 82. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988.

Stanford, W. B. *The Sound of Greek: Studies in Euphony* (Berkley: University of California, 1967.

Stark, Rodney. *The Rise of Christianity: A Sociologist Reconsiders History*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.

Stead, Christopher. *Philosophy in Christian Antiquity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Sternberg, Meir. *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative Ideological Literature and the Drama of Reading*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987.

Strange, W. A. *The Problem of the Text of Acts*. Society of New Testament Studies Monograph Series 71. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Strathmann, R. "μάρτυς." In *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament.* Vol. IV. Translated by Geoffrey Bromiley. Edited by Gerrhard Kittel, 474-514. Grand rapids: Eerdmans, 1967.

Talbert, Charles H. *Reading Acts: A Literary and Theological Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles.* New York: Crossroad, 1997.

_____. *Literary Patterns, Theological Themes, and the Genre of Luke–Acts,* Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series 20. Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1974.

Tannehill, Robert C. *The Narrative Unity of Luke–Acts: A Literary Interpretation.* Vol. 2. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990.

_____. "The Disciples in Mark: The Function of a Narrative Role," *Journal of Religion* 57 (1977): 386-405.

Theissen, Gerd. *Miracle Stories of the Early Christian Tradition.* Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1983.

Torgovnivk, Marianna. *Closure in the Novel.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981.

Tov, Emanuel. *The Text-critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research.* Jerusalem: Simor, 1981.

Trumpf, Gerhard. *The Idea of Historical Recurrence in Western Thought: From Antiquity to the Reformation.* Berkley: University of California Press, 1979.

Tyson, Joseph. *The Death of Jesus in Luke-Acts.* Columbia: South Carolina University Press, 1986).

Walworth, Allen James. "The Narrator of Acts." Ph.D. Diss. The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1985.

Walzer, R. *Galen on Jews and Christians.* London, 1949.

Ward, B. *Sayings of the Desert Fathers.* London: Mowbrays, 1975.

Webber, R. "Why Where the Heathen So Arrogant? The Social-Rhetorical Strategy of Acts 3-4." *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 22 (1992): 1-18.

White, L. Michael. "Visualizing the 'Real' World of Acts 16: Toward a Construction of Social Index." In *The Social World of the First Christians: Essays in Honor of Wayne A. Meeks.* Edited by L. Michael White and O. Larry Yarbrough, 265-289. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1995.

Wilcox, Max. *The Semitisms of Acts.* Oxford: Clarendon, 1965.

Williams, A. L. *Adversus Judaeos: A Bird's–Eye View of Christian Apologiae Until the Renaissance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1935.

Williams, Stephen. *Diocletian and the Roman Recovery*. New York: Methuen, 1985.

Wilson, Rawden. "The Bright Chimera: Character as a Literary Term." *Critical Inquiry* 5 (1979): 725-749.

Winkelmann, F. "Zur Geschichte des Authentizitätsproblems der *vita Constantini*," *Klio* 40 (1962): 187-243.

Winter, Michael M. *Saint Peter and the Popes*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Publishers, 1960.

Yoder, John H. Concordance to the Distinctive Greek Text of Codex Bezae. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1961.

_____. "The Language of the Greek Variants of Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis." Th.D. Diss. Princeton Theological Seminary, 1958.

Zahn,Theodore. *Introduction to the New Testament*. Edinburgh, 1909.

Zuntz, G. "On the Western Text of the Acts of the Apostles," In *Opuscula Selecta*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1972, 189-215.