

SHIPWRECK AND PROVIDENCE

The Mission Programme of Acts 27-28

Inauguraldissertation

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Preface

"All flesh shall see the salvation of God". These words of Isaiah which Luke puts on the lips of John the Baptist at the beginning of his Ministry provide a key to understanding Luke-Acts. The salvation which Jesus has brought in to the world must go beyond the confines of Jewish nation and reach the Gentiles as well. In the voyage narrative, the Gentiles benefit from the salvation without being converted to Christianity. The voyage narrative highlights the kind and hospitable behavior between Paul and the Gentiles. Such relationship is important for the rescue of all from the death by shipwreck, and in a symbolic way, for the salvation of all humanity. Living with the people of other Faiths in India has inspired me to study this issue of universal salvation in Acts 27-28. I am deeply grateful to Prof. Hans-Josef Klauck who encouraged me to explore this possibility. It is because of his guidance and timely suggestions that I have been able to complete my work. My gratitude extends to my Dominican Brothers of both Indian and South-German Province. I wish and pray that the message of kindness which Luke brings out so emphatically in the voyage narrative may reach all humanity.

Dominic Mendonca, OP.
Augsburg, July 2004

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Chapter One

Acts 27-28 within the Plan and Purpose of Luke-Acts

1.1 Introduction: The proverb “All is well that ends well” is also applicable in the case of a book. The conclusion of the book is very important for its author. He gives much attention and careful consideration on how he should conclude his work. The voyage of Paul to Rome is the conclusion of Luke-Acts. Naturally the author has given a lot of thought to the composition of these two chapters. They seem to be the summary as well as the crown of his theology. However in the field of biblical research enough justice has not yet been to the study of these two chapters. Often they have been sidelined and overlooked as an independent voyage narrative which Luke has somehow inserted into his narrative. A deeper search with regard to the content of these two chapters and especially their relationship to the rest of Luke-Acts is needed. Acts of the Apostles is a mission-narrative. It narrates the beginning of the Church on the day of Pentecost and the missionary activity of the apostles that carried the message of Christ from Jerusalem to Judea, Samaria and to the ends of the earth (Acts 1:8). Any study on the concluding chapters of Acts must take into consideration the plan and the over-all concern of Luke-Acts: The Mission. One needs to examine in what way these chapters contribute to fulfilling the purpose of Luke Acts. For an exegetical study of these two chapters one needs, first of all, to place them in the over-all plan and purpose of Luke-Acts. Hence we need to begin by looking at some preliminary questions such as the unity of Luke-Acts, the genre, the purpose, and the narrative plot.

1.1.1 The unity of Luke-Acts: Our title “Luke-Acts” implies that the two volumes of Luke are in fact a single work and have a common purpose. It was the American Scholar Henry Cadbury who first used this title Luke-Acts which has been universally accepted almost without question. Gasque in his review of the history of Lukan studies concludes that “the primary gain of the recent criticism of Luke-Acts has been the recognition that the Gospel according to Luke and the book of Acts are really two volumes of one work, which must be considered together”¹.

¹ W. Gasque, *A History of Criticism of the Acts of the Apostles* (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1975) 309.

One can establish the unity of these two volumes, first of all, on the ground that it was written by one and the same author. The ancient tradition holds that Luke, the Physician, was the author of both. The similarity in language and theology would call for one author. Scholars have argued that Luke-Acts was originally one single volume, which was later divided by an editor, perhaps in connection with its acceptance into the New Testament canon². This view has been criticised by Haenchen. He believes that the acceptance into the canon was not a decision made on a specific occasion by a committee, which could order a revised edition of an existing book and call for earlier copies to be removed from circulation. There is no evidence for the alleged single volume, and no convincing occasion for its division and supersession has yet been suggested³.

We can consider three possibilities: 1) Luke planned the whole work as a unity, though in two volumes; 2) Luke wrote a work in the genre “Gospel” in which his scope, materials and aim were largely determined by the work of his predecessors (Lk 1:1-4), and only subsequently decided to add another volume (Acts 1:1); 3) Acts was written first and the preface of Acts was a later addition when the Gospel was written. To choose the right possibility we need to first of all look at the preface in Lk 1:1-4. Does it introduce both volumes, or only the Gospel? Then we need to study the content. Do the two volumes have any difference of outlook on any major themes?

Let us first consider the preface. According to Cadbury the preface in Acts can be considered as a recapitulatory preface⁴. Such a kind was used in the Greco-Roman world for the second or the subsequent volume of a multi-volume work. The prefaces to the two volumes of Josephus’ *Against Apion* provide the best parallel to Luke-Acts. They resemble it in style. So it is possible that Luke was making use of a literary convention of his time. He intended the preface in his Gospel to look forward to the whole narrative, with a brief resumption in Acts 1:1. However, the use of such a convention alone cannot be taken as a conclusive proof that Luke planned both volumes as a unity from the beginning. Prefaces of such a kind were also used for single volumes. Luke could have added the second volume subsequently, without it having been part of his original plan.

² for more information see W. G. Kümmel, *Einleitung*, 125f.

³ Haenchen, *Apostelgeschichte* (Göttingen, 1977) 109.

⁴ Cf. Henry J. Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts* (Haverford: SPCK, 1958) 195-209.

According to Lk 1:2 the information has been handed down to Luke by those who “from the beginning were eye-witnesses and became servants of the Word”. Thus Luke clearly accepts that he is someone belonging to a later time. He has not been a participant in all the things that took place from the beginning. The “We” sections of Acts, whatever their historical basis, do indicate in some way that the author has participated personally in at least part of the mission and later career of Paul. Lk 1:3, therefore, when taken as strict lexicography requires, cannot apply to the Gospel of Luke, but can very well refer to part of the story of Acts; whereas Lk 1:2, on the other hand, does refer to the Gospel as well as to the earlier sections of Acts⁵. Thus the preface of the Gospel of Luke, taken with its recapitulatory counterpart in Acts 1:1 gives us good reasons for considering Luke-Acts as unified work in two volumes.

The content of Luke-Acts confirms our theory. Jesus begins his mission at Nazareth. His message of salvation is rejected by the Jews and accepted by the Gentiles. The mission of Paul ends with a scene where the rejection of the Kingdom by Jews and its acceptance by the Gentiles is declared to be an established fact (Acts 28:17-28). One can easily see this rejection-acceptance factor as a deliberate structural element in both volumes. Moreover, Luke has the habit of leaving out certain details from Mark in his corresponding parallel passage in the Gospel in order to pick them up later in a similar passage in Acts. In the passion narrative of Mark, Jesus is being accused that he said that he would destroy the temple (Mk 14:56-59). Luke transfers this charge from Jesus to Stephen (Acts 6.11-14). Cf. also Mk 5:40/Acts 9:49 and Mark 14:2/Acts 12:4. H.G. Russel, on the basis of this observation, suggests that “Acts might actually have been written before Luke, for an author would be even more likely to omit what he had already used than what he was merely planning to use”⁶. Maddox rejects this opinion as such examples are not extensive and numerous: “Most important of all is the fact that Luke 24:47-49 explicitly looks forward to Acts and especially to Acts 1-2, and this has the effect, that without Acts to follow, the ending of Luke would be something of an anti-climax”⁷.

⁵ Cf. Robert Maddox, *The Purpose of Luke-Acts*, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982) 5.

⁶ H. G. Russel, “Which was Written First, Luke or Acts?”, in: *HTR* 41 (1948), 173.

⁷ Maddox, *The Purpose of Luke-Acts*, 6.

We could conclude that the Gospel of Luke was written with Acts very much in mind. It was never intended to stand independently of its companion-volume. The two-volume work was planned as a unity from the beginning. The theme of the Gospel is continued in Acts. The apostles are a bridge linking the mission of Jesus with that of the church; the Gentiles have no direct access to Jesus during his earthly life, because that theme will be expounded in the second volume. So what we are looking for is the purpose of Luke-Acts rather than separate purposes of two separate books.

1.1.2 The Genre of Luke-Acts: It has been recently argued that Luke-Acts finds a useful analogy in the *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* by Diogenes Laertius⁸. According to Marguerat this work is more of a list of succession than a narrative of origin⁹. But Diogenes' work is about a century later than that of Luke. Did Luke make use of a genre of an earlier literary tradition on which Laertius too drew? This analogy seems to be a little too remote. No one has been able to define a "Lives of the successors" literary genre in antiquity. Moreover, the language of Jesus in the Gospel of Luke is not that of a philosopher. W.C. van Unnik suggests that Luke fits better into the category of Greco-Roman "history"¹⁰. The vocabulary and procedure indicate that Luke is well-acquainted with the habits and methods of Greek historical writers. His alleged deficiencies as a historian are frequently noticed in the work of the greatest Roman historians. For example, Sallust is confused and careless on chronology and topography, even though he was in a good position to check his facts. Tacitus is inadequate on topography and conceived of character as a wholly static and immutable thing. The same is true of Plutarch. The only problem is that the ancient historians were not agreed about the purpose that history should fulfil. Hence let us look at the aim and classification of ancient Greco-Roman history and see to what extent we can consider Luke a historian.

1.1.2.1 The Aim of History: The ancient authors do write about the aim of historiography. To write history is to look for the causes of events. *Historia* means

⁸ Cf. C. H. Talbert, *Literary Patterns, Theological Themes and the Genre of Luke-Acts* (Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1974) 125-40.

⁹ Cf. Daniel Marguerat, *The First Christian Historian* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002) 26.

¹⁰ Cf. W. C. van Unnik, «Eléments artistiques dans l'évangile de Luc», in: F. Neirynck (ed.), *L'évangile de Luc, Problèmes littéraires et théologiques, Mémoires Lucien Cerfaux* (Gembloux, 1973) 129-40.

“seeking” or “exploration”. For example according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, history is: “to seek the causes of what has happened, the forms of action and the intentions of those who acted, and what happened by destiny”¹¹. The pamphlet *How to Write History* by Lucian of Samosata (166-68 AD) reflects a scholarly tradition close to the time of Luke. Lucian lays down the task of a historian: “history has one task and one end; what is useful, and that comes from truth alone” (9). “The historian’s sole duty is to tell what happened...This I repeat, is the sole duty of the historian, and only to truth must sacrifice be made. When one is going to write history, everything else must be ignored..” (39-40)¹².

Van Unnik, having studied the works of both Lucian and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, formulates the code of the Greco-Roman historians in ten rules¹³: i) the choice of a noble subject; ii) the usefulness of the subject for its addressees; iii) independence of mind and absence of partiality; iv) good construction of the narrative, especially the beginning and the end; v) an adequate collection of preparatory material; vi) selection and variety in the treatment of the information; vii) correct disposition and ordering of the account; viii) liveliness in the narration; ix) moderation in the topographical details and x) composition of speeches adapted to the orator and the rhetorical situation.

According to Marguerat Luke has followed 8 of the above-given 10 rules¹⁴. For him the transgression of two rules (the first and the third) are because of the specificity of Luke’s project. Although Luke fits into the mould of the Greco-Roman narrative procedures, he is following the Jewish historiography as far as the subject matter is concerned. In the same way, because his is a theological historiography, Luke cannot follow the third rule of the Greco-Roman historiography listed by van Unnik. According to Lucian a historian must be “fearless, incorruptible, free, a friend of free expression and the truth... sparing no one, showing neither pity nor shame”¹⁵. Luke, however, does not seem to subscribe to this requirement. His reading history is from the point of view of a believer and he understands history as a theologian. Both

¹¹ *Roman Antiquities* 5.56. 1.

¹² Quotation taken from Marguerat, *The First Christian Historian* (Cambridge: University Press, 2002) 13.

¹³ These ten rules and their application to Luke-Acts is found in Marguerat, *The First Christian Historian*, 14-25.

¹⁴ Cf. *Ibid.* 14-22.

¹⁵ Lucian of Samosata, *How to Write History*, n.41.

the Greco-Roman and Jewish historians understand their task as a search for truth. But the Greco-Roman historian establishes the plausibility of the event, while the Jewish historian exposes the truth of the God who rules the world. “Greek history is illuminating, Jewish history is confessional. This is why the intrusion of the narrator is not appropriate in Hebrew historiography. He disappears behind his words. On the contrary, the Greek perspective plays with the articulation of different points of view”¹⁶.

1.1.2.2 Different Types of Historiography: Paul Ricoeur distinguishes three types of historiography¹⁷: a) documentary history: it seeks to establish the verifiable facts. b) Explicative History: it evaluates the event from a social, economic or political horizon. c) Poetic History: its truth lies in the interpretation of the past and the possibility it offers to a community to understand itself in the present. It offers self-consciousness to the group of readers. Poetic history does not conform to the same norms as the other two types. Unlike the documentary history it does not fit the criterion of true/false verification. Unlike the explanatory history it does not weigh up the diverse evaluations of an event. By validating symbolic expression in history, it frees the historian from the suspicion of the symbolic as improper or deviant with regard to the ethics of historiography.

The above classification of history is not clear and tidy. For example the history in Acts is sometimes poetic and sometimes documentary¹⁸. Let us look at Acts as poetic history.

1.1.2.3 Acts as Poetic History: In Acts the narrator has God as intervening, saving and consoling his people. God communicates with apostles through dreams and visions (5:19; 7:55); he causes the community to grow (2:47; 5:14; 11:24). God or the risen Lord overturns Saul on the road to Damascus and transforms him into an apostle to the Gentiles (9:1-19a). It is God who inspires the meeting between Peter and Cornelius by supernatural interventions (10:1-48). God opens the prison doors and

¹⁶ Marguerat, *The First Christian Historian*, 22.

¹⁷ Cf. P. Ricoeur, *Philosophies critiques de l'histoire* (London, 1994) 131-2.

¹⁸ Acts indeed belongs to the broad realm of historiography, as a kind of monograph on a specific subject (beginning and earliest history of the Christian movement, as a kind of religious ethnography). But it is more complicated with the Gospel, which seems to be more biography than historiography.

leads his messengers out (12:6-11; 16:25-26). He strikes down those who oppose the believers (5:1-11; 12:21-23). Divine interventions and guidance are seen throughout the narratives of Acts. It is God or his Spirit who is the principal agent behind the events. Such supernatural interventions have no place in a documentary history. The poetic history is legitimate in a founding narrative whose goal is to show how the Spirit gives birth to the church and it is he who leads the mission of the apostles¹⁹.

On the other hand, Acts also contains documentary history. It offers topographical, socio-political and onomastic notations. This is not the case in the Gospel of Luke. In Acts the narrator pays great attention to the area of Paul's mission, the routes followed, the cities and the synagogues visited. The narrator can be incredibly precise when he describes the itinerary of the missionaries (13:4; 19:21-3; 20: 36-38), the choice of the routes (20:2-3, 13-15), the length of the voyage (20:6, 15), the lodging conditions (18:1-3; 21:8-10), the farewell scenes (21:5-7, 12-14) and so on. Luke is very precise in his use of nautical vocabulary in Acts 27 where he narrates Paul's voyage to Rome and the shipwreck. The mixture and realism present in Acts is rather striking when one compares it to a Greek novel. Luke describes the Roman institutions with the same documentary realism. He gives us precise information with regard to the Roman administration of his time. In 16:12, Philippi is correctly called colony (*κολωνία*) and its Praetores receive the name *στρατηγοί* (16:20). In 17:8, the officials of Thessalonica are correctly called *πολιτάρχαι*; in Athens Paul is taken to *Ἄρειος Πάγος* where he addresses the men Athens (17:19); in Corinth, the Proconsul Gallio receives the title of *ἀνθύπατος*, just as Sergius Paulus in Cyprus (18:12; 13:7-8)²⁰.

1.1.2.4 Conclusion: The Gospel of Mark has been viewed as the most obvious model for Luke. He follows the genre of Gospel which he has received from Mark and modifies this genre, by more than doubling its length and increasing the time-span of his story. The best analogy for Acts would be the historical works of the OT and perhaps post-OT Jewish histories such as 1 Maccabees. In this biblical tradition the aim of history is more unified than it is in the Greek world: it is a kind of confessional proclamation. History is meant to instruct in the character of God, to appeal for

¹⁹ Cf. Marguerat, *The First Christian Historian*, 9-10.

²⁰ Ibid. 10-12.

allegiance to him, and to inspire in his service. On the other hand, Acts is to some extent shaped by the style and technique of Greek historiography. In Acts we find both poetic and documentary history of the Greco-Roman world. At the same time Luke is steeped in the motivation of biblical historiography. He is a historian as well as a theologian. Luke makes use of history to express his theology. One could name the genre of Acts as “theological history”.

1.1.3 The Purpose: The question regarding the purpose of Luke-Acts is rather complex. It is closely connected with many other factors. Schneider suggests that to get to the purpose of Luke-Acts one needs to answer the following questions: What aim is stated in the preface? What details in the work may help to clarify the author’s aim? What main themes are developed in the work? Can the purpose be traced by looking at the genre of Luke-Acts?²¹ Our previous investigations on the unity and genre of Luke-Acts enable us to consider more closely what the purpose of the author is and what his concerns are in his major work. Did Luke have just one purpose or many purposes? Can we truly make a distinction between his purpose and his manner of realising the purpose in his work? We shall first look into various theories that have been proposed so far.

1.1.3.1 Various Theories on the Purpose of Luke-Acts:

a) Luke-Acts is evangelism: The two important scholars who propose this theory are F.F. Bruce and J.C. O’Neill. Bruce points out apologetic elements in Luke-Acts. For him the author demonstrates the political innocence of Paul and of Christianity in general, in order to lead the sympathetic Romans to an interest in Jesus²². O’Neill states that Luke’s purpose is to win educated pagans to faith in Jesus²³. A certain amount of truth may be present in this theory, but it is not satisfactory. Luke-Acts would make little sense to an audience who has no background of Christianity and has no knowledge of the Jewish Scripture. Moreover the concluding section of Acts, chs. 21-28, would not agree with this suggestion.

b) The purpose of Luke-Acts is to defend Paul at his trial: This theory takes for granted that Acts was written when Paul was still on trial. The greatest proponent of

²¹ G. Schneider, „Der Zweck des lukanischen Doppelwerkes“, in: *BZ* 21 (1977), 47.

²² Cf. F. F. Bruce, *The Book of Acts* (London, 1954) 17-24.

²³ Cf. J. C. O’Neill, *The Theology of Acts in its Historical Setting* (London: SPCK, 1961) 172-185.

this theory is A.J. Mattill²⁴. This view finds no validity in the light of the present thinking that Luke-Acts was composed much later. Moreover, this theory can find support only from Acts. It will have very little to do with the Gospel of Luke. We cannot deny the fact that the trial and imprisonment of Paul are very important to the author and can be seen almost as a climax to his work. However it is very difficult to admit that Luke wrote both his volumes in order to defend Paul in his trial

c) Luke-Acts is to defend Christians in the eyes of the Roman government: This view is proposed in two related forms: i) Luke's desire is to establish Christianity as a "religion licita". Christians too should share the protection given to Judaism by Rome. ii) Luke wants to prove to the Roman authority that Christians were not politically subversive. B.S. Easton and E. Haenchen are the two great supporters of this theory²⁵. This theory could be considered valid to some extent. In Luke-Acts there is generally a favourable attitude to Rome. However, the sharpest criticism against this theory would be that it is hard to imagine how Luke could expect the Roman officials to read such a lengthy work, most of which made no sense to them. One has to admit the truth behind the words of C.K. Barrett: "No Roman official would ever have filtered out so much of what to him would be theological and ecclesiastical rubbish in order to reach so tiny a grain of relevant apology"²⁶.

d) Luke-Acts is to defend Paul's memory against attacks by Jewish Christians: This theory which goes back to Schneckenburger and F. Baur²⁷ has been very impressively proposed recently by Jervell²⁸. This theory, too, has the drawback of making a separation between the Gospel of Luke and Acts. The purpose proposed is attributed only to Acts. Though Jervell admits the unity of both volumes, he focuses practically on Acts alone. He mainly considers the relationship of Christians to the Jewish Law. According to him, the author presents Paul as a pious and law-abiding Jew, and the church cannot be the new Israel if it goes back to a Jewish apostate. It is true that Paul is very important in Luke-Acts. But a purpose of the work which is solely focused on Paul would not do justice to the full scope and plan of Luke-Acts.

²⁴ Cf. A. J. Mattill, "Naherwartung, Fernerwartung and the Purpose of Luke-Acts, Weymouth reconsidered", in: *CBQ* 34 (1972), 276-93.

²⁵ Cf. Haenchen, *Apostelgeschichte* (Göttingen, 1977) 111-13.

²⁶ C. K. Barrett, *Luke, the Historian, in Recent Study* (London: Epworth Press, 1961) 63.

²⁷ Cf. Gasque, *A History of Criticism of the Acts of the Apostles*, 26-40.

²⁸ Cf. Jakob Jervell, *Luke and the People of God* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1972) 153-83.

e) The purpose of Luke-Acts is to solve an alleged crisis of faith in the church, due to the delay of the parousia: This theory gained more importance after the development of the redaction-critical method in biblical interpretation. This method gave importance to the theology of the author. So in order to determine the purpose of the work one needs to look into the theology of the author. Conzelmann is the one among others who holds this theory²⁹. He is certainly right in suggesting that Lucan eschatology must be considered in order to examine the purpose of Luke-Acts. But this is only a partial view.

f) Luke-Acts is a defence against Gnosticism: One of the prominent holders of this view is C.H. Talbert³⁰. Luke strongly affirms the bodily resurrection of Jesus which is naturally an argument to counter Docetism. But the elements in Luke-Acts which may indicate anti-Gnostic ideas may be explained differently. For example the virgin birth of Jesus as fulfilment of OT prophecies. It is possible that anti-Gnosticism is a minor aspect of Luke's purpose.

g) The purpose of Luke is the confirmation of the Gospel: van Unnik is a strong proponent of this theory³¹. He takes some insight from the letter to the Hebrews: "For if the message declared by angels was valid and every transgression or disobedience received a just retribution, how shall we escape if we neglect such a great salvation? It was declared at first by the Lord, and it was attested to us by those who heard him, while God also bore witness by signs and wonders and various miracles and by gifts of the Holy Spirit distributed according to his own will" (Heb 2:2-4). The author of Hebrews is trying to encourage the wavering faith of his readers. We can detect many of such themes in Luke-Acts. Luke does have the purpose of re-assuring the faith of his readers. Van Unnik, however, confines the suggested purpose to Acts alone and does not explain the relationship between the two volumes. He does not inquire closely into the literary plan and the audience of Luke-Acts. P.S. Minear, too, holds the same view. He recognises that the last word of Luke's preface ἀσφάλεια is deliberately put in an emphatic position and it may mean not merely "correct factual

²⁹ Cf. Hans Conzelmann, *Mitte der Zeit* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1954) parts 11-V.

³⁰ Cf. C. H. Talbert, "An Anti-Gnostic Tendency in Lucan Christology", *NTS* (1967-68), 259-71.

³¹ Cf. W.C. van Unnik, "The Book of Acts the Confirmation of the Gospel", in: *NT* 4 (1960), 26-59.

information” but “certainty” or “dependability” in the sense of having important significance³².

1.1.3.2 Conclusion: Each of the above mentioned theories on the purpose of Luke-Acts has some truth behind it. However, none of them answers our question fully. In his book *Making of Luke-Acts*, Cadbury is rather sceptical and wonders whether Luke ever had a purpose at all when he began to write: “Like other authors he may have felt the need of self-expression, the urge of some inner desire to turn to account the ideas or materials at hand”³³. Cadbury holds that Luke’s personal interests and characteristics determine his purpose: “He wrote because it occurred to him that he was in a good position to write”³⁴. However, Cadbury goes on to look for the dominant motives that led the author to write: “One feature of Luke’s whole work that might be conscious intention, quite as well as traditional motif or subconscious conviction, is the evidence of divine guidance and control that pervades it. The divine guidance is one of the credentials of the Christian movement. Possibly this thought is already in his mind when he speaks of his subject as “the things fulfilled among us”. Like others he was sensitive to the detailed fulfilments of Scripture”³⁵. So, for Cadbury, Luke is writing his narrative in order to demonstrate the legitimacy of Christianity from both the Jewish and the Gentile point of view. Within this he includes also the desire to establish the political innocence of Christianity before the Roman Empire.

The development of the form and redaction criticism in the study of New Testament has made this discussion of the purpose of the narrator much more important. First of all one needs to take into account the influence of the on-going life of the church on the writing of the Gospels. The Gospels are the products of the community. They reflect the faith of the community. As Barrett explains “the Church in Luke’s day had reached a point at which a variety of considerations.... called for the sort of book Luke wrote”³⁶. Hence the individual author was writing as a representative of the community. The purpose behind Luke’s writing is simply the

³² Cf. P. S. Minear, “Dear Theo. The Kerygmatic Intention and Claim of the Book of Acts”, in: *Interpretation* 27 (1973), 133f.

³³ Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts*, 302.

³⁴ *Ibid* 3.

³⁵ *Ibid*.

³⁶ Barrett, *Luke, the Historian*, 53.

purpose of his community. There is yet another factor to be considered. The Gospels are works of theology. Even the little details of wording are of theological significance. When an author changes from his original source, it is not just for the sake of improving the beauty of the original text or to make it more colourful and artistic.

Luke lived in a particular community with its particular situation. His writing is mainly to contribute to the objectives of that community and to help the community to meet the challenges it faced. But his concerns are not just pastoral and those that arose out of practical needs of the church. His great concern is the fundamental questions of the Christ-event. Maddox agrees with a great number of scholars that the burning theological issues for Luke are ecclesiology and eschatology: “Luke appears to be raising with some urgency such questions as, who are the Christians? Where do they come from, historically and culturally speaking? What is their vocation? What justification do they have for their existence as a self-conscious and distinctive group? And what is their historical situation, not merely in relation to their immediate cultural environment (Judaism and the Roman Empire), but in relation to God’s whole dealings with the world?”³⁷

The theory which Richard Cassidy has proposed deserves our attention. He names this theory as “allegiance-conduct-witness”. He writes: “The theory’s first assertion is that Luke wrote to express and share with his fellow Christians his own personal commitment to Jesus. Its second is that he wrote to provide his fellow Christians with guidance for their exercise of Christian discipleship within the context of Roman rule. Thirdly and more specifically, the theory also asserts that Luke wrote to provide the Christians of his day with perspective and guidance regarding the trial witness of Christians before various political officials”³⁸. I find this theory more satisfactory and comprehensive than others. Those who read the work of Luke will certainly be edified by the commitment of the author to Jesus and his message. As an evangelist and theologian, Luke wants to share his convictions with his fellow Christians. He desires to strengthen his readers in their allegiance to Jesus. No one can miss this point when one reads Luke-Acts carefully. Closely connected with it and

³⁷ Maddox, *The Purpose of Luke-Acts*, 2

³⁸ Richard J. Cassidy, *Society and Politics in the Acts of the Apostles* (New York: Orbis Books, 1987) 158-9.

almost part of it is the idea of witness. Luke wants to provide information to his readers so that they will be able to live their life as disciples of Jesus in the framework of Roman rule. Cassidy elaborates his theory further: "It can also be presumed that he (Luke) wished his readers to be particularly well informed regarding two themes which delineated, in a fundamental way, the social stand adopted by Jesus and his disciples. The first theme: Jesus and his disciples operated in terms of priorities and concerns that were sanctioned by God. The second theme: because of their priorities and concerns Jesus and his followers sometimes came into conflict with the Roman order even though they themselves were not anti-Roman revolutionaries as the zealots were"³⁹.

Luke wants to prepare the Christians to be witnesses before political officials. He sets before them the example of Jesus and Paul. This is not all. To be witnesses they need to be steeped into the message of Jesus. A deeper understanding of their own Christian vocation and their role in the new situation is what is needed. Luke is trying to convince them by retelling the story of Jesus and his followers in the light of Jewish Scripture. All that Jesus, the apostles and specially Paul said and did was in accordance with the plan of God as foretold in the Scripture. This is the truth of Christianity. God is at work in them. Christianity is the realisation of God's plan.

The new situation of the Christians is not only facing the Roman officials. Their life within the community also needs to be considered. They are now a mixed group - Jews, Greeks and pagans. How are they related to each other? Why does Christianity attract greater numbers from the Gentiles and not from Jews? Why is it opposed and rejected by Jewish leaders? What is their relationship to Judaism? Is Christianity a new religion? Are they bound by Jewish laws and traditions? These are the fundamental questions which are kept before the Christian community. The purpose of Luke-Acts is to assist his readers to accept and love each member of Christian community, whatever their background be - Jews or pagans. In order to drive this truth home, Luke is emphasising God's plan of universal salvation. This is nothing new nor a coincidence. It has been already written in the Scriptures. Luke is simply convincing his Christian readers that their present situation as a community taken

³⁹ Ibid 159.

from Jews and pagans, called to witness before the Roman officials, is the plan of God. God's plan of universal salvation has already been prophesied in the Scripture.

Luke's concerns are not just limited to the Christian community's relationship with one another and with Roman officials. Christians are now a minority in a large pagan world. How are they going to live as a minority in a non-Christian context? They are called to witness and proclaim the Christian message. How exactly are they supposed to do this in a concrete situation? There are times when they are to witness through words and proclamations. But this is not always. There are times when active proclamation is not called for. They need to learn to live in active tolerance and mutual co-operation. This is what Paul is doing during his voyage to Rome. There is not a single incident during this voyage where Paul preached to his pagan travellers. Neither did he proclaim Jesus to the inhabitants of Malta. What he does is to communicate the Gospel through co-operation, concern and healing. Luke is sowing the seeds of a dialogue between the Christians and the world religions.

Robert Tannehill sums up this idea: "Despite the episodic style of large portions of Luke, it traces the unfolding of a single dominant purpose. This unifies the Gospel story and unites Luke with Acts, for this purpose is not only at work in the ministry of Jesus but also in the ministries of Jesus' witnesses. Luke-Acts is a unified narrative because the chief human characters (John the Baptist, Jesus, the apostles, Paul) share in a mission which expresses a single controlling purpose – the purpose of God. The individual episodes gain their significance through their relation to this controlling purpose of God, and the narrator has made efforts to clarify this relation"⁴⁰. Luke-Acts is a unified plot because there is a unifying purpose of God behind the events that are narrated. The mission of Jesus and his witnesses represents that purpose being carried out through human action⁴¹.

1.1.4 The Narrative Plot: Universal Mission as Fulfilment of Prophecy: We have seen that the two volumes of Luke have a unified purpose and that Luke-Acts presents a rationalisation for the foundation of a Gentile Christian community which had triumphed over Judaism. This inclusion of Gentiles has been a specific element of the

⁴⁰ Robert C. Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts: A Literary Interpretation* Vol. 1 (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1991) xiii.

⁴¹ Cf. Tannehill, *The Narrative unity*, Vol.1, 2.

prophetic “restoration” texts of the OT and hence Luke acknowledges their presence on this basis. Therefore the message of the Gospel remains consistent with that of Acts. The entire narrative of Luke reveals the ultimate divine plan of universal inclusion. This is the narrative plot of Luke-Acts. Luke did not go against scriptural tradition when he included salvation for the Gentiles. He had rather anticipated it as inherent in the larger story of Israel. Luke-Acts as a whole argues for an eschatological community which includes repentant Jews, “zealous for the law”, and repentant Gentiles who believe in the God of Israel.

All these events which involve Jesus and his community are eschatological events. They manifest the literal fulfilment of prophetic oracles concerning the “last days”. In other words, Luke is arguing that everything foretold by the prophets concerning the last days has already been accomplished. The prophets are not fulfilled in the light of the church or in the light of Christianity, but in light of what was promised to Israel in the Scriptures. Then there is an important relationship between the fulfilled oracles in Acts and the story of Jesus in the Gospel. Thus the legitimacy of Jesus’ claim to be the messiah in the Gospel is incomplete and unsubstantiated without the narration of events in Acts.

1.1.4.1 Prophetic Structure of Luke-Acts: Acts is a story that looks back to the ancient events concerning Israel, understood as predictions of the future, and applies this material to the literal interpretation of recent events. As David Tiede says it is “thinking through a book backwards”. We can observe Luke’s application of the prophetic tradition in both the structural pattern of the story, as well as in his adaptation of biblical typology for the major characters. The grand design for the structural pattern of Luke-Acts was to continue the story of Israel into the life of Jesus and his followers. Or, as Nils Dahl has described the process, “to write a continuation of biblical history”.

The Synoptic Gospels interpret the story of Jesus in the light of the prophet Isaiah. Jesus is identified as the suffering servant of Isaiah (Is 52:13-53:12). However, Luke’s dependence on this prophetic text extends beyond the Gospel and the ministry of Jesus to provide the structural pattern for the ministry and the mission of the disciples. Luke constructs his narrative from the following themes found in Isaiah: (1)

the prediction of a remnant (Is 10:20-23; 14:1-2); (2) the release of the captive exiles (Is 49:22-26; 60:1-17); (3) the inclusion of the nations who would worship the God of Israel as Gentiles (Is 49:7; 56:5); (4) prophetic condemnation of the unrepentant (Is 66:24); and (5) the restoration of Zion (Is 2:2-4; 62:1-12). The ministry of Jesus and his disciples presented in Luke-Acts can best be understood within the context of the social injustices listed in Isaiah 59-61 and elsewhere, and emphasised throughout both books. Hence Luke's concern for the poor and socially marginalized in the narrative does not reflect an innovative "Christian ministry", but draws upon a major theme of the prophetic oracles. Is 61 provides the framework for announcing the year of the Lord's favour, when such injustices will be righted, and which Luke's Jesus proceeds to accomplish.

Taking the text of Isaiah as his guide, Luke demonstrated that everything foretold in it has literally been fulfilled: "It is too light a thing that you should be my servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob and to restore the preserved of Israel; I will give you as a light to the nations, that my salvation may reach to the end of the earth" (Is 49:6). By concentrating upon the analysis of Jesus of Nazareth as the light to the nations, scholars have neglected the equally important elements in the beginning of the passage (i.e., to raise up the tribes of Jacob and to restore the preserved of Israel). These elements also contribute to the structural pattern in Luke-Acts, where Luke argues that the remnant of Jacob (who will be raised up) was represented by the followers of Jesus. The restoration of the tribes of Jacob as the "ingathering of the exiles" is accomplished in the Pentecost story and Diaspora synagogue scenes. For salvation to reach "to the end of the earth" ultimately requires the conversion of Rome, the new Nineveh.

Thus the sequence of events in Luke-Acts follows the fivefold pattern that Luke found in Isaiah. The function of each narrative unit of Luke-Acts is to relate the experiences of Jesus and his followers to these elements of the prophetic text. For example the identification of the remnant and the restoration of the repentant Jews always preceded the inclusion of Gentiles in Isaiah. There is no direct Gentile mission in the Gospel, because Gentiles can only be included after the restoration of the tribes and the eschatological outpouring of the Spirit at Pentecost (Acts 1:15-2:4). Similarly, the transfiguration scene in Luke cannot take place in Caesarea Philippi which is a

city with Gentile associations. Gentile inclusion is not part of Luke's story until Acts 10. Luke and the other evangelists may well have shared the same traditions, but the particular structural pattern of Luke-Acts is driven by the restoration texts of Isaiah.

This reliance upon a prophetic plot structure is even more apparent in Acts. Isaiah had predicted an in-gathering of the exiles and Gentile inclusion. Luke provides a detailed story of how this has already taken place. It has already "been accomplished among us". Luke has not eliminated eschatological concepts as the outpouring of the Spirit and Gentile inclusion become important precisely at the beginning of the "final days" (Is 2:14; 11:1-3; 32:15; 44:6; 60:1-3; 61:1). Foretold as clearly as Luke 4, the story of Pentecost in Acts 2 is the turning point of the narrative. Everything that follows in Acts can only occur because the eschaton has begun with the coming of the Spirit. In fact the descent of the Spirit in Acts transforms "time" itself. The events in Acts follow Luke's "eschatological time", rather than the traditional festival cycle of Israel that is presented in the Gospel.

Nothing has changed theologically between the Gospel and Acts. Acts is the sequel to the story of salvation begun in the Gospel. In other words, the message announced in Nazareth (Lk 4:18-22) and summarised at the end of the Gospel (Lk 24:44-49) is the same message announced in Jerusalem and in all Judea and Samaria and to the end of the earth (Acts 1-8). The details, namely, how this message was offered to Israel first, and then to the nations, are filled in by supporting citations and allusions (the Pentateuch, Psalms, the Prophets, the Maccabean histories), and whatever Christian traditions Luke had in front of him.

While the structural pattern of events is derived from the prophetic tradition, the form of the narrative, or the way in which the books are arranged schematically, finds a literary precedent in the Elijah/Elisha cycle in 1 Kings 17 to 2 Kings 13. Although Elijah is charged with three commissions (1 Kings 19:12), he fulfils only one of them by appointing Elisha. The other two charges are carried out by his successor, simultaneously confirming the prophetic status of Elijah. Similarly the charges read by Jesus of Nazareth from the passage in Isaiah are not all "fulfilled" by him, but find completion in the activity of his followers in Acts. Just as Elisha's authority derives

from God and not from Elijah, Luke demonstrates that the authority of the disciples in Acts derives from the Spirit.

Thomas Brodie has pointed out very clearly the literary-relationship between Luke-Acts and the Elijah-Elisha narratives in the first book of Kings: “Luke does have a general literary affinity with the LXX, especially with the historical books – affinity of genre, of narrative techniques, and of vocabulary and style. In fact, Luke’s style has been described as a *mimesis* of that of the Greek OT”⁴². Brodie further states that “Luke gives special attention to the figures of Elijah and Elisha - not only through a number of passages and phrases which seem either to reflect or to correct and surpass the OT tradition, but also through the programmatic Nazareth speech (Lk 4:16-30) which explicitly proposes that Elijah and Elisha are significant models for the ministry of Jesus”⁴³.

To sum up, the activities of the disciples do not merely imitate Jesus of Nazareth, but are manifestations of God’s will as revealed through the prophets. Thus, the structural pattern of Acts and the typology of the events narrated there have their own independent basis in Scripture. The fact that the major characters in Acts, the order of events in Acts, and the events themselves parallel the first book is Luke’s method of demonstrating the interdependency of the Jewish scriptures, the events concerning Jesus, and the story of his disciples. Without the “fulfilment of prophesy” through the disciples in Acts, the claims concerning Jesus remain incomplete and undemonstrated.

1.1.4.2 Universal Salvation as Foretold in the Scriptures: When we read Luke-Acts attentively we notice some clues and pointers that Luke has left behind through which he wanted the reader to discover the meaning he himself saw in the story he was narrating. As we have noticed, the structure of any work does indicate the intention of the author. A geographical outline supplies Luke with the overall framework of his narratives. In the Gospel, Luke narrates first of all the ministry of Jesus in Galilee, his journey from Galilee to Jerusalem, and finally the events at Jerusalem. Here Luke is dependent on his principal source: the Gospel of Mark. The outline of Acts is

⁴² Thomas Louis Brodie, “Luke 7: 11-17 As an Imitatio of 1 Kings 17:17-24”, in: *NTS* 32 (1986), 249.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

indicated in Acts 1:8: “You shall be my witnesses in Jerusalem, in Judea, Samaria and to the ends of the earth”.

This outline is not just geographical. It has a greater significance. “Jerusalem has an exceptional significance in Luke’s thinking, for it is the holy city, in which the prophecies are to be fulfilled. Likewise the expansion of Christianity is not a merely geographical phenomenon. As Christianity extends by progressive stages from Jerusalem to Rome, it also passes from the Jewish world to the Gentile world, and it is precisely that aspect of the expansion which interests Luke”⁴⁴. Again and again Luke emphasises the fact that the evangelisation of the Gentiles is not the result of fortuitous circumstances. The Gentile mission is willed by God, and it realises the prophetic promises that the Messiah would bring salvation to the pagan nations. Thus it is part and parcel of the programme assigned to Christ by the Scriptures.

Luke has left behind many pointers which indicate that that universal mission is divinely planned. These pointers are mainly the words of the heroes of his narrative. The three important heroes of Luke-Acts are Jesus, Peter and Paul. Luke puts in the mouth of each of them several speeches. These are important in finding the narrative plot of Luke-Acts. More specifically the opening and the concluding speech of each of these personalities bring out the same point most emphatically: the salvation of Gentiles is in accordance with the Scriptures. To these three heroes we may add a fourth one: John the Baptist. His appearance in the wilderness and his mission marks the beginning of the ministry of Jesus. The message of universal salvation is found in the narrative of the ministry of John the Baptist.

1.1.4.2.1 The Beginning of the Ministry of John the Baptist: The ministry of John the Baptist marks the real beginning of the Gospel. Luke reminds us of this on two occasions in Acts: at the election of Matthias (1:22), and in Peter’s recapitulation of the life of Jesus (10:37). After the Infancy Narrative Luke begins the ministry of John the Baptist with a solemn introduction. He synchronises the vocation of the Baptist with the events of contemporary secular history (Lk 3:1-2) and then cites a passage from Isaiah 40:3-5 (Lk 3:4-6).

⁴⁴ Jacques Dupont, O.S.B., *The Salvation of the Gentiles* (New York: Paulist Press, 1979) 13.

The text from Isaiah is found also in Mark (1:3) and Matthew (3:3) in the context of John's preaching: "The voice of the one crying in the wilderness, "prepare the way of the Lord, make his paths straight". The Massoretic text and the Septuagint both read: "make smooth the paths of our God". The Targum interprets this as "make smooth the paths before the community of our God". The Synoptics clearly speak not of God's paths, but of Jesus' paths. They thus give a Christological interpretation to the text of Isaiah. The Baptist is thus preparing the coming of the Christ who is the Lord and whose paths are to be made straight. Thus Luke is handing on to us a well established tradition and not his own personal viewpoint.

Unlike the other two Synoptics, Luke continues the Isaiah quotation as far as verse 5: "And all flesh will see the salvation of God" (καὶ ὄψεται πᾶσα σὰρξ⁴⁵ τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ). In doing so Luke gives us an insight of his personal view of the history that is now beginning. The vocabulary here is Lukan in a certain sense. The NT normally uses the feminine noun σωτήρια when it speaks of salvation. However, we find the neuter form σωτήριον in four instances. With the exception of Ephesians 2:3, all the other instances of the use of this neuter form are by Luke (Lk 2:30; 3:6 and Acts 28:28). Luke alone continues the Gospel story by going on to narrate the mission of the apostles. At the close of Acts he gives us the statement of Paul to the Jews of Rome: "this salvation is sent to the Gentiles" (Acts 28:28). An allusion to this is already found in the words of Isaiah quoted by Luke at the inauguration of the ministry of John the Baptist. "All flesh" means here Jews as well as Gentiles. The universal salvation which is prophesied by Isaiah is now being fulfilled. John the Baptist prepares the way for it. The ministry and passion of Jesus and the mission of the apostles will realise it. At the beginning of the Gospel and at the end of Acts, Luke wants to point out clearly that the salvation of God is manifested to all people. "The history Luke wants to trace is the history of the revelation of God's salvation for all flesh"⁴⁶.

1.1.4.2.2 The Inaugural Discourse of Jesus in the Synagogue of Nazareth: The programmatic discourse of Jesus at the beginning of his ministry is also found in

⁴⁵ Everywhere in the NT this expression refers to the human race: Mt 24:2; Mk 13:20; 1 Pet 1:24; Acts 2:17; Rom 3:20. In some of these references it can also mean fallen man, or man in his frailty and need for help. In the LXX this phrase often refers to brutes: Gen. 6:19; 7:15, 16, 21; 8:17; 9:11; Jer 32:27.

⁴⁶ Ibid. 16.

Mark and Matthew. In the Gospel of Matthew, the Sermon on the Mount fulfils this function. In Luke, the sermon on the plain appears at a later stage in the narrative (6:20-49) and has, therefore, less importance from the point of view of the Gospel's narrative structure. However, the function of a programmatic discourse is fulfilled instead by Jesus' speech in the synagogue at Nazareth (4:16-30). Luke is here anticipating an episode that comes much later in Mark (6:1-6) and Matthew (13:54-58). But he does not make an attempt to conceal his change in chronology. He lets stand a remark that indicates that Jesus has already exercised his ministry in Capernaum: *All that we have heard of as done in Capernaum, do here in your own country likewise* (4:23). The words of Jesus "Surely you will quote this proverb to me" suggest a double prophetic voice and a double narrative prolepsis: At some future date, when the miracles at Capernaum, told at 4:33-40, will have happened, then the inhabitants of Nazareth will also say: *All that we have heard of as done in Capernaum, do here in your own country likewise*. The future tense of ἐρεῖτέ (you will quote), and the mention of the miracles performed in Capernaum indicate that this episode, in its traditional setting, took place later in Jesus' life, as it does in Mark⁴⁷. Furthermore, Luke fills out Mark's data about Jesus' preaching in Nazareth with fresh details of his own, details which are quite unlikely to have had any relation originally with the present Lukan context. Thus the position that Luke assigns to the Nazareth episode in his Gospel and the elaborate development he gives it reveal his intention to highlight this event and Jesus' statement on this occasion⁴⁸.

Jesus begins by reading the text of Isaiah 61:1-2: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me; he has anointed me; he has sent me to bring Good News to the poor". He declares to his audience that the prophecy of Isaiah has already been fulfilled. Jesus presents himself openly as the Messiah, the saviour of the poor, as foretold by Isaiah. The hearers discuss his claim but do not believe it. "Luke wants to make a programmatic statement that precisely his hometown of Nazareth, which, in the final analysis, appears here representatively for all Israel, hears the good news and resists it from the start"⁴⁹.

⁴⁷ Cf. François Bovon, *Luke 1: A Commentary on the Gospel of Luke 1:1-9:50* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2002) 155.

⁴⁸ In Lk 4:16-30 we deal with the conflation of several sources: Mk 6:1-6a; Is 61:1-2, 58:6, a tradition about Elijah and Elisha from 1 Kings 17 and 2 Kings 5.

⁴⁹ Bovon, *Luke 1*, 152.

Jesus speaks again, referring to two episodes narrated in the book of Kings: the story of the Prophet Elijah who grants God's favour to a widow of Sarepta in the territory of Sidon (1 Kings 17), and the story of the Prophet Elisha who heals the leper Naaman, the Syrian (2 Kings 5). In both these cases God's favour was granted not to Israelites, but to outsiders. It is in response to the jealousy of his countrymen over the miracles he had performed in Capernaum that Jesus appeals to these deeds of Elijah and Elisha. These two stories get a wider significance when we look at Luke-Acts in general. The contrast between Israel and a Syrian or a Phoenician is to be seen in function of the antithesis between Israel and the Gentiles. The story of Elijah and Elisha working miracles upon the pagans gives the reader an idea that the message of salvation, rejected by Israel, will be passed on to the Gentiles. The episode in Nazareth is a pre-view of what will happen in Antioch of Pisidia and in Rome. Paul's behaviour in turning to the Gentiles is justified beforehand by the deeds of Elijah and Elisha and thus has a scriptural basis.

Siker explains the significance of this episode: "Jesus' inaugural sermon in Lk 4:16-30 is, ironically, better characterised by the maxim 'first to the Gentiles' than by the Pauline formula 'first to the Jews'"⁵⁰. The reference to the Elijah-Elisha stories provides a key to understanding the passage as a whole. Jesus' prophetic role is central to Luke's understanding of Jesus' ministry⁵¹. "Jesus in fact re-enacts several features from the Elijah-Elisha stories; Gentile inclusion and Gentile mission are the lens through which Luke sees the ministry of Jesus, thus indicating that for Luke the Gentile mission has a functional priority over the Jewish mission, even though chronologically Luke keeps the Jews-first strategy"⁵².

1.1.4.2.3 The Concluding Words of Jesus in the Gospel (Lk 24:44-49): They contain a set of instructions which the risen Lord gives to his apostles before his departure. First of all he leads them to understand the Scriptures. He reduces the teaching of the messianic prophecies to three points: "Thus it is written (a) that the Christ had to suffer (b) and to rise from the dead on the third day, (c) and that in his name

⁵⁰ Jeffrey S. Siker, "First to the Gentiles": A Literary Analysis of Luke 4:16-30", in: *JBL* III/1 (1992), 73.

⁵¹ Cf. Fearghus O Fearghail, *The Introduction to Luke-Acts: A Study of the Role of Lk 1,1-4,44 in the Composition of Luke's Two-Volume Work*, *Analecta Biblica* 126 (Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1991) 135-6.

⁵² *Ibid.* 74.

repentance unto remission of sins should be preached to all nations, beginning from Jerusalem (vv.46-47). After that Jesus gives the apostles the command to wait in Jerusalem for the coming of the Holy Spirit (vv.48-49).

The expressions Jesus chooses to speak of his passion and resurrection bring to mind precise OT texts such as Isaiah 53:4 and Hosea 6:2. But it does not seem possible to connect with any definite Scripture texts what Jesus says of the message of repentance to be proclaimed to all nations beginning from Jerusalem. This statement appears to be simply an outline of the programme that will be realised as the story of Acts unfolds. In this mission command there is no reference to baptism although the phrase “in his name” does make an allusion to it. Moreover, Luke knew the baptism-command of Mk 16:16. Meanwhile, for Luke, the Christian baptism as baptism of penance for the forgiveness of sins simply continues the baptism of John. It is a clear sign of an unbreakable transition from Israel to the church. A special command to baptise was then not needed, even though baptising in the name of Jesus is closely related to the specific possessing of the Spirit of the Christian communities.

In his speech before King Agrippa, Paul says that his purpose in preaching was to demonstrate, with the help of Scripture, three points: (a) that the Christ must suffer, and that, (b) by being the first to rise from the dead, (c) he would proclaim light both to the people and to the Gentiles (Acts 26:23). The parallelism between the words of the risen Lord in Lk 24:46-47 and the words of Paul in Acts 26:23 is very striking. The purpose of Paul’s speech, like that of Jesus’ teaching, is to reveal the “messianic signs” contained in Scripture and fulfilled in Jesus: suffering, resurrection, salvation carried to all nations. The first two signs are realised in the death and resurrection of Jesus. The third sign is fulfilled in the mission of Paul. Through him the work of Christ is carried on to the end and the history of salvation is brought to completion. “Therefore Jesus’ words in Luke 24:46-49 not only provide a bridge to the early part of Acts but fit with a series of statements describing the missions of key characters, from the summary of John the Baptist’s mission early in Luke to the summary of Paul’s mission late in Acts....The mission should begin in Jerusalem but must become universal in scope. Both this beginning and this goal are important, for Luke

represents a faith which remains rooted in Jewish Scripture and concerned about the fate of the Jews but wants the world to share in God's salvation"⁵³.

1.1.4.2.4 The Inaugural Address of Peter (Acts 2:14-40): It is a speech delivered before the crowd gathered together in Jerusalem at the Pentecost miracle. This crowd is made of "Jews and proselytes" (v.11), of devout men from all the nations under heaven (v.5). It is too early for Peter to speak directly to pagans at this point in the story. Luke enumerates the nations that are represented in the crowd: "Parthians, Medes and Elamites, inhabitants of Mesopotamia, Judea and Cappadocia" (vv.9-11). The mentioning of the number and variety of the nations who have gathered to witness the miracle of Pentecost indicates that Luke sees here a symbolic significance. "In and through his Jewish audience, Peter is already evangelising in some sense, all the nations of the earth"⁵⁴. Peter interprets the event of Pentecost with the help of a quotation from the Prophet Joel. "And in the last days it shall be, God declares, that I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh⁵⁵, and your⁵⁶ sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams" (2:17). The event of Pentecost has a universal significance and this has been foretold by the Prophets.

Peter concludes his speech in a similar way as Jesus concluded his sermon at Nazareth, and Paul his speech at Antioch in Pisidia and in Rome. Peter proclaims: "The promise is for you and for your children, and for all who are far off, as many as the Lord will call" (v.39). The last words in this statement are from the prophet Joel 3:5, the beginning of which Peter has already cited earlier in the speech (v.21). The full quotation from Joel goes this way: "And then whoever will call on the name of the Lord will be saved, for on Mount Zion and in Jerusalem will be those who are saved, as the Lord has said, and those to whom glad tidings are announced, whom the Lord will call". For Joel's expression, "those who are on Mount Zion and in Jerusalem", Peter substitutes a more specific expression, "you and your children, and all those who are far off". Peter has somehow shifted the horizon. Here Peter may have been influenced by Isaiah 57:19. It is a promise of peace "for those who are

⁵³ Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity*1, 298.

⁵⁴ Dupont, *The Salvation of the Gentiles*, 22.

⁵⁵ By changing *πᾶσα σὰρξ* to the plural D appears to be stressing Universalism. Cf. Conzelmann, *Acts*, 19.

⁵⁶ Whereas LXX and B read "And your (*ὑμῶν*) sons and your (*ὑμῶν*) daughters" (i.e. of the Jews), D has "their (*αὐτῶν*) sons and their (*αὐτῶν*) daughters" (i.e. of all flesh's or of Gentiles).

far off and those who are near”. We find the same expression in Ephesians 2:13, where the author here identifies “those who are far off” with the Gentiles, and “those who are near” with the Jews. Another allusion to this expression of Isaiah is found in Acts itself. Paul relates a vision he had in the temple, in which the Lord ordered him to leave Jerusalem and gave as his reason: “For I will send you to the nations far away” (Acts 22:21). The words of Peter “all those who are far off” (2:39) form an antithesis to the phrase “to you and your children”. And naturally these words apply to the Gentiles. Many among them “will be called by the Lord”.

This interpretation is fully true when we compare this ending to the ending of Peter’s second speech: “You are the sons of the prophets and of the covenant which God gave to your fathers, saying to Abraham, ‘And in your posterity shall all the nations of the earth will be blessed.’ God, having raised up his servant, sent him to you first, to bless you in turning every one of you from your wickedness”. (Acts 3:25-26). God made the promise to Abraham and it will be fulfilled by the Risen Lord. Peter states that this will be realised “for you first”. It will be realised for others at a later stage. The blessing is for Israel first, and then for all the nations of the earth. This divine arrangement is also found in Paul’s speech at Antioch in Pisidia: “it is necessary that the word of God be announced to you first. Since you reject it... we turn to the Gentiles” (13:46-47)”.

Thus in his first two speeches Peter concludes by a widening of the horizon and intimates the future mission to the Gentiles. These are only clues and pointers. Only later in the narrative the exact bearing of these statements are made clear. Luke has inserted these hints at the end of the first two speeches of Peter and in fact the first two speeches in Acts.

1.1.4.2.5 Peter’s Final Speech (Acts 15:7-11): The last words of Peter in Acts are in the context of the council of Jerusalem. It is the debate about the admission of the uncircumcised into the church. Peter reiterates⁵⁷ and highlights the lesson to be drawn from the story of the conversion of the centurion Cornelius: “Brethren, you know that

⁵⁷ The Western text adds more emphasis to the prophetic nature of Peter’s speech as the text has: Peter rose “in the Holy Spirit” (ἐν Πνεύματι ἄγιω). Cf. Joseph Crehan, “Peter according to the D-Text of Acts”, *TS* 18 (1957) 596-603.

in the early days God made choice among you, that by my mouth the Gentiles should hear the word of the Gospel (τὸν λόγον τοῦ εὐαγγελίου⁵⁸) and believe” (15:7).

This Cornelius-episode is very important for Luke. He treats it at seemingly disproportionate length. This story is staged in such a way that Luke wants to present Cornelius as the first Gentile to be received into the Christian community. The baptism of Cornelius constitutes the culmination of Peter’s apostolic career. After this Peter has to fade away, yielding the spotlight to Paul. In his address to the council of Jerusalem, Peter presents the baptism of Cornelius as an exemplary case: “From the first days God chose me from among you so that the Gentiles might hear from my mouth the word of the Good News and embrace the faith” (15:7). Luke presents Peter as the first one to proclaim the Gospel to the Gentiles. Peter did this in accordance with God’s plan. God revealed his plan in this regard and thus repeated the miracle of Pentecost in the house of Cornelius. It was thus a Pentecost for the Gentiles: “And God who knows hearts has borne witness on behalf of the Gentiles by giving them the Holy Spirit, just as he did to us” (15:8). Thus Peter declares that God has abolished all the differences between the Jews and the Gentiles. He desires to save both the races by his grace alone (15:11). As Peter concludes his speech, silence falls on the divided assembly. Barnabas and Paul offer their testimony (10:12) and finally James adds the testimony of the prophets (10:14-18). Thus the experience of Cornelius provides a precedent and basis for a solution. It confirms in a definitive way the mission of Paul. But the honour of opening the door of the church to the Gentiles belongs to Peter.

In the story of Cornelius we find two distinct points of interest. First of all there is a question of the relations between Jews and Gentiles. On entering his house Peter remarks: “You know that it is absolutely forbidden for a Jew to associate with a foreigner or to enter his house” (10:28). Later Peter is reproached by the Christians in Jerusalem: “Why did you enter the home of the uncircumcised and eat with them?” (11:3). Peter explains to Cornelius his attitude behind his association with the uncircumcised: “God has shown me that no man should be called defiled or impure” (10:28). At this point Peter is alluding to his vision of the great sheet let down from

⁵⁸ The noun εὐαγγέλιον is used only twice in the whole of Luke-Acts: here in 15:7 and in 20:24. However, the verb εὐαγγελίζω is frequently used.

heaven, and the heavenly command not to call impure or defiled that which God has cleansed (10:11-16). He will defend his action when he returns to Jerusalem by relating this vision again (11:5-10). He will recall the vision once again at the council (15:9).

Secondly in this story there is also the problem of the admission of the Gentiles into the church. Luke emphasises this point in his editorial remarks at the beginning and end of the episode describing Peter's return to Jerusalem, which constitutes an epilogue to the Cornelius story⁵⁹.

Now the apostles and the brethren who were in Judea heard that the Gentiles also had received the word of God (11:1).

When they heard this they were silenced. And they glorified God, saying, "Then to the Gentiles also God has granted repentance unto life." (11:18).

Earlier in the story Peter expresses the same point when he asks, "Can we refuse baptism to those who have received the Holy Spirit just as we have?" (10:47). The question of the admission of Gentiles into the church dominates the debate at the council (cf. 15:1, 5, 7, 14, 16f.).

Of these two issues Luke is especially interested in the second. The story of the conversion of Cornelius occupies an important position in Acts and it is related twice. His conversion is not merely an individual case. In the light of this one case Jerusalem will come to recognise the principle of the accession of the Gentiles as such into the Church. In his discourse (10:34-43) Peter observes: "I notice that God is no respecter of persons, but in every nation he who fears him and practices justice is agreeable to him" (10:34-35). It is not necessary to be a Jew in order to be favoured by God. Jesus is the Lord of all (10:36). Peter questions the assembly: "Now therefore why are you putting God to the test (τί πειράζετε⁶⁰ τὸν θεόν) by placing on the neck of the disciples a yoke that neither our ancestors nor we have been able to bear?" (15:10). What Peter in fact means is "to put another burden on the Gentiles, when God has given them his Spirit would be to make trial of him and to doubt that his will is clear"⁶¹.

⁵⁹ Cf. Dupont, *The Salvation of the Gentiles*, 26.

⁶⁰ Cf. Deut. 4:16 which is cited by Jesus in Lk 4:12.

⁶¹ C. S. C. Williams, *A Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1964) 181.

Peter concludes with this note: “To him all the prophets bear witness to this effect, that everyone who believes in him will receive, through his name, remission of his sins (10:43). Whether Jew or Gentile, one must believe in Christ in order to be saved. “Peter referred to God as the one who knows the hearts of all men, and he drew the conclusion that in thus pouring out the Spirit on the Gentiles God was cleansing their hearts from sin in the same way as he cleansed the hearts of Jews. It followed, therefore, that what mattered in God’s sight was the cleansing of the heart, and that outward legal observances, such as circumcision, were a matter of indifference”⁶².

This episode provides solemn sanction for the principle of accession of the Gentiles to salvation. It is the step by which Christianity passes beyond the limits of Judaism. The expansion “to the ends of the earth” will take place through the mission of Paul. but the first decisive step has already been taken. With this Peter’s role is completed. He now makes his final exit from the stage.

1.1.4.2.6 Paul’s First Missionary Discourse (Acts 13:46-47): This speech in the synagogue at Antioch in Pisidia resembles closely his final declaration to the Jews in Rome. In both places Paul begins with a warning drawn from a prophetic text. The quotation from the Prophet Habakkuk 1:5 functions in Acts 13:41 in the same way as the quotation from Isaiah 6:9-10 in Acts 28:26-27. Paul then goes on to announce that he is going to turn to the Gentiles, and at this point he refers, more explicitly than in Acts 28:28, to a passage from Isaiah (49:6): *It was necessary that the word of God should be spoken first to you. Since you thrust it from you, and judge yourselves unworthy of eternal life, behold, we turn to the Gentiles. So the Lord has commanded us, saying, ‘I have set you to be a light to the nations, that you may bring salvation to the ends of the earth’* (13:46-47).

The phrase “ends of the earth” recurs at the conclusion of this speech. This expression is not to be taken here in a purely geographical sense. It rather represents the pagan nations. It stands in contrast to Jerusalem which is the “city of the great

⁶² I. Howard Marshall, *Acts*, (Tyndale New Testament Commentaries; Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1984) 250.

king” and the centre of the worship of the true God”. We can trace a parallelism in the sentence: *I have set you to be a light to the nations, that you may bring salvation to the ends of the earth*. So the expression “nations” is equivalent to the expression “the ends of the earth”. The expression “to all nations” is found in the lips of the risen Lord in Lk 24:47 and “to the ends of the earth” in Acts 1:8. Both mean the same thing. “The expansion of Christianity “to the ends of the earth” is not a merely geographic movement, but involves a passage out of the Jewish world into the Gentile world”⁶³. The nuance here is more religious than geographic.

So the message of Christ must not only be preached everywhere, but it must above all be preached to the Gentiles. This is required that the messianic prophecies may be fulfilled in their entirety. The passion and resurrection of Jesus do not constitute the entire work of the Messiah. For the complete accomplishment of that work, it is necessary that Paul announce salvation to the Gentiles and carry the Gospel message to Rome, the city that rules the nations. In that sense the narrative of Acts is the necessary complement to the Gospel story: the movement of Christianity from Jerusalem to the ends of the earth completes the realisation of the pagan programme assigned to the Christ by the messianic prophecies⁶⁴.

1.1.4.2.7 Paul’s Final Address to the Jews of Rome: Since we shall be studying this address in detail later in our study we do not need to treat it in detail here. This address is similar to the one spoken at Antioch of Pisidia. Paul has made a great effort to proclaim God’s salvation to the Jewish leaders of Rome: “From morning till evening he explained and declared to them the Kingdom of God and tried to convince them about Jesus from the Law of Moses and from the Prophets” (28:23b). But the result of this is: “some were convinced by what he said while other disbelieved” (28:24). And as they disagreed among themselves and were departing, Paul recites the quotation from the prophet Isaiah in order to signal a definitive rejection of the Gospel by the Jews and his turning to the Gentiles. The negative response from the Jews does not come as a surprise. It has been spoken of by the prophet Isaiah. But the fact emphasised is: The Gentiles will hear it.

⁶³ Dupont, *The Salvation of the Gentiles*, 19.

⁶⁴ Cf. *Ibid.*

1.1.4.3 Conclusion: Having seen the theme of universal mission (Gentile mission) in the inaugural and concluding speeches of the heroes of Luke-Acts we shall now briefly consider the presence of this theme in Luke-Acts in general. Luke provides us with a number of indications in his Gospel that God intended the Gentiles to be recipients of salvation just as much as the Jews. Simeon took the baby Jesus in his arms and blessed God because his eyes had seen the salvation made ready in the sight of all the peoples (Lk 2:32). The baby Jesus is destined to be a “light for revelation to the Gentiles”. Luke has added a further line to Is 40:3 including the prophecy that “*all flesh will see the salvation of God*” (Lk 3:6). The genealogy of Jesus in Luke traces his descent right back to Adam. God makes his Son Jesus related to all humankind as God’s son (Lk 3:23-38). The miracle of the great catch of fish in Lk 5:1-11 is a sign of the future universal mission⁶⁵. Jesus admired the centurion’s faith and healed his servant. He declared that nowhere in Israel had he found such a faith (Lk 7:9). When people ask for a sign (Lk 11:29-32) Jesus tells them that the only sign to be given to this generation is the sign of Jonah who had preached to the pagan city of Nineveh. The pagan inhabitants of Nineveh heeded what the prophet had spoken and repented. Jesus speaks of the Queen of Sheba, who came from a pagan city to listen to Solomon’s wisdom. These pagans will condemn this generation. In Lk 13:24-30 Jesus speaks about the Kingdom. Those to be included in the Kingdom will come from east and west, from north and south (Lk 13:29). This is an obvious reference to the inclusion of Gentiles in the Kingdom.

Luke does not tell us whether Jesus carried out his mission among the Gentiles. However, we find the signs and shadows of the Gentile mission in many places in the Gospel. Acts continues and completes these foreshadowing of the Gospel that God had ordained that the Gentiles be included in his plan of salvation.

Surprisingly, in Acts, the Gentile mission appears to begin almost before any attempt by the apostles to put into effect Jesus’ command. It does not begin with deliberations and decisions. The first seven chapters of Acts are centred on Jerusalem. There is not yet an indication of a world-wide mission. The Gentile mission does eventually begin in Samaria with Philip’s preaching. However, the mission of Philip does not seem to have been sanctioned by the apostles. It is rather the result of

⁶⁵ Cf. Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts* 1, 70-71.

persecution in Jerusalem. Of course, we need to see it in the context of God's plan. The mission in Antioch, too, was not really sanctioned by the Jerusalem church. This too comes as the result of persecution following the death of Stephen. The same is true with regard to Philip baptising the Ethiopian eunuch and Peter baptising Cornelius and his household. These were not sanctioned by the Jerusalem church. They took place due to divine intervention. The Holy Spirit was the driving force behind every move. The disciples just could not resist his power. Peter baptised Cornelius' household because he could not withstand God (11:17). Some from the Jerusalem church caused a disturbance in the church of Antioch over the question of circumcision (15:1-2). This controversy necessitated the council of Jerusalem once and for all to settle the matter (15:6-29). The council instructed the Gentile Christians regarding what they should abstain from. In all of their travels Paul and his companions (with the exception in Athens; 17:16-34) preached to the Gentiles only after their preaching first to the Jews had failed. Even in later parts of Acts we notice how the Gentile's non-observance of the Mosaic Law caused frustration to some Jews (21:21). "Although the Gentile mission was unplanned by the apostles, and unwanted by some in the Jerusalem church, and although it got under way only in fits and starts, yet Luke's concept of a divine guiding plan in history must be reckoned with"⁶⁶.

The theme of universal mission that has been already introduced in the infancy narrative of the Gospel reaches its climax in Paul's voyage to Rome (Acts 27-28). This narrative presents to us a universal community that consists of Paul and his Christian companions on the ship, the pagans on the ship, the barbarians of Malta, the Christians on the way to Rome and finally the Jews of Rome. Luke advances the theme of universal mission and brings it to a climactic end by narrating to us Paul's interaction with these different groups. We shall study these two concluding chapters of Acts from the point of view of universal mission. We shall consider these two chapters within the plan and purpose of Luke-Acts. A brief evaluation on the research made on these chapters will serve as a starting point.

1.2 Acts 27-28 within the Plan and Purpose of Luke-Acts

1.2.1 Previous Studies on Acts 27-28: There have been basically two tendencies with regard to the study of the final chapters of Acts: Redactional analysis tries to

⁶⁶ Ibid. 171.

reconstruct the original text by eliminating redactional insertions from the eventual text; Typological analysis focuses on Paul to the exclusion of all other narrative existents: The Jesus-Paul parallelism as the context and explanation of Acts 27-28. Typologists confine themselves to the context of Paul and a partial explanation of Paul in Acts 27-28.

1.2.1.1 Redactional Analysis

1.2.1.1.1 Dibelius and Wellhausen: These two object to the incongruity of these Pauline passages to the surrounding nautical description in Acts 27-28. According to Wellhausen, the editor of Acts used a seafarer's expert account of a shipwreck for his story of Paul's voyage to Rome, which probably included a shipwreck⁶⁷. He seems to have added to the original text at least 27:9-11, 21-26 and 33-36. Wellhausen concludes that, as additions, these Pauline insertions disrupt the sequence of events⁶⁸. Dibelius argues that the editor-author of Acts resorted to literary convention for his description of the sea voyage, storm and shipwreck. "He (the author) may have possibly accompanied the apostle; in that case he invested his own memories with a literary veil and suppressed what was individual in favour of the conventional, but it is also possible that he gained a short account of the events from somewhere else, secured credibility for the section provided by the witness by the use of the word "we" and then extended the account to a literary composition"⁶⁹. Dibelius observes that Paul is mentioned only in little episodes. These seem to have been added later to the account of the voyage. He concludes: "Truly literary criticism will lead us to suppose that the nautical description is taken from the numerous accounts of sea voyages in literature and not from experience"⁷⁰.

1.2.1.1.2 Haenchen and Conzelmann: Haenchen applies reality as the criterion for separating original reminiscence from eventual redaction in Acts 27⁷¹. He assigns the authorship of original reminiscence to one of Paul's companions, probably to Aristarchus. It is a narrative on sailing, storm, shipwreck. The redactor, an admirer of Paul but not a companion, supplemented the real world log with four unreal Pauline

⁶⁷ Cf. Julius Wellhausen, *Kritische Analyse der Apostelgeschichte* (Berlin: Weidmannische Buchhandlung, 1914) 54.

⁶⁸ Cf. Ibid.

⁶⁹ Martin Dibelius, *Studies in Acts of the Apostles* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1956) 7-8.

⁷⁰ Ibid. 107.

⁷¹ Cf. Haenchen, *Acts*, 709, 710, 716.

insertions: 27:9b-11; 21-26, 31, 33-38. This he did in order to portray Paul as “the strong, unshaken favourite of God who strides from triumph to triumph”⁷². In reality as a prisoner on a storm-beset ship, Paul could have been in a position to debate with the officers of the ship⁷³. The plot of the sailors, Paul’s advice to the centurion and the soldiers, and the soldiers’ counter plot in 27:42, defy the real-world logic. All these scenes as well as the scene of a meal in vv.33-38 can be removed from the text without disrupting the sequence of the events. The redactor invented the deliberations of Paul, the centurion, captain and ship owner in 27:9b-11 on the basis of the original reminiscence (preserved in 27:12) of the majority’s decision to set sail for Phoenix. In the original reminiscence the majority and, by implication the minority, were sailors. But the redactor misconstrued the majority as the three officers and, since their decision resulted in disaster, the minority as Paul. It was not enough for the redactor to absolve Paul from responsibility for the stormy voyage; he credited him with the gift of Christian prophecy for predicting it. In his attempt to portray Paul as the saviour of his fellow travellers in 27:31, the redactor unconsciously charged him with the responsibility for the shipwreck⁷⁴.

According to Conzelmann novelistic sea voyages were the “stylistic models” for the editor-author’s attempted organisation of source material and creative composition in Acts 27. Conzelmann envisages two original texts, a literary source and information from historical sources⁷⁵. He regards all references to Paul in 27:9-44 as unreal redactional insertions. All these concern the safety of the ship’s crew and passengers. All except one of them paint Paul as a saviour figure. Conzelmann thinks that 27:9a, the reference to the fast, can also be assigned to insertion. The author intends to suggest that the real-world Paul observed Jewish holy days. The number of those on board, found in 27:37, belongs to the original text, but the soundings of twenty and fifteen fathoms in 27:28 are “literary numbers”. He criticises Haenchen for attributing almost every mention of Paul to the eventual text and still maintaining that the original text was a reminiscence about Paul⁷⁶.

⁷² Cf. Ibid. 711.

⁷³ Cf. Ibid. 704.

⁷⁴ Cf. Ibid. *Acts* 710.

⁷⁵ Cf. Conzelmann, *Acts* 150-56.

⁷⁶ Cf. Ibid. 156-7.

These developmental critics point out to the sequential ordering of the narrative world of Acts 27 in alternating Pauline and navigational units. “They explain alternation by assigning the Pauline and navigational units to different real-world original situations. The Pauline units originated either in the reality of personal reminiscences or the unreality of the imagination, and the navigational units either in the reality of voyaging experiences (with or without Paul) or literary convention. For developmental analysts the participation of Paul and the sailors side by side in the same narrative world is impossible”⁷⁷.

1.2.1.1.3 Plümacher and Pervo: Plümacher accepts the Pauline units as part of the editor-author’s effort to glorify Paul. But he finds the extent and navigational content of the sea voyage inexplicable in the context of Acts. For him the author was neither a companion of Paul, nor a Paulinist. He wanted to engage the reader with an exciting sea adventure but was unfortunate in his choice of a navigationally precise model. His limited literary training made him select a periplous, a report of a circumnavigation, instead of a novel as his model⁷⁸.

Pervo regards Luke’s novelistic intention as the only explanation for the sea voyage in its eventual form. He regards Acts 27 as a religious novel and finds in this narrative adventure, aretology and the glorification of Paul. There is no question of the use of a diary or journal here. Pervo assumes that such a journal appears to have been drowned by his version of the shipwreck. “If Luke did not wish to write an entertaining religious novel, his account of the voyage to Rome constituted a serious confusion of purpose. There is no ground for presuming such a confusion. Acts 27 is consonant with the purpose of the balance of the book. Form criticism reveals that this chapter is a piece of fictional adventure; literary examination shows that Luke was responsible for its form”⁷⁹. For Pervo literary examination means separating the original text from the eventual text. He uses absurdity as the criterion for

⁷⁷ Susan Marie Praeder, *The Narrative Voyage: An Analysis and Interpretation of Acts 27-28* (PhD diss., Graduate Theological Union, 1980) 40.

⁷⁸ Cf. Eckhard Plümacher, „Lukas als griechischer Historiker“ in: *Paulus Realencyclopaedie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Supplbd. 14 (1974): 243.54-24.12.

⁷⁹ Richard Ivan Pervo, *The Literary Genre of the Acts of the Apostles* (Th. D diss., Harvard Divinity School, 1979) 223.

distinguishing redaction. With regard to 27: 21-26 Pervo says, “technique and not idiocy explains this absurdity”⁸⁰.

1.2.1.2 Artistic analysis: Goulder, Radl and Rackham regard Paul’s deliverance from shipwreck in Acts 27-28 as a representation of death-resurrection. They focus their interest only on Paul and his deliverance. The others voyaging with him, the people of Malta, seem to be out of their interest. They see a parallelism here: Paul resembles Jonah, Jesus, Peter or the heroes of ancient novels.

1.2.1.2.1 Rackham: He divides Acts into two parts on the basis of the narrative-world participation of Peter and Paul. The first part, chs. 1-12, has Peter as its hero and the second part, chs. 13-28, has Paul. He names ch. 12 as ‘passing’ of Peter and chs. 20-28 as ‘passing’ of Paul. ‘Passing’ means the exit of the hero from the narrative world after his experience of death and resurrection as release from imprisonment or deliverance from shipwreck⁸¹. The rescue from shipwreck in Acts 27 parallels the death and resurrection of Jesus in the Gospel of Luke. The stormy night, without the moon and the stars, represents the darkness at Calvary. The shipwreck is a symbol of crucifixion. Paul spent three months in Malta just as Jesus spent three days in the tomb. Both have Easter experiences: For Paul, his springtime voyage to Rome and for Jesus his glorious resurrection⁸².

The shipwreck and deliverance are symbolic of death and resurrection. But these are not Lukan inventions. The parallelism arises from the similarity of Christian experience, the suffering and glory of those who follow the Son of man. Exodus and the prophet Jonah testify to crossing the sea and shipwreck as types of the greatest peril through which man must pass on his way to the Promised Land - the perils of death⁸³. Paul and Jonah, missionaries to the Gentiles, are typologically related by their deliverance from shipwreck and the safety they bring to those on board with them⁸⁴.

⁸⁰ Ibid. 217.

⁸¹ Cf. R. B. Rackham, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 3rd ed. (London: Methuen & Co., 1906) x-xi.

⁸² Cf. Ibid. 477-8.

⁸³ Cf. *ibid.* 475.

⁸⁴ Cf. *ibid.* 477.

The context which Rackham suggests for the narrative existence of Paul in Acts 27-28 has no support from the text. The darkness of the storm covers not Paul but the “first person plural” voyaging with him. It is they, with Paul, who depart from Malta after a winter’s stay. We cannot make a convincing parallel between Paul spending the winter in Malta and Jesus in the tomb. Paul’s arrival in Rome and his preaching to the Jews of Rome do not constitute a close parallel to the resurrection of Jesus. Comparison with Jonah is also a bit forced. Jonah did not suffer shipwreck but was rather thrown out of the ship. Moreover, unlike Jonah, the mission of Paul in Rome was primarily to the Jews of Rome. Paul and Jonah are not like Jesus; they are not saviours of those who voyage with them. They themselves are among those saved by God.

1.2.1.2.2 Goulder: He divides Acts into four parts, featuring Apostles (1-5), deacons (6:1-9:31), Peter (9:32-12:24) and Paul (12:25-28:31). These four parts are parallel to each other and to the Gospel of Luke. In each of these four parts as well as in the Gospel we can trace nine elements: 1) choosing, 2) descent of the Holy Spirit, 3) kerygma, with baptism of believers, 4) mighty works, 5) persecution, 6) gathering of the church, 7) confounding of a false disciple, 8) passion and 9) resurrection⁸⁵. The eight and ninth element of the fourth part of Acts are the voyage, shipwreck and the stay in Malta and Rome. These are in fact the death and resurrection of Paul. Thus the shipwreck of Paul parallels the passion and death of Jesus, the stoning and martyrdom of Stephen, the imprisonment of Peter, the stoning of Paul at Lystra, Paul’s imprisonment at Philippi, and the riot at Ephesus. Paul’s stay in Malta and his coming to Rome parallel Jesus’ resurrection, the deliverance of the apostles from prison, Paul’s conversion, Peter’s healing of Aeneas and raising of Eutychus. According to Goulder the detail and length of Acts 27 are not reflections of the author’s insufficient mental and material resources. They are rather attestations to the importance of expressions of death and resurrection for the author of Luke-Acts and in the parallel arrangement of Luke-Acts⁸⁶.

1.2.1.2.3 Radl: In his search for parallels for Acts 27:28, Radl goes beyond the Old and New Testament to ancient novels. He observes that in ancient novels the heroes

⁸⁵ Cf. M. D. Goulder, *Type and History in Acts* (London: SPCK, 1964) 65-66.

⁸⁶ Cf. *Ibid.* 39.

and heroines die and rise symbolically. An actual death is not necessary. Even a fainting and regaining of one's consciousness would suffice. Similarly, in Acts Luke expresses Paul's death and resurrection as deliverance from shipwreck. Since the shipwreck of Paul represents his death and rising from death, the author does not need to narrate the actual death of Paul under Nero in Rome⁸⁷.

Because of their selective analysis of the narrative text, the typologists do not grasp the textual and contextual messages of Acts 27-28. They focus only on Paul and leave out of consideration, for example, the sailors, the soldiers, the natives of Malta and the Jews of Rome. Praeder is right in her evaluation: "Since their (Typologists') method of analysis does not require them to inquire after all narrative existents, they assume on the basis of their contextual experience and imagination of Paul as an important apostle that he is the only participant of import in Acts 27-28 and that the explanation of Paul in Acts 27-28 is the explanation of Acts 27-28"⁸⁸. Johnson rightly states: "If the author's point was so patently allegorical, we have even less understanding of why the pedestrian elements of the story are retained. Why did Luke distract us with so much detail, if the detail was supposed to be ignored in favour of the overall pattern?"⁸⁹.

1.2.1.3 Ancient Voyage-narratives and Acts 27-28:

1.2.1.3.1 Homer: The scholars who look for the literary parallels to Acts 27-28, immediately point out to the Odyssey of Homer and the novels of 1-2 centuries AD. D.R. Macdonald is one of the recent authors who claim that Luke has imitated Homer⁹⁰. Macdonald points out the appearance of the supernatural being that foretells the rescue of the voyagers as the most striking parallel between Paul's shipwreck and that of Homer⁹¹. The use of the first person plural and the expression ἐπέκειλαν τὴν ναῦν in Acts 27:41 seem to be dependent on the Odyssey. However, Homer does not

⁸⁷ Cf. Walter Radl, *Paulus und Jesus im lukanischen Doppelwerk: Untersuchungen zu Parallelmotiven im Lukasevangelium und in der Apostelgeschichte* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1975) 227-49.

⁸⁸ Praeder, *The Narrative Voyage*, 48-49.

⁸⁹ L. T. Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, in: Daniel J. Harrington, S.J. (ed.), *Sacra Pagina Series* (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1992) 457.

⁹⁰ D.R. Macdonald, "The Shipwrecks of Odysseus and Paul", in: *NTS* 45 (1999), 88-107.

⁹¹ Homer, *Odyssey* 5,333-353; Acts 27:23ff.

provide parallels to the abrupt shifting from the third person to first person which we find in the “We” narratives of Acts⁹².

Those who do make use of the literary tradition of Homer are Petron, Achilleus Tatios and the novel of Herpyllis. They describe the tempest, waves, lightning and thunder in an extensive rhetoric style. In these works we find a dramatic and an almost exaggerated and rather unrealistic narration of the fear and resignation of the voyagers, the manifold efforts to rescue which go in vain⁹³. On the other hand Luke does not give us such unrealistic descriptions. Scholars do regard Luke’s account of the voyage-narrative as “dramatic”. But a close observation does tell us that Luke gives us a sober and realistic description of the voyage and shipwreck of Paul. Marius Reiser argues correctly: “der Schilderung in Act 27, 13-20 fehlt jede Dramatisierung oder rhetorische Stilisierung. Da lesen wir nichts vom Kampf der Winde, dem „wehrlösen Schiff“, „der dicken Nacht, die das Licht verjagt“, dem „Aufruhr der Wellen“ u.ä. Nautische Details und Termini sind nicht rhetorischer Aufputz wie bei den Verfassern der genannten Romane, sondern stehen ganz sachlich da, wo sie hingehören”⁹⁴. The parallels limit themselves to elements of storm, darkness, waves and ship and the failure of nautical manoeuvre. One cannot regard such elements as “literary topoi”. How can one simply describe a shipwreck without making use of such elements? Among the novels that are cited as parallels to Acts 27-28 the one most important is from Xenophon of Ephesus. Some of the description found here seem to be used by Luke⁹⁵. But these are not so dramatic and such a narration could be found even in any historical work⁹⁶.

1.2.1.3.2 Acts 27-28 and the Narratives of Authentic Voyages: Scholars in their research on Acts 27-28 have not given much thought to the literary description of the real voyages. The actual voyage descriptions will help us to understand the narrative voyage of Luke. It is not only in epics and romances that we read of these matters but

⁹² cf. C. J. Hemer, “First Person Narrative in Acts 27-28”, in: *TynB* 36 (1985), 79-86; B. Witherington, III, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998) 480-486.

⁹³ Cf. Petron 114, 1-3; Achilleus Tatios III 2,2.

⁹⁴ Marius Reiser, „Von Caesarea nach Malta: Literarischer Charakter und Historische Glaubwürdigkeit von Act 27“, in Friedrich Wilhelm Horn (ed.), *Das Ende des Paulus, Historische, theologische und literarische Aspekte* (Berlin; New York: de Gruyter, 2001) 53.

⁹⁵ Xenophon of Ephesus II 11,10; Acts 27: 39-44.

⁹⁶ Cf. Reiser, „Von Caesarea nach Malta“, 53; Susan M. Praeder, “Acts 27:1-28:16: Sea Voyages in Ancient Literature and the Theology of Luke-Acts”, in: *CBQ* 46 (1984), 693-5, 705.

also in historical writings (see e.g., Thucydides, *Peloponnesian war* 2, 6, 26; 6, 20, 104; 8, 24, 31; 8, 24, 34; Herodotus, *Persian wars* 3:138; 7:188) and biographical accounts (Josephus, *Life* 15; 2:11-17, 65-67; 4:35-37). Luke's version is not notably more colourful or exaggerated than other such accounts. Johnson points out, "apart from the interventions made by Paul this voyage narrative resembles the rest of Luke's story in its generally accurate portrayal of places, times, and procedures. The ports of call, directions of wind, places of danger (such as the Syrtis) and of safety (such as the southern coast of Crete) are all where they should be"⁹⁷. The period of time (for sailing generally, for being driven by a storm) are within the range of other ancient accounts⁹⁸. Moreover, the essential plausibility of the event is given further support by the evidence provided by Paul himself that by mid-career he had already experienced a day and a night adrift at sea as well as shipwreck three times (2 Cor 11:25). Let us look at some of the narratives of authentic voyages of the ancient world and relate them to Acts 27-28.

1.2.1.3.2.1 Odyssey of Isis: One prominent among others is the Odyssey of Isis which is found in Lucian's *Dialog Navigium*⁹⁹. Lucian repeats the report given by the captain. After this report the Alexandrian corn-fleet Isis, begins the voyage to Rome in early autumn. Because of the prevailing northwest winds at this season, the ship takes a normal route via Cyprus. Then an adverse wind compels the ship to make a halt at Sidon. After that the captain follows the same route which was followed by the ship in which Paul was voyaging. They sail by the east of Cyprus and with the help of the coastal wind and the coastal current they sail along the coast of Asia Minor. Only after a great effort they were able to prevent the shipwreck at Chelidonen and with the help of the southwest wind the ship was able to drive the Isis in the Ägäis. Finally it had to be stationed at Athens. It had taken 70 days from the time they had begun the voyage. The southwest wind had prevented them from voyaging on the route they had originally intended. As the statement of Lucian makes it clear, this was the same route/course which, about hundred years earlier, Paul's ship had taken: they sailed under the lee of Crete, off Salmone (27:7b). Because of the prevailing northwest wind, the ships, after traversing the shore of Crete, would head west of Malta.

⁹⁷ Johnson, *Acts*, 452.

⁹⁸ Cf. Thucydides, *Peloponnesian War* 8, 24, 34; Aelius Aristides, *Sacred Tales* 2:68.

⁹⁹ Cf. L. Casson, "The Isis and her Voyage", in: *TPAPA* 81 (1950), 43-56.

1.2.1.3.2.2 Plutarch's Biography of Dion: This narrative provides us with another example of an authentic voyage. Dion and his companions embark on a warship and commence their voyage in the beginning of September, 357 BC. They sail in the open sea from the west Greek Island Zakynthos- their aim was to reach Sicily¹⁰⁰. The rising of the Arktur is on the 14th of September. Voyaging anytime before this day is safe. His narrative has a closer resemblance to Acts 27 than all that can be found in other novels. Only in the description of the tempest he uses the literary topos: thunder and lightning. In the remaining, the narrative moves forward rapidly, with fewer adjectives, but with vivid details. Paul and his fellow voyagers were afraid that the ship should run aground on the Syrtis (Acts 27:17). And this is exactly what happens to the fleet of Dion. They are driven by the tempest to Syrtis. But the rising south wind rescues them. The description by Plutarch is very realistic. This is shown by the wreck of an old ship which had been discovered along the coast of Tunisia in 1907. It is a forty metre long corn ship. Most probably, around 100 BC, while it was on its way from Athens to Rome, it was driven by a tempest to the small Syrtis and had sunk there.

1.2.1.3.2.3 Aelius Aristides: We have another example from Aelius Aristides who was born in 117 AD. In late September 144 AD, Aristides, who was very sick, sails in a ship that was voyaging from Rome to Milet. He gives a graphic and dramatic description of this voyage. However, one does not come across here rhetoric and literary topoi. Although Aristides wrote almost 30 years after the event had taken place, we find his account authentic, containing precise information¹⁰¹. Like Paul in Acts 27:9, Aristides, too, warns about the dangerous season of voyaging just before they sail. Like Luke (Acts 27:27), Aristides, too, designates the Ionian sea as Adria (2,66)¹⁰². The supernatural communications and the rescue of all sailing with him make a close parallel between Aristides and Paul.

1.2.1.3.2.4 Arrian: The voyage of Arrian too is worth considering as a parallel. This takes place a few years before the above-mentioned voyage of Aristides. Arrian was the governor of Kappadokia. He makes a inspections-voyage in a small fleet in the

¹⁰⁰ Plutarch, *Dion* 25, 3-11.

¹⁰¹ Aristides, HL 2, 65-68.

¹⁰² For further similarities between the voyage of Paul and that of Aristides see Reiser, „Von Caesarea nach Malta“, 57-59.

coastal areas that lay east of Trapezunt in the Black sea. The ships were equipped with rowing facilities. He writes his report to the Emperor Adrian. This report may have been written down during the voyage itself or sometime immediately after the voyage. Just after their first halt, the ship is hit by a tempest. Arrian gives a sober description which is nautically exact¹⁰³. A storm arises because of the change of the wind from west to east. Arrian assumes that the wind is formed in the cloud and breaks up like an explosion. Fortunately the waves come from the front and not from the sides. The water rushes through the rudder into the ship. The art of presentation and the details resemble the account of Acts 27;13-20. As the wind from south and southwest blows, most of the smaller vessels in the fleet are pulled to the beach and thus rescued. But one was seized by a wave and was thrown against the bank and was wrecked. There is no other ancient voyage narrative which is as close as this to Acts 27-28.

1.2.2 Conclusion: Those who deny the historicity of this voyage narrative of Luke-Acts do so because of four reasons: 1) the linguistic style of Luke in those so-called Pauline insertions; 2) their typical Lucan intention of presentation; 3) the inner tensions, which can be solved by separating these insertions; without these insertions the narrative is complete; 4) they do not add extra to the completion of the story.

One cannot deny the fact that these so called “insertions” are formulated by Luke. They reflect Lucan style and language. However, we do not find enough stylistic reasons for their literary-critical separation. Can we really say that the rest of Acts 27-28 (without the so-called Pauline insertions) is less Lucan with regard to its literary style? From the art of presentation one can distinguish the three Pauline scenes from the rest of the narrative. However, we need to observe that only in these three “Pauline scenes” we have speeches (conversation). Naturally the intention and style of Luke is evident here more than in the rest of the narrative. But they do not provide us a reason to make such a literary operation. The emphasis on the role of Paul and the attention given to him by the Roman officials do belong to the general Lucan style. The question is whether Luke has underlined a historical fact here or it is just a narrative invention by him. We need to ask: Does this presentation by Luke contain something that is improbable and unreal? Naturally the answer is: no. Some scholars

¹⁰³ Arrian, *Periplus m Eux* 3,2-4.

assume that Paul was bound in chains and confined to the deck of the ship and consequently was not in a position to play the role attributed to him by Luke. Such assumptions sound historically absurd. Paul is a Roman citizen and not a condemned criminal. He has appealed to Caesar and his appeal has been accepted. The respect and politeness he receives from the Roman officials and his companions is not surprising. The comment of A.D. Nock on Acts 27:11 is inspiring and relevant: “Personally, I regard this as an authentic transcript of the recollections of an eyewitness, with the confusion and colouring which so easily attach themselves to recollections”¹⁰⁴. Such authentic voyages we find also in modern times. One could think of the experience of Johann Wolfgang Goethe who describes his voyage to Italy in a detailed and dramatic way.

We have already seen that there was no hard and fast line between the narrative conventions of ancient history and fiction. All ancient historians used what we today regard as “fictional” techniques. We have already observed that Luke-Acts contains both poetic and documentary history. It is a theological history, or biblical history in Greco-Roman literary forms. “The fact that Luke demonstrably follows the conventions of ancient sea-voyage writing does not by itself determine the basic historicity of his account”¹⁰⁵. The literary conventions became so stereotyped because in the Hellenistic world sea-voyages were common, and storms were frequent, and naturally shipwrecks did take place.

We need to avoid the extreme either/or of fiction vs. history. If we cling strongly to the factual character of every detail, we ignore the obvious literary motifs of the narrative. We would be avoiding the question: why does Luke devote so much attention to this voyage? I tend to go along with Johnson: “A sound position recognises the possibility that the narrative is as a whole essentially historical, but also acknowledges its literary (or even fictional) shaping”¹⁰⁶. “Fictional” does not mean that the events were created entirely out of the author’s imagination without any basis in fact. Let us deal with this narrative as we have the rest of Luke-Acts. This would mean avoiding a hasty leap to allegory, and avoiding as well a treatment of ancient history and fiction as though they were utterly disparate categories. It means

¹⁰⁴ A. D. Nock, *The Book of Acts*, 823.

¹⁰⁵ Johnson, *Acts*, 451.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.* 452

recognizing that ancient historians used “fictional” techniques even when they were relating events that had every claim to be considered historical, since narrative of any sort requires both strong selection and shaping if it is to yield any meaning at all. And Luke, like all ancient historians, was not interested simply in the chronicling of facts, but in the communication of meaning: history bore a message for instruction and imitation.

Luke advances several overall narrative interests by means of this voyage to Rome. The most immediate and obvious reason for extending the account in this place is to provide narrative space, so that the reader has time to assimilate what has happened to Paul and what will happen to him¹⁰⁷. Why does he narrate this voyage so extensively? This is the reason: the reader’s imagination is allowed a time of freedom that enables it to adjust to the finality of Paul’s condition and the inexorability of his future. The dramatic narration of the storm and dangers of the voyage remind the reader of how close to death Paul is. He is going to Rome to face trial and ultimately martyrdom.

The tragic situation they experience at sea relates to the wrong human judgement. However the narrative points out to God’s control over history in subtler ways. Nothing can hinder his divine plan to have Paul reach Rome in order to bear testimony to Jesus before the Emperor. God’s mastery over history is available not to empirical test but to the eyes of faith. “The work of God in history does not have to do with tinkering with natural and human processes by arbitrary interventions, but in direction of the human heart to the perception of these processes as revealing the purposes and call of God”¹⁰⁸.

And finally, by means of Acts 27-28 Luke brings to fulfilment the purpose and plan of Luke-Acts: the universal salvation as foretold in the Scripture. There is a great emphasis placed on “salvation” in this narrative. The repeated occurrence of this word, the message of angel to Paul that all will be saved on account of Paul, the Eucharistic meal on the ship, and the healings on the island, are all meant to communicate to the reader God’s plan of universal salvation. The words of Isaiah -

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Ibid, 458.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

“all flesh will see the salvation of God”- are now being fulfilled. On the ship that is caught up in a storm and on the island of Malta, a new community is formed: a community of Christians and pagans. They are separate; each has its own identity; at the same time they interact with one another in an atmosphere of kindness and hospitality. We shall study this narrative from the point of view of universal salvation.

Chapter Two

The Voyage up to Fair Havens (27:1-8)

2.1 Introduction: The last two chapters of Acts form a literary unity. They begin with the handing over of Paul and the other prisoners to the centurion, Julius, for their voyage to Rome and end with the report that “*Paul lived there (in Rome) for two years at his own expense, and welcomed all who came to him, preaching the Kingdom of God and teaching about the Lord Jesus Christ quite openly and unhindered*”. For the purpose of our study we can divide these chapters into the following individual units: 27:1-8 can be considered as the Introductory Itinerary. It consists of two paragraphs: the first (vv.1-5) narrates the voyage from Caesarea to Myra on a ship of Adramyttium, and the second paragraph (vv.6-8) narrates their voyage from Myra, on the southern coast of Asia Minor, to Fair Havens in Crete on a ship of Alexandria. The function of these introductory verses is: i) to introduce the main characters of the plot: Paul and the other prisoners, Aristarchus and some other Christian companions of Paul, Julius, the centurion; ii) to signal that the voyage is not going to be easy and safe; iii) to report the kindness of the centurion which will have an important role in the movement of this narrative.

Vv. 9-20 form the second unit which could be titled as “Paul’s prophecy and its fulfilment”. In this section, Paul intervenes for the first time and foretells that the voyage is going to be dangerous for the ship as well as for their lives. His warning comes not from a vision or through any other means of divine revelation. It is rather from his practical experience as a man who has sailed often and who knows the safe as well as the dangerous period for voyaging. However, his suggestion, not to sail further from Fair Haven, is ignored by the centurion and the voyage is continued with the hope of arriving Crete, a better harbour for passing the winter. But their wishful thinking soon comes to an end at the sudden arrival of a tempest. Paul’s prophecy is immediately fulfilled. The ship is caught in the violent tempest and they are unable to make any progress with their voyage. In this unit the narrator recounts a lot of safety measures taken by the sailors as well as by others. Everything goes in vain. This narrative unit ends with the description of their hopeless situation in the midst of the stormy sea, as neither sun nor stars appeared for many days.

The third unit, vv. 21-26, narrates Paul's words of comfort in the face of hopelessness caused by the violent storm. He predicts that none of them will perish except the ship, and they shall have to run aground on some island. His prediction is based on his angelic vision. The angel tells Paul that he must appear before Caesar and that on his account all will be saved. This little speech characterizes Paul as a man of faith and the one who believes in heavenly communications.

Vv.27-44 form the fourth unit which we could entitle as: "Shipwreck and salvation". This unit can be sub-divided into three paragraphs: a) vv.27-32 - Paul's warning at midnight; b) vv.33-38 - as the day was about to dawn Paul encourages his fellow passengers to eat and this is followed by the meal; c) vv.39-44 - when it was day, they all escape to land. All these events take place on the fourteenth and the last day which ends up with the shipwreck and final rescue. The word "salvation" is the key word of this narrative unit.

The fifth unit is their stay at Malta: 28:1-10. This unit, too, can be divided into two parts. The first paragraph (28:1-6) narrates the incident in which Paul is bitten by a snake and goes unharmed to the astonishment of the natives. The snake bite makes the islanders to consider Paul a murderer, who although he has escaped from the sea is being pursued by the goddess of justice. Later when they see him unharmed by the snake, they change their mind and begin to regard him as a god. In the second part (28:7-10) we have the healing ministry of Paul in Malta. This unit brings out strikingly the hospitality of the barbarians of Malta.

The sixth unit (28:11-31) narrates Paul's mission in Rome. This unit is further divided into four paragraphs: vv. 11-15 the journey from Malta to Rome, vv.16-22 Paul's first encounter with the Jews and vv.17-28 Paul's second and last encounter with the Jews in Rome, vv.29-31 the final description of Paul's preaching in liberty.

2.2 Textual criticism: The first nine words of verse one (Ὡς δὲ ἐκρίθη τοῦ ἀποπλεῖν ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν) are omitted in the Western text (h sy^{p.hmg}). Instead these manuscripts have an addition at the end of 26:32: "so the governor decided to send him to Caesar and the next day he called a centurion named Julius of the cohort Augusta and handed over Paul and other prisoners to him".

The first person plural disappears in the reading of P6 326 2495* pc. These manuscripts have *Τους περι τον Παυλον* - Paul and those with him - instead of the first person plural *ἡμᾶς*. However, the first person plural is not consistently removed from the narratives of these manuscripts. There is no indication that the author of Acts was not present. It is not easy to see how the reading originated. Perhaps *ἡμᾶς* “was thought to lack clarity and directness”¹. This may be the reason why the addition at 26:32 in the Western text: “Partly perhaps because «they» is not defined, the western text has rewritten the whole verse without adding to our knowledge”².

In the second verse P⁷⁴ places *τω* before *πλοίω*. The addition of this article seems to be out of place here “because we know nothing of this ship until we read the following words”³. Moreover 614 2495 pc have *ει*, which is needless. The ships home port, Adramyttium, is described by the adjective for which there is a respectably attested variant *ἠδραμυττηνω* (P^{74vid} A B* 33pc). The Western text - 614 (2147) 2495 pc sy^h - adds Secundus after the name Aristarchus. It may be under the influence of Acts 20:4. Both Aristarchus and Secundus are described as Macedonians⁴. In verse 2 (*εἰς τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν τόπους*) *εἰς* is omitted by H L P S and the Byzantine text. The omission must have been seen as good Greek in the fourth and following centuries. However, only in Greek poetry we find parallels to this usage⁵.

2.3 Unity and Structure: These 8 verses form a single unit. It begins with the handing over of Paul and other prisoners to the Roman centurion and their embarking on the ship from Adramyttium. This narrative unit ends with the mention of their arrival at Fair Havens. In this paragraph the narrator mentions a number of verbs that have to do with sailing: *ἀποπλεῖν* (set sail); *ἐπιβάντες* (to embark); *πλεῖν* *πλέω* (sail); *ἀνήχθημεν* (set sail); *κατήχθημεν* (put in); *ὑπεπλεύσαμεν* (sail under the shelter of); *διαπλεύσαντες* (sail across); *ἐνεβίβασεν* (put aboard); *βραδυπλοοῦντες* (sail slowly); *παραλεγόμενοι* (sail or coast along). Almost all of these verbs are in aorist.

¹ Barrett, *Acts of the Apostles*, 1181.

² C. S. C. Williams, *Acts*, 269. See also Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 444. According to him, the western text has a more elaborate transition here.

³ Barrett, *Acts*, 1181.

⁴ Cf. Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 445.

⁵ Cf. Jackson and Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity* 3, 240f.

Besides these there are a few nouns that have to do with voyaging: *πλοῖω* (ship); *πέλαγος* (open sea) and *πλοῖον* (sailing vessel). These verbs and nouns will be repeated in the course of the narrative. They are typical nautical terms belonging to a literary genre of ancient voyage narratives. But this does not conclusively prove that Luke has borrowed here an ancient voyage narrative because many of these terms are found elsewhere in Luke-Acts. The voyage route is clearly marked by a number of places which, with the exception of two, are all given in the accusative case: Ἰταλίᾳ Ἀδραμυττηνῶσ' Ἀσίᾳ Σιδῶν' Κύπροζ' Κιλικίᾳ Παμφυλίᾳ Μύρᾳ Λυκίᾳ Ἀλεξανδρῖνοζ' Κνίδοζ' Κρήτῃ Σαλμώνῃ Καλοῖ+λιμένεζ' Λασαίᾳ We can form this paragraph into the following structure:

1. Immediate preparations for the voyage, departure (v. 1)
2. The first stage at Sidon (vv. 2-3)
3. To Myra (vv. 4-5)
4. The tedious voyage from Myra to Fair Havens (vv. 6-8)

2.4 Exegetical Analysis

2.4.1 Immediate Preparations for the Voyage, Departure (v. 1):

- 1a Ὡς δὲ ἐκρίθη τοῦ ἀποπλεῖν ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν,
 1b παρεδίδουν τὸν τε Παῦλον καὶ τινὰς ἑτέρους δεσμώτας
 1c ἑκατοντάρχη ὀνόματι Ἰουλίῳ σπείρης Σεβαστῆς.

The first verse introduces this whole section of the voyage narrative. Paul and other prisoners are handed over to the centurion, Julius, for their voyage to Rome. This verse is related to the previous sections of the narrative of Acts as it refers to the decision to send Paul to Italy. This decision would remind the reader of Paul's trial process, his defence speeches, and his claim to Roman citizenship and his appeal to Caesar.

2.4.1.1 The Participants: One of the functions of these first few verses is to introduce the participants of the plot. Who are the participants of this voyage? The narrator himself, the Centurion, Paul and other prisoners. Paul's Christian companion, Aristarchus, is introduced in the second verse. „Lukas stellt sich die Begleiter des Paulus wohl als eine Gruppe von Freunden vor, die ihm freiwillig folgen. Jedenfalls

sind Paulus und die übrigen Gefangenen, die dem Centurio Julius aus der kaiserlichen Kohorte übergeben werden, nicht die einzigen Schiffspassagiere“⁶.

The narrator reappears in person (we / us) for the first time since 21:18. This does not mean that he has been absent for the duration of Paul's time in custody. However, the account had focused so extensively on Paul himself, and so Luke makes no effort to tell us of his presence at this time⁷. Marshall brings in an interesting remark: “It is often supposed that Luke stayed in Palestine, and even that he used his time in searching out information for the composition of his Gospel and the earlier parts of Acts. This is possible, but beyond proof”⁸. The other prisoners are incidental to the story in this narrative and Luke says nothing about them until 27:42. Nothing is told about their crimes “but as the sequel indicates, Paul as a Roman citizen would have higher status and be accorded freer access to the centurion and the captain”⁹. The “We-Narrative” continues up to 28:16. But there is a shift to the third person narrative in 27:13,17,19,28,29,38,39-44.

Paul, the main character of the voyage narrative, is introduced here. The name “Paul” appears in the Acts for the first time in 13:9. But the person is first introduced as “Saul” at the death of Stephen: *the witnesses laid down their garments at the feet of a young man named Saul* (7:58b). And a little later after mentioning the prayer and death of Stephen the narrative continues, “*And Saul was consenting to his death*” (8:1a). The name *Saul* appears again in the account of his conversion on the road to Damascus and right up to ch. 13:7 which narrates the encounter of Saul and Barnabas with Sergius Paulus who is later converted. In the same narrative, the name Paul appears for the first time: *But Saul, who is also called Paul, filled with the Holy Spirit, looked intently at him* (Elymas the magician)... (13:9)¹⁰. The change of name from Saul to Paul is narrated rather casually and smoothly. The narrator does not describe the reason for the change of name¹¹. From now on he is always called Paul.

⁶ Gerhard Schneider, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (2. Teil; Freiburg: Herder, 1980) 383.

⁷ Cf. James Dunn, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Peterborough: Epworth Press, 1996) 336-7.

⁸ Marshall, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 403.

⁹ Ibid. 337.

¹⁰ For more information on the change of name at this point of the narrative, and the meaning of the name Paulus, see Hans-Josef-Klauck, *Magie und Heidentum in der Apostelgeschichte des Lukas*, 65-67.

¹¹ Most probably Saul was the Hebrew and Paul was the Greek form of his name.

Paul is introduced here at the beginning of the voyage narrative as a prisoner. He stands with the other prisoners. Placing Paul with the other prisoners would remind the reader of all that has gone before this scene. Fitzmyer rightly puts this voyage narrative in the larger section of 22:22-28:31 which he entitles: “Paul imprisoned for the sake of the testimony to the word”¹². These chapters form the seventh and the last part of Acts according to the structure given by Fitzmyer. This last section brings Paul’s testimony to Jerusalem and to Rome. In order to advance his story, Luke uses the literary device of interrupted speech. He relates what happens after Paul has been explaining to the Jerusalem church so far. The mention of “Gentiles” evokes reaction of anger from the crowd. They want to do away with Paul. The commander of the Romans however decides to intervene. He gives orders that Paul be arrested and decides to interrogate him on the cause of this uprising, but under the lash. Paul turns to the Roman tribunal and tells the centurion standing by that he is a Roman citizen. When this is reported to the tribune he is released. The commander Claudius Lysias brings Paul before the Sanhedrin of Jerusalem. This leads to the famous defence scene with a defence speech by Paul. Jerusalemites vow and plot to kill him but do not succeed (23:12-22). He is brought as a prisoner to Caesarea and bears his testimony there (23:23-26:32). The trial before Festus (24:1-21) is followed by imprisonment at Caesarea (24:22-27). Before Festus Paul appeals to Caesar (25:1-12). The last scene is before King Agrippa and his wife Bernice in whose presence Paul makes his bold apology (26:1-25). Both Festus and Agrippa declare that Paul is innocent and could have been released if he had not appealed to Caesar.

2.4.1.2 The Decision to Sail: The first verse begins with the conjunction ὥς. The temporal use of ὥς characteristic of Acts (cf. Acts 16:4). δὲ ἐκρίθη refers to “a decision with regard to the practical arrangements for the journey”¹³. The unnecessary τοῦ before the infinitive is frequent in Luke-Acts. It could be due to the influence of the LXX, in which it represents the Hebrew ה.

For the “decision” Luke uses the Greek verb κρίνω. This verb is related to the Latin “cerno”: “to sunder”. It has the basic sense of “to part”, “to sift” (Homer II.,

¹² Joseph Fitzmyer, *Acts of the Apostles* (AB 31; New York : Doubleday, 1986) 570.

¹³ Barrett, *Acts*, 1180.

5,500.)¹⁴. The most common meaning is “to decide”. “Though the word is most commonly found in legal terminology, it does not belong here exclusively or by derivation”¹⁵. The LXX, however, uses κρίνω mostly as the legal word. It means judging, even when this means deliverance or salvation for the oppressed.

The verb κρίνω is extensively used in Acts (3:13; 4:19; 7:7; 13:27, 46; 15:19; 16:4, 15; 17:31; 20:16; 21:25; 23:3, 6; 24:21; 25:9, 10, 20, 25; 26:6, 8; 27:1). The RSV translates this verb as decided / determined (3:13; 16:4; 20:16; 25:25; 27:1), thought (26:8), stand on trial (23:6; 24:21; 26:6), be judged (4:19; 7:7; 13:46; 15:9; 16:15; 17:31; 21:25; 23:3; 25:9,10,20) and condemn (13:27). Luke uses this verb often with reference to human judgements and decisions (Lk 7:43; Acts 4:19), legal judgements (Acts 3:13), God’s judgement within history (Acts 7:7) and once with regard to eschatological judgement of God (Acts 17:31) which will reach its perfection through the resurrected Jesus. In the Gospel the same verb is used for Pilate deciding to hand over Jesus: *Pilate decided (ἐπέκρινεν) to grant their demand* (Lk 23:24). In Q the verb appears in the warning of Jesus before the human judges (cf. Lk 6:37).

In our context this verb is used for a human decree. It refers here “to come to a conclusion after a cognitive process and reach a decision”¹⁶ (cf. also 3:13; 16:4; 20:16; 21:25; 25:23). It is the decision of the Roman authorities to bring Paul to Rome. But behind this human decision there is the divine plan and divine necessity. It is important to note that the author has not mentioned the agent of this verb. It is understood from the context that the agent of the verb is the Roman Governor. But from the general context of Luke-Acts one knows that the agent of this verb is ultimately God himself. God is behind every event. Nothing can happen without his will. He is even able to guide the dark events of life to his greater purposes. This is the reason why the narrator does not explicitly mention the name of the agent of the verb.

¹⁴ Büchsel, Art. “κρίνω”, in: *TDNT* III, 923.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Fredrick William Danker, *A Greek- English Lexicon of the NT and Early Christian Literature*, 3rd Ed., 567.

The decision was to sail to Italy. The word Italy appears also in 10:1; 18:2; 27:6 and in Heb 13:24. The verb ἀποπλεῖν is used several times in the accounts of Paul's travels (cf. Acts 13:4; 14:26; 20:15).

2.4.1.3 Handing Over of Paul and Other Companions: For the handing over of Paul the imperfect παρεδίδουν is used. The tense of the verb describes the process of handing over. This process of handing over the prisoners concluded with the actual embarkation. παρεδίδουν is Hellenistic. The subject is not expressed. In the background lies the authority of the governor Festus, who acts through his officials. That is the reason why the plural form of verb is used. They handed over both Paul and other prisoners. The other prisoners are mentioned again only at v.42. They do not appear in ch.28.

“They handed over”- an impersonal plural more frequent in Mark than in Luke. παραδίδωμι appears again in the voyage narrative at 28:17. Paul uses this verb in his address to the local leaders of the Jews in Rome. *Brethren, though I had done nothing against the people or the customs of our fathers, yet I was delivered prisoner (παρεδόθην) from Jerusalem into the hands of the Romans.* We need to look at the meaning and the usage of this verb in the OT and NT in order to understand what Luke wants to tell the reader by the expression “they delivered Paul”.

2.4.1.3.1 παραδίδωμι in the OT: This verb has various meanings: i) to hand over something to someone. Human beings, too, are handed over: a slave to his master (Deut 23:16; 1 Sam 30:5), or a child to its mother (Josephus, Ant. 1.217), a young woman to her husband (Tob 7:13)¹⁷; ii) to retribute or giving back (1 Mc 10:6); iii) to transmit, for example a tradition, Knowledge or a revelation.

The predominant sense of παραδίδωμι in the OT is pejorative; God is almost the subject, and very often the verb is reinforced with a prepositional phrase: God is delivering into your hand your adversaries, enemies, oppressors whom the Lord hands over unconditionally to his people. It is an exceptional case when παραδίδωμι with this meaning has a favourable sense (cf. Deut 19:2), because one is normally

¹⁷ Cf. Ceslas Spicq op., Art “παραδίδωμι”, in: *Theological Lexicon of the NT* III, 13-15.

delivered into subjection, troubles, evils, suffering, woe - as when Job is given over to the power of Satan (Job 2:6) or Samson is given over into the hands of the Philistines (Judges 15:12) - and specially to death (1 Sam 11:12)¹⁸.

2.4.1.3.2 παραδίδωμι in the NT: What is new is παραδίδωμι is made a technical term for Jesus' passion. It is found in the passion predictions (Mt 17:22; Mk 9:31; Lk 9:44; Mt 20:18-19). The Evangelists use this verb for the handing over of Jesus to crucifixion (Mt.27:26 *Pilate had Jesus whipped and handed him over to be crucified*; also cf. Mk 15:15; Jn 19:16 and Lk 23:25). Paul says: "*The Lord, on the night that he was handed over, took bread*" (1Cor 11:23). The term is to be taken first in its legal and juridical sense (Mt 4:12; Mk 1:4; Acts 8:3) but it conveys moreover a moral or psychological nuance and a theological value. Παράδοσις was also used for treason (παράδοσια). Judas Iscariot is always called ὁ παραδοὺς, «the traitor» (Mt 10:4), basically: the one who hands over Jesus, and only in a derivative sense the one who betrays. But only Luke has once "podotes" for him, which means "betrayed" more consistently or betrayed Jesus. In this context the verb connotes a nuance of criminality: desertion to another camp, breach of sworn faith, betrayal of someone's trust¹⁹. It is certain that the first Christians saw Christ's crucifixion less as an atrociously painful form of torture than as an ignominy and a result of perfidy (cf. Mt.27:18; Mk 15:10; Acts 3:13). To say that Jesus was handed over, then, means that he was betrayed.²⁰

παραδίδωμι also contains a nuance of sacrifice. This verb was also used for people who gave themselves in self-sacrifice to God or neighbour. It was predicted that the servant of Yahweh would be handed over to death for redemption from sins (Is 53:6,12). This religious meaning is inseparable from παραδίδωμι in the death of Jesus: God gave him over (Rom 4:25; 8:32), or he gave himself over (Gal 2:20), offering himself as a sacrifice of acceptable savour (Eph 5:2). The accent is as much on the love that inspires this offering as on the totality of the gift and its cost: our redemption. Consequently to "deliver oneself" to God or neighbour becomes a major principle of Christian ethics (cf. Acts 16:26)

¹⁸ Ibid. 19-20.

¹⁹ Cf. Josephus, *War* 4:523.

²⁰ Cf. Spicq, Art. "παραδίδωμι", in: *Theological Lexicon of the NT III*, 21-22.

παραδίδωμι often has the juridical meaning “deliver to court or to prison”. The princes of the priests and the elders of the people led and delivered Jesus to Pilate (Mt. 27:2; Mk 15:1; cf. Jn 18:30, 35); the scribes and the chief priests appoint men “*to deliver him to the power and authority of the governor*” (Lk 20:20; cf. 24:20); The apostles will be handed over before courts (Mt. 10:17, 19; cf. 24:9; Mk 13:9, 11; Lk 21.12), and every debtor is exhorted to be reconciled with his creditor before the latter delivers him to the judge and the judge to the officer, lest he be thrown in prison²¹.

παραδίδωμι occurs 17 times in the Gospel of Luke. Its first occurrence is in the prologue where Luke uses this word for *the things that have been accomplished among us just as they were delivered to us by those who from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word*. The rest of the occurrences are almost exclusively used for the passion of Jesus or for the persecution of his disciples. Hence this word is used to describe suffering for the cause of mission. It is the same mission whether of Jesus or Paul or Christians in general. In Acts this verb occurs 13 times. In 3:13 it is used in the sermon of Peter. He proclaims Jesus who was *delivered and denied in the presence of Pilate*. On two occasions it is used in the context of Stephen. In all the other occasions it is used for Paul.

2.4.1.3.3 παραδίδωμι and Jesus-Paul Parallelism: The use of παραδίδωμι in the narrative of Paul being handed over to the centurion has a deeper significance. Here this verb carries first and foremost a juridical meaning. Paul is delivered as a prisoner to this Roman voyage in order to appear before Caesar. However, the use of this word in the entire context of Luke-Acts gives a deeper meaning. This word is predominantly used for Jesus and Paul and specifically for the passion of both. The use of this verb here indicates that the narrator wishes to characterise Paul as a follower of Jesus. The disciple shares the destiny of the master. Jesus-Paul parallels have been significantly noted in Luke-Acts, especially in their trial and suffering. One among the many scholars who have pointed out the parallels between Jesus and Paul in a significant way is Evans: “The Acts give the most minute and detailed personal history of St. Paul, to the exclusion of most of the other Apostles; and in the Acts, this history in which St. Paul is chief actor, we have this singular vein of distinct parallelism ... which compares St. Paul’s experiences – especially his experiences of

²¹ Cf. Ibid. 23.

persecution and suffering – to our Lord’s own experiences, and sometimes in the very identical words about Christ”²².

The most detailed presentation of the Jesus-Paul parallelism comes from Rackham. In his commentary on Acts he maintains that the active ministry of Jesus and Paul “is concluded by a “passion” or period of suffering, which in each volume occupies a seemingly disproportionate space....After early anticipations (Lk 9:51 = Acts 19:21) and a detailed journey up to Jerusalem (Lk 17:11-19:48 = Acts 20-21:17) with the last words of the sufferer (Lk 20-21 = Acts 20:17-38) we have the passion proper (Lk 22-23 = Acts 21:7-28:10). And then in each case the book ends with a period of victorious but quiet preparation for further advance”²³. Mattil has further developed these points on the Jesus-Paul parallelism. He finds detailed parallelism between Jesus and Paul right through the two volumes of Luke: the Law, preaching in synagogues, affirmation of the pharisaic doctrine of the resurrection, fulfilment of Scripture, servant of God, divine necessity, spirit, revelations and angels, signs and wonders, turning to Gentiles, journey to Rome, trials and passions²⁴.

Paul’s shipwreck and plunging into the deep are the counterparts to Jesus’ death on the cross (Lk 23:26-49; Acts 27:14:24). The storm and darkness during Paul’s voyage correspond to the darkness and spiritual storm on Calvary (Lk 23:44-45; Acts 27:20). The verdict of the centurion that Jesus was a righteous man parallels that of the natives of Malta that Paul was a god (Lk 23:47; Acts 28:6). The rest and peace of the three winter months at Malta, when Paul was entirely cut off from the outside world and old life, is like Jesus’ three days in the grave (Lk 28:50-56; Acts 28:1-10). Paul’s rescue at sea in Malta is a resurrection-from-the-dead parallel to that of Jesus (Lk 24:1-11; Acts 27:39-44). Paul’s voyage to Rome in the spring, which was to Paul the entrance into a new life, is comparable to the joyful period after the resurrection (Lk 24:12-49; Acts 28:11-16)²⁵. Walter Radl believes that this voyage to Rome should be considered in the context of Luke-Acts: “Die Tatsache der zahlreichen bisher beobachteten parallelen zwischen Lk und Apg läßt zwangsläufig die Frage aufkommen, ob nicht auch in den letzten beiden Kapiteln der Apg solche

²² Evans, *Paul*, 49.

²³ Richard Belward Rackham, *The Acts of the Apostles*, xlvii.

²⁴ Cf. A.J. Mattil, Jr., “The Jesus-Paul Parallels and the Purpose of Luke-Acts: H.H.Evans reconsidered”, in: *Novum Testamentum XVII*, 13-46.

²⁵ Cf. Rackham, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 477-478.

Parallelen zu finden sind”²⁶. Just as the suffering of Paul corresponds to that of Jesus, the death of Jesus must also be reflected in Paul. In fact the passion of Paul mentioned in Acts 21:27 is a suffering unto death (Todesleiden). The speech at Miletus which was given a little earlier has the form of a farewell speech before the death. It is Paul’s last will, his testament²⁷. Radl states that it is natural that “nach der Darstellung seines Prozesses auch die des Todes und der Auferstehung zu erwarten”²⁸. Luke writes like a Hellenistic writer. The motive of death and resurrection is found in the literature of Greek novels. In ancient literary work it signified death even when in reality there was only a danger of death or an apparent death. Similarly, a rescue from such a danger of death equalled resurrection. In this type of literature the heroes go through a symbolic death and then a resurrection. There was not a strict boundary line dividing death and the danger of death. Similarly in LXX as well as in the NT, the Greek word θάνατος can mean both death and the danger of death. So Radl concludes that the shipwreck and the rescue in Acts 27 meant Paul’s death and resurrection, the climax of the parallels between Jesus and Paul²⁹. Such parallelism does exist between Jesus and Paul as well as between Jesus, Peter and Stephen. But the scholars do tend to exaggerate a bit when they see too many parallels. It is not too clear whether Luke intended to create them or it was just coincidental and historical. The use of the verb παραδίδωμι with reference to Paul at the beginning of the voyage-narrative does indicate that Luke visualizes the destiny of Paul in the way and manner of Jesus.

2.4.1.4 The Centurion: This name refers to “a Roman military officer, corresponding in number of infantry commanded by him (100) to the modern captain, but in his status like our non-commissioned officers”³⁰. There were ten centurions in a cohort and sixty in a legion. The number of centurions in the legion seems to have remained the same, even when the number of legionary soldiers increased or decreased beyond the usual six thousand. There was a difference between a legion and auxiliary centurion; only the first were appointed by the Emperor himself³¹. Moreover the

²⁶ Walter Radl, *Paulus und Jesus in Lukanischen Doppelwerk, Untersuchungen zu Parallelmotiven im Lukasevangelien und in der Apostelgeschichte*, 222-3.

²⁷ Cf. Ibid. 223.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Cf. Ibid. 224-5.

³⁰ Art. “Centurion”, in: *Dictionary of the Bible*, 2nd. Ed., James Hastings (Ed.), revised by Fredrick C. Grant and H. H. Rowley, 130.

³¹ G. Schneider, „Der Hauptmann am Kreuz“, in: *ZNW* 33 (1934), 2-3.

auxiliary centurions did not need to be Roman citizens. Although theoretically the centurions were subject to the six legionary tribunes, and often deferred to them (Acts 22:26), yet the centurions were the actual working officers, the backbone of the army. The discipline and efficiency of the legion as a fighting unit depended on them. Polybius describes their type: “centurions are required not to be bold and adventurous so much as good leaders, of steady and prudent mind, not prone to take the offensive or start fighting wantonly, but able when overwhelmed, and hard pressed to stand fast and die at their post” (History vi. 24). As Career men, the centurions were the most experienced and best informed men in the army. The office was the highest to which an ordinary soldier might aspire.

The centurion was responsible for discipline, hence the vine-staff (*vitis*) emblem, which he knew how to use on the backs of men. This would include supervision of scourging and the execution of capital penalties (Tac. Ann.1.6; 16.9 etc.; Mt. 27:54; Mk 15:39, 44, 45; Lk 23:47). Then he had the responsibility for drill, inspection of arms, quartermaster duties, and command in camp and field. He assigned details to his men, and might be bribed to the point of exacting tribute. Most centurions were promoted from the ranks; others came in as direct appointments from the equestrian order or transferred from the elite units in Rome. Promotion over a long career could take a man from junior centurion, *hastatus posterior*, of the tenth cohort to first centurion of first cohort, *primus pilus*. There was no fixed period of service for a man once he reached the centurionate – he could stay in the office till he died³².

Centurions figure in the NT more than any other Roman officers. The NT lists three different rendering for centurions. Mk uses the Latinism *ὁ κεντυρίων* (15.39, 44, 45); in Mt we find *ὁ ἑκατόνταρχος* (8:5, 8; 27:54; cf. also Acts 22:25; 28:16); Luke-Acts prefers the Hellenistic Greek translation *ὁ ἑκατοντάρχης* (Lk 7:2, 6; 23:47; Acts 10:1, 22; 21:32; 22:26; 23:17, 23; 24:23; 27:1, 6, 11, 31, 43, cf. also Mt 8:13). Q has preserved, under oldest rendering *ἑκατόνταρχος* (Mt 8:5, 8 diff. Lk 7:2, 6), the memory the of the centurion of Capernaum, for the sake of his great faith.

³² Ibid.

Luke exalts the generosity and kindness of these pagans in the Jewish community (7:5)³³. Parallel characteristics are portrayed of the centurion Cornelius.

In the passion story and in the story of Acts the centurions assume other functions. The centurion is given the charge to oversee the execution of Jesus (Mk 15:39). The confession of the centurion under the cross serves the Christological statements of the Synoptics. In Acts 21:32 the centurion stays under the supreme authority (colonel) and has his function within the cohort. Being at the head of the unit he had the function of carrying out the punishment order or watching over the prisoners³⁴.

Julius, the centurion, belonged to the cohort Augusta. There is a good epigraphical evidence for the presence of a cohort Augusta 1 in Syria in the first century.³⁵ Another possibility is that the Σεβαστή refers to the cohorts called by Josephus the Σεβαστεῖνοι which was under Agrippa's I. command³⁶. Broughton rightly rejects the suggestion that there is a reference to the cohortes Sebastenorum, or cohorts of Samaritans raised in Sebaste (Samaria). Augusta (Sebaste) was an honorary title. The cohortes Augustae were Syrian auxiliaries, and Broughton expresses surprise that a legionary centurion was not found to carry out the task of conveying an important prisoner to Rome. Perhaps Julius was the best man available; or was the prisoner not thought of as important, as Broughton assumes. Or, since the appeal was something of a problem, was there a hope that the prisoner might escape on the way? "The precise status of Julius is difficult to determine: from the authority which he assumed when once (from Myra onward) he found himself on board a ship of the Alexandrian grain fleet, it might be inferred that he was a frumentarius, an officer charged with supervising the transport of grain (frumentum) to Rome"³⁷. As Johnson comments, "the identification of the cohort is of interest for historical reconstruction but of little significance for the meaning of the narrative"³⁸.

³³ Cf. F.C.Untergaßmair, Art. "ἑκατοντάρχης", in: *EWNT* 1, 984.

³⁴ Cf. *Ibid.* 983.

³⁵ Cf. T.R. S. Broughton, in: *The Beginnings of Christianity* 5, Jackson and Lake (ed.), 443. He quotes here H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* 1 (1892), 2683).

³⁶ Josephus, *Antiquities* 19:365-366; *Jewish war* 2:52.

³⁷ F. F. Bruce, *The Book of Acts*, 477.

³⁸ Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 445.

2.4.2 The First Stage: Voyage up to Sidon 27:2-3

2a ἐπιβάντες δὲ πλοίῳ Ἀδραμυττηνῶ

2b μέλλουσι πλεῖν εἰς τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν τόπους

2c ἀνήχθημεν ὄντος σὺν ἡμῖν Ἀριστάρχου Μακεδόνα Θεσσαλονικέως.

3a τῇ τε ἐτέρᾳ κατήχθημεν εἰς Σιδῶνα,

3b φιλοφρόνως τε ὁ Ἰούλιος τῷ Παύλῳ

3c χρησάμενος ἐπέτρεψεν πρὸς τοὺς φίλους πορευθέντι ἐπιμελείας τυχεῖν.

2.4.2.1 The Ship of Adramyttium: The voyage begins with “the embarking”³⁹ in a ship of Adramyttium. This place-name refers to a town on the coast of Asia Minor from where it was easy to find a ship to Rome⁴⁰. “This port was not far from Troas, and it (the ship) was probably returning to its homeport, calling at other places on the coasts of Asia on the way”⁴¹. The planned itinerary gives the picture of a ship that moved in daily legs from one coastal port to another⁴². It was probably too much to hope to find a ship sailing directly to Rome; to reach a port in Asia would take the travellers well on their way and give them a fair chance of finding another ship that would cover the rest of the journey. Asia here may not mean the province in the strict sense. It would rather mean the bigger region whose metropolis was Ephesus⁴³.

2.4.2.2 Aristarchus: The associate of Paul, Aristarchus, is identified as a Macedonian. In 19:29 his name appears with Gaius and 20:4 qualifies him as a Thessalonian. In Col 4:10 he is referred as fellow prisoner and in Philemon 24 as among Paul’s fellow workers. In 20:4 he is named with others and Secundus. Both are described as Thessalonians. Here for Aristarchus only both designations are used. Lightfoot⁴⁴ presumes that Aristarchus left the party at Myra (cf. V5), continuing (when the others changed) in the same ship as far as Adramyttium on his way home to Thessalonica. Chrysostom⁴⁵ thought that he was carrying news of Paul to the churches of Macedonia. He is not spoken of again in Acts.

³⁹ The verbs ἐπιβάντες and ἀνήχθημεν are also used in Acts 21:2.

⁴⁰ Cf. Rudolf Pesch, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (vol 2, EKK 5.1, 2; Solothurn: Bedzinger: Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1995) 288.

⁴¹ Marshall, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 404.

⁴² Cf. Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 445.

⁴³ Cf. Jürgen Roloff, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (NTD 5; Berlin: Evangelische Verlags-Anstalt, 1981) 360.

⁴⁴ Cf. *Philippians*, 35.

⁴⁵ Cf. *Homily* 53,1.

It is assumed that if the letters to the Colossians and Philemon are to be dated in the course of Paul's Roman captivity, then Aristarchus would have been in Paul's company when these letters were written. Ramsay argued that Luke and Aristarchus must have gone as Paul's slaves, not merely performing the duties of slaves but actually passing as slaves⁴⁶. In this way one is led to think that Paul had faithful friends always besides him and his importance in the eyes of the centurion was much enhanced. "The narrative clearly implies that Paul enjoyed much respect during this voyage, such as a penniless traveller without a servant to attend on him would never receive either in the first century or in the nineteenth"⁴⁷.

Conzelmann regards Aristarchus as a pointer to the way in which Luke's information reached him⁴⁸. Zahn notes that the mentioning of Aristarchus is an indication how Luke has the details of this voyage⁴⁹. Schneider holds the same opinion: "daß er als Mitreisender genannt ist, will der Acta-Verfasser wohl als Hinweis darauf verstanden wissen, wie er zu seinen Informationen über die Romreise gekommen ist"⁵⁰. But for Marshall, "the mention of Aristarchus adds nothing to the story, and is a sign of authenticity"⁵¹.

2.4.2.3 The Port of Sidon: Verse 3a says, "On the next day we put into Sidon". Το ἑτέρον means on the day after the one last mentioned: here, on the day after leaving Caesarea. According to Marshall the distance was about 69 nautical miles⁵². Κατήχθημεν corresponds to ἀνήχθημεν of verse 2: we put out to sea, we put in to land.

The ship sailed north along the coast, aided by the current due to the outflow from the Nile, and on the following day it reached Sidon. William quotes Smith in maintaining that "the stopping at Sidon probably was for the purpose of trade"⁵³. Sidon, a Phoenician port, was a Hellenized city in 24 BC. Augustus made it part of Ituraea. There is some evidence for the presence of Jews in this city. If the term

⁴⁶ Cf. *St. Paul the Traveller*, 316.

⁴⁷ Bruce, *The Book of Acts*, 477-78.

⁴⁸ Cf. Hans Conzelmann, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 141.

⁴⁹ Cf. T. Zahn, *Die Urausgabe der Apostelgeschichte*, (Leipzig : Deichert, 1916) 815ff.

⁵⁰ Schneider, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 2. Teil, 383.

⁵¹ Marshall, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 404.

⁵² Cf. *Ibid.*

⁵³ Williams, *A Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles*, 269.

“friends” in this verse refers to Christians, it will follow that Sidon had been evangelised and a church was established there. We have no evidence for this at so early a date. Eusebius⁵⁴ makes a reference to martyr, Zenobius, a presbyter of the church at Sidon. Bruce mentions that “there was a Christian community, founded probably during the persecution and dispersion that followed the death of Stephen” (11:19).⁵⁵

2.4.2.4 The Kindness of Julius: The text says “Julius treated Paul kindly”. Julius, who showed Paul kindness, is like some of the other “good” centurions in Luke-Acts (cf. Lk. 7:2; 23:47; Acts 10:1). Φιλανθρωπία was a recognised virtue in the ancient world. Pesch cites Preining 62ff. to argue that the friendship of the centurion may have come from his Samaritan heritage⁵⁶. But the narrator does not indicate this anywhere in the text. However, this information on the kindness of the centurion has a lot of importance in Luke’s narrative: “Lukas hat diese Episode kaum erfunden; sie ist für ihn jedoch wichtig als weiterer Erweis für die wohlwollende Korrektheit, mit der Vertreter Roms Paulus begegneten”.⁵⁷

Φιλανθρωπία was regarded as a divine and human virtue in ancient times. It is a key word in the Hellenistic period, in literature as well as in the papyri and the inscriptions. The Stoics defined it as “a kindly disposition in human interaction”⁵⁸. In this sense the word has been used in the book of wisdom: *For wisdom is a kindly spirit* -φιλάθρωπον γὰρ πνεῦμα σοφία (Wis 1:6). The righteous person needs to be kind. *Through such works thou has taught thy people that the righteous man must be kind* - ἐδίδαξας δέ σου τὸν λαὸν διὰ τῶν τοιούτων ἔργων ὅτι δεῖ τὸν δίκαιον εἶναι φιλάθρωπον (Wis 12:19).

This goodness is expressed as solicitude, in a willingness to serve, and in effective liberalities; it is a kind of generosity⁵⁹. In the Hellenistic period, it is the virtue of benefactors, especially of gods who offered protection and providence to people or

⁵⁴ Cf. HE 8.13.3

⁵⁵ Bruce, *The Book of Acts*, 478.

⁵⁶ Cf. Pesch, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, note 17 on p.288.

⁵⁷ Rollof, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 360.

⁵⁸ Spicq, Art. “Φιλανθρωπία”, in: *Theological Lexicon of the NT* Vol.3, 440.

⁵⁹ 2 Macc 13:23 – the king offered a sacrifice, honoured the temple, and was generous toward the holy place.

toward a particular city⁶⁰. Such a thought is also found in the letter to Titus. The author of this Letter speaks of the sinful and shameful ways with which the people had lived until “when the goodness and *loving kindness* (ἡ χρηστότης καὶ ἡ *φιλανθρωπία*) of God our Saviour appeared“ (Titus 3:4). Φιλανθρωπία is thus used to express the divine mercy to all humanity; it implies a gracious and broad generosity that gives and forgives. “In English this word is thoroughly secular. But the Greek Fathers, especially St. John Chrysostom and the Eastern Liturgy retained this word as a divine epithet”⁶¹. Because the Hellenistic sovereigns were supposed to represent God on earth they needed to possess these divine qualities of Φιλανθρωπία⁶². A ruler was expected to be quick to forgive, showering benefits upon his subjects and bringing peace and harmony. On the other hand, he too expected “philanthropy” and affection from his people. Originally this word did possess a comprehensive sense of a friendly relation.

Like Julius, the other two important centurions who are known for their goodness in Luke-Acts are the centurion of Capernaum and the centurion Cornelius. Cornelius, too, like Julius, is specified by name and cohort: *There was a man in Caesarea, Cornelius by name, a centurion of the cohort called the Italian* (Acts 10:1). He is the first Gentile to be accepted into the Christian community. The centurion of Capernaum is lauded by Jesus for his faith. His faith in fact amazes Jesus: *When Jesus heard this he marvelled (ἐθαύμασεν) at him, and turned and said to the multitude that followed him, ‘I tell you, not even in Israel have I found such faith’.* (Lk 7:9). Interestingly this is the only expression of Jesus’ amazement in Luke. The kindness that Julius shows to Paul parallels the kindness of other two centurions. In all the three centurions we find a love and devotion to the people of Israel.

2.4.2.5 Friends of Paul: The centurion permitted Paul to go to πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, his friends, and these would naturally be Christians. That a captive frequently had access

⁶⁰ Cf. Spicq, “Φιλανθρωπία”, 442; “it is above all the conviction of Philo, who sees in the divine attributes of *epieikeia* and *philanthropia* a manifestation of God’s mercy (Moses 1.198) and who – having drafted a *peri philonthrophias* (virtues 51–186) - worked out a theology of the philanthropy of the true God, who loves humankind (virtues 77.188; Philo, Abraham 79; 137, 203), giving (creation 81), shows remarkable solicitude (Spec. Laws 3.36; 1.120; Josephus, Ant 1.24)”

⁶¹ Ibid. note 9 on p.443.

⁶² Cf. Esh 8.12; 2 Macc 4.11; 13.23; 14.11.

to friends and associates is shown in the note on Acts 24:23⁶³: *Then he gave orders to the centurion that he should be kept in custody but should have some liberty, and that none of his friends should be prevented from attending to his needs*; It was possible that “the Friends” was already a term denoting Christians⁶⁴. Luke has not specifically mentioned a Christian community in Sidon, but it could be included among the churches of Phoenicia referred to in 11:19 and 15:3.⁶⁵

The word φίλος appears 28 times in the NT of which 17 times in Luke-Acts. Luke introduces this word in places where it is not found in parallel passages (Cf. Lk 7:6 with Mt 8:8, Lk 12:4 with Mt 10:28; Lk 15:6 with Mt 18:13; Lk 21:16 with Mk 13:12 par). He usually does not call Jesus φίλος except in Lk 7:34, which Luke has taken from the logien source. Everywhere Luke applies the secular meaning to this term. First of all φίλος is used as friend in the sense of “some one near”, “known well”, similar to συγγενής (Lk 14:12; 15:6, 29; 21:16 as well as Acts 19:31 where the Asiarchs were well known to Paul)⁶⁶. In the NT Luke alone couples the word φίλος with the words συγγενής and γείτον as in Acts 10:24; Lk 15:6, 9 (cf. Lk 14:12; 21:16)⁶⁷.

From ancient times on there existed a strict bond between friend and table-fellowship. The parables of Lk 11:5-8 illustrate this. In these 3 verses φίλος appears four times. Thrice it is almost like a good neighbour (v 5, 8) and once as a loving guest (v 6). Both relationships of neighbourhood and hospitality involve a sacred duty. One must be there as a neighbour and guest to his friend. The friend can plead and can be pleaded with.

⁶³ Cf. also Acts 28:30; 2 Tim 1:16-17.

⁶⁴ Cf. 3 Jn 15, though here too the word does not necessarily, have a technical sense.

⁶⁵ Cf. Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 444; cf. also Jackson and Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity* 5, 379f.

⁶⁶ As a special form of this unspecified use cf. Lk 7:34 par. Perhaps also 15:29 but here rather it is more of “Jugendfreund”. Besides this the Hellenistic Luke knows also the closer personal friend (Lk 11:5,8; 23:12), guest (Gastfreund) (Lk 11:6) and member of a friends circle (Lk 7:6; Acts 10:24 and 16:39).

⁶⁷ In Lk 14:12 Jesus asks, “When you give a dinner or a banquet, do not invite your friends or your brothers or your kinsmen or rich neighbours“. This principle is in clear opposition to the rule of the old (cf. Mt 5.46f. par.). Jesus wants to tear down the walls of exclusive community.

Friendship means service, caring, sacrifice to the point of offering one's life⁶⁸. Therefore the friend can plead and can be pleaded with (Lk 11:5-8). The friends of the centurion of Capernaum are ready to serve him (Lk 7:6). The centurion Cornelius is willing to share with his acquaintances and friends the greatest experience of his life which was proclaimed to him through Peter (Acts 10:24). In Ephesus, the friends of Paul, supposedly pagans try to protect the life of Paul: *Some of the Asiarchs also, who were friends of his, sent to him and begged him not to venture into the theatre* (Acts 19:31). Only in this context and in Acts 27:3 Luke clearly speaks of the friends of Paul. In Acts 9:25, Luke makes reference to the disciples (μαθηταὶ) of Paul. Perhaps among these were also friends because never again we hear of the disciples of Paul. But Paul, in his letters, does not use the words φίλος and μαθηταί, instead he prefers to use the words ἀδελφός and τέκνον.

Did Luke use the term “friend” for Christians? John applies this usage in 3 Jn 15. The more frequently used title in Luke and John is ἀδελφός. The other title is ἰδιοὶ (Acts 4:23; 24:33). It is possible that the Christian communities that lived in the Hellenistic region borrowed this title for their self-recognition from the other Hellenistic groups. Most probably the primitive Christian community had it from tradition from the circle of disciples. Only Luke⁶⁹ and John tell us that Jesus called his disciples his “friends” (φίλοι). Behind this may stand the thought from John 15. Luke as well as John may have taken this thought from Hellenistic “Hofstil”. This title φίλοι was no more used in the later church, but continued in Gnostic groups.

2.4.2.6 Being Cared For: Paul was allowed to go to the friends in order that he might ἐπιμελείας τυχεῖν. The verb Τυγχάνω is found often in Luke and often stays in genitive of things - Lk 24:2; 26:22; 20:35.

⁶⁸ Besides this positive image of a friend, Luke gives also negative nuances: “You will be delivered up even by parents and brothers and kinsmen and friends, and some of you they will put to death; you will be hated by all for my name's sake. But not a hair of your head will perish. By your endurance you will gain your lives” (Lk 21:16f.). Cf. Mk 13:12 and Mt 10:21. This is not just the eschatological motive but life-experience of the time. In pagan as well as Jewish surroundings one finds the worries, warnings and lament for the unfaithfulness of friends.

⁶⁹ Cf. Lk 12:4. In a few parables and images has this thought: God is the friend of humans, especially of the disciples. Cf. Lk 11: 5-8. God is the best friend who grants the prayer of his friends.

The Greek noun ἐπιμελεία means care, solicitude or attention; and the verb ἐπιμελέομαι means to take care of or attend to⁷⁰. These terms are abundantly used in the koine, notably in the papyri and the inscriptions. But they are rare in the NT. So we need to look for parallels from pagan sources. From Plato on ἐπιμελεία is used for the attention and care given to a sick or disabled person. This meaning is retained by the medical writers, notably Hippocrates and Galen⁷¹. By extension, ἐπιμελεία was used for the effort and care expended on any task whatsoever. In a special sense it was used for a public duty or function⁷² and especially for the care and devotion shown by parents or nurses to children⁷³.

The verb ἐπιμελείν also has a medical connotation, attested only by Luke in the NT. The good Samaritan, after dressing the victim's wounds, takes him to the hostelry where he takes care of him (καὶ ἐπεμελήθη αὐτοῦ), probably by watching through the night; and when he leaves, he tells the innkeeper to "take care of him" (Ἐπιμελήθητι αὐτοῦ) (Lk 10:34-45). The reference here is not so much to remedies or medical treatment per se but to watchfulness and health-care in the broad sense of the term. At least it is in this sense that the word is copiously attested to in papyrological letters, in a quasi-stereotyped form: "take care of yourself so that you may be healthy (P.Mert. 62,13). Sometimes the health of children is specified (P.Oxy. 744. 6)⁷⁴.

In the present passage Luke no doubt thinks of what Ignatius (Polycarp 1.2) describes as ἐπιμελεία σαρκικῆ τε καὶ πνευματικῆ. "Als der zum Tode verurteilte Bischof Ignatius von Antiochien um 110 n. Chr. auf dem Landweg nach Rom transportiert wurde, damit er dort zur Volksbelustigung den wilden Tieren vorgeworfen würde, waren die Gemeinden unterwegs über die Route informiert. Seine Glaubensgenossen hatten an den Zwischenstationen freien Zugang zu ihm.

⁷⁰ Cf. Spicq, Art. "ἐπιμελεία", in: *Theological Lexicon of the NT II*, 47.

⁷¹ Ibid. 48; "In the third century BC, a decree of Cos honours a physician: "he performed ἐπιμελεία for the citizens according to the healing art". It goes on praising him for his good will and ἐπιμελεία. At Gortyn, the physician Hermias for five years cared for citizens, the metics, and the allies: "he performed ἐπιμελεία and saved them from great danger".

⁷² Cf. 1 Macc 16:14 - Simon, taking care of matters related to the administration of their cities.

⁷³ For example, Termouthis raised little Moses πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας⁷³; 21 May AD 26, in a nurse's contract, "the declarer undertakes to give complete care and help to the infant, as is her duty (P. Rein. 103, 17; cf. BGU 1106, 28, from 13 BC); cf. Ceslas Spicq op., Art. "ἐπιμελεία", in: *Theological Lexicon of the NT II*, 50.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

Wahrscheinlich wurden die Wachen bestochen (Ign Röm 5,1)⁷⁵. Paul's Christian friends would give him both.

2.4.2.7 The Function of Verse 3: Tannehill explains the purpose of this verse in an interesting statement: “The chief function of verse 3 is to establish a positive relationship between Julius and Paul. The visit in Sidon has no further function in the plot, but the relationship between Julius and Paul does”⁷⁶. This friendship has a very important role in these two chapters. As the narrative continues one discovers that “the friendship and trust between Julius and Paul contribute to the rescue of the whole ship's company”⁷⁷.

2.4.3 The Voyage from Sidon to Myra (27:4-5):

4a κάκειῖθεν ἀναχθέντες

4b ὑπεπλεύσαμεν τὴν Κύπρον διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἀνέμους εἶναι ἐναντίους,

5a τό τε πέλαγος τὸ κατὰ τὴν Κιλικίαν καὶ Παμφυλίαν διαπλεύσαντες

5b κατήλθομεν εἰς Μύρα τῆς Λυκίας.

2.4.3.1 Sailing Under the Lee of Cyprus: Luke does not tell us how long the ship stayed in Sidon. They again put out to sea. The aorist passive participle ἀναχθέντες literally signifies a movement from a lower to a higher point. Κύπρου, Cyprus, is an island off the south coast of Asia Minor⁷⁸. From 22 BC this island was a senatorial province. The presence of the Proconsul Sergius Paulus on this island is mentioned in Acts 13:7. The Christian message came to this island through Hellenists, already before Paul (cf. Acts 11:19). Acts 15:39 mentions that Barnabas came with Mark to this island. In Acts 21:3 Paul sailed on the other side of Cyprus: *When we had come in sight of Cyprus, leaving it on the left we sailed to Syria, and landed at Tyre; for there the ship was to unload its cargo*. In Acts 13:4 Luke narrates that “*being sent out by the Holy Spirit, they went down to Seleucia; and from there they sailed to Cyprus*. Commenting on this island Eckey sates,”die Ruinen dieser in der Christenheit durch den Hl. Nikolaus, der dort zu

⁷⁵ Cf. J. A. Fischer, *Schriften des Urchristentums* 1, 186f. Citation taken from Wilfred Eckey, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 558.

⁷⁶ Robert C. Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts*, vol.2, 331.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ For further knowledge of this island see Szu.Chuan Lin, *Wundertaten und Mission: Dramatische Episoden in Apg 13-14*, 45-48. He briefly deals with both the geography and history of this island.

Anfang des 4.Jh.s Bischof war, berühmt gewordenen Stadt sind heute größtenteils durch angeschwemmten Boden zugedeckt⁷⁹.

Having put out to sea they sailed under the lee of Cyprus. The aorist indicative ὑπεπλεύσαμεν means to sail under the shelter of (for protection from the wind), to sail or move along beside some object which provides a degree of protection or shelter. “In nautical parlance it means to sail under the lee, meaning to have the protection from severe wind offered by a land mass⁸⁰. In an effort to protect the ship from stormy winds they *sail under the lee* or *sheltered side* of an island. In the words of Johnson, “they were hugging the shore rather than risking the open sea⁸¹”.

From Sidon to Myra the direct route was by the west of the island of Cyprus. And it was this route which had been followed, in the reverse direction, when Paul sailed from Patara to Tyre (21:1-3). But this time there are difficulties: “Im Spätsommer weht im östlichen Mittelmeer ein Westwind, der es dem Schiff nicht gestattet, von Sidon aus in nordwestlicher Richtung die kürzeste Route nach Myra südwestlich an Zypern vorbei zu wählen⁸²”.

In our present context the text does not clearly tell us which the lee-side of Cyprus was. This depends on the direction of the prevailing wind. The next verse gives us a clue. V.5 says that they sailed through the Cilician and Pamphylian seas to Myra. This means they kept to the north of Cyprus. Barrett holds this view: “This, unless the ship had trading connections with Salamis and Paphos, would in any case be the more probable course in an age in which shipping hugged the coastline as far as possible⁸³. Marshall believes that it was the east of Cyprus that they sailed through: “the prevailing winds in the summer and early autumn were west or north-west, and therefore it was easier for a ship to sail round the east of Cyprus on the lee-side, keeping close to the coast and taking advantage of the night breeze off the shore⁸⁴”. Haenchen, too, has the same view. It is the “east of Cyprus, which protected them against the west wind which normally blows in the late summer in the eastern

⁷⁹ Eckey, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 558-9.

⁸⁰ Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 446.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Eckey, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 558-9.

⁸³ Barrett, *Acts* vol.2, 1184.

⁸⁴ Marshall, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 404.

Mediterranean”⁸⁵. Such an opinion is also given in the comment in the Interpreter’s Bible: “The prevailing winds in summer being westerly or south-westerly, the ship would sail around the east end of Cyprus, where as on a former journey (21:3) the course had been to the west”⁸⁶.

They sailed under the lee of Cyprus because the winds were contrary. Here we find the first sign of the difficulties that lie ahead. The voyage to Rome will not be an easy one. This expression also provides a smooth transition to the next section where Paul foretells the dangers and damages if they continued their voyage. The adjective ἐναντίους (from ἐναντίος) literally means *opposite* direction. In Mk 15:39 this word is used to describe the position of the centurion who stood facing (ἐξ ἐναντίας αὐτοῦ) the cross of Jesus. It means “over against someone”. This word is used in a similar meaning and in similar context in Mt14:24. After the miraculous feeding by Jesus and *after he had dismissed the crowds, he went up on the mountain by himself to pray. When evening came, he was there alone, but the boat by this time was many furlongs distant from the land, beaten by the waves; for the wind was against them* (ἦν γὰρ ἐναντίος ὁ ἄνεμος). Cf. Mk 6:48. The word is used also in the figurative sense of attitudes such as: *hostile, contrary, opposed to* (cf. 1Th 2.15).

2.4.3.2 Sailing Across the Open Sea off Cilicia and Pamphylia: The accusative noun πέλαγος means depths (of the sea), the open sea, the high sea as a large expanse of water, the relatively deep area of the sea or ocean sufficiently far from land as to be beyond the range of any protection from the sea coast. This word is found elsewhere only in Mt 18:6. Instead of keeping to the coast of Cilicia and Pamphylia, they sailed straight across the Pamphylian Bight to arrive at Myra. Παμφυλία was a province in the southern part of Asia Minor (cf. Acts 2:10) and Κιλικία was a province in the southeast corner of Asia Minor (cf. Acts 6:9; Gal 1:21).

2.4.3.3 And We Came to Myra in Lycia : And so they reach Myra, „der wichtigen Stadt in Lyzien, deren Hafen Andriake, von dem die Stadt 3,5 km landeinwärts lag, beliebte Zwischenstation der zwischen Alexandria und Rom verkehrenden

⁸⁵ Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 698.

⁸⁶ G. H. C. Macgregor, *The Acts of the Apostles*, Interpreter’s Bible Vol.ix, 333.

Getreideschiffe war”⁸⁷. The aorist κατήλθομεν means “they came”, “arrived”, “landed”. The Port reached at the end of the first stage of the voyage is given in different forms: Μύρα (neuter plural) and Μύραν– (feminine singular). The neutral plural seems to be more commonly used. ψ M h read Μύρα. B 1175 have Μύρραν. In addition 69 has Σμύρναν, P⁷⁴ & lat bo have Λύστραν. Σμύρνα may be a corruption of Μύρρα. There is no doubt that Myr(r)a is meant⁸⁸. It is a city on the south coast of Lycia in Asia Minor. “Alexandrian corn ships could rarely sail through directly to Italy from Egypt, but a west wind, or even one slightly north of west, made it possible to fetch Myra, and thence a north wind would take them to Sicily, from which another shift of wind back to the west would make it possible to reach Pozzuoli or even Ostia”⁸⁹. Commenting on this verse Polhill says: “They likely put in at Andriace, the port of Myra, which lay some three miles west of the city. Andriace was the chief port for the ships that supplied the empire with Egyptian grain and especially for those ships which plied between Alexandria and Rome. Myra was almost directly north of Alexandria and was a natural port for vessels sailing under the prevailing westerly wind. A common route for grain ships bound for Rome was evidently from Alexandria to Myra and from thence north of Crete to Sicily”⁹⁰. Williams in his description of Myra quotes Smith: “The stupendous magnitude of its theatre attests the extent of its former population, the splendour of its tombs, its wealth; in Appian’s day Myra was on a navigable river, but according to Strabo it lay 20 stadia from the sea, the river presumably having silted up”⁹¹. Johnson believes that the city of Myra was close to Patara (Pliny the Elder, Natural history 5:1009), where Paul had touched down on his earlier voyage to Jerusalem (Acts 21:1)⁹².

2.4.3.4 The Duration of the Voyage: The Western text (represented by 614 2147 pc h vg^{mss} sy^{h**}) has an addition here: the voyage lasted δι ἡμερων δεκαπέντε. This perhaps was the time it might have been expected to take. The addition shows knowledge of local conditions. “Unless in the Western text the additional words... are regarded as genuine and accidentally omitted from the B. text, no explanation is at

⁸⁷ Pesch, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 287.

⁸⁸ Cf. Barrett, *Acts* vol.2, 1185.

⁸⁹ Jackson and Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity* 4, 327.

⁹⁰ Polhill, *Acts* (NAC 26; Nashville: Broadman, 1992) 517; cf. also Hemer, “First person narrative”, 94-95.

⁹¹ Smith, 70 as quoted by C. S. G. Williams, *A Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles*, 270.

⁹² Cf. Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 446.

hand”⁹³. Probably this was added by someone who knew the area at a time when the text of Acts could be handled freely, and the copyists felt free to add what they knew to be true on the basis of their knowledge.

2.4.4 The Tedious and Effortful Voyage from Myra to Fair Havens (vv.6-8):

6a κάκει εὐρών ὁ ἑκατοντάρχης πλοῖον Ἀλεξανδρίνον

6b πλέον εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν

6c ἐνεβίβασεν ἡμᾶς εἰς αὐτό.

7a ἐν ἰκαναῖς δὲ ἡμέραις βραδυπλοοῦντες

7b καὶ μόλις γενόμενοι κατὰ τὴν Κνίδου,

7c μὴ προσεῶντος ἡμᾶς τοῦ ἀνέμου

7d ὑπεπλεύσαμεν τὴν Κρήτην κατὰ Σαλμώνην,

8a μόλις τε παραλεγόμενοι αὐτὴν

8b ἤλθομεν εἰς τόπον τινὰ καλούμενον Καλοῦς Λιμένας ᾧ ἐγγὺς πόλις ἦν Λασαία.

2.4.4.1 The Ship of Alexandria: At Myra the first part of the journey comes to an end. The rest of the voyage is continued in an Alexandrian vessel “belonging to the grain fleet that piled between Egypt and Rome; it had set out from Alexandria and was on its way to Rome”⁹⁴. Ἀλεξανδρίνος, is a derivative of Ἀλεξανδρία⁹⁵, pertaining to Alexandria. Egypt was an indispensable source of supply for Rome, providing a third of the corn used in the year⁹⁶. The political stability of Rome depended on it. Since grain was so desperately needed in Rome, Claudius had attempted to insure a regular supply by means of financial guarantees. He assumed the expense of any loss that a ship might suffer from storms⁹⁷. Or as Johnson informs, “Claudius guaranteed insurance coverage for the loss of the ships and a special bounty for shipments that came across in the dangerous winter months”⁹⁸. The ship carrying wheat from Alexandria to Italy often took the route through Myra⁹⁹. The significance of this trading vessel is well-described by Rackham: “Every year an enormous quantity of grain was shipped at Alexandria for Puteoli or Ostia. The vessels which carried it

⁹³ Jackson and Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity* 3, 241.

⁹⁴ Bruce, *The Book of Acts*, 479.

⁹⁵ The proper name 'Alexandria,' does not occur in the NT.

⁹⁶ Cf. Josephus, *War* 2.386.

⁹⁷ Cf. Charles Talbert, *Reading Acts* (New York: Crossroad, 1984) 216.

⁹⁸ Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 446

⁹⁹ Cf. Note 6 in Gerhard Schneider, *Die Apostelgeschichte* 2 Teil, 388.

were of an especially large build and the Alexandrian corn–fleet was the most striking feature in the commerce of the eastern Mediterranean. As any delay in the arrival of the fleet was the source of great anxiety at Rome, so was it hailed at Puteoli with great rejoicing. Signalmen were on the lookout to announce its approach, and they were able to recognise it by the privilege these vessels possessed of entering the bay of Naples with their topsails set”¹⁰⁰. Bruce, too, states that this was a corn-fleet: “That the ship of Alexandria which was in harbour at Myra when the centurion and his party arrived there belonged to this fleet is confirmed later in the narrative, when the ship’s cargo of wheat had to be jettisoned (v. 38)”¹⁰¹. According to Marshall, many of the ships were run by private enterprise, but they were used by official travellers as well as by private persons.¹⁰²

The aorist ἐνεβίβαζειν is regularly used for the transitive sense of “to embark”, “to put aboard” (ἐμβαίνειν serving for the intransitive). Schneider translates this verb as “jemanden einschiffen”¹⁰³. The causative in this type of context may be expressed simply as “he commanded us”, or the causative may be somewhat weakened to a form such as in English “he had us go aboard”.

2.4.4.2 Sailing off Cnidus: This stage of the voyage is described in a long sentence which runs through the two verses and has a rather complicated structure. The present participle βραδυπλοοῦντες is followed by the aorist indicative ὑπεπλεύσαμεν. It raises the question whether the participle refers to action before that of the main verb or covers the whole episode. The verbs in this sentence appear in the following order: 1 present participle (βραδυπλοοῦντες) - 2 aorist participle (γενόμενοι) - 3 aorist indicative ὑπεπλεύσαμεν - 4 present participle (παραλεγόμενοι) - 5 aorist indicative (ἦλθομεν).

Barrett explains the variations in the tenses of these verbs: “When these are considered in the light of a map, it seems to make sense both of the grammar and of the geography to suppose that the first two participles describe the journey as far as Cnidus, ὑπεπλεύσαμεν takes the ship as far as the south coast of Crete, the next

¹⁰⁰ Rackham, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 482.

¹⁰¹ Bruce, *The Book of Acts*, 479.

¹⁰² Cf. Marshall, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 404.

¹⁰³ Schneider, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 2. Teil, note 9, 388.

participle and finite verb to Fair Havens”¹⁰⁴. Βραδυπλοέω may be a technical term for beating¹⁰⁵, as εὐθυδρομέω (16:11; 21:1) may mean to run. But Haenchen notes that “ancient cargo ships could only sail with a wind which came directly from the side...Real tacking was unknown to them and could not be carried out on the unwieldy cargo ships with their one large sail. Paul’s ship is rated at over 1,200 tons laden weight”¹⁰⁶. Βραδυπλοείν occurs nowhere in the NT, and is not common in Greek generally. Bauer gives this word the meaning “to make little headway”¹⁰⁷.

From Cnidus to Myra was only 130 nautical miles¹⁰⁸ and should not have taken the “many days” indicated by Luke. The reason for the slow progress is clear: the wind did not allow speed, perhaps did not permit the ship to approach Cnidus. The compounded πρὸς (προσεώντος) only strengthens the meaning of the verb¹⁰⁹. “The ship could sail only slowly in a direct WNW (Etesian) wind from Myra to Cnidus; it then took advantage of the N or NE wind to cross over to Crete with a view of taking the sheltered south side of the island. Even so, however, it was with difficulty that they coasted half way along the island and eventually reached Fair Havens”¹¹⁰.

ἐν is used normally to denote the extent of time during which an action takes place. Ἰκαναῖς is a favourite word in Acts to denote an interval which Luke either is not able, or does not wish to give precisely: it means “for a fair number” (of days)¹¹¹. It can also mean worthy, fit, sufficient, able. We find the expression ἰκανόν ἐστιν (it is enough!) in Lk 22.38¹¹².

The adverb μόλις occurs twice in these two verses and also at 14:18; 27:16; Lk 9:39. Elsewhere in the NT it has only two occurrences. It is a Lucan word;

¹⁰⁴ Barrett, *Acts*, 1185.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Jackson and Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity* 4, 327.

¹⁰⁶ Haenchen, *Acts of the Apostles*, note 2, 698.

¹⁰⁷ Bauer, *Wb* 291.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. J. Smith, *Voyage and Shipwreck*, 74-76.

¹⁰⁹ For the expression cf. Lucian, *Verae Historiae* 1.29.

¹¹⁰ Barrett, *Acts*, 1186.

¹¹¹ Cf. *Ibid.*

¹¹² It has the meaning of “at some length” in Lk 23.9, in the passion narrative, where we are told that Herod questioned Jesus *at some length* (ἐν λόγοις ἰκανοῖς accent). In Acts 20:11 it means long, for a long while: “And when Paul had gone up and had broken bread and eaten, he conversed with them a long while (ἐφ’ ἰκανόν), until daybreak”. The similar meaning it has in Lk 8:27 (long time) and Acts 9:23 (plural of days or years).

probably a word characteristic of the sources of the present story. It means *with difficulty, hardly, scarcely, just barely*; a degree which almost equals some point on a scale of extent, but not acquit¹¹³. “There is apparently no local reason why more difficulty was found in this part of the journey; the current runs strongly north of Rhodes, and the land breeze would be the same. Probably there were unusually strong westerly winds”¹¹⁴.

Κνίδυς is mentioned only here. Wette calls it as „Halbinsel im ägäischen Meere zwischen den Inseln Kos und Rhodus“¹¹⁵. This is a seaport mentioned by Thucydides as frequented by merchant ships from Alexandria¹¹⁶. It is on a peninsula at the Southwest extreme of the province of Asia Minor¹¹⁷. Since 129 BC the town had been a *civitas libera* under the Roman rule. Bruce states that it had two harbours, the eastern one being particularly large¹¹⁸.

2.4.4.3 Under the Lee of Crete off Salmone: The verb ὑπεπλεύσαμεν was used in v.4, where it meant, “we sailed under the lee of”. Here in verse 7, after the reference to Κνίδυς and followed by Κρήτην κατὰ Σαλμώνην, it must mean something like “we took refuge, sailed for refuge (from the troublesome wind) under the lee of Crete”. The wind did not allow them to go on. The verb προσεῶντος comes from προσεάω which means “allow to go farther”, “to allow to go beyond what is expected”. Twice in these verses (cf. also v.5) κατὰ will mean “off”; they did not call at Κνίδυς, but approached it, and reached Crete off Σαλμώνη, the headland at the north-eastern extremity of the island. Σαλμώνη is a high ridge of land on the northeast corner of the island of Crete in the Mediterranean Sea¹¹⁹. There is some doubt about the spelling of Σαλμώνη and also about its precise location; there are two capes and it is uncertain which is referred to. Crete itself was brought under Roman rule in 67 BC by Q. Metellus. It was united with Cyrenaica and made a senatorial province¹²⁰.

¹¹³ “With these words they scarcely (μόλις) restrained the people from offering sacrifice to them”. (Acts 14.18); μόλις ἀποχωρεῖ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ (the spirit) scarcely leaves him’ (Lk 9.39).

¹¹⁴ Cf. Jackson and Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity* 4, 327.

¹¹⁵ Wette, *Erklärung der Apostelgeschichte*, 452.

¹¹⁶ *Peloponnesian War* 8, 24, 35

¹¹⁷ Cf. Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 446.

¹¹⁸ Bruce, *The Book of Acts*, 480.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 4:58.

¹²⁰ Cf. Barrett, *Acts*, 1186.

According to Titus 1:5 Paul left Titus in Crete; this epistle presupposes the existence of a fairly developed and numerous church in this island. There is no confirmation of these things in the present narrative. However considerably Julius treated Paul he will hardly have permitted him to set about evangelising the island.

2.4.4.4 Fair Havens: Even the sheltered south side of Crete presented difficulties to the navigators, and it was with difficulty (μόλις) that they coasted (παραλεγόμενοι) as far as a place called Fair Havens. The participle παραλεγόμενοι (from παραλέγομαι) denotes “sailing” or “coasting along”. ἐγγύς is here constructed with the dative, as at 9:38; in 1:12 it is used with the indeclinable Ἱερουσαλήμ. Elsewhere in the NT where the case is determined it is always genitive. This word has the following nuances¹²¹: (1) of space *near, close to* (Jn 3.23); *close by, near at hand, neighboring* (Jn 19.42); (2) of time *near, imminent, close* (Mt 26.18); (3) fig. of close or intimate relationship *near, close to* (Eph 2.17).

A port bearing the name Fair Havens still exists; it is sheltered on the west, open to the east, and would, therefore, give protection from northerly and westerly winds. It was about five or six miles from a place that has been identified with (and is said to be still called by local peasants) Λασαία. The name Λασαία has some textual variants. It has the variant Λασέα in B 33 1175 *al*; Λασία in 36 81 945 *pc*. Haenchen is right in stating that Λασέα is only a difference in transcription: αι was spoken as ε and often written correspondingly¹²². Apparently the place had little else but safety to commend it.

λιμήν is a relatively small area of the sea which is well protected by land but deep enough for ships to enter and moor. It may be rendered in some languages by a descriptive phrase, “a place where ships are safe from the storm” or “a place where ships are never damaged” or “a place where ships may stay”. In 27:12 it is difficult to know whether the reference of λιμήν is to the harbor as a convenient place for the ships to stay during the winter, or to the port (that is to say, the town at the harbor) as a convenient place for people to stay during the winter. Some languages make a clear

¹²¹ D. Dormeyer, Art. “ἐγγύς”, in: *EWNT I*, 897.

¹²² Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, note 4, 699.

distinction between the area where ships stay and where people may stay waiting to continue their voyage.

2.5 Conclusion: This section of the voyage has introduced the actors of the narrative: Paul, Julius the centurion, Aristarchus, other prisoners and the Christians at Sidon. Paul is the chief actor. He is presented as a prisoner. But he enjoys special care and friendship from the centurion. Aristarchus and the Christian friends at Sidon do not appear again in the story. The other prisoners, too, are mentioned only in passing. They appear again only at the end of the ch. 27, just before the shipwreck: *The soldiers' plan was to kill the prisoners, lest any should swim away and escape*. The main purpose of this section is to highlight the friendship between Paul and the centurion Julius. This theme is developed in the course of the narrative. The friendship between the two contributes to the salvation of all. Luke wants to indicate here the importance of co-existence and friendship between the Christians and the Gentiles of Rome. There are scholars who have argued that the very purpose of Luke-Acts is to tell the Christian reader the need to live in harmony with the Gentiles of Rome. While the Christians need to give their total allegiance to Jesus Christ and his message, they need to show respect and obedience to the Roman state and law. The co-existence and mutual help between the two will contribute to universal salvation.

This section is in some way foreshadows the difficulties and the damage with which the voyage will meet. The reader is already prepared to await the difficulties which Paul and his fellow-voyagers are about to experience. The narrator drives home this truth by the use of various expressions. They sail under the lee of Cyprus *because the wind was against them* (v.4); they *sail slowly for a number of days, and arrive with difficulty off Cnidus, and as the wind did not allow them to go on, they sail under the lee of Crete off Salmone* (v.7); *coasting along with difficulty, they come to a place called Fair Havens* (v.8). These are clear indications to the reader as to what he is to expect as the narrative moves forward. The expression “the winds were against us” has also been interpreted symbolically: “This incident of the contrary winds might serve as a parable for the whole of Paul’s life. To be sure, he had many things in his favour: a good family, Roman citizenship, a brilliant mind, and a sensitive spirit. Yet not overlooking these advantages, Paul’s life was by and large a struggle against

winds that were against him. Before his conversion it was the super-sensitiveness of a fastidious conscience. After his conversion the internal storms were quieted, but the winds from without continued to rage. His own people made it difficult for him wherever he went; the primitive conditions of travel placed a heavy tax on one who set out to carry the Gospel all over the world; his own personal handicaps and weaknesses were always nagging at him; his friends often disappointed him, and the officials of Rome condemned him with faint praise. In a very real sense the wind was against him¹²³.

¹²³ Interpreter's Bible, 332-3.

Chapter Three

Paul's Prophecy and its Immediate Fulfilment

In this section Luke narrates the first intervention of Paul during the voyage to Rome. Paul foretells the forthcoming danger and loss, not only to the ship but to the lives of the voyagers as well, if they were to continue the voyage. His words turn out to be a prophecy. The narrator does not indicate that Paul was inspired by the Spirit. Perhaps this makes it easier for Paul to modify his statement a little later, that only the ship will be lost and there will be no loss of life (v.22). “Even though there is no reference to a divine source for Paul’s warning, we should take it seriously because Paul has repeatedly been presented as a perceptive and reliable person. Paul’s warning prepares us, as hearers and readers, for what is coming. Skilled readers have learned to suspect that items are not included in a narrative unless they have a function in the plot or characterisation”¹. The warning of a disaster is here narrated because it proved true almost immediately.

Perhaps the warning of Paul comes out of his experience in voyaging. He is portrayed as a practical man who knows the safe as well as dangerous seasons for sailing. But the centurion prefers to listen to the captain and crew, rather than to Paul. Fair Havens is not a suitable harbour to spend the winter and so the majority wants to resume the voyage and reach as far as Phoenix. “Paul’s warning separates him from the imprudent decision that is about to be made. It is also a test of the relationship of Paul and Julius, a test that Julius fails”². Not listening to Paul and the resumption of the voyage results in great perils. Soon a tempest blows and the ship is caught up in the storm. The narrator describes their co-operative efforts to save the ship and their lives which end up in losing every hope of survival. We can divide this section into two sub-sections: 1) Paul’s first intervention, and 2) The storm at sea.

3.1 The First Intervention from Paul: (Acts 27:9-12)

3.1.1 Structure: These four verses (27:9-12) are a single unit in themselves as they contain one unified idea: whether to continue the voyage or not. This narrative unit is separated from the preceding (v.8) and the proceeding verse (v.13). The preceding verse

¹ Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts*, vol.2, 331.

² Ibid.

narrates the arrival of Paul and his companions at Fair Havens and the proceeding verse describes the resumption of the voyage from Crete, when the south wind started blowing gently. We can clearly see four elements in these four verses which suggest to us a four-fold structure. First of all, there is the context which is clearly indicated by two genitive absolutes: ~Ikanou/ de. cro,nou diagenome,nou and o;ntoj h;dh evpissfalou/j tou/ plooj. The second gen. Absolute is expanded by dia. to. and an accusative and infinitive: th.n nhstei,an h;dh parelhluqe,nai. (*because the fast has now already passed*). After describing the context, the author immediately narrates the intervention of Paul. He addresses the audience with the general expression :Andrej which is followed by his message of warning. The third element is the response of the centurion who prefers to listen to the captain and the owner of the ship rather than to the warning given by Paul. Finally, the narrative mentions the resolution of the majority who resolved to sail as far as Phoenix because Fair Havens was unsuitable for wintering. Thus we can form the following structure to this paragraph:

1. The context: (v.9)
 - a) Much time had passed (v. 9a)
 - b) voyage becoming dangerous (v. 9b)
 - c) Fast had already gone (v. 9c)
2. The intervention of Paul: (v. 9d-10)
 - a) Request (v. 9d)
 - b) Address formula (v.10a)
 - c) content: prophesy of injury and loss (v. 10 b)
3. The response of the centurion: (v.11)

Preference given to the advice of the captain and the owner of the ship
4. The resolution of the majority (v. 12)

Phoenix: a suitable harbour for passing winter

3.1.2 Exegetical Analysis

3.1.2.1 The Context: (v. 9a-c)

9a Ἰκανοῦ δὲ χρόνου διαγενομένου

9b καὶ ὄντος ἤδη ἐπισηλοῦς τοῦ πλοῦς
9c διὰ τὸ καὶ τὴν νηστείαν ἤδη παρεληλυθέναι

3.1.2.1.1 As Much Time had been Lost (v. 9a): The first two statements of this verse (9a and 9b) are in genitive absolutes. The adjective ἱκανός which means “enough”, “sufficient” is found 39 times in the NT, out of which 9 are in Luke and 18 in the Acts³. Ἰκανοῦ δὲ χρόνου means “a long time”. In Luke 20:9 this phrase occurs in the parable of the tenants: *And he began to tell the people this parable: “A man planted a vineyard, and let it out to tenants, and went into another country for a long while (χρόνους ἱκανούς).”* The same expression with the similar meaning is also found in Lk 8:27 where the terrible state of a possessed man is described: *“for a long time (χρόνῳ ἱκανῶ) he had worn no clothes, and he lived not in a house but among the tombs”*. In Acts 8:11 the expression is used of Simon the magician: *“they gave heed to him, because for a long time (ἱκανῶ χρόνῳ) he had amazed them with his magic”*.

The expression Ἰκανοῦ δὲ χρόνου relates this section to the previous section in which the delay of the voyage has been already indicated. The narrator does not specify for how long they have been in the sea. However, the genitive absolute Ἰκανοῦ δὲ χρόνου suggests that they have spent a considerable amount of time in the sea. A long time has passed and Fair Havens is not a desirable harbour to spend the winter. Further sailing is dangerous.

3.1.3.1.2 The Voyage Becoming Dangerous (v. 9b): ἐπισηλοῦς appears only here and it means insecure or unsafe or a hazardous and dangerous voyage. The word appears elsewhere in ancient literature. Cf. Josephus, Ant. 16,15⁴. The dangerous season for sailing began about 14th of September and lasted until 11th of November, after the latter date all navigation on the open sea came to an end until winter was over. They were now well into the dangerous season.⁵

3.1.3.1.3 Fast had Already Gone (v. 9c): The Fast is the day of Atonement, the only fast day in the Jewish calendar: “on the day of atonement, eating drinking, washing anointing, putting on sandals and marital intercourse are forbidden” (Yoma 8,1). We find several references which connect the Day of Atonement with fasting (e.g. Josephus, Ant 17.165; 14.66; Philo, Moses 2,23; 1.186; 2.193). The Day of Atonement fell on 10 Tishri; Tishri corresponds to the latter part of September and the

³ Cf. P. Trummer, Art. “ἱκανός”, in: *EWNT* II, 452-3.

⁴ Cf. Barrett, *Acts of the Apostles*, 1188.

⁵ Cf. Bruce, *The Book of Acts*, 481.

beginning of October. So the 10 would fall at the beginning of October. Sailing was not safe at this period. In the rabbinic literature the Feast of Tabernacles which falls five days later than “the Fast” is often referred to as marking the end of the safe navigation, and a rabbi who lived about 280 AD is quoted as explaining Isaiah 43:16 thus: “who makes a way in the sea, that is, from Pentecost to Tabernacles”, and a path in the mighty waters” that is, “from Tabernacles to Dedication”.⁶

Thus the reference to the Fast has been used as a means of dating the journey. The Fast, τὴν νηστείαν, is introduced by kai. which should mean, “The Fast *too* or *even* the Fast”. This has been held to mean that this particular year the Fast fell late, later at least than the autumnal equinox⁷. In 59 AD the date was the 5th of October; it was earlier in 57, 58, 60, 61, 62. From this some have inferred that the date of Paul’s journey was 59 AD.

This dating brings in some problem at 28:11; the shipwreck and the stay in Malta began by the end of October. The last part of the voyage, after three months, will, therefore, have begun at the end of January. Obviously sailing was terribly dangerous in this period. Probably this did not matter much as Claudius had encouraged the corn trade and the risk at sea was worth the prize from the Emperor⁸. Perhaps a great deal is being made to rest on the word kai. which does not need to be given this quasi-superlative force⁹. It was late; even the day usually considered as marking the end of navigation had gone by. There must have been an uncertain period; p.Shabbath 2.5b.25 reckons sailing to be unsafe after the Feast of Tabernacles, 15 Tishri. On this reckoning the Day of Atonement was late but not impossibly late¹⁰. Conzelmann believes that the reference to three months is a schematic detail: “The difficulties are diminished if we see this as based on the Syrian-Jewish calendar, which Josephus used. According to this calendar the year begins on the nineteenth of October and the tenth of Tishri would be the twenty-eighth of October”.¹¹

⁶ Cf. Foakes Jackson and Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity* 4, 328-9.

⁷ Cf. Ibid. Cf. also Behm, Art. “νηστια”, in: *TWNT* 4, 928-32.

⁸ Cf. Suetonius, Claudius 18.

⁹ Cf. Barrett, *Acts of the Apostles*, 1188.

¹⁰ Cf. Marshall, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 406.

¹¹ Cf. Conzelmann, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 216.

Why does the narrator make a reference to the Fast? It is rather surprising that in such a non-Jewish setting, the close of navigation is described by dates from the Jewish calendar. Luke does point out Jewish holy seasons elsewhere in Acts: Acts 1:12 (Sabbath day's journey); 12:4 (Passover); 18:21 (the Feast); 20:6 (Unleavened bread); 20:16 (Pentecost). In the above instances we have reasons to believe that the festival named was observed by one or other of the characters. Did Paul and his Christian associates observe the Day of Atonement here on the ship? Were there Jews at Lasea who had done so? Hanson speculates on where Paul could have observed the Day of Atonement, whether on board ship or at Lasea (if there was a synagogue there)¹². Perhaps we need to ask whether he would have observed the Fast at all (see Gal 4:10). Deissmann¹³ finds evidence in a stele from Rheneia that about 150 years earlier the Jews at Delos were in the habit of celebrating the Day of Atonement. In 1 Cor 16:6,8 Paul seems to combine references to time which, as here, alternate "winter" in one case with a Jewish festival (Pentecost) in another. But under the present circumstances the narrator makes reference to the Fast only to indicate that they were sailing in a time that was really dangerous for sailing. This gives a certain amount of smoothness to the narrative. The coming danger of shipwreck and much damage was just a natural outcome and is due rather to their own folly than to a punishment from God. It was the result of disregarding the season marked for the end of navigation.

3.1.3.2 The Intervention of Paul: (v. 9d-10):

9d παρήκει ὁ Παῦλος

10a λέγων αὐτοῖς, ἄνδρες,

10b θεωρῶ ὅτι μετὰ ὕβρεως καὶ πολλῆς ζημίας

10c οὐ μόνον τοῦ φορτίου καὶ τοῦ πλοίου ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν

10d μέλλειν ἔσεσθαι τὸν πλοῦν.

In this situation Paul intervenes. How could he do it being a prisoner? Luke has already told us that Paul enjoyed a privileged position from the centurion. He is not an ordinary prisoner. He is a Roman citizen and must appear before the Emperor. And it was the opinion of King Agrippa that he was innocent. So Paul was in a position to intervene and warn the centurion of the dangerous voyage they were going to make. Paul was no stranger to storms at sea and shipwreck (cf. 1Cor.11:25b). He foresees that any plan of sailing further from the Fair Havens was

¹² Cf. Hanson, *Act*, 245.

¹³ Cf. *Light from the Ancient East*, 4th ed., 419 ff.

a great risk. And so he gave the authorities his advice. It is given in the first instance, probably, to the centurion, with whom he had established a good relationship. According to Marshall, “it is a simple warning of danger ahead, such as might be made by anybody who took note of both the time of the year and actual presence of bad weather”¹⁴. At the same time the way it is narrated indicates that it is more than a simple warning. “The fact that Paul speaks with certainty of disaster rather than merely of the possibility may support the supposition of divine guidance behind his statement”¹⁵.

3.1.3.2.1 Request (v. 9d): The narrator uses the imperfect of the verb παραινέω to describe Paul’s intervention. One might have expected the verb parakale, in. παραινέω is used in the NT only here and in v. 22. It means to advise strongly. As J. Thomas describes, the verb παραινέω means “einen dringenden Rat geben, an sich ohne Autoritätsgewicht, rein sachlich und ohne den freundlichen Ton des παρακαλέω”¹⁶. Paraine, w stands between the verb parage, llw which has the sense of “commanding” and parakale, w which has a cordial nuance¹⁷. The use of παραινέω could be a mark of a special source for this chapter. It is not a word particularly appropriate to sea voyage and it does nothing to confirm the view that we have here a Lucan insertion. Since the prediction that follows in v. 10 was partially proved false we may suppose that Luke (if he thought about the matter) took it to be Paul’s human opinion, whereas his later prediction (vv. 22-26) was based on a supernatural communication from an angel¹⁸.

3.1.3.2.2 Address Formula (v. 10a): Paul addresses his fellow voyagers with the word: Ἄνδρες. This word appears 44 times in Acts and in most cases it appears in the vocative case. It is used often by Peter and Paul in their preaching. The vocative Ἄνδρες is usually accompanied by some other noun (such as ἀδελφοί) in Acts. In his speech at Athens, Paul addresses the pagans with the expression Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι. Only here and in vv. 21-25, Ἄνδρες is without an additional noun. Perhaps there was no other word suitable to describe all Paul’s fellow-travellers. It is a mixed group: pagans and a few Christians. Therefore Paul uses Ἄνδρες a more universal word that includes everyone.

¹⁴ Marshall, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 406.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ J. Thomas, Art. “παραινέω”, in: *EWNT* III, 53.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Cf. Barrett, *Acts of the Apostles*, 1189.

The vocative Ἄνδρες is followed by a sentence that has a mixed construction. It begins with θεωρῶ ὅτι. As a rule this should be followed by a finite verb. But this is not so here. The sentence continues with an accusative and infinitive (μέλλειν ἕσεσθαι τὸν πλοῦν) which should have followed upon θεωρῶ ωιτηοῦ ὅτι. Foakes-Jackson and Lake explain the difficulty: “The Greek σὶ μέλλειν is impossible, but it is found in all the B-text mss, and was not corrected in the Antiochean text. There is no evidence for the western text, as there is no Greek witness, and the point is one which naturally disappears in a translation, as it does in the rendering given above. The mistake is one which any writer might make and overlook in correcting his own manuscript, though he would scarcely pass it in that of anyone else”¹⁹. The construction has, however, been defended²⁰. M.1.213 says that there are classical parallels (Cypria 8.1.25; Thucydides 5.46.39; POxy 2.237)²¹. The future infinitive (found in the NT only in Acts and Hebrews) is rightly used with μέλλειν.

3.1.3.2.3 θεωρῶ: This verb appears 58 times in the NT of which Luke-Acts has 21 occurrences. It appears mostly in the present and the imperfect tense. Basically it means “seeing”, “perceiving” and “recognising”. In Acts 4:13 it is used for the members of the council who *saw (θεωροῦντες) the boldness of Peter and John, and perceived that they were uneducated, common men, they wondered...* In 28.6 this verb is used to describe the reaction of the pagan indwellers of Malta who *waited, expecting him (Paul) to swell up or suddenly fall down dead; but when they had waited a long time and saw (θεωροῦντων) no misfortune come to him, they changed their minds and said that he was a god.* In 17.22 Luke puts this verb on the lips of Paul in his speech to the men of Athens: *Men of Athens, I perceive (θεωρῶ) that in every way you are very religious.* In two occurrences in Acts its object is a supernatural appearance. In 7:56 this verb is found in the mouth of Stephen who says, *Behold, I see (θεωρῶ) the heavens opened, and the Son of man standing at the right hand of God.* Similarly in 10:11 it is used in the context of the vision of Peter at Caesarea where he *saw (θεωρεῖ) the heaven opened, and something descending, like a great sheet, let down by four corners upon the earth.* Although often its object is some

¹⁹ Foakes-Jackson F.J. and Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity* 4, 329.

²⁰ Cf. Cadbury, “Lexical Notes on Luke-Acts”, in: *Society of Biblical Literature* 47 (1928), 419-20.

²¹ Cf. Barrett, *Acts of the Apostles*, 1189.

supernatural appearance, it is not a technical term for visions²². In the Gospel of John this verb often signifies believing.

In the present context Luke does not indicate that the seeing of Paul was in any way supernatural. It is more from the practical experience of Paul who, because of his many sea-voyages, is aware of the safe and dangerous seasons for voyage. In fact the next address of Paul slightly differs from the present. In the present intervention he mentions the future dangers for the cargo as well for their lives. But in the next address he qualifies that only ship will be destroyed and that their lives will be safe. The change in the second intervention is an indication that Luke does not want the reader to understand that Paul's seeing is supernatural.

3.1.3.2.4 Injury and Loss (v. 10b): Paul tells that if they continue their voyage, it will be μετὰ ὕβρεως καὶ πολλῆς ζημιάς. ὕβρεως comes from the noun ὕβρις which is rather an unexpected word (appears also in v.21). It is used only in a passive sense in the NT. It signifies the result of presumptuous invasion of one's rights by others through words or actions, insult, outrage, mistreatment (2 Cor 12:10); and also the damage and injury as a result of natural forces such as wind and weather hardship. The verb ὑβρίζω is used by Paul with reference to his suffering which he had to undergo during his first proclamation of the Gospel in Philippi (1Thes.2:2). In Mt 22:6 this verb is used in the parable of the marriage feast, to describe the harsh treatment given to those servants who were sent by the king to invite the guests for the wedding banquet: *the rest seized his servants, treated them shamefully (ὕβρισαν), and killed them*. It is worth noting that here in Mt 22:6 the verb ὑβρίζω is put beside the verb ἀποκτείνω, killing. Both signify the acts of mistreatment given to the messengers of God²³. In Luke 11: 45 this verb is used by one of the lawyers who answers Jesus: "*Teacher in saying this you reproached us (ἡμᾶς ὑβρίζεις) also*". Luke uses this verb for the third passion announcement of Jesus: *For he will be delivered to the Gentiles, and will be mocked and shamefully treated (ὕβρισθήσεται) and spat upon*. Here too the verb ὑβρίζω has an added force as it is put besides the verb ἐμπτύω which means to spit upon. The verb ὑβρίζω is used in Acts 14:5 to describe the cruel treatment given to Paul and Barnabas at Iconium: *When an attempt was made by both Gentiles and Jews,*

²² Cf. M. Völkel, Art. "θεωρέω" in: EWNT II, 363.

²³ Cf. G. Lüdemann, Art. "ὕβρίζω", in: EWNT III, 907.

with their rulers, to molest them and to stone them... In this context the verb is used together with the verb λιθοβολέω which means “to stone to death”.

The feminine noun ζημία basically means disadvantage or loss and the corresponding verb ζημιόω means to put someone at a disadvantage or cause loss to someone²⁴. The word was used in the context of business from the time of Aristotle and carried a materialistic meaning²⁵. In our context, too, ζημία predominantly has the sense of material loss, the loss of the ship, its goods and human beings as well. Later on this word carried a spiritual sense. The noun has three more occurrences in the NT: Acts 27:21 where the same combination of ὕβρις and ζημία, referring back to the present context; Phi 3:7 and 3:8. The verb is always found in the passive form ζημιόομαι in the NT and it occurs in Lk 9:25 and its parallels in Mt:16 and Mk 8:36 where the idea is losing ones life for gaining the Kingdom. Paul uses the passive ζημιόομαι in 1 Cor 3:15 and 2 Cor 7:9, where it carries the meaning “to lose”. By using these two expressions, ὕβρις ἀνδ ζημία, Luke is telling the reader what kind of disaster is going to follow if the centurion and the crew do not listen to the advice given by Paul who has been characterised in Acts as a chosen instrument of God²⁶.

3.1.3.3 The Response of the Centurion: (v. 11-12)

11a ὁ δὲ ἑκατοντάρχης τῷ κυβερνήτῃ καὶ τῷ ναυκλήρῳ μᾶλλον ἐπέειθετο

11b ἢ τοῖς ὑπὸ Παύλου λεγομένοις.

12a ἀνευθέτου δὲ τοῦ λιμένος ὑπάρχοντος πρὸς παραχειμασίαν

12b οἱ πλείονες ἔθεντο βουλήν ἀναχθῆναι ἐκεῖθεν,

12c εἴ πως δύναιτο καταντήσαντες εἰς Φοίνικα παραχειμάσαι

12d λιμένα τῆς Κρήτης βλέποντα κατὰ λίβα καὶ κατὰ χῶρο

3.1.3.3.1 Captain and Owner of the Ship (v.11): But the centurion trusted in the captain and the owner of the ship rather than in what Paul had said. Κυβερνήτης was the steersman or the captain of the ship. It is the noun form of κυβερνάω. This verb means “to steer a ship”²⁷. The word is used in this sense, e.g. Plato, Republic 341cd.

²⁴ Cf. Stumpff, Art. “ζημία, ζημιόω”, in: *TWNT* II, 890.

²⁵ Cf. *Ibid.* 891

²⁶ For the advice of Paul cf. that of Apollonius in Philostratus, 5.18: only Apollonius’s friends heeded his warning; the ship sank.

²⁷ Cf. Beyer, Art. “ναυκλήροσ”, in: *TDNT* I, 1035-6; This word appears three times in LXX (Pro. 1:5; 11:14; and 24:6). It is closely related to σοφία and means “clever direction” the early church soon came to like the picture of the church as a ship and Christ as the helmsman: Tertulian, *De Idolatria*, 24.

According to Plutarch (Precepts of States Craft 807B), the “helmsman chooses the sailors and the ship owner chooses the helmsman”²⁸. “The κυβερνήτης is rightly named first, because of his technical knowledge of maritime questions and he commands the sailors; “he is a professional navigator, and it is he who, if need be, will order jettisoning the cargo. So he is clearly the master on board, at the head of the hierarchy. This is why he is called ku,rios and his authority is often likened to that of a political leader”²⁹.

The etymology of the word ναυκλήρος – (ναῦν = ship) and (κλήρος= lot or share) - suggests that he is the ship’s owner and manager. So he is an important person whose opinions must be heard and taken into consideration. Ναυκλήρος is a rare word and Spicq rightly describes the problem in the following words: “ it took a storm and the wreck of a great ship and its two hundred seventy-six passengers at the island of Malta to get the word into the Bible”³⁰. He further adds that “even though this person is mentioned abundantly, from the sixth-fifth century BC in literary and papyrological texts, it is very difficult to define his role, although this was a major figure in the maritime world and in associations of seafaring folk”³¹. Many of the ships in the corn-fleet were in private ownership; some, however, were not, and in such cases the nauklh,ros would presumably be the man who represented the owner – that is, the official responsible for the fleet. Only in this passage are ranks distinguished; elsewhere only the general term ναῦται (sailors) is used. It may be said that the κυβερνήτης and the ναυκλήρος would represent respectively the nautical and the financial interest. It seems strange that later on at the time of the shipwreck the nauklh,ros and kubernh,ths do not appear. For Conzelmann this is a further indication that this passage is an insertion.³² ..

Julius prefers to listen to the professionals who suggest continuing the voyage as far as Phoenix. It is not clear what the difference of opinion was between the officers of the ship and Paul. The sailors proposed to move from the harbour of Lasea to Phoenix which was only a few miles away. For they believed that Phoenix were a

²⁸ Bruce, *The Book of Acts*, 482.

²⁹ Spicq, Art. “ναυκλήρος”, in: *Theological Lexicon of the NT* II, 543.

³⁰ Ibid. 542-3.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Cf. Conzelmann, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 216.

safer harbour to spend the winter. However, Paul's suggestion was that they remain where they were. The alternative to this is to assume that the sailors were of two different opinions. The majority wanted to move on as far as Phoenix to spend the winter there. But the rest wished to move on to Sicily or Italy. When a moderate wind blew from the south they made an effort to continue their voyage as the minority had desired. This may not have been the best possible wind for advancing as far as Italy. It was, however, good enough for reaching Phoenix. The arguments are equally balanced. It seems far more natural to suppose that the pro, qesis referred to in v. 13 was that of going to Phoenix rather than the original pro, qesis of reaching Italy. On the other hand, Paul's words in v. 21 suggest that their intention in sailing was to leave Crete³³. Whatever it may be, the final decision was left to Julius, the centurion. It is he who represented the Roman state. He decided that the advice of the experts should be followed. Ramsay concludes that this was a ship of the imperial merchant marine; therefore the command would fall to the centurion (a lower ranking officer) if he were to come on board³⁴. But Conzelmann disagrees with this and finds no evidence for an imperial merchant marine. He states that there were corporations made up of ship owners, which provided supplies for the city of Rome³⁵. In any case the view of the steersman, the ship owner, and of the majority of the crew was that Fair Havens was not a convenient harbour to spend the winter. Although this harbour was protected by small islands it had the disadvantage of standing open to nearly half the compass.³⁶

Stählin believes that we have here two sources that have been combined: v.11 suggests a Führungsgruppe and v.12 a democratic decision among all (or at least all free) travelers³⁷. A.D. Nock and others have recognised “an authentic transcript of the recollections of an eyewitness, with the confusion and colouring which so easily attach themselves to recollections”³⁸.

3.1.3.3.2 The βουλή of the Majority (v. 12b): Luke uses the noun βουλή to describe the resolution of the majority. The verb βούλομαι denotes “a decision of will based on

³³ Cf. Foakes-Jackson F.J. and Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity* 4, 329.

³⁴ Cf. Ramsay, *St. Paul*, 324-325.

³⁵ Cf. Conzelmann, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 217.

³⁶ Cf. Bruce, *The Book of Acts*, 483.

³⁷ Gustav Stählin, , *Die Apostelgeschichte* (Göttingen : Vandenhöck & Ruprecht, 1968) 316.

³⁸ A. D. Nock, *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World* II, 823 (quotation taken from Bruce, *The Book of Acts*, 482).

deliberate resolve”³⁹. It also has the sense of “having a desire for”, “of desiring something”, or “seeking”, “wanting” or “purposing”. The noun βουλή denotes “deliberation” and “taking counsel” in all its stages up to “resolve” and “decree”. In the NT the noun is mostly used of the divine counsel⁴⁰. But in our present context the noun refers merely to a human desire or resolution. It denotes the desire or resolution of the majority to sail as far as Phoenix because they find Fair Havens not good enough to spend the winter. βουλή appears again in this chapter to describe the plan of the soldiers to kill the prisoners, fearing that they would escape (27:42).

The narrative also tells us the reason for the decision to sail further. Smith observes that “Fair Havens is so well protected by islands, though not equal to Lutro (Loutron, a port some 40 miles farther west along the coast), it must be a very fair winter harbour; and considering the suddenness, the frequency, and the violence with which gales of northerly wind spring up, and the certainty that, if such a gale sprang up in the passage from Fair Havens to Lutro, the ship must be driven off to sea, the prudence of the advice given by Paul may probably be supported on nautical grounds”⁴¹. The significance of this passage is explained differently by Conzelmann: “Oddly enough, it appears from our passage as if the centurion could make decisions about the voyage. But Luke does not really mean that. He only wants to show that all of the important people on the ship disagreed with Paul”⁴². Conzelmann assumes that v. 12 connects with v. 8 or 9 and the basic plot continues. The various ranks no longer play a role. Originally οἱ πλείονες meant the majority of the sailors. With v. 11, the meaning is changed, that is, from 12 we see how this insertion came about⁴³. He is in agreement with Haenchen who brings in Paul’s prophetic gift here: “Luke has pondered these words carefully. He gathers from them that there was a deliberation. Naturally only the important men took part. For Luke these were Paul, the centurion, the owner and the captain. The majority was for the fateful continuation of the voyage – thus Paul was against it, because he foresaw the outcome; not as a meteorologist or thanks to his great experience as a traveller... but from prophetic alliance with God”⁴⁴.

³⁹ Schrenk, Art. “βουλή”, in: *TWNT* 1, 629.

⁴⁰ Cf. *Ibid.* 635-6.

⁴¹ Smith, *Voyage*, 85, n.2.

⁴² Conzelmann, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 216.

⁴³ Cf. *Ibid.* 217.

⁴⁴ Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 709.

Haenchen believes that because Paul was assigned to the transport as a highly suspect prisoner he could not have played the role with which Luke credits him. Paul's experience of sea voyage makes no difference here. "Apart from the fact that he had not travelled this route before, while the owner of the ship and captain had, we must consider that Luke does not want to praise Paul as an experienced and weatherwise traveller, but as a man gifted by God with prophetic foresight. That God later changes the fate here foretold does not diminish the truth of this prophesy"⁴⁵.

3.1.3.3.3 Phoenix: a Suitable Harbour for Passing the Winter (v. 12c): Phoenix is described as a Cretan port facing southwest and northwest. The name is preserved until today in Phineka Bay, on the west side of Cape Mouros, 34 miles west of Cape Matala and 33 miles east of the western end of the south coast of Crete. Before a seismic upheaval of the sixth century AD, which raised the coast level here by tilting the island from west to east, this bay had two inlets, one facing Southwest and one Northwest, exactly as Luke says.⁴⁶

On the east side of Cape Mouros stands the harbour of Loutron. Smith identifies this harbour with Luke's Phoenix. He was authoritatively informed that this is "the only secure harbour in all winds on the south of Crete"⁴⁷. The identification is supported by "the fact that it is the best harbour on the south coast of Crete west of cape Matala, by the alleged preservation of the name in local tradition, and the indication in Ptolemy"⁴⁸. But this was not necessarily so in the first century. Besides Loutron faces the easterly winds, not the southwest and northwest. Smith, however, argues that the Greek text means that the harbour looks in the direction toward which the southeast and northeast winds blow – that is, towards the Northeast and Southeast (and this thinking underlies the ARV rendering, "looking north-east and south-east"). Bruce is not convinced with this argument. "The only sense that the Greek words can bear is that the harbour in question faced southwest and northwest, and Phineka bay fits the description admirably. Its two sheltered inlets (as they then were) are still marked by raised beaches and the absence of traces of ancient occupation"⁴⁹.

3.1.3.4 Conclusion: This section of the voyage narrative, first of all, characterizes Paul as an experienced sailor. He is aware of the season which is safe for sailing and the season that is dangerous. This picture of Paul is in accordance with Paul's own

⁴⁵ Ibid. Note 5, 700.

⁴⁶ Cf. R. M. Ogilvie, "Phoenix", in: *JTS* 9 (1958), 308-14.

⁴⁷ Smith, *Voyage*, 91, n. 1.

⁴⁸ Foakes-Jackson F.J. and Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity* 4, 330.

⁴⁹ Bruce, *The Book of Acts*, 483.; Cf. also Ency. Bib. Coll, 3690 ff.

letters which mention the many voyages that he had undertaken. The author describes Paul as a practical man. The narrative also introduces Paul as a prophet. The implied audience is aware of the prophetic sayings of Paul up to now. The author has already characterized Paul as a man of God and a man with visions. Here Paul foresees the dangers that they are going to occur if they continue their voyage. In 27:10-11 the discussion centres on the advisability of resuming the voyage, probably to Italy. Paul foretells the loss and dangers for the cargo as well as for their lives, if they continue their voyage. By implication the captain and the owner of the ship argue for the resumption of their voyage, and naturally the centurion decides in their favour.

The decision to set sail for Phoenix in 27:12 depends on, yet is distinct from, the decision to resume the voyage from Fair Havens in 27:9-11. After the centurion's decision in favour of the captain and owner, the issue is not whether or not to set sail but where to harbour for the winter. The introductory exposition of Fair Havens as a harbour unsuitable for wintering explains the majority's resolve to winter elsewhere. The specification of Phoenix, the preferred winter harbour, as a harbour of Crete indicates for the first time that the resumption of the voyage to Italy has been postponed until the spring.

According to Talbert, the theological functions of sea narratives, when seen in terms of their causality, fall into four categories: 1) Storm caused by gods or God and outcome also due to gods or God; 2) Storm caused by gods or God and outcome due to mortals on the ship; 3) Storm due to other than a divine cause and outcome due to gods of God; 4) Storm due to other than a divine cause and outcome due to natural or human agents⁵⁰. He rightly puts Acts 27-28 under the third category as the narrator makes no mention of divine action in sending the storm. The references in this paragraph, Acts 27:9-12, indicate clearly that the storm and the shipwreck are due to a false human deliberation. It is due rather to the imprudent desire of the crew and the majority who look for a better harbour for wintering. Hence one of the functions of these verses is to state that "the storm and shipwreck were not due to divine judgement but rather to a natural cause, namely the time of the year"⁵¹.

⁵⁰ Cf. Charles H. Talbert and J. H. Hayes, *A Theology of Sea Storms in Luke-Acts*, in: *Jesus and the History of Israel*, David Moessner (ed), 267-283

⁵¹ *Ibid.* 272

3.2 The Storm at Sea

3.2.1 Introduction: These verses are organised around the fulfilment of Paul's prediction. The story is told in stock fashion: for example, Chion of Heraclea's mid-first-century novel in letters has a warning not to sail because of weather signs, but the warning is overridden by the crew; a fair wind blew initially promising a fine trip, but then there was a terrible gale (letter 4). Similarly the surviving fragment of the second century AD romance, Herpyllis, contains a prediction of bad weather and a warning not to sail. The warning is overridden; the sun appears initially but then there is darkness, thunder, and winds with no prospects of coming out alive⁵². So in Acts 27:13 the south wind blows gently, leading the sailors to weigh anchor and sail along the coast of Crete.

3.2.2 Structure: This paragraph narrates the storm in a three-stage intensification: 27:13-15; 16-17; 18-20. "The storm takes its toll first on the ship's course, second on the part of the cargo and trappings, and third on the emotional constitutions of the third and the first person plurals. Each stage of the storm ends with the surrender of the first or third person plural to the elements"⁵³. So we can frame the following structure:

1. The first stage: the storm takes its toll on the ship's course (vv. 13-15)
 - a) Sailing along Crete (v. 13):
 - b) The Tempest (v. 14):
 - c) The effect of the Tempest on the course of the ship (v. 15)

2. The second stage: the storm takes its toll on the part of the cargo and trappings
 - a) Securing the boat (v. 16)
 - b) Undergirding the ship (v.17a)
 - c) Lowering the gear (v. 17b)

3. The third stage: the storm takes its toll on the emotional part of the third and the first person plurals
 - a) Throwing the cargo overboard (v. 18)

⁵² Cf. Talbert, *Acts*, 218

⁵³ Susan Marie Praeder, *The Narrative Voyage: An Analysis And Interpretation of Acts 27-28*, 114.

- b) Casting out the tackle of the ship (v. 19)
- c) Abandoning the hope of being saved (v. 20)

3.2.3 Exegetical Analysis

3.2.3.1 The First Stage: the Storm takes its Toll on the Ship's Course (vv. 13-15)

13a Ὑποπνεύσαντος δὲ νότου

13b δόξαντες τῆς προθέσεως κεκρατηκέναι,

13c ἄραντες ἄσσον παρελέγοντο τὴν Κρήτην.

14 μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ ἔβαλεν κατ' αὐτῆς ἄνεμος τυφωνικὸς ὁ καλούμενος Εὐρακύλων·

15a συναρπασθέντος δὲ τοῦ πλοίου

15b καὶ μὴ δυναμένου ἀντοφθαλμῆν τῷ ἀνέμῳ

15c ἐπιδόντες ἐφερόμεθα.

In the first stage the ship resumes its course along the coast of Crete with the help of a South wind. Shortly thereafter a storm wind out of the northeast overpowers the ship. At the end of the first stage it bears away the first person plural.

3.2.3.1.1 Sailing Along Crete (v.13): The voyage from Fair Havens to Phoenix should not have taken a long time. It was just a day's journey. They were just looking for a light south wind. This would enable them to get to Phoenix easily. The sentence begins with a genitive absolute (v. 13a). Ὑποπνεῖν is to blow gently: ὑπό in composition = "slightly"⁵⁴. The mention of south wind is made again in the narrative in 28:13 which takes the ship from Rhegium to Puteoli. It is interesting to note that Luke 12:55 mentions νότος (south wind) in the saying of Jesus where he admonishes the crowd for their failure to discern the present time: *And when you see the south wind blowing, you say, 'There will be scorching heat'; and it happens. You hypocrites! You know how to interpret the appearance of earth and sky; but why do you not know how to interpret the present time?* (Lk 12:55-57). The sailors in our narrative, too, make a false judgement. They expected that the south wind would bring them to the desired harbour. But in fact it soon exposed them to a deadly tempest.

⁵⁴ cf. Homer, *Iliad* 4.423

The sailors suppose that they have achieved their purpose (v. 13b). The narrator applies the verb *δοκέω* for “supposing”. In its 62 appearances in the NT this verb appears 18 times in Luke-Acts (10 times in Luke and 8 times in Acts)⁵⁵. Basically it means “to mean”, “to seem”, “to regard something as presumably true, but without particular certainty”. Very often it is used to express a judgement which eventually is proved to be wrong or mistaken. For example the disciples think they see a ghost when they see Jesus walking on the sea (Mk 6:49). At Athens some of the Epicurean and Stoic philosophers said that Paul “*seems (δοκεῖ) to be a preacher of foreign divinities*” (Acts 17:18). The narrator makes it clear that their judgement proved to be wrong. Paul himself in his apology before Herod Agrippa confesses how he himself was wrong in his convictions when he persecuted the followers of Jesus: *I myself was convinced (ἔδοξα) that I ought to do many things in opposing the name of Jesus of Nazareth* (Acts 26:9). After his miraculous release from the prison, as Peter came out, he *thought (ἔδόκε) he was seeing a vision* (Acts 12:9). The application of the verb *doke,w* in this voyage narrative is yet another example that the judgement of the sailors will soon prove to be wrong.

The narrator uses the word *πρόθεσις* for purpose. This word is translated by Schneider as „Vorsatz, Entschluß, was man sich vorgenommen hatte“(Cf. Acts 11:3 and 2 Tim 3:10)⁵⁶. This feminine noun literally means, “a placing before”, “a setting forth”, “presentation”, in ref. to the sacred bread set out weekly in the tabernacle or temple (cf. Lk 6:4; Mt 12:4; Mk 2:26). Lit. the bread of the placing before God. The second meaning is “plan”, “purpose”, “design of men”. *pro,qesij* with this meaning appears twice each in Romans (8:28; 9:11), Ephesians (1:11; 3:11) and 2 Letter to Titus (1:9; 3:10). Except in two cases it always refers to the “purpose” of God. Luke uses this word in Acts 11:23. Here we have a description of the church at Antioch. The church in Jerusalem sends Barnabas to Antioch and *when he came and saw the grace of God, he was glad; and he exhorted them all to remain faithful to the Lord with steadfast purpose (τῇ προθέσει)*. In this voyage-narrative, Luke uses this word to denote a human purpose or plan which in fact was not achieved. The reader is made aware that this purpose of the sailors was against the proposed plan of Paul which in fact was a divine plan. The author uses the Greek verb *krate,* in here with the abstract noun *pro,qesij*. But such a usage does not readily fall in with the “rule” for use with it

⁵⁵ Cf. Schunack, Art. “*δοκέω*”, in: *EWNT* 1, 822-823.

⁵⁶ Schneider, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 390.

of accusative and genitive⁵⁷. The voyage seemed as good as complete before it was begun⁵⁸.

They weighed anchor and sailed along Crete, close inshore (v. 13c). The natural rendering of ἄραυτες is “weighed anchor”. This word is used again in v.17 but with an object. But it does not necessarily require an object. An apparently intransitive or absolute use is well attested to in contemporary and earlier Greek, where it carries the meaning of “starting out on journeys” by land⁵⁹ or by sea⁶⁰. “It is characteristic of Luke to repeat the same word and even the same form of it in a different usage, though in close proximity to its other occurrences”⁶¹. ἄσσον is the comparative of ἀγγι (which does not occur in the NT). It is used as an elative, “as near as possible” or “nearer than usual”⁶². It is found in poetical Greek, and in Josephus⁶³. Jackson and Lake explain the textual difficulty: “It is curious that just as in 20:13 in some manuscripts Ἄσσον, the name of the place, is corrupted into θασσον (probably meaning the island of the name), so here the African Latin rendering *celerius* seems to imply a Greek θασσον, the irregular comparative of τάχιον. But a deeper corruption may be behind it, for the Vulgate reads *de Asson*, and the Boharic *from Assos*, and the Sahidic *from Alasos*. It must be remembered that *Alasos* may be the right orthography of *Lasea*”⁶⁴.

3.2.3.1.2 The Tempest (v. 14): It is probably as they round the cape they meet a wind of hurricane-force called Northeaster, blowing down from the 8056 feet high Mount Ida. The strong cold wind that blows across the Mediterranean in the winter from a general north-easterly direction is caused by a depression over Libya which induces a strong flow of air from Greece. Luke described it as being τυφωνικὸς⁶⁵, a word that in Greek as well as in its English cognate refers to a whirling, cyclonic wind formed by the clash of opposing masses (“hurricane-force”, NIV). “Der τύφων ist wie der Orkan

⁵⁷ Cf. BDR § 170.2, n.3.

⁵⁸ Barrett, *Acts of the Apostles*, 1193.

⁵⁹ Cf. Philo, *Vita Mosis* 1.15, § 85; Josephus, *Antiq.* iii.1. 3, § 9

⁶⁰ Cf. Josephus, *Antiq.* Xiii. 4. 3, § 86

⁶¹ Foakes-Jackson F.J. and Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity* 4, 331.

⁶² Barrett, *Acts of the Apostles*, 1193.

⁶³ Cf. Josephus, *Antiq.* 1.20. 1, etc

⁶⁴ Foakes-Jackson F.J. and Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity* 4, 331.

⁶⁵ τυφωνικὸς is translated by BA 1656 as Wirbelsturm, but LS 1838 tempestuous is better. The Wind came from τυφών, the father of the wind. Cf. Foakes-Jackson F.J. and Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity* 5, 338-44.

ein wirbelnder Wind, aber das Adjektiv τυφωνικὸς bezieht sich wohl wie bei uns „orkanartig“ nicht auf die Richtung, sondern auf die Heftigkeit der Bewegung“⁶⁶.

More specifically Luke designates the storm as the dreaded “Northeaster”, the deadly winter storm of the Mediterranean known by sailors as the gregale⁶⁷. The wind is called (καλούμενος) Εὐρακύλων. As in 6:9, the use of λεγόμενον suggests that the word with which it is connected is strange or foreign. “This may be taken to support the bastard word Εὐρακύλων rather than an apparently good Greek word such as Εὐροκλύδων”⁶⁸. The MSS p⁷⁴, a B* have the reading *euvraku,lwn* and the MSS B², and 33 read *εὐρωκλύδων*. The former is a hybrid mixture of Greek *ευροσ*, “east wind” and Latin *acquilo*, “Northeast wind”. The later is the “Southeast wind”. According to Fitzmyer, “literally the name means, “the east wind that stirs up broad waves”⁶⁹. Polhill argues correctly for the reading Εὐρακύλω: “The Textus Receptus has *εὐρωκλύδων* as the name of the storm, which would seemingly refer to a Southeast gale, but this is not the dreaded storm of the Mediterranean. The north-easterly storm is, and this seems to be the meaning of the word *εὐρακύλων* found in the best early text witnesses (P⁷⁴, a, B A)”⁷⁰. Εὐρακύλων was once considered a hapax. The KJV follows a later manuscript tradition which manifests copyist’s attempt to explain difficult spelling. Metzger (1974:497) claims that this word does not occur elsewhere in ancient texts. “But this word has since been found in the excavation of a pavement at Thugga in proconsular North Africa which contains a mosaic design depicting the winds in a twelve-point format. The Latin term *euraquilon* occurs in the position thirty degrees north of east, precisely in the direction of the winds in the gregale”⁷¹.

In an interesting Article A. Acworth favours the reading *εὐρωκλύδων* and designates the wind as a south-easterly gale. He uses this view mainly to prove that the island where Paul was shipwrecked was not Malta but Melita. Acworth puts forward the following objections against the alternative reading: *εὐρακύλων* is a Greek-Latin hybrid, a word that is not found elsewhere and is naturally suspect. If the wind was a Northeaster, he asks, why should the narrator describe it by a clumsy

⁶⁶ Wikenhauser, *Apostelgeschichte und ihr Geschichtewert* (Regensburg : Pustet, 1961) 416-17.

⁶⁷ Cf. Polhill, *Acts*, The New American Commentary vol .26, 520.

⁶⁸ Foakes-Jackson F.J. and Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity* 4, 331.

⁶⁹ Joseph Fitzmyer, *Acts of the Apostles* The Anchor Bible vol.31, 776.

⁷⁰ Cf. Polhill, *Acts*, note 22 on p. 520.

⁷¹ Cf. Hemer, “Euraquilo and Melita”, in: *JTS* 26 (1975), 110-111.

neologism as a SE.-N wind? The ordinary word “kaikias” was available for him. Moreover the narrator states that the wind blew against the shore, whereas a Northeaster would blow offshore. Further, they feared that the ship would run aground on the sandbank between the two entrances to the harbour at Phoenix. This danger would not have arisen from an offshore wind. And finally the south coast of western Crete is backed by steep mountains. A dreadful north-easterly wind would not come from them⁷².

Hemer challenges these arguments systematically. He finds that the compound euroquillo is attested elsewhere. The philological arguments of Acworth could be reversed. The formation of εὐρωκλύδων is also theoretically suspect. “If κλύδων is used as a compounding element, presumably to mean gale-force (raising the waves), it should ordinarily precede the substantial element of the word”⁷³. The Greek euros was in any case well-established in Latin, even in literature, well before this date, and the formation euroquilo evidently arose in Latin and was probably caught by Luke from Latin-speaking seamen. The form eurokulon is quite regular as a translation of the postulated Latin term. “It is remarkable that in two verses, we get two ἅπαξ λεγόμενα for winds – χῶρος and εὐρακύλων – both apparently Latinisms. It is not inconceivable that the wheat trade between Rome and Egypt had introduced Latinisms into Egyptian Greek”⁷⁴.

The wind *struck down*. Here Luke uses the verb βάλλειν which is nearly always a transitive verb. But here it is intransitive; “the wind rushed down upon them”⁷⁵. Otherwise this word is used only for persons. So the wind is conceived here as a living being⁷⁶. A similar opinion is held by Schille: „Intransitive wird sonst nur von Personen gebraucht; der Sturm ist in der Vorstellung personifiziert verstanden“⁷⁷. We can compare this expression to Lk 8:23. It is the narrative of the calming of the storm: “and as they sailed he fell asleep. And a storm of wind came down on the lake, and they were filling with water, and were in danger”. However, here the verb κατέβη is used. But here, too, the wind is personified. Eckey brings out clearly the significance of the verb βαλλειν in Acts 27:14: „Der Εὐρακύλων bemächtigt sich des

⁷² Cf. Acworth, “Where was St. Paul Shipwrecked? A Re-examination of the Evidence”, in: *JTS* xxiv (1973), 190-2.

⁷³ Hemer, “Euraquilo and Melita”, 101.

⁷⁴ Foakes-Jackson F.J. and Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity* 4, 331.

⁷⁵ In the background there may lie the thought of a reflexive - the wind hurled itself upon them.

⁷⁶ Cf. Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, note 2 on p.701.

⁷⁷ Gottfried Schille, *Die Apostelgeschichte des Lukas* (THNT 5; Berlin: Evangelische Verlags-Anstalt, 1983) 463.

Schiffes wie ein böser Dämon. Er reißt es mit und treibt es aus der Küstennähe in die offene See hinaus⁷⁸.

Κατά with a genitive ought surely to be taken here in its primary, spatial sense, to mean “down from” not “against”. Κατ’ αὐτῆς more probably means “down from it” (that is from Crete). Sudden and violent off-shore winds are not infrequent in this area. “There is a noted tendency of a south wind in these climes to back suddenly to a violent North-Easter, the well known gregale”⁷⁹. Jackson and Lake suggest that the squall from Mount Ida drove them from the Lee of Crete into the steady gale which had passed right over them while they were coasting. “Mount Athos has always been famous for such storms, and the situation in Crete was just the same. From Lasea to Cape Matela there was doubtless perfectly fair weather; on rounding the cape the ship was met by a violent squall which seemed suddenly to have fallen on Mount Ida and came rushing down on the water”⁸⁰.

3.2.3.1.3 The Effect of the Tempest on the Course of the Ship (v. 15): This verse begins with a double genitive absolute. The verb συναρπάζω means “to seize violently”⁸¹. The composition with σύν- and the position of the participle, strengthen the sense. Barrett cites the examples for the use of this verb with similar meaning from Sophocles, *Electra* 1150f.; Thucydides 6.104,3; Lucian, *Verae Historiae* 1.34⁸². This verb appears 4 times in Luke-Acts. It is used in Lk 8:29 to describe the pathetic condition of the man possessed: “*For he had commanded the unclean spirit to come out of the man. (For many a time it had seized (sunhrpa,kei) him; he was kept under guard, and bound with chains and fetters, but he broke the bonds and was driven by the demon into the desert.)*”. In Acts 6:12 this verb is used to express the violent attack on Stephen: “*And they stirred up the people and the elders and the scribes, and they came upon him and seized (sunhrpασαν) him and brought him before the council*”. And in Acts 19:29 sunarpa,zw occurs in the description of violence on the companions of Paul: “*So the city was filled with the confusion; and they rushed together into the theatre, dragging (sunαρπάσαντες) with them Gaius and Aristarchus, Macedonians who were Paul's companions in travel*”. The examples indicate that the verb has some kind of negative nuance. It is used by Luke either to explain the power

⁷⁸ Wilfred Eckey, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 564.

⁷⁹ Hemer, “Euraquilo and Melita”, 141.

⁸⁰ Foakes-Jackson F.J. and Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity* 4, 331.

⁸¹ Cleon L. Rogers jr., *The New Linguistic and Exegetical Key to the Greek NT*, 307.

⁸² Cf. Barrett, *Acts of the Apostles*, 1194.

of Satan over persons or the power of the evil men over the missionaries. It is not surprising that Luke puts the same word in the narrative of the voyage. The seizure of the ship by the tempest is in some way under the power of evil. It is in line with the Old Testament thought that the sea was a symbol of evil and the dwelling place of demons.

The ship was seized (by the wind) and was unable to head into it. The infinitive ἀντοφθαλμῆν means face up to. Literally it means “facing the eye”⁸³. Perhaps the origin of the phrase lay in the custom of putting an eye on each side of the bow of the ship⁸⁴. This verb is used metaphorically in Wisdom 12:14: “nor *can any king or monarch confront (ἀντοφθαλμῆσαι) thee about those whom thou hast punished*”. The NJB translates this verb here as “challenge”. This verb also occurs in the reading of D, h, t, w at Acts 6.10 where the narrator states that the enemies of Stephen “*could not withstand (ἀντοφθαλμῆν) the wisdom and the Spirit with which he spoke*”. Haenchen translates the expression ἀντοφθαλμῆν τῷ ἀνέμῳ as “to bring the bow into the Wind and anchor in this position”⁸⁵. Schille too admits the same nuance and takes the infinitive as “technisch und geht auf den Versuch, das gefährdete Schiff mit dem Bug gegen Wind und Wogen zu verankern”⁸⁶.

The sailors “gave way” to the wind. It probably means they shortened sail and tried to make what progress they could against it. According to Barrett the participle ἐπιδόντες stands oddly on its own. According to ND 1.49 it needs a reflexive pronoun. It is perhaps like the English expression, “we let go”, with no object, reflexive or other⁸⁷. Johnson, too, comments on the indeterminate nature of this participle: “The participle ἐπιδόντες is somewhat indeterminate (“giving over”), and is taken here to mean that they stopped fighting the wind, and let themselves be carried”⁸⁸.

Some MSS of the Western text (614, 2147) amend it slightly to yield “We gave ourselves to it as it blew, and we furled the sails and let ourselves be driven

⁸³ Cleon L. Rogers, *Op. cit.* 307.

⁸⁴ Cf. Smith, *The Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, 98.

⁸⁵ Cf. Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, note 2 on p.701

⁸⁶ Schille, *Die Apostelgeschichte des Lukas*, 463.

⁸⁷ Cf. Barrett, *Acts of the Apostles*, 1194-5.

⁸⁸ Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 447-8.

on”⁸⁹. According to Barrett, “Western Editors evidently felt the text to be unsatisfactory and added after ἐπιδόντες τῷ πνέοντι (614 1518 have by a minor slip τῷ πλέοντι) καὶ Συστειλάντες τὰ ἰστία⁹⁰.. It would not be easy to take, τῷ πνέοντι as a complement to ἀνέμω (before ἐπιδόντες); it might be a substitute for a noun, ἀνέμοσ having already been used. The meaning is clear and is no doubt what Luke intended: *we gave way to the wind, furled the sails, and ran before it*”⁹¹. In any case they are now out of control and at the mercy of the winds. This is, for obvious reasons, one of the most common motifs of sea voyage narratives⁹². Haenchen notes that the foresail must have been used, or else it would have been impossible to steer the boat⁹³. Marshall, too, observes that the foresail must have been left in place or it would have been impossible to steer⁹⁴. It does not, however, appear that much steering was being done.

3.2.3.2 The Second Stage: the Storm Takes its Toll on the Part of the Cargo and Trappings (v. 16-17)

16a νησίον δέ τι ὑποδραμόντες καλούμενον Καῦδα
 16b ἰσχύσαμεν μόλις περικρατεῖς γενέσθαι τῆς σκάφης,
 17a ἦν ἄραντες
 17b βοηθείαις ἐχρῶντο ὑποζωννύντες τὸ πλοῖον,
 17c φοβούμενοί τε μὴ εἰς τὴν Σύρτιν ἐκπέσωσιν,
 17d χαλάσαντες τὸ σκεῦος,
 17e οὕτως ἐφέροντο.

During the second stage the first person plural secure the ship’s boat, which the third person plural hoist as the ship is swept by the islet of Cauda off Crete. The third person plural then undertake two emergency measures: first undergirding the ship, and second, because they are afraid of shipwrecking on Syrtis, they lower the gear. At the end of the second stage the third person plural, too, are borne away by the storm wind.

3.2.3.2.1 Securing the Boat (v. 16): *And running under the lee of a small island called Cauda, we managed with difficulty to secure the boat;* Helpless before the wind, the ship was carried some twenty-three miles southeast of Crete, to a small island called

⁸⁹ Fitzmyer, *Acts of the Apostles*, 776.

⁹⁰ Metzger 497 gives as the authorities for this reading 82 (614) (1518) 2125 syh*.

⁹¹ Barrett, *Acts of the Apostles*, 1195.

⁹² Cf. *Odyssey* 9:82-84, Heliodorus, *The Ethiopians* 5, 27, 2.

⁹³ Cf. Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, note 4 on p.701.

⁹⁴ Cf. Marshall, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 408.

Καῦδα. The noun νησίον is a diminutive⁹⁵, a little island; The island is named with considerable textual variation. The MSS a*⁴ A, 33, 81, 614, 945 have the reading Κλαῦδα. NA has Καῦδα, with P⁷⁴ a² B 1175 lat. syp. Today the island is known as Gozzo⁹⁶. Whatever be the original text, the reference must be to a small island south of Crete, whose modern name is Gaudes (or Gozzo)⁹⁷.

The verb ὑποτρέχω has the same sense as ὑποπλέω in vv. 4 and 7: "to run under" (for protection against the wind). The ship came under the southern, lee side of Cauda, which offered some protection from the violence of the northeast winds. For the first time the sailors were able to take measures to secure the ship. The sailors knew that their only hope was in the smooth waters behind Cauda. So they kept the ship with its head in the wind and let it drift with the right side towards the wind⁹⁸.

The first operation was to haul the life boat, or dinghy. This was accomplished with difficulty (μόλις). Περικρατεῖς means to have control over something. The dinghy (σκάφη) was a small boat sometimes towed or sometimes kept on deck, used for landing or for pulling the ship's head around or for unloading the cargo. Euroquilo had hit them so suddenly. And by this time the dinghy may have been full of water. This made it all the more difficult for them to secure it. The author attributes this action to the first person plural: "*We succeeded, with difficulty, in securing the dinghy*". "There were certain jobs which only trained members of the crew could carry out, but any landlubber could haul on the rope, and able-bodied passengers were pressed into service"⁹⁹. Barrett states that the purpose for such an operation was "lest it should be damaged, or should damage the ship, through a collision caused by the storm"¹⁰⁰. For Marshall, "the use of the "We" form here may imply that Luke himself

⁹⁵ But there is the possibility that some nouns with this ending do not have a diminutive meaning. Cf. James Hope Moulton and William Francis Howard. *A Grammar of New Testament Greek: Accidents and Word Formation*. Vol. II, 340ff.

⁹⁶ Cf. Polhill, *Acts*, 520.

⁹⁷ The Latin Gaudus appears in Pliny, *Natural history* 4.61 (12); Pomponius Mela 2.7 (114), Ceudos. Metzger (498) quotes Begg. 4.332 (also Haenchen 672) for the suggestion that Klauda was the Alexandrian, Kauda the Latin form of the name.

⁹⁸ Cf. Ramsay. *St. Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen*, 328.

⁹⁹ Bruce, *The Book of Acts*, 485.

¹⁰⁰ Barrett, *Acts of the Apostles*, 1195.

helped with the operation, but more probably it is the way in which a passenger or spectator identifies himself with the action taking place”¹⁰¹.

3.2.3.2.2 Undergirding the Ship (v. 17a-b): *After hoisting it up, they took measures to undergird the ship.* The next step was to undergird the ship. Precisely what it meant is not clear. Luke says that they used “helps” (βοηθείαις) to “undergird” (ὑποζωννύοντες) the ship. The noun *bohqeia* means helps or tackle. The only other occurrence of this noun in NT is in the Letter to the Hebrews where the author exhorts the Christians to approach the throne of grace with confidence: *Let us then with confidence draw near to the throne of grace, that we may receive mercy and find grace to help (βοήθειαν) in time of need* (Hebrews 4:16).

Χράομαι with the dative (βοηθείαις) means to make use of. So they made use of βοηθεία which means either ropes or sails. It could mean “protective measures” in the broad sense, or more specifically some kind of nautical tackle such as cables or a system of pulleys¹⁰². Schille calls them extraordinary measures: „Nachdem die üblichen nautischen Sofortmaßnahmen gescheitert sind, werden außergewöhnliche Maßnahmen versucht“¹⁰³. In our context it is probably referring to the cables used to secure the ship¹⁰⁴. These cables that were passed under the ship or around it served to brace the ship against the waves and prevent it from breaking up. The typhoon is described by Pliny the elder as “the chief plague of sailors, breaking up not only the spars but the hull itself”¹⁰⁵. As a safety measure, ancient vessels were provided with cables ready fitted for bracing the hulls to enable them to resist the destructive force of such winds¹⁰⁶. The undergirding operation is well-illustrated by an Egyptian drawing of an expedition of Queen Hatshepsut to the land of Punt in the late sixteenth century BC. This picture is reproduced on a special series of Egyptian postage stamps issued to mark the International Congress of Navigation at Cairo in 1926¹⁰⁷.

How did the sailors make use of these “helps”? The verb ὑποζωννύοντες appears only here in the NT. It is a nautical t.t. used of securing the ship. It means to

¹⁰¹ Marshall, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 408.

¹⁰² Ibid. 409.

¹⁰³ Schille, *Die Apostelgeschichte des Lukas*, 464.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Hemer, *The Book of Acts in the Setting of Hellenistic History*, 143.

¹⁰⁵ Nat. Hist. 2. 132

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Bruce, *The Book of Acts*, 486.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

undergird, to brace. The RSV translates it as taking *measures to undergird the ship*. There are four possible ways the cables may have been fixed around the ship: (1) these could have been passed under the ship two or three turns to hold the hull together. This method is known as “frapping”. This has been used on rare occasions in more recent times but is not elsewhere attested for ancient ships. (2) The cables could have been run longitudinally around the entire length of the ship. This has probably been used for Roman warships to prevent them from breaking up in battle. However, this was done while the ships were still in port and not on ships on the open sea. (3) The cables could have been run vertically within the ship, through and across the ship’s hold. This method is rather the most theoretical and has not been convincingly established for ancient ships. (4) The cables could have been run transversely across the deck of the ship from bow to stern. This practice is well-known for ancient Egyptian ships. These ships had no beams and they always carried this cable across the bow to keep the vessel from breaking its back. It has not been documented for Roman ships. Among the four, the first probably is the most likely; and this is the one followed by the NIV¹⁰⁸. Barrett is not too convinced of this interpretation: “It seems that the sailors perhaps used the recovered dinghy to frap the ship, running ropes round it, presumably at right angles to its axis, in order to prevent it from breaking up under the violence of the waves. The main objection to this interpretation is that the process described does not seem likely to have done anything to prevent what, according to the next words, the sailors feared. That fear, however, was dealt with by what follows”¹⁰⁹.

3.2.3.2.3 Lowering the Gear (v.17c-e): *then, fearing that they should run on the Syrtis, they lowered the gear, and so were driven*. The third measure taken by the sailors is even less clear. Luke says they lowered τὸ σκεῦος. This noun appears four times in Acts. In the other three instances it means “instrument”, “vessel” (9:15) or “sheet” (10:11; 11:5). In all these three cases, the word σκεῦος is used in the context of a vision: the visions of Paul and Peter. In these visions they are commissioned to bring the Gospel to the Gentiles. In our context σκεῦος means “the equipment”. Its usual meaning is a vessel of some kind, or piece of furniture; and here it may denote the gear or the main yard–arm. This could mean they set the mainsail. KJV follows this rendering. This is, however, most unlikely as this would either have driven them into

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Polhill, *Acts*, note 20 on p.521; for a fuller discussion, see *The Beginnings of Christianity* 5:345-54.

¹⁰⁹ Barrett, *Acts of the Apostles*, 1196.

the shoals or would have exposed the sails to the full violence of the wind. Most probably they lowered the gear for the topsails and only set the small storm sail, allowing the ship to drift. A third possibility is that they lowered a drift anchor from the stern that would drag in the water and slow the progress. This is the option followed by the NIV.

Rackham points out to a better explanation given by Breusing. “He has shown that it was the custom for the ancients in a storm to lower cables, with weights or anchors attached, into the sea, in order to retard the vessel (Plut. Moral 507a): and skeu/oj is used of such a weight or anchor, only to be used in the last extremity (Plut. Moral 812 d). To retard the vessel was the present need: and this is how the Bezan text (in Gigas), to which Bede bears witness, understands it – they lowered a weight to drag the vessel. The sails would have been reefed before now as the Bezan Text in fact states in verse 15”¹¹⁰. Bruce, too, suggests the same interpretation: “The most probable account is that they dropped a floating anchor or drift anchor, which was dragged astern at the end of a rope of suitable length so as to offer the maximum resistance every time the ship plunged down from the crest of a wave”¹¹¹.

Whatever the specific measure taken, Luke states that their greatest fear was running aground (ἐκπέσωσιν) on the Σύρτις. ἐκπίπτω basically means “*fall out of or down from*”; In Acts 12:7 the same verb is used of fetters *falling off*. As a nautical t.t. it is used of ships *adrift off course or be driven onto rocks, run aground*. This verb is used four times in our narratives: *fearing that they should run on (evkpe,swsin) the Syrtis, they lowered the gear, and so were driven (27:17); But we shall have to run on (ἐκπεσεῖν) some island (v.26); And fearing that we might run on (ἐκπέσωμεν) the rocks, they let out four anchors from the stern, and prayed for day to come (v.29); Then the soldiers cut away the ropes of the boat, and let it go (ἐκπεσεῖν) (v.32).*

Σύρτις, the extensive zone of sandbars and quicksand of the coast of North Africa, some 400 miles south of Cauda, was notorious as a navigational hazard¹¹². “The greater Σύρτις (now the Gulf of Sidra) was the eastern, the lesser Σύρτις (now the Gulf of Gabes) the western, part of the wide stretch of water between Tunisia, Tripolitania, and Cyrenaica. It was reputed to be dangerous to shipping because the

¹¹⁰ Rackham, *The Acts of the Apostles*, note 5 on p.485.

¹¹¹ Bruce, *The Book of Acts*, 486.

¹¹² Cf. Hemer, *The Book of Acts in the Setting of Hellenistic History*, 144.

water was shallow and the tides caused the sandbanks to shift unpredictably. In 253 BC the Consuls, Gnaeus Servilius and Gaius Sempronius, had been obliged to jettison their stores to escape (Polybius 1.39.2-4)¹¹³. It is often mentioned in the first century literature in this regard. Although Syrtis were some 400 miles to the south of Cauda, their menace was proverbial¹¹⁴. The storm was so violent that the sailors considered them as a very real threat. “Σύρτις is not primarily used as a common noun for sandbank.... The name, apparently derived from the root Σύρω (draw, drag) occurs from Herodotus. The metaphorical sense “destruction” evidently derives from the notorious reputation of the place. The use of Syrtis as a common noun for sandbank in modern Greek is also presumably secondary: *qis* was the usual word in antiquity”¹¹⁵.

3.2.3.3 The Third Stage: the Storm Takes its Toll on the Emotional Part of the Third and the First Person Plurals (vv. 18-20)

18a σφοδρῶς δὲ χειμαζομένων ἡμῶν

18b τῇ ἐξῆς ἐκβολὴν ἐποιούντο

19 καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ αὐτόχειρες τὴν σκευὴν τοῦ πλοίου ἔρριψαν.

20a μήτε δὲ ἡλίου μήτε ἄστρων ἐπιφαινόντων ἐπὶ πλείονας ἡμέρας,

20b χειμῶνός τε οὐκ ὀλίγου ἐπικειμένου,

20c λοιπὸν περιηρεῖτο ἐλπίς πάσα τοῦ σώζεσθαι ἡμᾶς.

The first and second stages occur during the first day of the storm; the third stage occupies the second and third days and many days thereafter. On the second day the third person plural begin jettisoning cargo because of the severity of the storm and finally on the third day self-handedly consign the ship’s tackle to the seas. The sunless and starless sky of many days climaxes the three stages of the storm. It finds its emotional analogue in the despondent gloom of the first person plural who abandon every hope of being saved. The issuance of the majority’s scheme for finding a winter haven is a winter hazard, a storm instead of a shelter from storms, is expressed in the

¹¹³ Barrett, *Acts of the Apostles*, 1196.; cf. also Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 448.

¹¹⁴ Cf. Josephus, *Jewish War*, 2. 381: „Syrtey, whose very name strikes terror“. In ancient literature the Syrtis ranks alongside Scylla and Charybdis as a graveyard for vessels. Seneca, Horace, Pliny, Vergil, Ovid, and many others refer to it. See S. Praeder, “Sea Voyages”, 692.

¹¹⁵ Hemer, “Euroquillo and Melita”, 105.

storm language of the third stage: *χειμαζομένων* (27:18) and *χειμῶνός* (27,20) instead of *πρὸς παραχειμασίαν παραχειμάσαι* (27:12)¹¹⁶.

3.2.3.3.1 Throwing the Cargo Overboard (v.18): *As we were violently (σφοδρῶς) storm-tossed, next day, they began to throw the cargo overboard.* σφοδρῶς is an adjectival adverb. It is used only here in the whole of NT. However the related adjectival adverb σφόδρα appears 11 times in the NT. It expresses almost always a strong feeling. In the Gospel of Matthew it occurs 7 times and it is always used to express the feelings of fear or sorrow, with one exception to express astonishment¹¹⁷. In the Gospel of Luke it is used to describe the young man, who came to Jesus with a question, as a “very” (σφόδρα) rich man. In the Acts it is used to describe the growth of the early church: “*And the word of God increased; and the number of the disciples multiplied greatly (σφόδρα) in Jerusalem, and a great many of the priests were obedient to the faith*” (Acts 6:7). Here in the voyage narrative it expresses the intensity of danger. They were violently storm-tossed. Once again we have a genitive absolute. The verb *χειμαζομένων* is used only in a passive sense in the NT. It means “to be exposed to bad weather” or “to be tossed in a storm”.

They lighten the load (ἐκβολή). It is not specified what was thrown out. It may well have been some of the load of grain, though it later became clear that not all of that was jettisoned at this time. “The narrator does not say that it was some of the cargo that was jettisoned, but it cannot well have been anything else. Since the transport of grain was the purpose of the ship’s voyage, on which the shipowner’s livelihood depended, the sacrifice of even part of it stressed the desperateness of the situation”¹¹⁸. As for the throwing over of cargo, Aristotle notes that it is not something a sane person would do in ordinary circumstances, but it will be done in order to save one’s life¹¹⁹; the practice is widely attested¹²⁰. The author uses the imperfect of *ποιέω*. “The Greek tense shows that this was not completely done; for indeed, as we are reminded in verse 38, they had to keep some of the grain for their own wants”¹²¹.

¹¹⁶ Cf. Susan Praeder, *Narrative Voyage*, 114-5.

¹¹⁷ Cf. Mt.2:10 (great joy); 17:6 (greatly afraid); 17:23 (greatly sorry); 18:31 (very sorry); 19:25 (greatly astonished); 26:22 (exceedingly sorrowful); 27:54 (feared greatly).

¹¹⁸ Bruce, *The Book of Acts*, 486.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 1110A.

¹²⁰ see Lxx Jonah 1:5; Josephus, *Jewish War* 1:280, Heliodorus, *The Ethiopians* 5, 27, 7.

¹²¹ Rackham, *The Acts of the Apostles*, note 5 on p.486.

3.2.3.3.2 Casting out the Tackle of the Ship (v. 19): Still the ship was so threatened that it was necessary on the next day, the third day of the storm, to throw even more overboard. Again it is not clear what was ejected. Luke referred to it as σκευή, the ship's equipment. Smith suggested that it was ship's mainyard, the long spar used to support the mainsail¹²². This would explain his reference to the sailors doing this "with their own hands" (αὐτόχειρες). This sounds a puzzling phrase since the sailors had no other means than their own hands. Later MSS ease the sentence by substituting "we cast out" for "they cast out" and this makes better sense. Or is the point that they did not have any lifting gear, such as would be available in harbour?¹²³ D. Clark suggests that both vv.18 and 19 may refer to the jettisoning of the mainyard, taking ἐποιοῦντο in v. 18 as a conative imperfect. In v. 18 they "attempt to jettison" it (using equipment) and fail. On the next day (v.19) they succeeded, using their own hands¹²⁴.

3.2.3.3.3 Abandoning the Hope of Being Saved (v.20): *And when neither sun nor stars appeared for many a day, and no small tempest lay on us, all hope of our being saved was at last abandoned.* The storm raged on. Sun and stars were darkened by clouds, and there was no way to locate their position. The only other reference in the NT where the terms sun and stars are mentioned together is Lk 21:25. The context here is the death of Jesus. The darkness and the absence of the sun and the stars indicate divine judgement and divine control over the world and especially over the wickedness of human beings. This is the Day of the Lord. And naturally here it has the connotation of punishment. The darkening of the sun is mentioned earlier in chapter 2 of Acts where Peter cites the prophecy of Joel. Here, too, it is the sign that the Day of the Lord has come. The word, sun, is used in the context of punishment in 13:11. Paul punished Elymas, the magician, because he tried to turn away the proconsul, Sergius, from the faith: "*And now, behold, the hand of the Lord is upon you, and you shall be blind and unable to see the sun for a time.*" What exactly does the absence of the sun and the stars mean in the context of a voyage? Naturally the heavenly bodies are important for the direction of a voyage. To the pagans it may also indicate that the absence of the sun and the stars meant that their deities had left them. Perhaps this has a better support with the following expression "hope deteriorating". And the spiritual sense provides a good background to the following section where Paul speaks the words of comfort based

¹²² Cf. Smith, *The Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, 111-12.

¹²³ Cf. Marshall, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 410.

¹²⁴ Cf. D. Clark, "What Went Overboard First?", in: *BT* 26 (1975), 144-46.

on the vision and on the faith in his God. Perhaps it is at the moment when they felt let down by their deities that Paul grasped the occasion to speak of his God who is going to save them all.

The imperfect περιηρέϊτο suggests a steady deteriorating situation. The verb περιαιρέω means lit. “take away” or “remove”¹²⁵. In the voyage narrative it is used as a nautical t.t., of an anchor lift, raise (AC 28.13); cut off, cast off (Ac 27.40). In our context it is used figuratively, of hope being given up. Although the emotion is certainly intelligible in the circumstances, it is also one with literary parallels¹²⁶.

3.2.4 Conclusion: The events and actions at the storm are narrated dramatically. The participants of these actions form two groups: “we” and “they”. Both the first person plural and the third person plural participate in the alternation, and sometimes awkwardly so¹²⁷:

The third person plural think that they have obtained their purpose (v. 13a)

They weigh anchor and sail along the coast of Crete (v. 13b)

The first person plural give way to it and are driven away (v. 15b)

The first person plural manage with difficulty to secure the boat (v. 16)

The third person plural take measures to undergird the ship (v. 17a)

The third person plural lower the gear fearing that they should run on Syrtis and are driven (v. 17b)

The first person plural are violently storm-tossed (v. 18a)

The third person plural begin next day to throw the cargo overboard (v. 18b)

The third person plural cast out with their own hands the tackle of the ship (v. 19)

The first person plural lose the hope of being saved (v. 20)

In this section a lot of actions are narrated. It is not difficult for the readers to identify the participants of these various adventurous actions during the storm. Six of the actions of the third person plural - weighing anchors, undergirding the ship, lowering the gear, jettisoning, throwing the ship’s tackle overboard – are in fact actions of sailors. These actions presuppose sailing experience and training. Therefore the third person plural should be the sailors and the first person plurals must be the

¹²⁵ For example, “removing the veil” in 2 Cor 3.16; of sin “take away”, “do away with” in Heb 10.11.

¹²⁶ Cf. *Odyssey* 5: 297-304; 12.277-279; Aelius Aristides, *Sacred Tales* 2:12; Achilles Tatius, *Clitophon and Leucippe* 3,2,4, Lucia of Samosata, *Toxaris* 20; Thucydides, *Peleponnesian War* 1,2,65.

¹²⁷ Cf. Praeder, *The Narrative Voyage*, 114.

passengers. The assumption that a South wind would bring the ship to Phoenix and the fear of shipwrecking on Syrtis are appropriate for sailors. Naturally the sailors are in charge of sailing operations. The expression “borne along” is used twice in this section: in v.15 for the first person plural (ἐφερόμεθα) and in v.17 for the third person plural (ἐφέροντο). The narrator points out two groups as if the two were separate and yet shared the same experience of the storm. Both groups are in the same boat but otherwise have nothing to do with each other. The resolve and the responsibility for resuming the voyage rest with the sailors.¹²⁸

Especially in times of danger co-operation is the immediate need. All differences are to be forgotten. Mutual support and co-operation are a must for the safety of everyone. This theme of co-operation, which is developed in the narrative, begins here. Soon after mentioning the storm Luke makes no delay in narrating the co-operation between the two parties. Paul and the Christian friends form the group of first person plural. With the other prisoners they form the party of passengers. Luke wants to convey something of this message to the reader: The Christians and the unbelievers need to work together for the benefit of all. In this context it is the physical safety, the deliverance from the death in the sea. But from the larger context of Luke-Acts it is much more than just physical safety.

The passive expression “being saved” begs the question of agency. If the reader looks for an answer to the question of agency, the answer is divine agency¹²⁹. In the lit. contexts of Acts 27-28 (sea voyages in ancient literature, the Septuagint, and Luke-Acts) gods, God, and God in Jesus Christ are the agents of deliverance from death at sea. Ps. 106:23-32 praises the God of Israel for his agency in such deliverance: *Then they cried out to the Lord in their trouble, and he delivered them from their distress: and made the storm still and the waves of the sea were hushed.* God provides safe passage for the ships in the sea and saves the righteous Noah and his reluctant prophet Jonah from death by deluge and by drowning (sap 14:1-7; Jonah 1-2). In the Gospels, Jesus comes to the assistance of his disciples in their sailing ventures on inland seas (Mt. 8:23-27; 14:22-33; Mk 4:35-41; 6:45-52; Lk 8:22-25, Jn 6:16-21). Mt. 8:25 juxtaposes safety, salvation and destruction in the confessional cry

¹²⁸ Cf. Ibid.

¹²⁹ Cf. Ibid. 116.

of the disciples for help, “Save Lord, we are perishing”. In Luke, Jesus stills the storm once the disciples awaken him to tell of their distress (8:4 “we are perishing”).

This section of the voyage narrative is also meant to shed some more light on the person of Paul. He is depicted as a practical man, someone with a vision. He is an experienced voyager who knows the good and bad seasons for voyaging. The very fact that he is able to intervene and warn them about the future danger shows that he is not like the other prisoners. He enjoys a special rank. This has already been indicated in the previous section where the narrator mentions that the centurion Julius treated Paul kindly and allowed him to receive epimeleia from his Christian friends at Sidon. Between Paul and the Roman centurion there is a cordial relationship, a relationship of trust. Paul makes use of his special status to intervene and to warn them of the dangers ahead. The friendship between Paul and the centurion is important for the purpose of the safety of all the voyagers. However, in the present case Julius prefers to trust not in Paul but in the experiences of the sailors. Although the warning of Paul may have come from his practical sailing experiences, it has also a prophetic nuance. In the narrative of Acts there are several places in which the prophetic gifts of Paul are mentioned. Hence the reader who has read the narrative up to now will have no difficulty in getting this message. The very fact that the words of Paul come to fulfilment so soon is another indication that Paul is a prophet and his words are to be taken seriously. Perhaps the immediate realisation of Paul’s warning moves the centurion to rebuild his trust in Paul and thus further their friendly relationship. This theme is developed in the course of the narrative.

Chapter Four

Paul's Words of Comfort: Gentile mission a Divine Necessity

4.1 Introduction: In this section of the voyage narrative we have the second intervention of Paul. The context of the intervention is clear. It is taken partly from the previous section: they were losing every hope of being saved, as they did not see the sun and the stars for many days. This hopeless situation is carried on and further developed at the beginning of this section (v.21). For a long time they have been without food. Naturally they did have enough food with them but they had no desire to eat. Their losing hope seems to be the cause of their lack of appetite. In such a pathetic situation Paul intervenes. This time he does not warn them of the danger but gives them words of comfort. He does make a reference to their mistake of not listening to him and resuming the voyage from Fair Havens. However, he assures them that none of them will be lost. Only the ship will perish and they will be stranded on some island. Paul is able to give them this good news because, in a vision, an angel of God told him that it is necessary that Paul must appear before Caesar and on his account all will be saved. Paul exhorts them to cheer up because he believes in the angelic message.

This section answers the question regarding the agency of safety as expected in the context of Luke-Acts. God through two intermediaries, the angel who appears to Paul and Paul who addresses the third person plural, promises deliverance for all those on board. Paul's case for good courage in the narrative world present on 27:1-26 rests upon two proofs, his past experience of God and present faith in the future promised by God¹.

4.2 The Structure: These verses form an independent unit within this voyage narrative. The lines of demarcation are very clear. The preceding verse (v. 20) narrates their fading of hope at the absence of stars and the sun in the sky. This verse can be seen as a climax of the previous section in which the author narrates largely their fighting for survival in the face of a dreadful tempest. The proceeding section is

¹ Cf. Praeder, *The Narrative Voyage*, 120.

separated by the temporal qualification, “the fourteenth night”, and by a spatial qualification: “across the see of Adria”.

The genre of this section too helps us to regard it as a separate unit within this narrative. Basically this is a genre of speech. It could also be taken as a commission story in a very broad sense. This section begins with the narration of circumstances of Paul’s intervention. Then it narrates the address of Paul with reference to his angelic vision. We can see the following structure:

1. The circumstances (v.21a)
2. The intervention from Paul (v.21b)
3. Words of advise from Paul (v.21c –26):
 - a)The reference to the previous action (v.21c)
 - b)Words of courage (v.22a)
 - c)The prophetic declaration of safety (v.22 b)
 - d) The reason for prophetic declaration (v.23-24)
 - e)The reassurance through faith (v.25)
 - f)The final prophetic declaration (v.26)

4.3 Exegetical Analysis:

4.3.1 Circumstances (v. 21a): Πολλῆς τε ἀσιτίας ὑπαρχούσης τότε

The circumstances for Paul’s address are the starvation and the referred damage and destruction. This is clearly marked at the beginning of this paragraph. A new feature of the situation is introduced by a genitive absolute. Riccioti translates this part of the verse as “we being much in want of food”². ἀσιτία refers to a state of having been without food, frequently with the implication of being caused by a lack of appetite. BAGD translates this verse as “Since almost nobody wanted to eat because of anxiety or sea-sickness”³. James Moulton’s vocabulary of the Greek Testament considers this term to be a medical term: “And, on the whole, in view of the undoubted use of asitia in medical phraseology to denote “loss of appetite” from illness... it seems best to understand it so here, and to think of Paul’s companions as abstaining from food

² Giuseppe Riccioti, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 385-6.

³ Frederick William Danker (ed.), *A Greek English Lexicon of the N:T. and Other Early Christian Literature*, BADG, 3rd Ed. Based on Walter Baur, 143.

owing to their physical and mental state, and not because no food was forthcoming”⁴. The verbal form ἀσιτέω occurs in Esther 4:16 and in 1 Macc 3:17. It carries in these instances the sense of a fast or hunger. The noun σίτος means grain and so the adjective ἀσιτία means «without grain». The word appears again in Acts 27:33: *τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτην σήμερον ἡμέραν προσδοκῶντες ἄσιτοι διατελεῖτε* (*you have been waiting for fourteen days now and all this time you have not wanted to eat a thing*). People were short of food, not because there was nothing to eat. All the food was not thrown out as it is clear later in v. 38. They did not eat because of preoccupation and fear. It was the “effect of seasickness and general discouragement, as a result of their being in imminent danger for so long”⁵. Such a phenomenon can often be noticed on a rough voyage, even when there is no thought of shipwreck⁶. In the present context this idea of not desiring to eat is strengthened by the verse that immediately preceded: “*all hope of our being saved was at last abandoned* (27:20b). ὑπαρχούσης⁷ means to be in a state, normally with the implication of a particular set of circumstances. Another speech of Paul is introduced by Luke with more or less similar expression. This was before Paul’s defence before the tribune (21:40)⁸. In both cases it is Paul who tries to intervene and calm the situation. In the ship over the stormy sea Paul attempts to deal with the situation by allaying their fear; but he seems to have no success till v. 36.

4.3.2 The Intervention from Paul (v. 21b): σταθεὶς ὁ Παῦλος ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν εἶπεν. At this depressive moment Paul makes his second intervention. “During the distress hitherto Paul hid himself among them, was one of the crowd, helped with the rest to throw out the tackling, but now he distinguishes himself, and though a prisoner, undertook to be their counsellor”⁹. The RSV translates this part of the verse as *Paul then came forward among them and said*. Larkin prefers to translate it as *standing «in the midst of them»*. He does not agree with the translation of the NIV which renders

⁴ James Hope Moulton and George Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*, 1963, p.85.

⁵ Riccioti, *Acts*, 385-6; cf. also James Moffat, *An Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament*, third and revised edition, Edinburgh 1961, p. 297-300: He argues on the basis of medical terms in Luke-Acts that the author was a physician. He makes reference to ἀσιτία and considers this as a medical term.

⁶ Cf. Foakes Jackson and Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity* 4, 334.

⁷ Cf. Acts 5:4 and 19:40.

⁸ For Πολλῆς τε ἀσιτίας ὑπαρχούσης cf. 21:40 πολλῆς δὲ σιγῆς γενομένης (when there was made a great silence).

⁹ *Mathew Henry’s Commentary on the Whole Bible*, vol. 6: Acts and Revelation, 276.

«before them»¹⁰. The verb σταθείς is used in both transitive and intransitive sense. Taken transitively it means set, place, put; establish, set up, make stand; put forward; fix (a day of judgement). In the intransitive sense it has the meaning of stand; stop, stand still; be confirmed or established; be moored (of boats). Luke introduces Paul's speech to the men of Athens with the similar expression: “*so Paul standing in the middle of the Areopagus said*” (Σταθείς δὲ [ὁ] Παῦλος ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ Ἀρείου Πάγου) Acts 17:22. The root verb ἵστημι appears again in this section. It is used for the messenger of God who *stood* before Paul. The narrative indicates to us that Paul's *standing* to comfort his fellow voyagers is the consequence of the *standing* of the angel of God before Paul. Commenting on the words - σταθείς εἶπεν - in 27:21 Haenchen says, “the author has no real idea of the situation: with the howl of the gale and the pitch of the ship Paul could not deliver an address as on Areopagus”¹¹. We do not need to discuss this question as we take this whole narrative as we have it in Acts and do not invent a new text. Moreover the observations of Haenchen are too subjective.

4.4.3 Words of Advice from Paul (vv. 21b–26)

4.4.3.1 The Reference to the Previous Action: (v. 21 b-d):

21b Ἔδει μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες, πειθαρχήσαντάς μοι

21c μὴ ἀνάγεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς Κρήτης

21d κερδήσαι τε τὴν ὕβριν ταύτην καὶ τὴν ζημίαν.

Literally this part of the verse could be translated as *Sirs you ought to have followed my advice*. This is not meant to sound superior, or as an “I told you so” attitude, but as an appeal for them to listen to him now. Paul reviews the counsel given at Fair Havens (27:10)¹². He has advised them that the voyage would be with injury and much loss, not only to the cargo and the ship, but also to their lives. The crew and the majority had not listened to him. In this section he tells them what they should not have done, using Luke's favourite δεῖ. Here we have one of the examples where δεῖ refers merely to a human action. V. 21b refers back to his prediction in v. 10 and at the same time summarises the result of vv. 13-20. Their failure of trust in Paul contrasts with Paul's trust in God. Paul reprimands the third person plural for

¹⁰ William J. Larkin Jr., *Acts* (Downers Grove: Intervarsity Press, 1995) 372.

¹¹ Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 704.

¹² Cf. Larkin, *Acts*, 372.

two errors of judgement: failure of trust and resumption of voyage. This corresponds to the decision of the centurion and the majority in vv.11-12. The two important verbs used in verses 11-12 reappear in this section too: v. 21 *πειθαρχήσαντάς*, v. 11 *ἐπέιθετο*; v. 21 *ἀνάγεσθαι*, v. 12 *ἀναχθῆναι*. “Paul was content to bide his time until spirits were low before offering the gentle reminder that his suggestion at Fair Havens should have been taken. In other words, if he had been right then, it could be assumed that he would be worth listening to now, even at this late hour”¹³.

πειθαρχήσαντάς means “to obey”, “listen to”. In Hellenistic literature, the papyri, and the inscriptions it often refers to strict obedience: of rulers to God, servants to their masters, princes to their fathers, women to their husbands, private citizens or officials to their superiors, peoples to their conqueror¹⁴. However, this is not the proper verb for obedience in the NT. The proper verb for obedience in the NT is *ὑπακούω* which is not synonymous with *πειθαρχέω*. When Paul uses the verb *πειθαρχέω* in the present context he “does not mean strict submission but voluntary consent”¹⁵. In the present context the verb is followed by a dative pronoun. We find such a construction in POxy xii. 1411+16 (AD 260). The construction with the genitive, meaning to obey one in authority, is found both in the Papyri and in the inscriptions as in the marriage contracts.¹⁶

In Acts 5.29 this verb *πειθαρχέω* is uttered by Peter. The high priest questioned Peter and the apostles and rebuked them for teaching in the name of Jesus and for disobeying the command given by the council. But Peter and the apostles answered, *We must obey God rather than men* (*Πειθαρχεῖν δεῖ θεῷ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνθρώποις*). It is worth noting that in this context, too, the verb *πειθαρχέω* is coupled with *δεῖ*. For Peter and the other apostles it was a divine necessity to obey God rather than obey men. The verb *πειθαρχέω* appears again at the conclusion of this little speech by Peter and the other apostles: *And we are witnesses to these things, and so is the Holy Spirit whom God has given to those who obey him* (*τοῖς πειθαρχοῦσιν αὐτῷ*). In the letter to Titus this verb is used for obedience to human authorities: *Remind them to be submissive to rulers and authorities, to be obedient* (*πειθαρχεῖν*), *to be*

¹³ Everett F. Harrison, *Interpreting Acts*, 41.

¹⁴ Cf. Spicq, Art. “πειθαρχέω”, in: *Theological Lexicon of the NT* III, 63-64.

¹⁵ Ibid 64.

¹⁶ James Hope Moulton and George Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*, 1963, 500.

ready for any honest work (Tit 3:1). Naturally in Acts 27:21 Paul uses this word in reference to human obedience. The centurion should have obeyed Paul rather than listen to the advice of the captain and the owner of the ship. The narrator has been portraying Paul as a man of God, one with a divine mission and one who had divine communications. By not listening to Paul, they have in fact not listened to God. And, therefore, they themselves have brought on them the disaster. Listening to Paul was within divine necessity.

By not listening to Paul they have incurred (κερδήσαι) injury (ἔβρις) and loss (ζημία). The noun κέρδος is found only three times in NT, all in Paul. But the verb κερδαίνω occurs 16 times in the NT. It is found only here in Acts. The verb basically means “to acquire by efforts or investment”, “to gain”¹⁷. Since the avoidance of loss is gain, it can also mean “spare oneself something”, “avoid something”¹⁸. It occurs only once in Luke (9:25) and Mark (8:36) and five times in the Gospel of Matthew: 16:26; 18:15; 25:16, 17, 20, 22. In Matthew this verb occurs mainly (four times) in the parable of the Talents. It simply means here earning (a talent). The goal of the merchant is to make money, to generate profits: but κέρδος is used for all sorts of advantages and acquisitions. “If there are base profits or sordid gains, there is also the gaining of souls, and κερδαίνω became a religious term, or rather an apostolic missionary term, from brotherly correction whereby one gains one’s brother (Mt 18:15) and from Paul’s adapting himself to every type of person in order to gain the largest number (1Cor 9:22-22) to the husbands whose minds are closed to the word of God but who will be won without a word by the behaviour of their Christian wives”¹⁹ (1 Pet 3:1).

In all the three Synoptics this verb is used in the context of the teaching of Jesus concerning discipleship:

Mark 8:36: *For what does it profit (κερδήσαι) a man, to gain the whole world and forfeit (ζημιωθῆναι) his life?*

Matthew 16:26a: *For what will it profit (κερδήσει) a man, if he gains the whole world and forfeits (ζημιωθη) his life?*

¹⁷ BADG, 540.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Spicq, Art. “κερδαίνω”, in: *Theological Lexicon of the NT II*, 159-60.

Luke 9:25: *For what does it profit (κερδήσας) a man if he gains the whole world and loses or forfeits (ζημιωθείς) himself?*

In all three cases above the Synoptics make use of both the verbs κερδήσαι and ζημιώω. In the language of business and diatribe, ζημία–ζημιόω are normally opposed to gain and profit, κέρδω–κερδάινω²⁰. It is not surprising that Jesus made use of this language to teach that gaining the universe would be empty if one lost oneself. In Lk 9:24 Jesus explains his requirements of self-denial and cross bearing for his followers, “for whosoever would save his life (τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ σῶσαι) will lose (ἀπολέσῃ) it. But whosoever loses his life (ἀπολέσει τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ) for my sake, he will save (σώσει) it. In 9:25 he inquires, “for what it profit a man if he gains (κερδήσας) the whole world and loses or forfeits(ἀπολέσας ἢ ζημιωθείς) himself”. It gives a “warning against finding a basis for one’s life by means of self-preservation. It is no use securing the Lordship of the world and all its powers, if one’s life is forfeited. The most important thing that a man has is his life; but paradoxically he must lose it in order to gain it”²¹. Paul, referring to his Damascus experience, applied such a language to himself. The advantages that he had in Judaism he considered disadvantageous for the sake of Christ: *Indeed I count everything as loss (ζημίαν) because of the surpassing worth of knowing Christ Jesus my Lord. For his sake I have suffered the loss of all things, and count them as refuse, in order that I may gain (κερδήσω) Christ (Phi 3:7).*

The two negative expressions of safety in Acts 27:21-22 (ὕβρις and ζημία) relate safety in sea voyaging to Christian salvation. Paul’s reference to the gaining of damage and destruction (της κερδήσαι τε τὴν ὕβριν ταύτην καὶ τὴν ζημίαν) indicates that “the third person plural have attained to the opposite of safety-salvation. Conversely, his revised prediction of no loss of life (ἀποβολὴ γὰρ ψυχῆς οὐδεμία ἔσται) assures his narrative audience that they will acquire the opposite of damage and destruction, safety-salvation”²².

²⁰ Cf. Ibid. 159.

²¹ Collin Brown, *The International Dictionary of New Testament Theology* 3, 137.

²² Praeder, *Narrative Voyage*, 120.

4.3.3.2 Words of Courage (v. 22a): καὶ τὰ νῦν παραινῶ ὑμᾶς εὐθυμεῖν. Paul again offers advice (παραινῶ) to his companions in the ship. According to Barrett, the expression τὰ νῦν is perhaps more emphatic than the simple νῦν would be²³. Luke uses the same expression in Acts 4:29 where the believers join together in prayer after the release of the apostles. They pray for boldness: *And now (καὶ τὰ νῦν), Lord, look upon their threats, and grant to thy servants to speak thy word with all boldness.* This language emphasises the intensity of their invocation. The believers intensely invoke God to grant them to speak his word in boldness. Similarly, Luke puts this expression in Paul’s speech at Areopagus where Paul makes a bold appeal to his listeners to repent: *The times of ignorance God overlooked, but now (τὰ νῦν) he commands all men everywhere to repent (Acts 17:30).* Here the narrator emphasises his appeal to repent because *God has fixed a day on which he will judge the world in righteousness (17:31).* Paul exhorts his companions to take courage in the face of storm and death. And obviously Luke begins this exhortation with the emphatic expression καὶ τὰ νῦν.

The verb παραινῶ was already used by the narrator to introduce Paul’s initial advice to the crew not to sail from Crete. It has the meanings of “to advise strongly”, “recommend”, “urge”²⁴. This verb is used in the NT only in v. 6 and here. “The first case seems more appropriate than this one, since Paul is not really offering advice this time around, but encouragement. It is typical of Luke, however to use the same word repeatedly in a small patch of narrative, and never employ it again”²⁵. On this present occasion Paul’s advice is not of disaster. He offers them encouragement. He asks them to be of good courage and his encouragement is based on his angelic vision. Two things are predicted: the survival of all from the shipwreck and the necessity of Paul’s appearance before the Emperor. His specification of an island as the place for the future shipwreck anticipates for his narrative audience and the implied audience the ship’s approach to land in the next sequence.

The verb παραινῶ is followed by an accusative and infinitive. It could just be a mark of literary style²⁶. Luke repeats the exhortation εὐθυμεῖν (to take courage) again

²³ Cf. Barrett, *Acts of the Apostles*, 1200.

²⁴ BADG, 764.

²⁵ Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 449.

²⁶ M.3.138.

in this speech at v. 25. The verb occurs again a little later in the context of the meal which Paul has with his fellow travellers in the ship. Paul exhorts them to εὐθυμεῖν, which means to “cheer up” “keep up one’s courage”²⁷.

4.3.3.3 The Prophetic Declaration of Safety (v. 22b): ἀποβολή γὰρ ψυχῆς οὐδεμία ἔσται ἐξ ὑμῶν πλὴν τοῦ πλοίου. The feminine noun ἀποβολή means “loss”, “rejection” or “the removal of someone from a particular association”. This verb is used for the rejection of Israelite by God in Josephus who describes the rejected condition of the people of Israel as “not of people as such, but repeated loss of their cities and temples through divine providence”²⁸. Haenchen translates this part of the verse as “none of you will lose his life, only the ship will be lost” and comments that this “is expressed with a very choice turn of phrase”²⁹. The words are referring to their rescue from death in a stormy sea. However, the choice of the word has a significance beyond this. This declaration of safety from Paul is in some contradiction of what he had warned earlier before they resumed their voyage from Fair Havens. There he had warned them that their lives, too, would be in danger. Now he qualifies his previous statement. Not their lives, but only the ship will be lost. This is a clear indication that what he foretold earlier was from his own personal experience and what he now says comes from divine communication.

4.3.3.4 The Reason for Prophetic Declaration: Angelic Vision (vv. 23-24):

23a παρέστη γάρ μοι ταύτη τῇ νυκτὶ τοῦ θεοῦ,

23b οὗ εἰμι [ἐγώ] ᾧ καὶ λατρεύω, ἄγγελος

24a λέγων, Μὴ φοβοῦ, Παῦλε, Καίσαρί σε δεῖ παραστῆναι,

24b καὶ ἰδοὺ κεχάρισται σοι ὁ θεὸς πάντας τοὺς πλείοντας μετὰ σοῦ.

4.3.3.4.1 Temporal Qualification: Paul introduces the grounds (γάρ) for the encouragement that he offers. It derives from an angelic message, delivered ταύτη τῇ νυκτὶ; the dative expresses “time when”, and, unless Paul is speaking in the night (which seems prima facie unlikely), must mean “the night just past” – last night³⁰.

²⁷ Cf. BADG, 406.

²⁸ Josephus, *Ant.* 4.314.

²⁹ Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 705.

³⁰ Cf. Barrett, *Acts of the Apostles*, 1200.

Larkins translates it as God has sent his angel “this very night”³¹. The NIV has it as “last night”.

Νυξ is an old Indo-European word, meaning the time when there is no sunlight. The Greeks were aware of the dreadful character of the night. In mythology the deified figure of the νυξ still had a dreadful character³². Night was the main time for magic, which has particular potency in the hours of darkness. Each night was the time for a particular demon who is set over it. But night was also the special time of divine revelations: “If the deity uses for its manifestations the time of the release of the human consciousness from the purely empirical world of the senses, then the directions will obviously be found in the dreams associated with this state”³³. For the Rabbis night is threatened by evil spirits which exercise power during it (eg. *Lilith*, *bShab.*, 151b). But the man who knows that the night also belongs to God enjoys the protection of the Father in the night, too. Therefore, the righteous of the NT does not fear the demons and other rulers of the night.

The word “night” occurs 16 times in Acts (5:19; 9:24,25; 12:6; 16:9,33; 17:10; 18:9; 20:31; 23:11,23,31; 26:7; 27:23,27,27). Especially in Acts „erscheint νυξ als Zeitraum für das Wirken göttlichen Kräfte“³⁴. In a number of cases the night is combined with the appearance of the Lord or an angel in a vision. In other cases the night is used for some kind of saving activity, especially of Paul, or the activity and a plot to kill.

The vision, whether it is the Lord himself who appears (23:11), or a messenger of God (27:23), or a mortal man (16:9), is a revelation from the supra-human world, which is in its essentials to be evaluated from a positive religious standpoint. “This uses night for its manifestations to man because this best guarantees openness to the revelation”³⁵. The emphasis on the fact that directions are given at night shows that the author ascribes to them a different character than to revelations given directly by

³¹ Larkin, *Acts*, 372.

³² Cf. H.Ch. Hahn, Art. “νυξ”, in: *Theologisches Begriffs Lexikon zum Neuen Testament* II, 336.

³³ Dellling, Art. “νυξ”, in: *TWNT* IV, 1124.

³⁴ Hahn, Art. νυξ, in: *Theologisches Begriffs Lexikon zum Neuen Testament* II, 336.

³⁵ Dellling, Art. “νυξ”, in: *TWNT* IV, 1125.

day, though religious awareness recognises that they are not less divine. The degree of actuality may best be seen in the formulation in Acts 18:9 (cf. Gen. 46:2). That it is a relatively lower degree may be seen especially from the context of Acts 16:9.

4.3.3.4.2 The Messenger of God Standing by Paul: From beginning to end, Luke-Acts employs these emissaries from God to deliver messages and comfort to characters in the story, as well as acts of deliverance (Luke 1:11. 26; 2:9.13; 22:43; Acts 5:19; 7:26; 10:3; 12:7.23)³⁶. At the beginning of Luke's Gospel stands the appearance of angel to Zechariah in the temple (1:8-20), to Mary (Lk 1:26-38), and to the shepherds (Lk 2:8-14). This appearance of the angel in 27:23 resembles that of the angelic vision to shepherds in Lk 2:8-14. In both we find the expression Μη φοβου ("fear not").

Paul is a charismatic figure and has received frequent revelations³⁷. But these charisms do not hinder his clear vision of material reality. Paul receives one more vision. This time it was not from Christ as it was in 18:9-10 and 23:11. It was not of a man as it was in 16:9. This is the only instance an angel appears to Paul in Acts. In 12:7-11 Luke narrates the appearance of an angel to Peter in the prison. Through the intervention of an angel Peter is set free from the prison. In the present context (27:23) Luke speaks of a "messenger of God". This is in contrast to the other visions that Paul has in Acts. Why does he speak of an angel here? The reason may be because the Gentile travellers had no idea of Lord or Christ. Paul could have given them a brief explanation or used the occasion to make a proclamation of Christ-event. Luke restrains from such a narrative. "Luke's contrivance shows him to be an author sensitive to the severe constraints of the situation"³⁸. He recalls a Paul who displayed that sensitivity on the occasion itself. A Gentile audience would have no difficulty in understanding the words "a messenger of the God whose I am and whom I worship".

The angel first appears to Paul. The NIV renders it as "stood beside me". The word *παρίστημι*³⁹, stand by, is a technical term in epiphanies. Its transitive meaning is present, "bring into one's presence", "show", "offer", "yield", "dedicate", "provide"

³⁶ Cf. Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 449.

³⁷ Cf. Acts 16:6-10; 18:9-10; 20:23; 22.17; 23:11 (cf. also 2 Cor 12:2).

³⁸ Dunn, *Acts*, 339.

³⁹ In Acts 9:39 the same verb is used in the context of Peter's restoring to life of Dorcas. Here the RSV translates the verb as „stood beside“: „The widows stood beside him weeping“.

(Ac 24.13). When taken intransitively it means “stand by”, “be present”, “stand before” or “stand together” (Ac 4.26). In Acts 1:3 this verb is used to express the appearance of the risen Lord to the disciples: οἷς καὶ παρέστησεν ἑαυτὸν ζῶντα' - *to whom he presented himself alive*. The order of words in v. 23a is striking. παρέστη stands first, though there seems to be no reason why it should bear the emphasis that this position would give it. According to Haenchen it is Lucan⁴⁰. The word itself is common in the narratives of epiphanies⁴¹, angelic visitations etc. (cf. Acts 12:7). It is interesting that in the next verse another semi-technical use of the same verb appears.

τοῦ θεοῦ not only precedes ἄγγελος but is separated from it by the relative clause, which thus receives some prominence. For Haenchen this is specifically Lucan, like καὶ after the relative⁴². It has often been pointed out that supernatural visitations and supernatural protection are characteristic of the θεῖος ἀνὴρ⁴³. It is characteristic of Luke, recognising this, to point out that though in some respects Paul may resemble figures represented as θεῖος ἀνὴρ, he is in fact no such thing. He is the property (οὗ εἶμι) and the servant (ᾧ λατρεύω) of another, who alone can bear the title θεός.⁴⁴ “Paul’s specification of the angel of God in 27:23 as “messenger of the God to whom I belong and whom I serve” is also a specification of the Gentile and non-Christian existence of his third person plural narrative audience. Only such a specification, instead of the usual “an angel”, “an angel of the Lord”, or “an angel of God”, distinguishes for them Paul’s God and his messenger from other gods and their messengers. Although unknown to the third person plural before Paul’s specification, God intends to save them and all those sailing with Paul”⁴⁵.

4.3.3.4.3 Paul as a Servant of God: λατρεύω

The verb λατρεύω comes from the word λᾶτρον which means reward or wages. So the basic meaning of the verb is “to work” or “serve for reward” and then “to render services” with no thought of reward and irrespective of whether the one who serves is slave or free⁴⁶. This word is rare and is not found in Homer, Plato and Aristotle. It was

⁴⁰ Cf. Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 674.

⁴¹ Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 1.341; Plutarch, *Lysander* 20 (444).

⁴² Cf. Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 705.

⁴³ Cf. Conzelmann, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 144.

⁴⁴ See Acts 10:26; 14:15.

⁴⁵ Praeder, *Narrative Voyage*, 122.

⁴⁶ The oldest instance seems to be an Eleusinian inscription from the 6th cent; cf. CIG, 1, 11.

used of bodily services, of workers on the land and of slavery. In some cases it was used of the service of the gods.

In the LXX λατρεύω occurs about 90 times. And most of these occurrences are in Ex (17), Deuteronomy (25), and Judges (9)⁴⁷. With a very few exceptions, this verb is mostly used to translate the Hebrew verb נָבַח which is also used to render δουλεύω. It is noted that the books which frequently have λατρεύειν use it mostly when נָבַח has a religious reference⁴⁸. When the reference is to human relations, the rendering is always δουλεύω⁴⁹. So the verb λατρεύω is always used in a religious sense. “The translators of these books (Exodus, Deuteronomy and Judges) thus attempted to show even by the choice of their words that the relation of service in religion is something apart from other relations of service”⁵⁰. Moreover this verb carried a sacral significance. Λατρεύειν meant more precisely to serve or worship in a cult, especially by sacrifice. Yahweh says to Moses that the purpose of the Exodus from Egypt is: λατρεύσετε τῷ θεῷ ἐν τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ, a cultic act. The whole conflict between Moses and Pharaoh in Ex. 4-10 hinges on this demand: *let my people go that they may worship me in the desert*. ἐξαπόστειλον τὸν λαόν μου ἵνα μοι λατρεύσῃ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ (7:16; cf. 4:23; 7:26; 8:16; 9:1,13; 10:3,7,8,24,26). Λατρεύω could be used indifferently of the cultic worship of the God of Israel or of the worship of pagan idols.

The demand constantly made on Israel is that they should worship Yahweh alone and no other gods. Λατρεύω meant much more than just external cultic worship. Rather it contained an expression of the inner attitude, of confident committal to Yahweh, of conduct. Such a deeper sense can be clearly seen in the way the word is quite naturally expounded in Dt.10:12ff.: *And now, Israel, what does the LORD your God require of you, but to fear the LORD your God, to walk in all his ways, to love him, to serve the LORD your God with all your heart and with all your soul*. What Yahweh desires is not just a cultic worship but the right disposition of one’s heart and the demonstration of this in the whole of religious and moral conduct.

⁴⁷ It is not at all found in Psalms and Prophets, except in Ez 20:32. It is found only once in the historical books (2Sam 15.8).

⁴⁸ Cf. Ex 3:12; 4:23; 7:16, 26; 8:16; 9:1,13; 10:3, 7, 8, 24, 26; 20:5; 23:24,25; Dt 4:19, 28; 5:9; 6:13; 7:4, 16; Jos.22:27; 24:14-24, 31. Cf. Strathmann, Art. λατρεύω, in: TDNT IV, 60.

⁴⁹ cf. Ex 14:5, 12; 21:2, 6; Dt 15:12,18; Ju 3:8,14; 9:28, 38 and consistently in Genesis.

⁵⁰ Strathmann, Art. “λατρεύω”, in: TDNT IV, 60.

λατρεύω occurs 21 times in the NT⁵¹. It is found mostly in Luke-Acts (8 times) and in Hebrews (6 times). It appears twice in Romans and Revelation, and once in Philippians and in the second letter to Timothy. The ministry denoted by this verb is always offered to God. It never refers to human relations or secular services: a) to sacrificial ministry - This usage recurs in Acts 7:7; 7:42 and Hebrew 8:5; 9:9; 10:2; 13:10. However the distinction between λατρεύειν (cultic worship in general) and λειτουργεῖν (priestly sacrificial ministry), which is so strict in the LXX, is now not there. In Hebrews 8:5 and 13.10 λατρεύειν refers primarily to the sacrificial ministry of the priests; b) to the ministry of Prayer: λατρεύειν is used for the cultic worship of praise and prayer or in an extended sense it includes every form of divine worship. In the story of the temptation of Jesus λατρεύω carries the sense of “adoration” (Lk 4:8, Mt 4:10). It stands here in antithesis to the worship (προσκυνεῖν) demanded by the tempter (cf. also Rev 7:15, 22:3). The verb is also applied for the continual prayer of Anna in the temple (Lk 2:37) and, by Paul, for the “earnest worship” of Israel for the fulfilment of the promise (Acts 26:7). Thus the term is used here almost as a t.t. for the ministry of prayer⁵²; c) in a generalised sense: λατρεύω here refers to the whole conduct of the righteous towards God. The verb carries this sense in the hymn of Zechariah: *that we might serve (λατρεύειν) him without fear* (Lk 1:74). The worship of God to which Zechariah looks forward with yearning is impossible without a true holiness and a keeping of his commandments. λατρεύειν has the same comprehensive sense in Acts 24:14, where Paul gives the assurance that he serves the God of the fathers: *But this I admit to you, that according to the Way, which they call a sect, I worship the God of our fathers (λατρεύω τῷ πατρῷ θεῷ), believing everything laid down by the law or written in the prophets.* For Paul, following Jesus does not imply any loss of fidelity to the Law and the prophets.

In Rom 1:9, λατρεύω carries a specific missionary nuance. Asserting his unceasing remembrance of the Roman Christians in prayer, Paul calls God to witness: *For God is my witness, whom I serve (λατρεύω) with my spirit in the Gospel of his Son, that without ceasing I mention you always in my prayers.* The context indicates that Paul’s service is rendered in the sphere of preaching the Gospel of the Son of God

⁵¹ Balz, Art. “λατρεύω”, in: *EWNT* II, 849.

⁵² Strathmann, Art. “λατρεύω”, in: *TDNT* IV, 60.

(ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ as in 2 Cor 8:18; 10:14). Hence Paul here refers to his missionary work. For him missionary work is an act of religious service, the worship which he offers to God. It is worth noting the addition ἐν τῷ πνεύματί μου. Paul here does not mean that his missionary service is rendered inwardly. Two thoughts are present here: first, that Paul's λατρεύειν or service, is rendered outwardly in his missionary work, and second, that is also rendered in his prayer life, the chief concern of which is, of course, the progress of his missionary work. In this case there is a measure of oscillation in the term λατρεύειν⁵³. Paul serves and worships God; he renders a divine service, actively in the proclamation of the message and inwardly in intercession for the churches and for the progress of the Gospel. This thought would supply the reason for Paul's appealing to God as witness of his intercession. As an inner process this is hidden from his congregation but is well-known to God.

In Acts 27:23 Paul identifies himself as the one who belongs to God and one who serves God. By using the word in the lips of Paul Luke wants to bring out Paul's character as a man of divine service. As in the letter to the Romans, Paul is portrayed here both as a zealous missionary and a man of prayer. Luke does not explicitly tell us that Paul has been praying in the ship. The vision that Paul had may be an answer to his prayer.

4.3.3.4.4 The Words of the Messenger:

4.3.3.4.4.1 Address of Comfort: The angel spoke to him with usual formula of comfort: Μὴ φοβοῦ, Παῦλε "Fear not Paul". Such formulas appear also in Lk 1:13, 30; 2:10. The verb φοβέομαι is used in the LXX and the NT only in the middle⁵⁴. It means 1) to fear, be afraid; 2) to show reverential fear of men and of God⁵⁵. There is a characteristic difference between Israel's relationship with God and the religious attitude of the Greeks. The Israelite can stand before God in fear and love. God is great, mighty and terrible (Deut. 10:17f.). Nevertheless he is gracious to man (Deut. 6:5, 13). Thus we can understand the frequent address to man which passes right on into the NT: "Fear not" (Gen.15:1; Jdg 6:23; Is 44:2 etc). God's grace and favour do

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ apart from Wis.17:9.

⁵⁵ Cf. W. E. Vine, *An Expository Dictionary of New Testament Words*, in *Expository Dictionary of Bible Words* (Marshall Morgan and Scott: Cambridge University Press 1979) 85-86.

not abolish the solemnity of the address. It demands man's total obedience (Amos 5:6f. Hos 6:6). The fear of God is the first essential motive in the laws of the Pentateuch (Lev. 19:14, 32; Deut 13:11; 17:13etc.)⁵⁶.

φοβέομαι occurs 95 times in the NT, mostly in the Gospels (58 times) and in the Acts (14 times). Besides the general meaning, we find in the NT the expressions over the fear in the face of God's powerful deeds or his commands as well as fear as the basic moment of faith. This fear that people experience when they encounter God or his messengers may be seen in the accounts of the miracles of Jesus and the apostles and also in the appearance of Christ and the angels. For example, the command "fear not" occurs in the account of Jairus's daughter.

4.3.3.4.4.2 The Message:

4.3.3.4.4.2.1 Paul Must Stand Before the Emperor: There were two promises given by the angel. The first was the dominant one – Paul would appear before Caesar. This was God's purpose, and it would not fail⁵⁷. For this cf. 19:21; 23:11; 25:10-12. Paul is assured that the goal of the voyage will be reached. He will stand before Caesar, to whom he has appealed (25:11.12). Παραστῆναι (used in v. 23 of the Angel) is used of appearing before a judge, but especially, in the transitive, is used for producing a witness or defendant in court (e.g. Plato, Republic 555b, Cf. also Rom.14:10). The content of this vision is similar to that of Paul's vision of the Lord in Jerusalem (Acts 23:11): there he was told that he must bear witness in Rome, here it is specified as "standing before Caesar". The main difference, of course, is the assurance given concerning his companions: God has "granted" (κεχάρισται) all of them "to" or "for" Paul (σοι). The motif of rescue at sea by means of divine intervention is a common one in the parallel literature.

4.3.3.4.4.2.2 The Salvation of All Because of Paul: The angel announced the good news to Paul: καὶ ἰδοὺ κεχάρισται σοι ὁ θεὸς πάντας τοὺς πλείοντας μετὰ σοῦ. (*God has generously given you the lives of all who sail with you*). Alfred McBride comments: "Again, as in every other story in Acts, the divine dimension is present. As Christ's saving presence had been in the midst of a storm on the lake of Galilee, so the

⁵⁶ Cf. W. Mundle, Art. "φοβέομαι", in: *Theologisches Begriffs Lexikon zum Neuen Testament* 1, 416-17.

⁵⁷ Cf. Polhill, *Acts*, 523-4.

Lord's saving hand would help the Alexandrian crew and its passengers to arrive safely at the shore"⁵⁸. The verb *χαρίζομαι* is used here in the perfect tense. The perfect tense, "has...given" communicates certainty⁵⁹. This verb appears 23 times in the NT: among the evangelists only Luke uses this verb (3 times). It has the meanings of grant, give, bestow on; deal generously or graciously with, forgive, pardon; hand over or release (of a prisoner)⁶⁰. It implies good will on the part of the giver. In the 2 Maccabees this verb is used and it has the same meaning as in Acts 27:23: «granting life»⁶¹. Through the prayers of the high priest Onias God saved the life of Heliodorus who had in fact come to loot the temple and was punished by divine visitation: *And while the high priest was performing the rite of expiation, the same young men again appeared to Heliodorus, wearing the same apparel and, standing besides him, said, "Be very grateful to Onias the high priest, since it is for his sake that the Lord has granted you your life"* (2 Macc 3:33). Luke makes use of this verb for cancelling a debt (Lk 7.42, 43). In the letter to the Philippians Paul sings the praises of God who bestowed on him (Christ) a name that is greater than any other name (Phi 2.9). "Luke again employed an unusual vocabulary when he spoke of God "graciously granting" lives of all the travellers, perhaps again pointing to an implicit symbolism for God's salvation"⁶².

The second promise followed the first: because God wishes to preserve Paul for his Roman witness, every one in the ship would be delivered. Paul's presence on the ship would be responsible for the preservation of all the voyagers. The angel reveals this to Paul, with a biblical «behold» (cf. Lk 1:20, 31; 2:10; cf. also Gen 1.31; 15:17; 22:13). *καὶ ἰδοὺ* is an imitation of the style of the Greek OT (suitable for angels). To appear before Caesar it is necessary that Paul alone should escape the storm. The rescue of others is not essential for this end. But as a favour (*χάρις*) God has granted (*κεχαρίσται*) to him (the lives of) all those who are sailing with him. It is implied, not quite necessarily, that Paul prayed for his fellow travellers. Luke does not explicitly tell us that this is an answer to Paul's intercession⁶³. The rescue from the

⁵⁸ *The Gospel of the Holy Spirit*, 124.

⁵⁹ Cf. Larkin, *Acts*, 372.

⁶⁰ Cf. K. Berger, Art. "*χαρίζομαι*", in: *EWNT* III, 1094-5.

⁶¹ Cf. *Ibid.* 1094.

⁶² Polhill, *Acts*, 523-4.

⁶³ Contrast Marshall, *Acts*, 410, who cites Gen 18:23-33 as a parallel. "The wording implies that Paul had prayed for his fellow travellers, and that God heard his prayer. There is a parallel to the story of

perils of sea through divine intervention is common in the ancient times⁶⁴, especially through the help from divinities like Isis, Serapis or Dioskuren. Eckey makes a useful comment: „Es ist kaum vorstellbar, daß die geängstigten Seeleute, Soldaten und Gefangenen nicht längst die von ihnen verehrten Gottheiten um Rettung angerufen, vor ihnen Opfer dargebracht und Gelübde abgelegt haben“⁶⁵. But the narrator does not want to bring in this information. This seems to be unlike the narration in the book of Jonah, 1:5.

The announcement that all will be saved is remarkable. Tannehill explains the significance of this revelation: “If the narrator were simply interested in bringing Paul to Rome under divine protection, it would be an unnecessary complication to refer to the rescue of all, especially as this requires correction of Paul’s previous warning. This announcement is a key to understanding the rest of the episode, for it determines what must happen, and the acts of sailors, soldiers and Paul are to be judged in the light of it. From this point on, no method of escape is acceptable that does not include all”⁶⁶. Occasions do arise for the sailors to escape, abandoning the rest (v.30), and for the soldiers to escape after killing their prisoners (v.42). These plans are thwarted, in spite of the risk involved in trying to get the ship close to shore and allowing prisoners to swim for their lives when they might escape. These plans are wrong not only because they endanger Paul but also because they go against the divine plan of saving all.

4.3.3.5 The Reassurance Through Faith (v. 25):

25a διὸ εὐθυμεῖτε, ἄνδρες·

25b πιστεύω γὰρ τῷ θεῷ

25c ὅτι οὕτως ἔσται καθ’ ὃν τρόπον λελάληταί μοι.

εὐθυμεῖτε takes up εὐθυμεῖν in v. 22. θυμός refers to the soul or heart as the life principle or the seat of emotions. The compound forms with εὐ take their precise meaning from their immediate context and from contemporary usage. So the verb

Abraham, who interceded with God for the people of Sodom and pleaded that the city as a whole might be saved for the sake of the small number of righteous people living in it (Gen 18:23-33)”.

⁶⁴ eg. Luc. Navig. 9.

⁶⁵ Eckey, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 567-8.

⁶⁶ Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts*. Vol. 2, 333.

εὐθυμῆω has different nuances: a) It means to reassure, comfort⁶⁷; b) In letters εὐθυμῆω is often associated with ὑγιαίνω. It is common to wish correspondents both good health and good morale⁶⁸. The term is often translated as ‘in good spirits’⁶⁹; c) It was a medical term used by the physicians to encourage the sick person to recover strength and hope⁷⁰. It could almost mean ‘relaxation’.

εὐθυμῆω appears again in this voyage narrative: *Then they all were encouraged (εὐθυμοὶ) and ate some food themselves (27:36)*. Elsewhere in NT it appears only in Jas 5:13: *Is any one among you suffering? Let him pray. Is any cheerful (εὐθυμῆι)? Let him sing praise*. Here it means not joy, but serenity. There is a similar meaning in the book of Proverbs 15:15. It is often translated there as ‘the contented heart’. The adverb is not known in the papyri. But Luke uses it in Paul’s speech to Felix: *And when the governor had motioned to him to speak, Paul replied: ‘Realising that for many years you have been judge over this nation, I cheerfully (εὐθύμως) make my defense’ (Acts 24:10)*. Spicq finds a good parallel to it in the Persian Pheraulas: “One thing above all inspires courage in me for this battle against the chief nobles, namely, that we shall be judged by Cyrus, an impartial judge” (Xenophon, Cyr.2.312)⁷¹.

Paul is able exhort them to cheer up because he believes in God: *“For I have faith in God that it will be exactly as I have been told” (vv.25b-c)*. God will do what he has said he will do; hence (διὸ) εὐθυμεῖτε. The expression καθ’ ὃν τρόπον is also found in 15:11 where Peter, at the council of Jerusalem, proclaims the salvation of the Gentiles: *But we believe that we shall be saved through the grace of the Lord Jesus, just as (καθ’ ὃν τρόπον) they will*. In this voyage narrative, Paul is thus shown to have the sort of faith that is praised by Elisabeth in Luke 1:45. The motif of “things turning out just as was said” is found also in Luke 2:20 and 22:13. Paul bases his call on his own faith that God’s deed will match his prophetic word. He comes across to us as a person who is convinced that God’s gracious purposes cannot be thwarted, even when outward circumstances call that conviction into question. “It is not that he is simply a

⁶⁷ Cf. Philo: “First of all Joseph had all the granaries opened, with the intention of reassuring the men with this sight” (Joseph 162).

⁶⁸ Cf. P.Oxy.2156, 24; PSI 1248, 2, 27.

⁶⁹ Cf. Spicq, Art. “εὐθυμῆω”, in: *Theological Lexicon of the NT II*, 114-5.

⁷⁰ Cf. W. K. Hobart, *Medical Language*, 279-280.

⁷¹ Cf. Spicq, Art. “εὐθυμῆω”, in: *Theological Lexicon of the NT II*, 117.

practical man in a critical emergency – “keeping his head when all about him are loosing theirs”. Rather, it is precisely because he is an impractical, holy man, a Christian apostle who receives messages from angels, that he can be an encouragement in the fury of the storm. His strength comes from beyond the storm”⁷². Arnold E Airhart highlights Paul’s faith and makes the following comment on this verse: “When we come to the end of ourselves, we are sometimes beginning in a new way to lay hold on God.... Shaken though he was, Paul had not surrendered two great principles: first, his own integrity (whose I am and whom I serve); and second, his confidence in the character of God against all odds (‘for I believe in God’). His faith was not grounded on any ray of light in the circumstances, on any human rationale, or any special insight. There was none. Faith rested solely on his conviction of God’s unchanging character. God promised and God cannot lie”⁷³.

The God-centredness of this brief message is striking. This is often stated in Acts: cf. 10:1-11:18; 14:15-17; 17:22-31. Paul introduces the angel as “the angel of God whose ‘I am’, οὗ εἰμι [ἐγώ]. This reminds us of the words from Gen 50:19. It is a God to whom Paul belongs and who stands at the focus of Paul’s worship. It is God who is affirmed to be in supreme control of events and of those caught up in them. It is faith in this God that Paul affirms. Paul trusts in a God “who does not exempt from danger or cut it short miraculously, but who sustains endurance throughout the long drawn crisis”⁷⁴. One would recall the words of Jesus in Luke 21:19: “By your endurance you will gain your lives”. For a similar expression of piety, that everything happening in a shipwreck was guided by a divine agency, we find parallels in Aelius Aristides, Sacred Tales 2:12-13. For one’s fate at sea as the fulfilment of a prophecy, see Odyssey 5:33-302⁷⁵.

The narrator does not mention any of the reactions from the part of Paul’s fellow-travellers. Did they affirm what Paul was declaring? For Schille such questions are irrelevant. He states that Luke is only emphasising the personal relation of “θεοσ αλληρ”, Paul and his God.

⁷² Larkin, *Acts*, 373.

⁷³ Arnold E Airhart, *Acts* (Beacon Bible Expositions 5; Kansas City: Mo., 1977) 29-32.

⁷⁴ Larkin, *Acts*, 340.

⁷⁵ Cf. Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 449.

4.3.3.6 The Final Prophetic Declaration (v. 26):

εἰς νῆσον δέ τινα δεῖ ἡμᾶς ἐκπεσεῖν.

Paul saves the bad news for last. There is a qualification of the promise of safety in the storm: The verb ἐκπεσεῖν is the same used in v.17. In reference to sea-voyaging, it can mean to “run adrift” or to be “cast ashore” in a shipwreck⁷⁶. Ships coming to grief on rocky shores are again a favourite shipwreck motif⁷⁷. The angel did not specify the island on which the ship will be cast. “His footnote about being “run on some island” made little difference in view of the promised deliverance”⁷⁸. Pesch stresses the word δεῖ here and says “das Schiff “muss” an einer Insel stranden.... ”⁷⁹. Perhaps this makes too much of δεῖ, but undoubtedly Luke means to represent the whole course of action as leading Paul, under God’s providence, to Rome. Haenchen rightly says, “it does not report a private conjecture by Paul, but rather the δεῖ introduces a prophetic prediction”⁸⁰.

4.3.3.7 Conclusion: For some scholars Luke’s second intervention does not fit well into the context. Luke has prepared this speech⁸¹. Many think that the context makes it less possible that such a speech could come from Paul. The narrator wishes to introduce to his audience a man who firmly believes in God and seeks his help and at the same time in catastrophic and hopeless situations does not lose his cool⁸². With a storm howling, how could Paul be heard by the voyagers? But Luke is not interested in questions such as these. Jackson and Lake make an important note: “Zeller and others think that Paul’s speech cannot be genuine, because an appeal to courage is no cure for seasickness. Nevertheless it is often tried, and the passage shows rather that Paul – whose speech roused no response - was not above the weakness of human nature. It seems unnecessary to accept the suggestion that this phrase has been displaced from v. 33, though it would certainly be more appropriate there”⁸³. According to Polhill, Paul’s vision is the centre of the narrative and provides the key for interpretation. “The deliverance from the storm is due to the providence of God and his preservation of the apostle for the witness before Caesar. This also marks the

⁷⁶ Cf. Herodotus, *Persian wars* 3:138

⁷⁷ Cf. Dio Chrysostom, *Oration* 7:2 etc ; Cf. Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 449.

⁷⁸ Everett F. Harrison, *Interpreting Acts*, 419.

⁷⁹ Pesch, *Die Apostelgeschichte* vol 2, 291.

⁸⁰ Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 705.

⁸¹ Eckey, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 556.

⁸² *Ibid* 566.

⁸³ Foakes-Jackson and Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity* 4, 334.

dramatic turning point in the account of the storm. The storm had reached its fullest fury. Despair had turned to hope. The focus was no longer on destruction but on deliverance”⁸⁴.

In this section Paul expresses God’s saving intervention in “God language”, the style in which God speaks and is spoken of in Luke-Acts and the Septuagint. Paul states that his trial before the Emperor and the shipwreck on the island are necessary. In Luke-Acts impersonal necessity expressed by $\delta\epsilon\iota$ often involves divine agency. “Because of their context in an argument based on an angelic appearance, such is surely the case with the two necessities in 27:24 and 27:26. It is divinely ordained for Paul to stand trial and divinely ordained for all on board to survive shipwreck”⁸⁵. As the ordainer of the future, God, as expressed by $\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$ in 27:22 and 27:25, determines their future existence and the future sequence of events. God is the expressed agent of salvation in “God has graciously given you all those sailing with you”. And he is the omitted but understood agent (through the angel) in the passively expressed “as I have been told”. Both Paul and the angel express God’s interest in the events of the sea voyage in the Scriptural language of God⁸⁶.

4.4 The Genre of Acts 27:21-26: a Speech

4.4.1 Introduction: These verses in the voyage narrative fall under a very important genre in Luke-Acts, the genre of speech. To get a deeper understanding of Paul’s speech on the ship, we need to look at the speeches in Acts as a whole. Most scholars state that there are 24 speeches in Acts, comprising 295 verses of the total of one thousand verses. The theology of Luke is mainly reflected in the speeches of Luke-Acts. Questions have been raised whether these speeches are authentic or simply the literary creations of Luke. We shall give a brief summary of the research done in this field, consider the relationship between the speeches in Acts and the speeches in ancient historiography and finally look at Acts 27:21-26 as a speech in comparison with other Pauline speeches to Gentile audience in Acts.

4.4.2 Speeches in Acts: Previous Investigations: We shall look at the development of research in the studies of speeches in Acts in the last two hundred years.

⁸⁴ Polhill, *Acts*, 524.

⁸⁵ Praeder, *Narrative Voyage*, 122.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

4.4.2.1 J. G. Eichhorn and W.M.L. de Wette: While identifying the sources behind the Acts J. G. Eichhorn focused on the content and the style of some of its speeches. He observes that although they have been placed in the mouth of various speakers, the speeches in Acts follow one and the same type; they are of same character and they make use of one form of proof. He thus concludes that these speeches are of one and the same author. “ Die Reden selbst, ob sie gleich verschiedenen Personen in den Mund gelegt worden, folgen einem und demselben Typus, tragen einerlei Charakter, brauchen einerlei Beweisart, und haben unter sich so viel gemein, daß sie sich dadurch als Reden eines und desselben Schriftstellers erproben”⁸⁷.

W. M. L. de Wette too studied the speeches in relation to Luke’s use of sources in Acts. He finds evidence for written sources behind Acts. Luke has reworked these sources freely. However, Wette concludes that the author of Acts has not freely composed letters and the speeches of Acts: “wenn Lukas schriftliche Quellen benutzt hat, so ist wahrscheinlich, daß die Briefe und Reden der Apostel und anderer nicht von ihm frei zusammengesetzt sind....”⁸⁸. He raises doubts regarding the literal faithfulness of the speeches of the apostles and other persons. They could not have been written down by the original listeners. Wette observes the inappropriate elements in the content and notes the recurring thoughts and expressions in the speeches of different characters. He points out the linguistic peculiarities of the author found in all speeches. However, unlike Eichhorn, Wette does not ascribe the speeches simply to the narrator. Luke must have made use of at least some written material. The general thrust and approach in speeches are appropriate to the persons and conditions: “Da aber nicht nur einzelne Gedanken (20:33ff.), sondern zum Teil auch Gang und Anlage (7:2 ff. 17:22ff.) eigentümlich und den Personen und Umständen angemessen sind, und dem schlichten Erzähler der hohe Grad von historischer Kunst, der zur freien Komposition solcher Reden gehört hätte, nicht zugeschrieben werden kann. So muß er wenigstens schriftliche Materialien benutzt haben”⁸⁹.

⁸⁷ J. G. Eichhorn, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 38:

⁸⁸ W. M. L. de Wette, *Lehrbuch der historisch - kritischen Einleitung in die kanonischen Bücher des Neuen Testament.*, 250.

⁸⁹ de Wette, *Kurze Erklärung der Apostelgeschichte* (2d rev. Ed.), 5.

4.4.2.2 Schneckenburger and Zeller: Both the scholars follow the school of F.C. Baur. Schneckenburger accepts Acts as a reliable historical work. But for him the speeches are Luke's own compositions as they exhibit uniformity in style and content. Through these speeches Luke intends to give examples of early Christian preaching. These are used to defend the veracity of the early Christian proclamation of Jesus as the Christ both to Jews and Gentiles. Schneckenburger observes that Paul's speech in Pisidian Antioch has been placed first in the order of Pauline speeches. The author wants to present this speech as the primary pattern of Pauline teaching on his travels. Is this speech derived directly from the missionaries? Schneckenburger is rather sceptical. He considers it as an example of the Pauline way of teaching and in fact an echo of the speeches made by Peter and Stephen⁹⁰.

Zeller, too, following the school of F.C. Baur, studied the details of Acts and concluded that Acts was fully unreliable. However he has no problem in admitting some bare historical facts and legends behind Luke's creative composition. Speeches were all Luke's creations. Luke has placed them in his narratives sometimes in relation to vaguely remembered events and sometimes in relation to occasions he himself invented. According to Zeller the speeches in Acts were defences of Christianity against the religious charges of Judaism and the political charges of Rome⁹¹.

4.4.2.3 F. Overbeck, A. Jülicher and J. Moffatt: F. Overbeck reworked the commentary of de Wette. He explicitly denies de Wette's position that the speeches in Acts showed indications of the use of earlier written sources that are historically reliable. For Overbeck the speeches are simply creations of the author of Acts⁹². Similarly A. Jülicher claims that the speeches in Acts are free inventions of the author. As an example he takes the speech of Peter in Acts 1:16-22. Peter tells the story of Judas in detail to the brethren in Jerusalem. All of them, naturally, would have long since known this story. But the author wants to relate this story to his

⁹⁰ Cf. M. Schneckenburger, *Über den Zweck der Apostelgeschichte: Zugleich eine Ergänzung der neueren Kommentare*, 127-51.

⁹¹ Cf. E. Zeller, *Die Apostelgeschichte nach ihrem Inhalt und Ursprung Kritisch untersucht*, 25-75.

⁹² Cf. F. Overbeck, *Kurze Erklärung der Apostelgeschichte*, LII-LIX.

readers. The historian in a rhetorical work of art will want his chief characters to portray themselves and their time⁹³.

J. Moffatt wrote in the early part of the twentieth century. For him the speeches in the earlier part of Acts represented the primitive Jewish Christian preaching of the time. The author seems to have possessed an excellent historical sense. While composing the speeches he made use of the ordinary methods of ancient historiography. However he “was careful to avoid moulding and shaping his materials with a freedom which should obliterate the special cast of their aim and temper”⁹⁴. Moffatt believes that the content of the speeches was furnished in the main by oral tradition. A skilful author like Luke “would find little difficulty in composing discourses such as these, which would harmonise satisfactorily with the period he was engaged in depicting”⁹⁵.

4.4.2.4 M. Dibelius: His contribution in the field of speeches is very significant. He studied them in comparison with the speeches of ancient historiography. Dibelius distinguishes the missionary sermons from the speeches. We shall look at his studies under two separate headings.

4.4.2.4.1 Speeches of Acts in Relationship to the Speeches of Ancient Historiography: Dibelius’ essays have had a great influence on German exegesis. He states: “the ancient historian was not aware of any obligation to reproduce only or even preferably, the text of a speech which was actually made...”⁹⁶. They regarded speech as the natural complement to deeds. Dibelius observes that the ancient historians composed speeches for following reasons: 1) to provide insight into the total situation of the narrative; 2) to provide insight into the historical moment; 3) to provide insight into the character of a speaker; 4) to provide insight into general ideas that would explain the situation; or 5) merely to serve to further the action of the account⁹⁷.

⁹³ Cf. A. Jülicher, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 404-5.

⁹⁴ J. Mofatt, *An Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament*, 305-6.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ M. Dibelius, “The Speeches in Acts and Ancient Historiography”, in: *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles*, 139.

⁹⁷ Cf. Ibid. 138-85.

For Dibelius the speeches of Acts are the creations of Luke just as the speeches of ancient historians. He cites the example of Paul's speech at the Antonia Fortress, to point out that in this speech the author has upper hand against the tradition. According to him these speeches make no difference to the progress of the narrative. Rather they are intended for the reader. Regarding the speech of Peter in the house of Cornelius, Dibelius comments: "In einer unter den Christen erzählten Legende von der Bekehrung eines Centurio kann eine solche verhältnismäßig lange Rede nicht ihren Platz gehabt haben"⁹⁸.

In his essay on the "Style Criticism" of Acts, Dibelius states that the speeches of Acts can be very confidently regarded as the author's own contribution; they have the literary parallels in the historians and in their content they express rather a later theological view⁹⁹. The speech of Paul at Athens is used as the basis for his thesis: for Dibelius this speech is a Hellenistic speech on the true knowledge of God. It is a synthesis of Hellenistic rationalism and Christian proclamation. Its background is not the Old Testament but Greek philosophy. The content of this speech - the idea of the knowledge of God and man's natural kinship to God - is in strong contrast to the ideas of the Old Testament. The speaker mentions the non-Christians as members of God's family (cf. Acts 17:28). This thought, according to Dibelius, is fully alien to the thoughts of Paul: „Paulus hätte so niemals geschrieben. Er ist zu tief durchdringen von der Überzeugung, daß der Mensch Gott entfremdet ist (Rom. 1-3), und zwar wesentlich, und nicht erst, nachdem jeder einzelne einmal gegen Gottes Forderung verstoßen hat"¹⁰⁰. Dibelius even raises doubts on the historicity of the setting of this sermon. This, too, is the free literary creation of the author. Luke may have found some vague information on Paul's visit to and his mission in Athens. He uses this piece of tradition to create a full narrative with a speech. This speech is supposed to be a model sermon to Gentiles, delivered at the heart of Gentile culture. Luke intended to provide a model for Christian preaching to pagans in his own days.

In the final section of his essay Dibelius summarises his conclusions concerning the relation of the speeches in Acts to those in ancient historical writings.

⁹⁸ Ibid. 97.

⁹⁹ Cf. Dibelius, "Style Criticism", n.10.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid n.57.

The fundamental point of comparison is found in the way Luke has inserted speeches¹⁰¹. Unlike the speeches of ancient historiography the speeches of Acts do not correspond in all points to the narrative text, but they complement it, yet at times with some correction. Dibelius cites a few examples: Paul's address at Athens: We are told that Paul is disturbed over the idolatry in the city (17:16); but then he goes on praising the Athenians for their well-known piety toward the gods. The explanation is not that Paul has changed his mind or he is speaking hypocritically, but rather the speech is comparatively independent of the narrative. In the same way in his speech at Miletus, Paul mentions that in other cities, too, he has already received the prophecy of his future suffering, and that he was three years in Ephesus and there he had worked with his own hands for his living. Another example of the way in which the author uses the speeches to supplement the reader's knowledge is the reference to the collection¹⁰².

Dibelius finds out further differences between the speeches of Acts and those of ancient historiography: 1) Luke's basic conception of the meaning of the speeches is different: he writes a history which he believes has taken place according to the will of God. 2) The speeches of Acts are much shorter in comparison to those of the ancient historians. 3) Although it seems at first that Luke, like the historians, has invented speeches in order to illuminate important moments, it becomes clear that the speeches are often totally unrelated to their settings. 4) In contrast to the historians, Luke does not have a uniform style; on the contrary he displays a variety of styles in his speeches. There is a new element for which Luke himself is responsible: he wanted to illuminate not only the situation but also the ways of God. He wanted to witness to the Gospel and not to his own capabilities as a speaker and writer.¹⁰³

4.4.2.4.2 Missionary Sermons as Distinct from Speeches: In his essay "*The Speeches in Acts and Ancient Historiography*" Dibelius distinguishes speeches from sermons. For him the speeches (those in Acts 7; 11; 17; 20; 22) are fully similar to the speeches in ancient works of history. These speeches are found at four important turning points in the narrative of Acts in order to illuminate the significance of what is happening: Gentile conversion, at Athens the centre of Greek spiritual life, the farewell from his mission field at Miletus and at the conflict with the Jews in the vicinity of the temple.

¹⁰¹ Cf. Ibid. 151.

¹⁰² Cf. Ibid.

¹⁰³ Cf. Ibid. 157.

These speeches emphasise special times and places and justify the related events by giving their cause. For Luke this meant theological cause.

Dibelius focuses on missionary sermons¹⁰⁴ (Acts 2; 3; 5; 10; 13). In these sermons the speakers proclaim the Gospel and call for repentance and conversion. The author here employs a different style from that of the historians; these speeches are repetitive. There is a stereotyped outline behind them: the kerygma of the life, death, resurrection of Jesus, often under the emphasis of witness from the disciples, including the proof from Scripture and exhortation to repentance. Perhaps these sermons were typical of the type of Christian sermons which were prevalent in Luke's days. These sermons were not designed for specific occasions. In them we notice the similarity of approach to various audiences. The main concern here is not what the author wishes to convey to the reader about the historical situation. He is not intending to enlighten the reader on the significance of the development of the narrative. His primary concern here is to preach the Gospel to the readers in the same way the apostles once preached it to their hearers¹⁰⁵. Luke is here inventing a new category of speeches which have no real parallels among the ancient historians. He is first and foremost an evangelist. His interest is not politics but preaching and teaching. His concern is to instruct the reader and proclaim to him the message of salvation. He wants to make known to the reader that the move of Christianity away from Judaism was an act of God. Luke demonstrates his literary creativity in both sermons and speeches. He freely composed all his addresses and in fact introduced a new form of speech, the missionary sermon, into the writing of history¹⁰⁶.

One of the strong critics of Dibelius is the Scandinavian scholar, Bertil Gärtner. He attempts to demonstrate the homogeneity of thought in the speeches of Acts. The background to these speeches is the OT and traditional Jewish apologetics. He uses the speech at Areopagus as an example. It is not an exercise in Greek philosophical rhetoric with a Christian tinge. But it is a Christian adaptation of Jewish

¹⁰⁴ The speech of Peter in the house Cornelius seems to combine the approach of the historians and the evangelist. This speech is intended to highlight and explain the importance of the historical moment to the reader. But in its content it is also a missionary sermon. It is designed to proclaim the message of salvation to the reader. According to Dibelius this is an exception.

¹⁰⁵ For Dibelius none of the missionary sermons have very deep roots in the narrative of Acts. For example, Paul's sermon in the synagogue of Antioch (13:16-41) is simply a missionary sermon with an introductory survey of the history of Israel (13:16-22) added because of the synagogue setting.

¹⁰⁶ Dibelius, *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles*, 166.

Diaspora preaching. The quotations and allusions to Greek literature and ideas are in this tradition, rather than pagan-Hellenistic. Gärtner maintains that the words and phrases in these speeches are borrowed from pagan writers inasmuch as they can be understood in a Jewish manner. But the meaning given to them is quite different from that of their original context. For Gärtner this speech in no way contradicts the thought of Paul. He does not claim that Luke here is giving us a verbatim report of an actual address delivered by Paul at Athens. Naturally the literary form is that of Luke. But it is not just freely created by Luke according to his whims and fancies. The speech is based on a solid tradition¹⁰⁷.

4.4.3 Speeches of Acts and the Speeches of Greco–Roman Historiography:

4.4.3.1 Introduction: It was customary among the ancient historians to insert speeches of important characters in their narrative. According to Cadbury “this convention was quite in accord with the current demands of style, as the speeches offered the writer an opportunity for variety and for the display of his rhetorical powers. Like a chorus in a Greek play, they served to review the situation for the reader, and they brought out the inner thoughts and feelings of important persons”¹⁰⁸. These speeches in ancient historiography occupied large sections of the historical work, approximately one third of Dionysius of Halicarnassus and one fifth of Thucydides. The speeches of Thucydides were said to have been studied by Demosthenes. Later critics accorded them the supreme achievement of that historian. Livy’s speeches numbering, it is supposed, originally over two thousand were highly praised by Quintilian.

Through these speeches the historians express the sentiments of the speaker. As Dibelius puts it, in case of Thucydides, the purpose of his speeches is “to give heightened meaning to the moment and to reveal the powers which are active behind the events”¹⁰⁹. Naturally the speeches are not of the actual speakers, but of the authors. Cadbury states that “even contemporary historians probably relied more on their dramatic imagination and sense of fitness than on knowledge, oral memory or written record”¹¹⁰. This was something well accepted by the reader. Cadbury further

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Bertil Gärtner, *The Areopagus Speech and Natural Revelation*, 240-50.

¹⁰⁸ Cadbury, *Making of Luke-Acts*, 184.

¹⁰⁹ Dibelius, “The Conversion of Cornelius”, 164.

¹¹⁰ Cadbury, *Making of Luke-Acts*, 186.

comments: “It is evident that the ancient writers and their readers considered the speeches more as editorial and dramatic comment than as historical tradition. Neither the form of direct quotation nor the appropriateness of the words to the speaker and his occasion proves that the writer had any actual knowledge of what was said or indeed that a speech was delivered at all”¹¹¹.

Another important purpose of these speeches was to exhibit the author’s rhetoric skill. Aside from rhetorical style, the chief requisite of these speeches was appropriateness to the speaker and the occasion. They must be “in character”. Lucian in warning against excess of rhetoric adds: “If ever it is necessary to introduce anyone who will deliver an address, see to it that his words are especially appropriate to the character of the speaker and relevant to the situation, further, that they are as clear as possible. But at such a time you permitted to play the orator and to exhibit your rhetorical skill”¹¹². In almost identical words Dionysius praises Thucydides’ speeches as suited to the persons and relevant to the situation. Indeed Thucydides himself had long before explained the custom in a classical passage:

4.4.3.2 Thucydides: To use the expression of W.J. McCoy, “Thucydides has become a barometer by which to gauge the writing of history both past and present”¹¹³. In his history of the Peloponnesian war Thucydides sets out his own policy in the matters of speech in historical narrative. The characters need not pretend to reproduce the exact words spoken by the speakers. Thucydides admits that in many occasions he was not even present when the speeches were delivered: “as to the speeches that were made by different men, either when they were about to begin the war or when they were already engaged therein, it has been difficult to recall with strict accuracy the words actually spoken, both for me as regards that which I myself heard, and for those who from various other sources have brought me reports. Therefore the speeches are given in the language in which, as it seemed to me, the several speakers would express, on the subject under consideration, the sentiments most befitting the occasion, though at the same time I have adhered as closely as possible to the general sense of what was

¹¹¹ Ibid. 185-186.

¹¹² De hist. Conscrib.58 quotation as found in Cadbury, *Making of Luke-Acts*, 185.

¹¹³ W. J. McCoy, “In the Shadow of Thucydides”, in: *History, Literature and Society in the Book of Acts*, Ben Witherington, III (ed.), 3.

actually said”¹¹⁴. This statement has been often quoted as evidence that ancient historians felt free to compose the speeches they included in their accounts. A.W. Mosley explains the true meaning of the above statement: “We may note in passing that Thucydides said that when he did have reliable reports of speeches he used them - he did not feel free to invent speeches when he had reliable accounts of what had been said”¹¹⁵.

Bruce considers Thucydides as the great example among ancient historians: “He sets out his own policy at the outset of his History of the Peloponnesian War. He does not pretend to reproduce the exact words used by speakers”¹¹⁶. Bruce further comments that the best historians set themselves to follow Thucydides’s example. By lesser historians the introduction of speeches into the narrative was treated as an opportunity for rhetorical exercises calculated to display the writers’ stylistic ability rather than for making a positive contribution to the history.

The difference between the speeches of Acts and those of Thucydides are stated by Paul Schubert in his article “*The Final Cycle of Speeches in the Book of Acts*”. Schubert concludes: “The speeches of Acts are not like the speeches of Thucydides. The latter are “a possession forever” as unexcelled reflections on the story of the Peloponnesian war, and as such detachable from it, but there is also a complete and admirably told story. The speeches of Luke are an essential part of the story itself, “the story of the proclamation of the word of God”. Without them the book of Acts would be a torso consisting chiefly of a miscellany of episodes and summaries”¹¹⁷. Schubert admits some sort of possible dependence of Luke in the composition of his speeches on Greek-Hellenistic historiography in general and on Thucydides in particular. He notes that in both cases, Thucydides and Luke, formal speeches occupy about one fourth of the total composition. But their purposes are not exactly the same: “if Luke was influenced in some way by Thucydides, he made one radical change, in that by his speeches he no longer gives “heightened meaning to the moment” but transforms the Thucydidean tradition by making the speeches an

¹¹⁴ 1.22 – quotation from Cadbury, *Making of Luke-Acts*, p.185; McCoy finds this statement of Thucydides „altogether too succinct and too inadequate.... for Thucydides neither identifies his informants by name nor discloses here or elsewhere the extent and accuracy of his and their recall. Instead he assumes sole discretion for both context and content“. See: “In the Shadow of Thucydides”, 12.

¹¹⁵ A.W. Mosley, “Historical Reporting in the Ancient world”, in: *NTS* 12, 12-13.

¹¹⁶ Bruce, “The Significance of the Speeches for Interpreting Acts”, in: *Southern Journal of Theology*, vol. 33, (Fall 1990), 20.

¹¹⁷ Paul Schubert, “The Final Cycle of Speeches in the Book of Acts”, in: *JBL* 87 (1968), p.16.

integral part of his story itself, as the story of the proclamation of the Word of God”¹¹⁸. In Acts the speeches and their immediate settings occupy 74% of its whole text, while in Thucydides they occupy just about 25%.

4.4.3.3 Polybius: He continued the account of Roman history which had been begun by Timaeus, a Sicilian Greek of the third century. Like his great predecessors he sets out the standards which he felt should govern historical writing. Polybius passes severe criticism on such writers who used speeches in their writings in order to exhibit their rhetoric and creative ability: “they have little conception of the historian’s task, which is to instruct serious students and convince them for all time by the truth of the facts and the speeches he records. Whereas the purpose of the tragic poet is to create illusion in spectators the historian gives absolute precedence to the truth, his purpose being to confer benefits on the learners”¹¹⁹. Polybius himself puts these principles into practice in his use of speeches in the course of his historical work. Commenting on the seriousness of his principles Mosley writes: “It is noteworthy that, where speeches are concerned, Polybius was keener than Thucydides that an accurate account should be given. He condemned Timaeus wholeheartedly for setting rhetorical compositions into the mouths of his characters. He himself included many speeches, thirty-seven of which have survived, and there is no good reason for thinking that he improvised in writing them”¹²⁰. Did he keep to these standards he set for others? Most of his students would say, yes. Shuckburg mentions the wonderful opportunities Polybius had of collecting the information he needed and the way he carefully cross-examined his witnesses: “One’s overwhelming impression of Polybius is of an honest and conscientious historian, to whom the truth is indeed the very heart of the matter”¹²¹.

4.4.3.4 Tacitus: The Romans did not begin to write history as early as the Greeks. When they did begin to write they were strongly influenced by the Greeks. So the Roman historiography followed the Hellenistic pattern: a minority were deeply concerned for accurate reporting and serious political treatment, the majority were more interested in giving reports that would please or persuade the readers to a particular viewpoint. Some tried to produce effects similar to those of tragedy. The

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Hist. ii. 56. 10-12. as found in Bruce, “The Significance of the Speeches for Interpreting Acts”, 20.

¹²⁰ Mosley, “Historical Reporting in the Ancient World”, in *NTS* 12, 15.

¹²¹ Shuckburg, *The Histories of Polybius*, Vol.1 (1962), xvi.

prominent among these historians are Marcus Tullius Cicero (106-43 BC.) Julius Caesar (100-44 BC), Sallust (86-35 BC), Livy (59 BC – 17 AD) and Tacitus (55 –115 AD).

Tacitus wrote a little later than did the New Testament writers. One can build up a fairly detailed picture of the method he used in writing his histories. “The Annals” deal with the period from the death of Augustus in 14 AD to the end of 68 AD and the “Histories” deal with the period 69–96 AD. In the Annals of Tacitus, he reports a speech delivered by the Emperor Claudius to the Roman senate (48 AD). This speech has been preserved in an inscription at Lyon in France. The inscription keeps more closely to Claudius’ wording. The historian’s report is naturally in Tacitean style. One could compare the speech to the senate with an earlier speech made by Claudius on the same subject but to another audience. In the substance it is the same speech that is reproduced by the historian and the inscription. According to Mosley “the general opinion of scholars who have studied Tacitus is that, although unconsciously he was influenced by certain prejudices, yet he made a very real attempt to give an accurate account in his writings, and any distortion there may be was certainly not deliberate”¹²².

4.4.3.5 Josephus: He often retains in his longer speeches any nucleus in his source that seems to him appropriate. His introduction of new speeches sometimes seems to us rather infelicitous, as in the incident of Potiphar’s wife, or when he represents himself as standing outside the walls of Jerusalem within earshot though out of the range of weapons, and appealing to its people to surrender by delivering to them a long review of history. The two speeches which Josephus puts in to the mouth of Eleazar ben-Jair seem to be artificial. They belong to the tradition of most classical historians. In the second speech of ben-Jair the presence of passages closely corresponding to Posidonius, Euripides, and particularly Plato¹²³ support the view that “these speeches were penned in Josephus’ Scriptorium, presumably with the help of Greek assistance. It would seem unusual for Eleazar ben-Jair, a member of a sect known for its extreme piety, to have such an intimate knowledge of Plato, especially

¹²² Mosley, “Historical Reporting in the Ancient World”, 21.

¹²³ e.g. On the relationship of body and soul and on the nature of immortality, expressed as in Platonic and Stoic phraseology.

since, as Josephus says, pious Jews were utterly antipathetic toward the study of other languages and cultures (Ant. 20.12.1 §264)”¹²⁴.

4.4.4 The Speeches in the Septuagint: The speakers in Acts make use of citations and allusions from the Septuagint. That would lead one to guess that some of the speeches from the Septuagint had influenced the form, style, content and function of the speeches in Acts. Among the great speeches of Deuteronomic history are: a) the speech of Moses¹²⁵ (Dt 1:6-30:20); b) the speech of Joshua (Josh 23)¹²⁶; c) the speech from Gideon (Judg 6:1-8:32) and the last great speech of Samuel (Judg 2:6; 1 Sam 12.25)¹²⁷. These speeches unify the presentation of the whole pre-monarchical period of Israel’s history. They offer narrative summaries and repeat the theme of the threat of divine retribution in the events of Israel’s unfaithfulness to the Lord. According to Noth the Deuteronomist used speeches to portray the history of events, to create narrative flow, to circumscribe and to summarise epochs and to unify the entire pre-monarchic period¹²⁸. The speech of Stephen in Acts 7 and to some extent Paul’s speech in ch.13 bear perhaps greater resemblance to the Deuteronomic speeches¹²⁹. In general, when we compare the speeches of Acts with those of Deuteronomic history we notice that they bear similarities in style, content and function. The great speeches of Deuteronomic history provided inspiration for the elements of the speeches in Acts. However, with regard to form the speeches in Acts are more like the form of the speeches in Hellenistic historiography.

¹²⁴ Luis H. Feldmann, Art. “Josephus”, in: *The Anchor Bible Dictionary* vol. 3 H-J, 985.

¹²⁵ It recounts history (1:6-3:29), it gives general introduction to the law (4:1-40) and presents the Deuteronomic law (5:1-30:20)

¹²⁶ It refers to the history of occupation of Canaan; the possession of the Land is attributed to Yahweh (Joshua 23:3); Promises of God’s further actions to Israel (23:5). Exhortation to all Israel to be steadfast in observing all the law of Moses and warning against unfaithfulness (23:6-23).

¹²⁷ There is a high degree of correspondence between this speech and that of Joshua in Josh 23. The speech culminates in a threat of retribution similar to that in the speech by Joshua and in part of Moses’ great speech written by the Deuteronomist (Dt 1:6-4:28)

¹²⁸ M. Noth, *The Deuteronomic History*, 39-42.

¹²⁹ In Acts 7 there is an explicit quotation from Dt. 18:15. Moreover the Speeches by Moses, Joshua, Samuel recount selected portions of the past – the sojourn of Israel in Egypt, the Exodus and the wilderness wanderings, and the occupation of Canaan – from a distinctively theological point of view. The same perspective on the same events occur in Stephen’s speech in Acts 7 and Paul’s speech in Acts 13. Moreover the theological perspective colours the majority of speeches in Acts, even though they are not recounting the history of Israel. For example, the assumption of divine authority articulated in the words *enopion kurio* (before the Lord) in 1 Sam 12:7 underlies the speeches of Acts (specially Acts 4:19-20).

4.4.5 Conclusion:

4.4.5.1 Speeches in Acts as Literary Creations of Luke: From our investigation on the study of speeches in Luke-Acts a number of points to be noted. The most important was to observe the relationship between the speeches in Acts and the speeches of ancient historiography. Having considered the way speeches were reported by Thucydides, Polybius, Tacitus, Josephus and the speeches in the Septuagint we need to see whether Luke has followed the method of the ancient historiography and to what extent he has followed them. Are the speeches of Acts simply a literary creation of Luke, as Dibelius affirms? Has Luke made use of the sources in his speeches or simply created them?

There is a clear contrast between the speeches of Acts and the speeches of the second-rate Greek historians. For example Josephus puts a lengthy speech into the mouth of Abraham as he is about to sacrifice Isaac. He substitutes “several hundred words of dreary rhetoric, highly polished and unbearably insipid, whose frigidity is matched only by that of the answering speech for the brief and moving words of Judah in Genesis 44”¹³⁰. But the speeches in Acts do not give us the impression of being simply rhetorical compositions of the author. These are brief in general and they fit the occasion. Ehrhardt rightly affirms that if Luke has invented speeches, he has missed a number of very good occasions on which a speech would be expected¹³¹: for example, after 5:21 and 28:16. The only explanation for such omissions is that the author knew of no speech on these occasions.

Let us look at the Gospel of Luke. Luke does not invent speeches in his Gospel. Can we really assume that he followed a complete new methodology as he wrote Acts? When one compares the Gospel of Luke with that of Mark one finds that Luke has re-arranged and re-worded the sayings and speeches to some degree. But he has not been unfaithful in his reproduction of their essential meaning. Bruce builds on this observation: “if this is the verdict on Luke in places where his fidelity to his source can be controlled, we should not without good reason suppose that he was not equally faithful where his sources are no longer available for comparison”¹³². Of course, Luke’s handling of the speech material in the Gospel is not proof that he must

¹³⁰ Bruce, “The Significance of the Speeches for Interpreting Acts”, 7.

¹³¹ A. Ehrhardt, *The Framework of the New Testament Stories* (Manchester: Univ. Press, 1964) 88.

¹³² Bruce, *Acts of the Apostles*, 19.

have used the same technique in Acts, but it would seem to demand a more serious consideration of this possibility.

One needs to consider the factor of the diversity of the speeches in Acts. They are diverse linguistically and theologically. Certainly the language of all the speeches is in general that of Luke's. This is true in the Gospel as well although the content comes from his sources. Was Luke dependent on some kind of sources, oral or written, for the content of his speeches in Acts? This is the important question before us.

In spite of all the similarities present within the various speeches in Acts, the differences are also considerable. For example Stephen's speech has no theological parallels in the rest of the book of Acts. A common reader would not consider the speeches as merely literary creations of one author as he goes through the speeches of Peter in the early chapters of Acts, the speech of Stephen in ch.7, the Areopagus speech of Paul in ch.17 and then the farewell speech of Paul to the elders at Miletus. No doubt there is a basic unity of language and of theology. But there are also noticeable differences. Eduard Schweizer¹³³ and Ulrich Wilckens¹³⁴ try to prove that the speeches of Acts contain the same theology. However, Moule has demonstrated that the Christology of the speeches in Acts is not uniform¹³⁵. Scholars in general accept the primitive nature of the theology of the speeches in the early part of Acts. One can easily notice the different use of Psalm 16:10 in the speech of Peter (ch.2) and in the speech of Paul (ch.13). They differ in structure and argument. In Peter's speech one notices the influence of Aramaic idiom in the development of his argument. But in the speech of Paul one perceives the argument of an educated rabbi.

There are also a number of small phrases, often Semitic, which do not seem to come from the author's own hand. Probably in these cases he had failed to edit out. One could easily agree with Ward Gasque who believes that "if Luke had simply invented the speeches for rhetorical and theological purposes, one would expect them

¹³³ Cf. Eduard Schweizer, "Concerning the Speeches in Acts", in: *Studies in Luke-Acts*, Leander E. Keck and J. Louis Martyn (ed.), 208-16.

¹³⁴ Cf. Ulrich Wilckens, *Die Missionsreden der Apostelgeschichte*, 186.

¹³⁵ Cf. C. F. D. Moule, "The Christology of Acts", in: *Studies in Luke-Acts*, Leander E. Keck and J. Louis Martyn (ed.), 159-85.

to represent the high point of his literary achievement, comparable to (say) the prologue of the Gospel”¹³⁶. But, except for the Areopagus speech, one does not find such a high literary standard in many of the speeches in Acts. Gasque observes that the speeches of the early chapters are often extremely awkward in style: “To suggest that his awkwardness is due to Luke’s literary ability, that he is deliberately patterning his style after that of the Septuagint to give an archaic flavour to the early part of his narrative, is scarcely plausible”¹³⁷. Theoretically speaking it may have been possible that Luke possessed the literary genius to create speeches as different as Peter’s Pentecostal address and Paul’s speech before the Areopagus. He could have been able to compose speeches in the style of the Greek Old Testament in the early chapters and in a semi-classical style in the latter. He could even vary his theology according to the speaker. But we should be slow to deny that “there is a higher degree of historical probability in favour of the view that some kind of sources (written or oral) lie behind the speeches”¹³⁸. In conclusion we could say that Luke did follow the methods of ancient historiography while composing speeches. But he has used some kind of sources. I would go in the line of Moffatt: “These materials were probably furnished in the main by oral tradition of the later speeches, that at Miletus is probably nearest to a summary of the original words of Paul; the others for the most part, reflect in the main Luke’s historic sense of what was appropriate to the speaker and situation”¹³⁹.

4.4.5.2 The Function of Speeches in Luke-Acts: The speeches have an important function of unifying the narrative of Acts. On this point Marion Soards comments: “The speeches in Acts are more than a literary device, or a historiographic convention, or a theological vehicle – though they are all of these; they achieve the unification of the otherwise diverse and incoherent elements comprised by Acts. Through the regular introduction of formally repetitive speeches, Luke unified his narrative; and, more important, he unified the image of an otherwise personally, ethnically, and geographically diverse early Christianity.”¹⁴⁰. A similar idea was expressed earlier by Dibelius: “the book (Acts) has a theme and the speeches play

¹³⁶ Ward Gasque, *A History of Criticism of the Acts of the Apostles*, 232.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Moffatt, *An Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament*, (Third and Revised Edition; Edinburgh, 1961) 306.

¹⁴⁰ Dibelius, *The Speeches in Acts*, 12.

their part in developing it”¹⁴¹. So the speeches unify the narrative. To use the language of Soards, “diverse personalities, ethnic groups, communities, geographical regions, and historical moments are unified in Acts largely through the repetitive occurrence, form and contents of the speeches... the speeches unify Acts account, and through them Luke advances his theme of divinely commissioned unified witness to the ends of the earth”¹⁴².

According to Soards there are at least three possible explanations for the use of the speeches in Acts: stylistic, historiographic or theological¹⁴³. It is possible that the author uses the speeches to increase the vividness of the narrative or he is simply following the convention of ancient historiography. But most scholars see the speeches in Acts as a device used to develop the theological ideas of the author. Luke’s theology – proof from prophecy – runs like a thread in his work. One could call it as “βουλή Theology” or “the theology of God’s plan”. The speeches are vital parts of Luke’s theology based on proof from prophecy. “If the speeches of Acts differ from one another in theological emphasis, we must not expect to hear Luke’s voice in one as against the other, but we should look for his theology in the dramatic contribution each of them makes to the progress of the story. The relationship of the speeches to one another in their similarities and differences is more important for our purpose than the contents of each of them taken by itself”¹⁴⁴.

The βουλή theology of Luke is closely interwoven with another Lucan motif: to show within the all-embracing plan of God, the significance of Paul. Paul’s significance is different from the apostles but not inferior to them. He is not called an apostle in Acts except in ch.14:4 and 14 where he is coupled with Barnabas. For Luke, the twelve apostles are the eyewitnesses of the ministry and the resurrection of Jesus (1:21; 10:41; 13:31). They are the witnesses of what they have seen and heard. Paul’s vocation too is described more or less in similar words (cf. 22:15). He is witness of seeing the Lord and hearing his voice in a vision. He has been

¹⁴¹ Dibelius, “The Speeches in Acts and Ancient Historiography”, in: *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles*, 175.

¹⁴² Marion L. Soards, *The Speeches in Acts, their content, context, and concerns* (Louisville: Westminster, 1994) 15.

¹⁴³ Cf. Ibid. 9-10.

¹⁴⁴ J.C. O’Neil, *The Theology of Acts in its Historical Setting*, 71-72.

commissioned as a missionary to all people (22:14; 26:16). The twelve apostles are chosen by God to be eyewitnesses of the earthly Jesus, whereas Paul is chosen before hand to “know his will”. Hence the speeches of Acts contribute to our understanding of the βουλή theology of Luke and specially the significance of Paul in the plan of God.

The speeches in Acts can be grouped into three cycles. The main feature of the theology of Luke is set forth in the first cycle of speeches (chs.1-5). Here Peter is the spokesman for the twelve. The second cycle contains the speeches from the chs. 6-20. In this cycle of speeches Lucan theology is fully developed in its various aspects¹⁴⁵. The words of Paul in his speech to the elders at Ephesus are noteworthy: *I did not shrink from declaring to you the whole counsel of God* (20:27). This development reaches its climax in the Areopagus speech. This speech in Acts 17:22-31 and the speech in 20:18-35 are understood by Schubert as a more hellenistically worded climax of the promise and fulfilment theology of Luke. One can observe from the statistics that Luke is trying to create a balance between Peter and Paul. In this cycle of speeches 60 verses are devoted to Peter and 59 to Paul. The theological point of the both is the same: it is Luke’s theology. The so called Paulinism is also present in the speeches of Peter as well. Hence we can note that the second motif of Luke – securing balance between Peter and Paul- is carefully carried out in the second cycle of speeches¹⁴⁶.

The speeches from chs. 21 to 28 make the third cycle of speeches in Acts. Here Paul is a prisoner. Once again the main concern in these speeches is the βουλή theology. It is developed in two specific ways. In these speeches the unexcelled significance of Paul and Luke’s interest in rounding out his own theology are very skilfully merged. These speeches are in the “I” style. The speeches of the previous cycles are not so except for the contrasting speeches of Peter before Cornelius (10:34) and Paul at the Areopagus (17:22-23). In general the speeches of chs.1-17 are in this merely syntactical respect remarkably impersonal and consciously so¹⁴⁷.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. Schubert, “The Final Cycle of Speeches in the Book of Acts”, 2-3.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. Ibid.4.

4.4.6. Paul's Speech in 27:21-26 in Relationship with his Two Speeches to Gentiles: We have seen the speeches of Luke-Acts in relationship with the speeches of ancient historians. In some respects they are similar. Luke does borrow the style and form of these historians. But the speeches of Luke-Acts reflect some kind of tradition behind them. Though Luke himself has created these speeches he is also dependent on some sources. Let us look at the speech of Paul on the ship in relationship with the other two Pauline speeches addressed to a Gentile audience. In fact there are only two speeches in Acts where Paul addresses a Gentile audience. One is the speech addressed to the Gentiles at Lystra (14:15-17) and the other is addressed to men of Athens (17:22-31).

4.4.6.1 Category: The speech at Lystra seems to be a missionary speech but unlike the other missionary speeches. It is addressed to the Gentiles. The name of Christ and the kerygma are not present in this speech. It is a short speech meant to correct the wrong perception and action of the pagans who come to worship Paul and Barnabas. It is not fully clear who made this speech. The text attributes to both Paul and Barnabas. But it should be attributed to Paul for some reasons: "In light of the fact that the brief speech is a reaction to the people of Lystra wishing to worship Barnabas and Paul as Zeus and Hermes, and since Hermes is the messenger of god, it is not unreasonable to attribute the speech to Paul, if assignment must be made"¹⁴⁸. This is strengthened by the fact that nowhere in Acts do we have another speech of Barnabas recorded. This speech has the following structural content¹⁴⁹: direct address (14:15a); a misunderstanding is pointed out (v.15a); correction of the misunderstanding (v.15b); reference to the proclamation of the apostles (v.15c); quotation from Scripture (God the creator) - Theological kerygma (vv.16-17). The appeal for attention is here replaced by the reference to the εὐαγγελίζεσθαι of the apostles, just as in the speech of Paul in 13:16ff. The proof from Scripture is missing which has no place before the Gentiles.

The speech at Areopagus has the same structure¹⁵⁰: direct address (17:22a); misunderstanding and reference to the proclamation of the apostles (vv.22b-23); passage from Scripture (God the creator) (v.24a); theological kerygma (vv.24b-27);

¹⁴⁸ Stanley E. Porter, *The Paul of Acts* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1999) 137.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. Eduard Schweizer, "Concerning the Speeches in Acts", 212.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. Ibid. 213.

proof from “Scripture”, taken from Greek poets (v.28); the clearing of misunderstanding (v.29); call to repentance (v.30). Dibelius classifies Paul’s speech at the Areopagus as “a Hellenistic speech about the true knowledge of God”¹⁵¹. Paul follows here the same line of thought and method with the educated pagans of Athens as he had done with the less cultured pagans of Lystra. For Conzelmann this speech is “the most momentous Christian document from the beginnings of that extraordinary confrontation between Christianity and philosophy which was destined to continue through the following centuries and to determine the entire history of the Occident”¹⁵². Although Schneider regards this speech as a missionary speech before Gentiles¹⁵³, Conzelmann categorically denies this view: “judging from a literary standpoint, this speech is not an extract from a missionary address, but a purely literary address”¹⁵⁴.

However, there is a certain missionary note in this speech. Luke narrates that Paul begins his discussions in Athens by reasoning in the synagogue with the Jews and god-fearers, and in the market place with whoever happened to be there. This would have included Stoics and Epicureans. As a result of his discussions with these philosophers, on one occasion Paul is taken to the Areopagus, in response to the question that they desire to know about his new teaching, which sounds strange to them. This is the setting of his speech. What led him to such discussions was the provocation he had while noticing various religious monuments in the city. Paul is engaged in a dialogue. So there is a missionary feel about the situation because the philosophers are responding to the discussions that they had with Paul in the market place.

Is it as a defence speech? “Some have claimed that Paul is actually undergoing a form of trial, or at least a preliminary hearing, before the leading people of the city, to determine if he is perhaps disseminating some form of subversive doctrine. In this

¹⁵¹ Dibelius, *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles*, 57; cf. B. Gärtner, *The Areopagus Speech and Natural Revelation* (trans. C. H. King; ASNU 21; Uppsala: Gleerup, 1955); Paul Schubert, “The Place of the Areopagus Speech in the Composition of Acts”, in J.C. Rylaarsdam (ed.), *Translations in Biblical Scholarship* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968) 235-261; Conzelmann, “The Address of Paul on the Areopagus”, in Keck and Martyn (eds.), *Studies in Luke-Acts*, 217-230.

¹⁵² Conzelmann, “The Address of Paul on the Areopagus”, 217.

¹⁵³ Schneider, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 96.

¹⁵⁴ Conzelmann, “The Address of Paul on the Areopagus”, 218.

case, the question that is asked of Paul may be more of an informal charge”¹⁵⁵. It could have been a charge some way similar to that against Socrates in the same city 450 years before. For the commentators who hold such view, the Areopagus is the court and the verb ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι in v.19 means “to arrest”. But this speech is not like the other trial speeches in Acts. Conzelmann rightly affirms: “Wherever he (Luke) reports a trial he is absolutely unambiguous. Here, however, he barely hints at associations in order to create a stage setting, an atmosphere for the dispute”¹⁵⁶. Porter holds the same view with some qualification: “In most other trial scenes, however, Luke leaves no ambiguity regarding the nature of the enquiry. If this is a form of legal hearing, Paul’s speech takes on a different cast. It is no longer simply a call to repentance, but it becomes a form of defence of himself and his message”¹⁵⁷. Noteworthy in this regard is the importance of the resurrection in his speech which is an important feature of the defence speeches of Paul.

The speech on the ship cannot be put into a definite category. This, rather, has a category of its own. This, too, is a speech to a Gentile audience, although there are some Christian friends of Paul on the ship. It has certain characteristics of both missionary and defence speeches. Of course, Paul is not involved here in an active mission work. There is no mention of Jesus and kerygma. However, there is a proclamation of God who saves. This is the God to whom Paul belongs and who Paul serves. He will save everyone on the ship for the sake of Paul and his mission. It is the will of this God that Paul must stand before the Emperor. God has communicated all this to Paul through a vision. Paul believes in this God and he wants his fellow travellers to have courage, implying they, too, need to believe in the promise of God. In this sense the speech on the ship has an indirect missionary dimension. This speech also has some characteristics of a defence speech. Paul is in fact defending his stand, the prophecy that he made earlier. God is at Paul’s side. God is going to defend Paul by saving him from the perils of the sea. The rescue from the sea is the greatest symbol of protection from God and the proof of Paul’s innocence. However, one cannot simply put this speech into the category of trial speeches. Unlike the trial speeches, Paul is not responding to the accusations made against him. He does not make a direct defence of his innocence. And the important feature of a trial speech - the resurrection - is not found in this speech.

¹⁵⁵ Porter, *The Paul of Acts*, 142.

¹⁵⁶ Conzelmann, “The Address of Paul on the Areopagus”, 219.

¹⁵⁷ Porter, *The Paul of Acts*, 142-43.

4.4.6.2 The Context: All three speeches have different contexts. The context for the speech at Lystra is the miracle of healing which is followed by the misunderstanding of the pagans who assume Barnabas and Paul as gods in disguise. *Then the priest of Jupiter, which was before their city, brought oxen and garlands unto the gates, and would have done sacrifice with the people*" (Acts 14:13). "They called Barnabas Zeus and Paul Hermes, possibly influenced by the myth of a man named Philemon and his wife, Baucis, Phrygians who gave hospitality to Zeus and Hermes, when they tested the piety of humanity, disguised. Philemon and Baucis, told by the gods to climb a mountain, were saved from being drowned by an ensuing flood. This place in Asia Minor apparently still followed the Greek pantheon, as also witnessed by their having a priest of Zeus"¹⁵⁸. The fact that the inhabitants are described as speaking in the Lycaonian dialect may also indicate that they conservatively followed and preserved certain linguistic and other traditions. The Lystrans wanted to worship Barnabas and Paul, who tried to prevent them from doing so. The context then is one of misunderstanding and false perception.

For the speech at the Areopagus it is the annoyance of Paul at the images at Athens and his discussion in the market place that provide the context. *Some also of the Epicurean and Stoic philosophers met him. And some said, "What would this babbling say?" Others said, "He seems to be a preacher of foreign divinities" -- because he preached Jesus and the resurrection. And they took hold of him and brought him to the Areopagus, saying, "May we know what this new teaching is which you present?"*(17:18-19). Thus the context here is that of ignorance and the curiosity on the part of the pagans. They desire to know new teachings. The speech on the stormy sea has a different context. It is at the midst of storm, when the sun and stars disappeared and all the hope of being saved was lost. The context here is the hopeless situation leading them not to eat.

The context of the first two speeches contains a religious dimension. The people of Lystra and Athens have some belief in the supernatural. Paul accepts their sense of religiosity. But their beliefs are not pure and there is a need of imparting true knowledge. What about the audience on the ship? Do they have some religious

¹⁵⁸ Porter, *The Paul of Acts*, 136. For further bibliography on this myth cf. note 43 on the same page.

background? Luke is silent about it. But the narrative gives us some clue when the narrator describes in the verse immediately preceding the speech of Paul, “*And when neither sun nor stars appeared for many days, and no small tempest lay on us, all hope of our being saved was at last abandoned*” (27:20). One could interpret this verse differently. The natural meaning is the significance of the heavenly bodies for the right direction of the voyagers. However, one could also think of a religious significance. For the pagans the stars and the sun were more than just matters of astrology. They regarded them as gods. “Als älteres, umfassenderes Phänomen können wir eine Astralreligion und Frömmigkeit ausmachen, die die Sterne als lebendige, göttliche Wesen ansah, den Seelen der Verstorbenen bei ihnen Ihren Platz anwies und sich in Helioskult bis zur Verehrung der Sonne als oberster Gottheit steigerte”¹⁵⁹. When the Sun and Moon were not to be seen for days the pagans perhaps did feel let down by their own deities. This condition of their hopelessness gives rise to Paul’s speech of proclamation of his God who saves and who brings hope in hopeless situations.

4.4.6.3 The Posture of the Speaker: For the speech at Lystra there is no mention of a particular posture that Paul took before he began to speak. The text only says that Paul and Barnabas *tore their garments and rushed out among the multitude, crying* (διαρρήξαντες τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν ἐξεπήδησαν εἰς τὸν ὄχλον κρᾶζοντες) (14:15). The urgency of the situation is expressed. Their rushing among the people also „bringt ihren Wunsch zum Ausdruck, zu den Leuten zu gehören und nicht zu den Göttern, mit der Menge also auf eine gemeinsamen Ebene zu stehen“¹⁶⁰. So there is no orator’s posture to this speech. On the other hand for the speech at the Areopagus, Luke describes Paul’s physical positioning prior to the outset of the speech (17:20a). First, Paul is Σταθεὶς (standing) (cf. 2:14), the recognisable posture of a Greek orator, and he is located ἐν μέσῳ (in the middle) of the Areopagus. The same position is used for Paul’s speech on the sea: σταθεὶς ὁ Παῦλος ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν.

4.4.6.4 Content:

4.4.6.4.1 Address: The address is not developed in the speech at Lystra; it is simply “men” (Ἄνδρες). The word Ἄνδρες is used elsewhere in Acts as a word of address;

¹⁵⁹ Hans-Joseph Klauck, *Die religiöse Umwelt des Urchristentums* 1, 186.

¹⁶⁰ Klauck, *Magie und Heidentum in der Apostelgeschichte des Lukas*, 74.

but Paul uses this form of address only here and in 27:10, 21, 25. It appears that he uses this type of address here at Lystra because of the urgency required in the situation. However “this is a more appropriate address, for his Gentile audience, a group with which, at least by race and religion, he does not have the same kinds of bonds as he does with the Jews”.¹⁶¹ In his speech at the Areopagus, Paul addresses his audience as, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι. The speaker couples with a local or ethnic designation to salute the hearers (cf. 1:11). Kennedy regards this form of address as improper in the light of the circumstances. He thinks that instead of “Athenian men”, Paul should have addressed them as “gentlemen”.¹⁶² But this has no bearing on the narrative. “The author of Acts may have recorded what he knew to be true just as much as he may have confirmed the word of address to many of Paul’s other speeches. Nevertheless Paul does address his audience with a specific title, perhaps warranted on the basis of his having discussed with them previously and established a certain degree of familiarity”.¹⁶³ In the speech on the ship, too, like the speech at Lystra, ἄνδρες is used without qualification. Though the audience is pagan Paul feels one with them in the situation of life threatening storm. Here there is no room for specification of a title. All are just ἄνδρες. In Lystra, Paul addresses the audience as ἄνδρες and immediately informs them Paul and Barnabas, too, are men like them. They are men and not gods. Here at the storm at sea it is natural to address them as ἄνδρες because Paul and the fellow pagans are in the same dreadful situation and now they will be saved by divine intervention.

4.4.6.4.2 Introductory Remark: The first and third speeches have a similar beginning. It is a kind of correction from Paul. There is a reference to the past action of the audience which was not in accordance with the divine plan. In the first case Paul reproaches the men of Lystra for their actions in assuming that Paul and Barnabas are gods: *Men, why are you doing this? We also are men, of like nature with you* (14:15a). In his speech on the ship Paul reproaches his fellow travellers for going against his counsel which meant in fact going against the plan of God: *Men, you should have listened to me, and should not have set sail from Crete and incurred this*

¹⁶¹ Porter, *The Paul of Acts*, 138.

¹⁶² Kennedy, *New Testament Interpretation* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Pr., 1984) 130.

¹⁶³ Porter, *The Paul of Acts*, 143.

injury and loss (27:21b). The language is striking. In the speech at Lystra it is a question: τί ταῦτα ποιεῖτε (cf. Lk 16:2) ; and the speech on the ship begins with a statement of accusation: Ἔδει μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες, πειθαρχήσαντάς μοι. In both cases, the very fact that Paul is using a language of correction and accusation, there is a note of hope. It sounds negative; but it is a beginning for a new exhortation. The speech is meant to change them from their previous incorrect behaviour.

In his speech at Lystra, after introducing his first major point by means of a question, Paul goes on to answer this rhetorical question. He states emphatically that we all (καὶ ἡμεῖς) are humans of the same nature. His address of them as Ἄνδρες indicates that Paul sees them all – Paul, Barnabas and the Lystrans - as having the same nature. The element of creation will be noted further below, but here appeal to a common human nature points to a common conception of humanity: common origins, common destiny, and common functions. Even though his audience consists of Gentiles, the line of division for Paul here is not between Jews and Gentiles but between humans and those thought to be gods. This would perhaps have been a significant admission on Paul's part. Indeed it is surprising statement from a man who is Jewish, and who he is convinced that the Jewish people enjoyed a special purpose in the plan of God (Rom 9-11). In any case Paul attempts to erase any such distinctions. He places all humanity on common ground.

The introductory remark of Paul's speech at the Areopagus is different from the other two speeches. In this speech there is no accusation or correction in the opening sentence. In fact the Areopagus speech begins with the captatio benevolentiae (v. 22). Paul refers to the "religiousness" of his audience. The Greek word δεισιδαιμονεστέρους can be translated differently. It is unlikely that Paul uses this word here in a pejorative sense, meaning "superstitious". In fact he wants to capture the attention of his audience and solicit their favour. The word here means "devout". Paul recognises that they have a preoccupation with things related to gods. He tells them that as he moved in that city he observed an altar dedicated to the (or an) "unknown God"¹⁶⁴. Paul takes this as confirmation of the religious nature of the

¹⁶⁴ An altar with this inscription has not been discovered in Athens. But a number of authors speak of altars to unknown gods in and around Athens. Cf. P.W. van der Horst, „The Altar of the Unknown God in Athens (Acts 17:23) and the cult of “Unknown Gods” in the Greco-Roman World,“ repr. From

Athenians. In other words, Paul says that he recognises in the Athenians a common interest in the divine. It is not limited to that which they consciously know and recognise, but they are also interested in the realm of the divine that they have not been able to discover yet. They have ensured that they have done what is appropriate to that unknown realm by erecting an altar to such a god. So in the speech at Lystra, by pointing out to their misunderstanding Paul intends to bring them the Good News and lead them to the true God who is the creator of all; at the Areopagus, by referring to their religiosity he wants to lead them from idolatry to the truth of the Gospel, to God the creator and judge; and on the ship, by reminding them of their failure of not listening to his counsel and thus bringing the disastrous and hopeless situation on them, Paul plans to prepare them for the Good News of salvation: His God is going to save them all.

4.4.6.4.3 The Exhortation: At Lystra Paul tells his Gentile audience that the purpose of their visit is to preach the Gospel. He appeals to them to turn away from foolish things (εὐαγγελιζόμενοι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν ματαίων), apparently meaning idolatry, and to turn to the living God. Such an exhortation is found in a variety of Hellenistic Jewish apologetic literature. The language of Paul here reflects that of the LXX.

What are the vain things Paul is referring to? It is not clearly defined here. μάταιος means “what is deceptive or ineffectual, not what it appears to be”. It has to be translated according to context: (1) of thoughts and speculations that are empty, foolish, idle (1Cor 3.20); (2) of unprofitable religion that is futile, foolish, useless, worthless (Ja 1.26). In this speech of Paul (Acts 14:15) it occurs in neuter plural as substantive, τὰ μάταια. It means here worthless things, idols. So the context would indicate that Paul is here referring to all kinds of practices involved in the worship of the Greek pantheon. Such practices and beliefs led them to proclaim Paul and Barnabas to be gods and to get the priest of Zeus to offer sacrifices to them. All this was done on the basis of a single event of healing a lame man. For Paul these convictions and practices are vain things. The sentiment to worship may be right but the object is clearly wrong. “In his juxtaposition on the vain rituals and assertion regarding the living God, Paul makes the transition from looking at natural phenomena as an indication of the non-existence of other divine beings to looking at

ANRW 2.18.2 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1989) 1426-1456 in his Hellenism – Judaism – Christianity: Essays on their Interaction (Leuven: Peeters, 2nd edn, 1994) 187-220.

the common nature of humanity, including its desire to worship, as pointing to the existence of a real and living God”¹⁶⁵.

So far it is only a part of the exhortation. The second and more important part follows. They are exhorted to turn to the living God (ἐπιστρέφειν ἐπὶ θεὸν ζῶντα). This was particularly the Jewish and Christian understanding of God. Would it make sense to the Gentiles? The monotheistic language may well be addressed directly at a belief in Zeus as the creator God, reflecting beliefs held in southern Asia Minor at the time, and reflected in the way Paul and Barnabas were met by the Lystrans. This approach would have served as a useful method of directly addressing the Lystrans in an attempt to steer their belief toward God. Rackham makes a valuable comment: “Paul uses the method of accommodation. He starts with a doctrine they would readily accept – creation by God: he appeals to that evidence which would be most obvious to country folk – the witness of the nature; and he makes use of their present state of feeling – the gladness and joy of a festival”¹⁶⁶. In 1 Thess 1:9 Paul makes use of a similar language regarding the “living God”. The audience here is probably a mixed Christian community, both from Jews and Gentiles. As a way of defining who this living God is, in Acts Paul cites an OT passage from the LXX, Ex 20:11. This passage is not introduced by any words of citation. It is simply incorporated into the wording that Paul uses, and therefore does not constitute an appeal to OT authority as much as a means of explicating this God in opposition to other gods.

Paul’s speech in the Areopagus has a similar exhortation. It is a call to repent of their past ignorant ways and believe in the true God who is creator and provider: *The times of ignorance God overlooked, but now he commands all men everywhere to repent* (14:30). While in the speech at Lystra Paul describes the purpose of his visit with the expression “εὐαγγελιζόμενοι”, the speech at the Areopagus uses the expression ἐγὼ καταγγέλλω ὑμῖν (I proclaim to you). What Paul is proclaiming to them is the faith in one God. This one God is not new or foreign even to the Greeks. He has always manifested himself and was close to them, but they did not know him. The exhortation here is to repent.

¹⁶⁵ Porter, *The Paul of Acts*, 139

¹⁶⁶ Rackham, *The Acts of the Apostles: An Exposition*, 233.

The exhortation of Paul to his pagan companions on the ship is to cheer up: “*Now I bid you to take heart*”. καὶ τὰ νῦν παραινῶ ὑμᾶς εὐθυμεῖν (27:22a). The basis for this exhortation is the divine communication about their salvation. This exhortation Paul repeats again in v.25: *So take courage men* (διὸ εὐθυμεῖτε, ἄνδρες), *for I have faith in God that it will be exactly as I have been told*. This is the appropriate exhortation when they have lost all hope and have not eaten for many days. Paul gives the reason for this exhortation. It is the good news that they will all be saved. It is the Good News that has been communicated to Paul through a divine revelation.

4.4.6.4.4 The Central Doctrine: Natural Theology: Paul, in his speech at Lystra, makes appeal to a form of natural theology. He uses an OT citation without making a direct reference. In fact the OT citation forms a part of this appeal to natural theology. As Schneider comments, „Mit dem Stichwort vom “lebendigen Gott” der Bibel ist nun das eigentliche Thema der Predigt genannt“¹⁶⁷. Paul designates God in terms of his creative role. For him natural theology has its basis in the God of Scripture. The common human nature is explicitly justified in terms of one creating God. The living character of this God is defined in terms of a creative function, one that is all inclusive. This includes the expanse of the known universe, with heaven and earth providing the extremities of this physical creative act. He is the one who made heaven and earth and all in it; he is the one who permitted humanity to go in its own way; yet did not leave himself without witness.

Paul here provides a brief recapitulation of the course of human history. God has allowed various human groups to live their lives as they willed. There are a number of features here that figure into Paul’s explanation of natural theology. One is the multifarious character of humankind. ἔθνος, the word used here, refers to various nationalistic or racial groups, each permitted in the past to develop on its own. When Paul says that God permitted them to go their own way, it is not clear whether he is saying that the ethnic groups were allowed to find their own places of habitation, or that they were allowed to define the terms in which they lived.

¹⁶⁷ Schneider, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 160.

During this time, in which nations were permitted to develop on their own, Paul says, God was not without a specific witness. Here Paul directly appeals to a form of natural theology, that is, he refers to the natural phenomena in terms of the cycles and patterns of the natural world. There were rains from heaven and fruitful seasons, and the result was that people, because they were able to live by having food, were full and glad. Paul does not mean that every person was happy during this time, but the basic provisions for life were made possible through nature, because God had set this system in nature. For this Paul says that it is appropriate to characterise God as doing good.

In brief, there are three elements to Paul's explication of God from nature. Each has parallels in his speech at Athens (ch.17): reference to God's role in the destiny of nations, their ignorance, and God's not being without witness through nature. With the speech complete, the narrative states that Paul was only just successful in convincing the crowd not to offer sacrifices to them.

In the Areopagus speech Paul defines the nature of God with the help of a biblical quotation and not by Greek categories. The author takes advantage of a convergence between the Bible and Hellenism: ποιέω can be used by both Jews and Greeks to describe God's creative work. The author has borrowed these ideas from Hellenistic Judaism. After the biblical colouring of vv. 24-25, Stoic colour dominates vv. 26-28. The train of thought runs like this: The assertion that God is the creator is immediately given a critical turn: he needs nothing. He is not the receiver but the giver. God is the creator of all things in general and of human beings in particular, for whose daily needs he makes provision. Human beings are the offspring of God, in whom they live and move and have their being. They must not cherish unworthy thoughts of his nature, imagining that he could be depicted in the form of any created thing or confined in any material building or that he has needs which human hands can supply. Until now God has tolerated this culpable ignorance of his true nature, but it has to be ended now. God has fixed a day on which human beings will be judged for their response to him, and he has marked out the man to whom he will entrust this judgement by raising him from the dead.

The main doctrine of the speech on the ship is God the saviour. The divine necessity with regard to Paul's witnessing in Rome is at the centre of this speech. It is on this account that all will be saved. There is a lot of allusion to the Book of Psalms where God is portrayed as the God who has power over the sea and storms.

4.4.6.5 Conclusion: "Despite differences in order and emphasis – there is much in common among the accounts in Acts 14:15-17, Acts 17:22-31 (and Rom 1:18-32) with regard to natural theology. The common elements are the recognition of the creator God and his creation, that the creation includes humans but is not to be equated with it, that humans have various ways of trying to reach God through human-made means, that these humans are accountable to God and are to be judged on this knowledge that they have of him, that humans have neglected the knowledge that they have of God, that human attempts to reach God are not hopeful, and that God has until this point not judged them as he is now prepared to do"¹⁶⁸.

The speech at Lystra and that of Athens have very much in common in their content: the main theme is the knowledge of the true, living God who has created the heavens, world and the sea. God's governance of this created world and his providential care are directly exposed. This is not present in the speech on the ship. Of course, the context is not suitable for a doctrinal exposition. However, there is a strong nuance on God who is the saviour and who is the master over the created world. As in the psalms he rules and controls the sea. He will save them from the stormy sea. Hence there is an indirect indication of the theme of creation and providence. There is also a secondary nuance that this God is able to forgive the mistakes made by human judgements and use them for his purposes. This is present in all three speeches. Hence there is an exhortation to true faith. In the first two speeches they are exhorted to turn away from their evil ways of idol worship to the knowledge of and faith in true God. In the speech on the ship Paul advises them to have faith in the saviour God who is assured through an angel that they all will be saved. In the first two speeches Paul's concern is to purify their beliefs or to lead them from distorted faith to true faith. In the speech on the ship his concern is to create hope in them at the time of hopelessness and this he does by revealing to them God the saviour and his saving plan and purpose.

¹⁶⁸ Porter, *The Paul of Acts*, 148.

In the speech at Lystra and the speech of Paul on the ship there is a statement on the identity of the speaker. In the former case, Paul identifies himself and Barnabas as human beings and not gods, and who have come to bring them the Good News. In the speech on the ship Paul identifies himself as the servant of God.

4.5 Paul's Gentile Mission: Divine Necessity Communicated Through Visions

4.5.1 Introduction: According to Luke-Acts there is a divine purpose that stands behind the events of history. Luke applies various terms to explain this concept: βουλή τοῦ θεοῦ (Luke 7:30; Acts 2:23; 4:28; 5:38-39; 13:36; 20:27); God's θέλημα (Luke 22:42; Acts 21:14; 22:14); God's ἐξουσία (Acts 1:7). Events of history take place according to this divine plan. This is mostly described by the term δεῖ (Lk2:49; Acts 1:16 etc.). The other expressions are κατὰ τὸ ὠρισμένον (Luke 22:22); ὁ ὠρισμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ (Acts 10:42); ὃ ὠρισεν (Acts 17:31); προχειρίσασθαι (Acts 26:16); προχειρίσαστό (Acts 22:14); ἦν ἀναγκαῖον (Acts 13:46); μέλλει (Luke 9:31; 9:44; 24:41; 17:31; 26:22-23).

The realisation of the divine plan is often spoken of in terms of fulfilment. The term often used for this is πληρῶ (Luke 1:20; 4:21; Acts 1:16; 3:18 etc.). This divine plan can be known by humans. In fact God communicates his plan to them. It is the Lord Jesus, both before and after his resurrection, who reveals the divine plan to people. God's plan is communicated through the Scriptures (Acts 13:23; 15:15 etc.) and angelic visions (Acts 10:3-8, 22, 30-33; 27:23-25 etc.). Sometimes men and women prophesy and thus communicate the plan of God. Thus in various ways the plan of God which lies behind and determines the course of history is communicated to people¹⁶⁹.

In Acts 27:21-26 the plan of God is revealed to Paul by an angel. The messenger of God announces to Paul that he must stand before the Emperor. Paul's standing before the Emperor is a divine necessity. All on the ship will be saved on account of this. This element in the speech of Paul on the ship relates the voyage narrative to rest of the book of Acts in which Gentile mission has been one of the

¹⁶⁹ Cf. Charles H. Talbert, "Once Again: The Gentile Mission in Luke-Acts": in: *Der Treue Gottes trauen, Beitrage zum Werk des Lukas*, 101.

major concerns of the author. The mission to the Gentiles is a divine plan. It is expressed here as well as many other places in Luke-Acts through Luke's favourite $\delta\epsilon\iota$. This divine necessity is communicated here as well as in the rest of Luke-Acts through an angelic vision. This is in accordance with the command of the Risen Lord: *you shall be my witnesses in Jerusalem, Judea, Samaria and to the ends of the earth* (1:8). Paul's reaching Rome and his witnessing before the Emperor fulfils the prophecy of the Risen Lord. In this section let us look at the Gentile mission as a divine necessity, communicated through visions.

4.5.2 Divine Necessity: $\delta\epsilon\iota$: God's plan for the salvation of Gentiles is expressed by Luke by his favourite Greek term $\delta\epsilon\iota$. As we have already noticed $\delta\epsilon\iota$ occurs three times in Paul's speech to his fellow voyagers in the ship (27:21, 24, 26). The triple occurrence of this term in this short speech relates these verses to the rest of Luke-Acts and especially to Luke's important theme of universal mission. We need to look at the concept of $\delta\epsilon\iota$ in general and then examine how Luke uses this in the context of universal mission.

4.5.2.1 $\delta\epsilon\iota$: Its Basic Meaning: It is an impersonal verb from $\delta\epsilon\omega$. 1) It means "to be under necessity of happening". In this sense it has the meaning, "it is necessary", "one must", "one has to"¹⁷⁰. It denotes a compulsion of any kind¹⁷¹ such as an inner necessity with the context of determining cause (cf. Mt 17:10, Mk 9:11; Lk 4:43, Jn 3:4; Acts 1:16), compulsion of law or custom (Lk 2:7; Acts 15:5; 18:21; 25:10), an inner necessity growing out of a given situation (Mt 26:35; Acts 14:22; 21:22; 27:21), compulsion caused by the necessity of attaining a certain result (Lk 12:12; 19:5; Acts 9:6; 1 Cor 11:19). 2) It means something that should happen because it is fitting: a) generally (Lk 13:16; Acts 5:29; 19:36; Rom 8:26); b) that which one should do (Lk 2:49; 15:32; 18:1; Acts 5:29; 16:30); c) to indicate that something that happened should by all means have happened, expressed by imperfect $\epsilon\delta\epsilon\iota$ (Lk 15:32; 22:7; 24:26; Acts 1:16; 17:3); d) to indicate that something that did not take place really should have happened, also expressed with the imperfect $\epsilon\delta\epsilon\iota$ (Mt 18:33; 23:23; Acts 24:19; 27:21; 2 Cor 2:3).

¹⁷⁰ BDAG, 214.

¹⁷¹ "The term itself does not denote the authority which imparts this character. It is thus given its precise significance when conjoined with this power": Grundmann, Art. " $\delta\epsilon\iota$ ", in: *TWNT* II, 21.

4.5.2.2 Its Usage in Luke-Acts: Out of the 102 occurrences of $\delta\epsilon\iota$ or $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\nu$ $\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}$ in the NT, Luke-Acts has 41. Luke is familiar with this term from his Hellenistic background. He uses this term as a general expression for the will of God (Lk 15:32; 18:1; Acts 5:29; 20:35). According to Luke, Jesus perceives his whole life, ministry and passion under the will of God comprehended in a $\delta\epsilon\iota$ ¹⁷². It is the will of God that the boy Jesus must be busy with his Father's affairs (Lk 2:49). The will of God determines Jesus' activity (Lk 4:43; 13:33; 19:5); it leads him to suffering and death, and finally unto his glory (Lk 9:22; 17:25; 24:7,26; Acts 1:16; 3:21; 17:3). The will of God concerning him is laid down in Scripture. Jesus follows it unconditionally (Lk 22:37; 24:44). The followers of Jesus are also laid under $\delta\epsilon\iota$. The will of God shapes and determines their lives even to the smallest details (Lk 12:12; Acts 9:6, 16; 14:22; 19:21; 27:24). This $\delta\epsilon\iota$ is an expression of the saving will of God. It finally reveals to man that only by believing in God's act of salvation one will be saved (Acts 4:12; 16:30). The usage in Luke seems to be Hellenistic, but it is determined by knowledge of the personal will of God. God is not a neutral necessity but a living person. "This will of God claims man in every situation of life and gives goal and direction to life on the basis of its saving purpose"¹⁷³.

From where does Luke borrow this concept? According to Erich Fascher the theme of providence in Luke-Acts is firmly in line with the Old Testament and Paul¹⁷⁴. He observes that the term $\delta\epsilon\iota$ is frequently employed in Greek-Hellenistic usage to express the Greek concept of fate. However, it enters the New Testament via the Septuagint. Fascher claims that Lucan $\delta\epsilon\iota$ reflects the conviction that a personal deity rules the world. Hellenistic overtones of a neutral power of fate are not found in Luke-Acts, just as they are alien to the Old and New Testament in general.

On the other hand, Sigfried Schulz holds the opinion that Luke-Acts borrows from the Hellenistic idea of fate¹⁷⁵. According to him, "God's saving plan, guaranteed by his providential will, underlies and directs everything with incontrovertible power. No one can resist this ineluctable will of God, not the Christian, not the apostles, not

¹⁷² Sigfried Schulz, „Gottes Vorsehung bei Lukas“, in: *ZNW* 54 (1963), 108.

¹⁷³ Grundmann, $\delta\epsilon\iota$, 22-23.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. Erich Fascher, „Theologische Beobachtungen zu $\delta\epsilon\iota$ “, in: *Neutestamentliche Studien für Rudolf Bultmann*, W. Eltester (ed.), 228-54.

¹⁷⁵ Cf. Schulz, „Gottes Vorsehung bei Lukas“, 104-116.

even Jesus himself¹⁷⁶. God is an inaccessible being and his decrees are unfathomable. Therefore Luke's view of history does not inherit from the OT understanding of election. It has Hellenistic ideas of fate¹⁷⁷. Everything is reducible to the divine will. The salvation history in Luke-Acts is a closed, casually connected history. Schulz observes that the subject of the pro-compound verbs in Acts is not God but rather his providence or will. This is a further argument for him to conclude that the Lucan $\delta\epsilon\iota$ is borrowed from the Hellenistic notions of fate.

Charles H. Cosgrove finds a methodological flow in restricting the Lucan $\delta\epsilon\iota$ just to these two views. Because of such a categorisation "Lucan originality is circumscribed from the outset, and there is even a tendency to arrive at the Lucan view of history deductively within the closed framework of these fixed alternatives"¹⁷⁸. Both Fascher and Schulz, in their consideration of $\delta\epsilon\iota$, tend to ignore the human dimension of its accomplishment. Luke may have borrowed the basic concept from both Hellenistic and OT world. However, he has added a new dimension to this concept of $\delta\epsilon\iota$. This is precisely the dimension of human cooperation and human opposition to God's plan. We need to investigate further the concept of $\delta\epsilon\iota$ in Luke-Acts. The consideration of individual cases of $\delta\epsilon\iota$, especially in the life of Jesus and Paul, will enable us to understand the real significance of divine necessity in Luke Acts. This would further enable us to perceive Gentile mission in Luke-Acts as a divine necessity.

4.5.3 Paul's Gentile Mission as a Divine Necessity: Acts narrates the story of Paul's conversion thrice. Each narration underlines Paul's being stopped in his tracks and commissioned to preach to the Gentiles. These conversion stories are naturally an attempt to justify Paul's mission to the Gentiles. There is a divine necessity behind Paul's conversion and his mission. And this is Scripturally grounded. The reference to Scripture and the term $\delta\epsilon\iota$ is found in all these stories. It is the Scripture that communicates the divine plan to Paul.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid. 109.

¹⁷⁷ Cf. Ibid. 111.

¹⁷⁸ Charles H. Cosgrove, "The Divine $\delta\epsilon\iota$ in Luke-Acts", in: *Novum Testamentum* xxvi, 2 (1984), 170.

Paul fulfils his mission in full obedience to the divine plan expressed in the OT. He understands his Gentile mission in the light of Isaiah 49:6: *For so the Lord has commanded us, saying, 'I have set you to be a light for the Gentiles, that you may bring salvation to the uttermost parts of the earth'* (Acts 13:47). This text is cited in the second of the two sermons given at Pisidian Antioch. Paul and Barnabas make known to the Jews in the synagogue that it was necessary (δεῖ) to preach to them first; but now, as they did not accept the Gospel, they will turn to the Gentiles. This is a divinely sanctioned move. This is the plan of God revealed in Scripture. So they cite Is 49:6 as an evidence of divine sanction for their missionary move. Vv 48-49 narrate the immediate and widespread Gentile response to their preaching. The enthusiastic response from the Gentiles proves to be an additional confirmation of the prophetic text that they had just cited. Acts 13:44-49 expresses the programme and pattern of the Pauline mission in general: "*Jews first, then Greeks*". This phrase is repeated in missionary ventures which follow in the narrative of Acts (cf. 18:4; 28:23-28). In his final address to the Jews in Rome, Paul declares that their negative response to his message was already foretold in Scripture (28:28).

Thus Paul's mission to the Gentiles is a divine necessity foretold by the prophets. The Spirit or a vision guides the specific missionary moves of Paul. His mission is fully based in OT prophecy. "Whether that mission is grounded at the specific level (by the Spirit, an angel or a vision) or at the general level (by Scripture), in each case Paul and his company are confronted with a divine mandate to be obeyed. The δεῖ of Luke-Acts characteristically carries this twofold edge of divine attestation and divine summons to obedience"¹⁷⁹.

The δεῖ of Paul's Roman mission is expressed three times in Acts (19:21; 23:11 and 27:24). The first reference (19:21) gives one the impression that the journey to and the mission in Rome arise from Paul's own determination: *Now after these events Paul resolved in the Spirit to pass through Macedonia and Achaia and go to Jerusalem, saying, "After I have been there, I must (δεῖ) also see Rome"* (Acts 19:21). The Roman destiny of Paul seems to have its origin in his own resolution. No divine necessity has yet been announced. Of course God has commissioned Paul to preach

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.176.

the Gospel to the Gentiles. This has been revealed to him already in his conversion-encounters. Hence such travel plans from Paul are not surprising. Rome represents a logical goal of this missionary enterprise. The two last occurrences happen in the nocturnal visions. One is from the Lord himself and the other from an angel. Both are meant to encourage Paul and to reassure him that his mission in Rome will definitely be realised in spite of all difficulties and oppositions.

4.5.4 Paul's Gentile Mission: Divine Necessity and Human Co-operation: What is the relationship between divine necessity and human freedom? According to William Beardslee, throughout Luke-Acts, "the firmness of the divine purpose is set in counterpoint to the peril and expendability of its instruments"¹⁸⁰. For him Luke is dependent on the Hebraic model of writing history in which there is a struggle against a "highly purposeful Yahweh"¹⁸¹. We do find in the OT the freedom and right of human beings to wrestle with God's will. God respects human freedom. We find this idea throughout Luke-Acts. In the story of Annunciation, God gives Mary the freedom to say "yes" to the message of the angel. The disciples freely choose to follow Jesus. Jesus and Paul do take creative initiative in bringing about the fulfilment of their own particular Scriptural assignments. So the divine necessity that Paul must preach the Gospel to the Gentiles does not mean that Paul is being forced and his freedom was minimized. The narrative clearly brings out Paul's co-operation with divine necessity.

In Acts, Paul appears to be a creative executor of the divine $\delta\epsilon\iota$. We have already seen that the Roman destiny of Paul originates in his own conception of Gentile mission. So also the strategy for the accomplishment of that destiny appears as an equally Pauline brainchild. To this end Paul makes use of his Roman citizenship to appear before Caesar¹⁸². The trial scenes and the defence speeches in Acts 21-28 portray Paul as himself engineering his Roman destiny. He keeps his Roman citizenship as a secret until after being arrested and mistreated by the authorities. The

¹⁸⁰ William Beardslee, *Literary Criticism of the New Testament* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1970), p.51

¹⁸¹ Ibid. 45.

¹⁸² Cf. Cosgrove, "The Divine $\delta\epsilon\iota$ in Luke-Acts", 181.

function of this secret in Acts 16:19-40 is not too clear, but in 22:25-29 and its context the purpose is more evident. At his arrest Paul identifies himself simply as a learned Jew from Tarsus. This secures him permission to address the angry crowd of Jews outside the barracks (21:37-40). The defence episode itself has resemblance to the Nazareth scene in Luke 4. Paul, like Jesus before him, virtually baits the Jewish audience, which at first listens attentively to him (21:40 and 22.2; cf. Lk 4:20), by his reference to being sent far away to the Gentiles (22:21, cf. Lk 4:25-27). They are enraged and desire his life (22:22-23; cf. Lk 4:28-29). The words of the crowd, *away from the earth with such a one* (Αἶρε ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς τὸν τοιοῦτον), *for he should not live* recall to us the words of the crowd at Jesus in Lk 23:18 – Αἶρε τοῦτον

It is when the Jews cry for his blood and the authorities prepare to beat the truth out of him (22.24) that Paul reveals his Roman citizenship and so reverses the whole situation. The result of this revelation is twofold.: 1) Paul's case is made more serious, such that a capital charge is made likely, and 2) the grounds for later appeal to Caesar have been disclosed, namely, his Roman citizenship. The combination of these two may be expressed as follows: Paul adds fuel to the fire which engenders the charge of sedition, an offence against the Emperor and thus legitimated a Roman citizen's appeal to Caesar. Luke depicts Paul's behaviour as guaranteeing his transfer to Rome. One could recall the remark made by King Agrippa to Festus: "This man would have been set free, if he had not appealed to Caesar" (Acts 26.32).

Paul himself has resolved to go to Rome. However, his decision to visit Rome is confirmed by the divine revelations of Acts 23:11 and 27:4. These instances of divine δεῖ represent the promises of help in accomplishing Paul's Roman mission. The events concerning this δεῖ are a gift. But there are conditions to be met. Paul is very much involved in securing that these conditions are fulfilled: "*unless these men stay in the ship you cannot be saved*"(27:31). He believes in the message of the angel. Each one of them will be saved from the stormy sea. Paul is convinced and affirms that all that the angel has spoken to him will certainly take place: οὕτως ἔσται καθ' ὃν τρόπον λελάληταί μοι. (Acts 27:25). However, their salvation is not only dependent upon God's promise but also upon human action. God's promise of help and man's obedience to God's word need to go hand in hand. It is precisely because Paul has all

along been obedient to God's will that his Roman mission is realised. "Throughout the narrative Luke portrays Paul as an active protector of the divine must of his Roman destiny"¹⁸³. Because of this he wins the centurion's favour and his own life. Moreover, we must not forget that Paul himself has controlled events related to his Roman journey. He himself has appealed to Caesar. Therefore the narrator paints Paul as creative executors of the divine $\delta\epsilon\iota$.

Paul's creative strategy with regard to his Roman destiny finds its counterpart on the divine side. God steps in to preserve Paul's Roman destiny. When the voyage to Rome is endangered by the storm at sea, it is the miraculous intervention of God that protects Paul's fulfilment of his Roman mission. The resultant picture is clear: there is a certain harmony in the accomplishment of the $\delta\epsilon\iota$ between God and his chosen servant. The divine side of this partnership is very evident and active, precisely when human strength and ingenuity give out. This narrative device is an integral part of the Lucan theme of divine reversal, whereby events are turned upside down in what might be described as divine surprise and cunning¹⁸⁴. Hence, although Luke indeed conceives of God as the controller and author of history at the general level, he also pictures God as one who enters history from outside. His real personal involvement is expressed in precisely these saving entrances. The God of Luke-Acts is not only the creator and sustainer of the world but one by whom history is overturned, even overpowered, by surprise attack and cleverness (Magnificat Lk 1:46-55; cf. Acts 16:25-26). And where tensions emerge within the Lucan presentation, they are result of Luke's kerygmatic, as opposed to systematic, treatment of God's relation to history¹⁸⁵.

4.5.5 Gentile Mission: Divine Communication Through Visions: Luke has narrated an angelic vision that Paul has experienced. The words of God's messenger provide key to the understanding of the whole narrative. Paul must appear before the Emperor. This is the divine necessity. Everything else in this section and in the whole voyage narrative is ordained towards it. For this very purpose all those who are sailing with Paul will be saved. All this is communicated to Paul in a vision. This vision that Paul had in the middle of the stormy sea does not stand in isolation. It is related to some of the visions that Paul and other apostles have in Acts. Through these visions the

¹⁸³ Ibid. 179.

¹⁸⁴ Cf. Ibid. 182-3.

¹⁸⁵ Cf. Ibid.

mission to preach the Gospel to Gentiles is communicated. It is helpful to our study to consider some of these visions in Acts and observe how these are related to the theme of universal salvation in Luke-Acts. We shall limit ourselves only to those visions that Paul had. We shall begin by looking at the general concept of visions and dreams in Luke-Acts.

4.5.5.1 Visions and Dreams in Acts: Visions have been given an important role in Acts. According to Hubbard, “The nineteen commissions in Acts occur, with one possible exception (22:12-16), in visions”¹⁸⁶. Five of them are described as occurring in the night, i.e. in dreams. Hubbard maintains that “the epiphanic commissioning accounts in Luke’s second volume give it its theological authentication. They occur at decisive places throughout the narrative in such a way that God’s hand is continually seen as making possible each new step in the missionary program of the book”¹⁸⁷.

The inspiration to Luke comes from the OT where dreams and visions are an important medium of divine communication. Luke seems to draw upon contemporary Jewish and Hellenistic modes of dream “theories”. The Jewish and Hellenistic world took a great interest in dreams and visions as a form of communication with the divine¹⁸⁸. In his Gospel, Luke does not too often speak of dreams or visions. When they are mentioned they are either in the infancy narrative or in the resurrection appearances. The point is clear. Luke wants to tell his reader that in the ministry of Jesus, God communicates to him directly, just as he communicated to Moses in the OT. Therefore, in the ministry of Jesus, dreams and visions as a medium of divine communication have less importance.

Dreams and visions are interchangeable in the OT (cf. Num 12:6). This is made evident in the prophesy of Joel which Peter quotes in his Pentecostal sermon. This is an extended citation from the OT which is not among the frequent phenomena in Luke-Acts. When they do occur in Acts they underline an important principle. They point to a new phase in the dynamics of Luke-Acts. Let us examine this prophecy of Joel and its significance in Lucan narrative:

¹⁸⁶ Benjamin J. Hubbard, “The Role of Commissioning Accounts in Acts”, in: *Perspectives on Luke-Acts*, Charles H. Talbert (ed.), 194.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid. 198.

¹⁸⁸ For a Jewish interest on dreams cf. 4Q544, frag 1 and for Hellenistic view cf. Apuleius, *Metamorphosis*, 11, 1-7.12-13.26.

4.5.5.2 Basic Text: The Prophecy of Joel (Joel 2:28-32)

And in the last days it shall be, God declares, that I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams; yea, and on my menservants and my maidservants in those days I will pour out my Spirit; and they shall prophesy. And I will show wonders in the heaven above and signs on the earth beneath, blood, and fire, and vapour of smoke; the sun shall be turned into darkness and the moon into blood, before the day of the Lord comes, the great and manifest day. And it shall be that whoever calls on the name of the Lord shall be saved“.

Peter’s Pentecostal sermon could be seen as an inaugural address for the mission in the Acts of the Apostles. The prophecy of Joel (Joel 2:28-32) is one of the main elements of this speech. This part of the prophecy was seen in the rabbinic tradition as referring to God’s final intervention in history¹⁸⁹. Luke has added the words “*in the last days*” to this citation. The addition strengthens the above interpretation. The prophet foretells the outpouring out of the Spirit on all flesh. The prophetic words contain a universal dimension. They include everyone and not just the people of Israel. The Holy Spirit, foretold by the prophets, is the inspiration for and the source of apostolic activity throughout Acts, beginning with the experience of Pentecost day. In four of the commission accounts of Acts (9:29; 10:19; 11:12 and 13:2) we find that the Holy Spirit is expressly involved. This text of Joel is a programmatic statement for Acts. Prophecy, visions and dreams are the effects of the outpouring of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost.

Your sons and your daughters shall prophesy: The whole book of Acts could be seen as the record of prophetic activity inspired by the Holy Spirit. Prophetic activity is expressly mentioned in 11:28: Agabus foretells by the Spirit that there would be a world-wide famine. The prophets and teachers in the church of Antioch are led by the Spirit to set apart Paul and Barnabas for missionary work (13:1-3). The prophets, Judas and Silas, exhort the congregation at Antioch (15:32). The statement

¹⁸⁹ Cf. R. Zehnle, *Peter’s Pentecostal Discourse* (Tradition and Lucan Reinterpretation in Peter’s Speeches of Acts 2 and 3), 29-30.

about the daughters who will prophesy is fulfilled in Acts 21:9. The narrator mentions that the daughters of Philip possess the gift of prophesy. Agabus foretells Paul's arrest at Jerusalem by a symbolic action.

Your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams: The parallel between visions and dreams here indicates that they are complementary. Visions and dreams are interchangeable. Acts mentions a number of visions and all these visions tend to be means of divine communication.

4.5.5.2.1 ἐνυπνίον: The Greek word for dreams is ἐνυπνίον. This word appears only once in the NT and that is here in the prophecy of Joel. Luke is not consistent with his language in reference to dreams. In the ancient Near East and Hellenistic world, dream reports encompass a range of phenomena, visual scenes with no oral message, auditions with no visual phenomena, visual scenes with auditions and visual appearances of deities and deceased persons who deliver messages. "One is tempted to view as a dream any experience which communicates a message to a recipient at night or during sleep"¹⁹⁰. In some of the dream reports of the ancient world one gets the initial impression that the recipient was awake to hear an oral message. Later, however, it was said that the recipient awakens, thus implying that the recipient was really asleep when he had this experience.

It is the same story with Luke. He does not consistently use one term. Some night time and sleeping situations are intended as dream reports. For example, we are told that the angel stood by Paul at night (27:23). This is similar to the way dreams and visions are narrated in the OT. In Gen 15:1 we are told that the word of the Lord came to Abraham in a vision. Verse 15 makes it clear that this vision happens at night: the Lord brings Abraham outside and asks him to look at the sky and to count the stars. In Gen 20:3-7 we have another similar situation. God speaks to Abimelech in the night. But here it is clearly mentioned that it happened in a dream (Gen 20.3). Jacob's encounter with God at Bethel is also described as a dream (Gen 28:11-19). It

¹⁹⁰ R. K. Gnuse, *Dream and Dream Reports in the Writings of Josephus* (AGAJU, 39), 16.

is also possible that a dream or a situation is meant when only the element of God's appearance is mentioned (cf. Gen 12).

4.5.5.2.2 ὄραμα: Visions occur frequently in the Bible as instruments of supernatural revelation. They are audio visual communication between a heavenly being and an earthly recipient¹⁹¹. The word commonly used by Luke for such an experience is ὄραμα¹⁹². This term comes from the verb ὁράω which is one of the Greek verbs for seeing, observing or perceiving. Revelatory visions portray scenery and dramatic circumstances to the human recipient while the human is awake. "Visions are akin to dreams, but usually come while the recipient is conscious, and often under stress"¹⁹³. Thus the distinction between a vision and a dream has to do with whether the human is awake or asleep; the result is the same¹⁹⁴. In the LXX ὄραμα appears 43 times, out of these seven times in Isaiah. The prophetic use of dreams and visions is summarised in the Lord's dramatic defence of Moses in the face of Aaron and Miriam's revolt: "When a prophet of the Lord is among you, I reveal myself to him in a vision, I speak to him in a dream"(Num 12:16)

In its total 12 occurrences in the NT, ὄραμα occurs 11 times in Acts. Matthew uses it only once and that is in the context of the transfiguration (Mt 17:9). This term is not found in the ancient tradition or in the writings of Church Fathers,¹⁹⁵ and is never used to describe the resurrection appearance of Jesus¹⁹⁶. Luke uses ὄραμα to refer to divine message which includes both dreams and other revelations such as appearances to people who seem to be awake at the reception of the divine message. A vision can occur during the day (cf. Acts 10:3, 17, 19; 11:5 and also 9:10, 12) as well as at night (16:9-10; 18:9-10).

4.5.5.3 The Important Visions of Paul in Acts

¹⁹¹ Cf. William T. and Arnold, E., Art. "ὄραμα", in: *Evangelical Dictionary of Biblical Theology*, Walter A. Elwell (ed.), 802-3.

¹⁹² Cf. Thwb 5, .350.

¹⁹³ Walter Harrelson, Art. "ὄραμα", in: *Mercer Dictionary of the Bible*, Watson E.Mills (gen..ed.), 949.

¹⁹⁴ Cf. William T. Arnold, "ὄραμα", 803.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. H. W. Bartsch, Art. "ὄραμα", in: *EWNT* II, 1286.

¹⁹⁶ Cf. Ibid.

4.5.5.3.1 Visions at the Conversion of Paul: In 9:1-9 the Risen Lord confronts Saul on the road to Damascus. The sudden light from heaven flashing about Paul and the voice of the Risen Lord are two important elements of this experience. The vision makes Paul fall to the ground. This event is to transform the persecutor into a missionary. As Michael Prior puts it, “Paul’s first encounter with the Risen Christ involved both a fundamental turning-point in his spiritual perception, and a mission to bring both Jews and Gentiles within the embrace of the Gospel. The conversion experience served more to redirect his enthusiasm, than merely provide him with an interior illumination. The revelation involved a commission, which resulted in a necessity being laid upon him (1 Cor.9:16)”¹⁹⁷. The commission itself is intermediate in nature. Saul is only told to “*to rise and enter the city*” (9:6) and there he will receive further instructions. 9:10-19 narrates the vision to Ananias: *Now there was a disciple at Damascus named Ananias. The Lord said to him in a vision, (ἐν ὁράματι)*. At this the commissioning of Paul for the Gentile mission is completed. This is given through a vision to Ananias. Despite his protest Ananias is told to go, *for he (Saul) is a chosen instrument of mine to carry my name before the Gentiles and kings and the sons of Israel*. In the second story of Paul’s conversion (22:17), Luke does not use the word ὄραμα but ἔκστασις. Paul seems to be getting into a trance. It is during the trance that a divine message has been communicated to him. Paul is commissioned to go to the Gentiles. This trance of Paul occurs during the day.

In Acts 26:12-18, Luke narrates for the third time the story of Paul’s conversion. Paul speaks out before King Agrippa his experience on the way to Damascus. The three accounts of Paul’s Damascus road experience differ from each other and at the same time they complement each other. In 26:19 Paul declares that he did not disobey the “heavenly vision” (οὐκ ἔγενόμην ἀπειθής τῇ οὐρανίῳ ὀπτασίᾳ). Obedience to the vision makes Paul a witness to Christ in Damascus, Jerusalem, all of Judea, and among the Gentiles. From now onwards his life is fully governed by this vision. He had opposed the Way. With the same zeal now he will preach the Gospel. “The “must” of his Christian life finds its counterpart in the misguided “must” of his past Jewish life”¹⁹⁸.

In the description of this commissioning (26:16-18) there are two allusions to prophetic call narratives. By means of these allusions to Scripture Luke wishes to

¹⁹⁷ Michael Prior, *Jesus the Liberator*, (Sheffield: Sheffield Acad. Press, 1995) 57-58.

¹⁹⁸ Cosgrove, “The Divine δεῖ in Luke-Acts”, 177.

communicate that the mission to Gentiles is in accordance with Scripture and thus he refutes the charges against Paul (26:27-28). The reader is led to conclude that Paul's Gentile mission is not only based on Scriptural argument, but also revealed to Paul by the biblical means of divine revelation: God speaks to his prophets through visions and dreams.

4.5.5.3.2 Vision to Paul at the Beginning of his Second Mission Journey (16:9)

And a vision appeared to Paul in the night (καὶ ὄραμα διὰ [τῆς] νυκτὸς): a man of Macedonia was standing beseeching him and saying, "Come over to Macedonia and help us."

Luke's narrative takes a decisive turn after the apostolic council. Paul and his mission dominate the story. Between the apostolic council in ch.15 and Paul's arrest and imprisonment in ch. 21, Luke narrates a lively account of Paul's mission in Europe and Asia, his continuing struggles with Jewish opposition, and his decisive turn to the Gentiles. Acts 16:6-10 is a transition between these stages of the story. Paul and Barnabas separate (15:36-39). Paul recruits new helpers (15:40-16:3). He is called by God to a new field of missionary work (16:4-10). "Paul was often led by visions, but at the beginning of his second journey he was in a state of great uncertainty. He had planned to preach the Gospel both in the western and in the northern part of Asia Minor, but he was prevented from doing so by the Holy Spirit, although he was not told what to do. It was not before he had reached Troas on the Aegean that he received positive direction. In a revelation, a Macedonian urged him to cross over to Macedonia and help the people there"¹⁹⁹. This vision of a man who represents his country and his people facilitates Paul's decision to extend his missionary work in Europe. Thus Christianity entered Europe.

Paul and his companions are prevented by the Holy Spirit. The circumstantial participle of κωλύω²⁰⁰ is to be understood as the reason for their taking the path they did. So the Holy Spirit directly and dramatically directs the movement of the mission²⁰¹. The narrative says that when they attempted to go to Bithynia, the Spirit of

¹⁹⁹ Johannes Munck, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 158.

²⁰⁰ Cf. Lk 9:49-50; 11:52; 23:2; Acts 8:36; 10:47; 11:17.

²⁰¹ Cf. Acts 4:31; 8:29, 39; 10:44; 13:2,4.

Jesus did not allow them. This is the only time the expression “Spirit of Jesus” occurs in Acts. Some manuscripts correct it to the more frequent “Holy Spirit” or “Spirit of the Lord”: The reading “Spirit of Jesus” is probably the correct one as in the rest of the narrative Jesus takes an active role in the story²⁰². Then they continue their journey: passing by Mysia they come to Troas. Johnson thus sums up the role of the Spirit in these mission journeys: “Despite the uncertainty and clumsiness of these geographical indicators, the narrative point is clear enough: the Spirit blocked every direction sought by human initiative, and left only an opening to Europe”²⁰³.

Luke narrates that a certain “man from Macedonia was standing...”. Macedonia is the territory north of Achaia, facing the Adriatic Sea to the west, and to the east, the Aegean Sea, whose major cities are clustered on the eastern coast. The use of the verb βοηθέω²⁰⁴ is deeply evocative of biblical prayer, which uses this language for the help from God that is salvation (cf. Gen 19:25; Ex 18:4; Deut 33:26; Ps 9:35; 17:2; 36:40etc.). The vision plays a key role here in advancing the plot. Gerhard Schneider takes this vision as a „Traumgesicht, das freilich als von Gott herbeigeführt verstanden wird“²⁰⁵. Johnson cites as a literary parallel the dream experienced by Apollonius of Tyana²⁰⁶.

4.5.5.3.3 The Vision to Paul at Corinth (18:9):

And the Lord said to Paul one night in a vision (ἐν νυκτὶ δι’ ὀράματος), "Do not be afraid, but speak and do not be silent; for I am with you, and no man shall attack you to harm you; for I have many people in this city."

Here we have a Genesis-like epiphany. Paul is commissioned and encouraged to continue his mission in Corinth despite resistance from the Corinthian Jews (18:6, 12-17). The commission thus explains Paul’s eighteen- month stay which contrasts with the general Lucan view that he moved quickly from country to country. Corinth

²⁰² Cf. Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 285.

²⁰³ Ibid.285-6.

²⁰⁴ The same form of the verb is used in Mk 9:22 where the father of the boy possessed pleads Jesus for help: “*but if you can do anything, have pity on us and help us (βοήθησον)*”.

²⁰⁵ Schneider, *Die Apostelgeschichte* 2, 206.

²⁰⁶ Cf. Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* 4:34: a woman appears to him and asks to see him before he leaves for Rome. He interprets this dream as an indication that he should visit Crete. Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles* 285.

was a port city, a busy centre of trade and commerce, and a variety of religious cults. The city had a “Synagogue of the Hebrews”, a temple to Apollo, and an Isis shrine, as well as the famous temple to Aphrodite (the goddess of love) on the Acrocorinth²⁰⁷. The mission activity of Paul in Corinth is expressed with the phrases “*every Sabbath in the Synagogue he engaged in debate*” and he “*began to devote himself to the word*”. The verb διαλέγομαι which is used here for debating is also found in 17:2 and 17 where Paul is engaged in a scholastic disputation within the synagogue. Codex D has an addition to this text: Paul “was inserting the name of the Lord Jesus”. Johnson makes the following comment on this: “The most obvious way he could do this would be by “reading” the name of Jesus into those places of Torah where the title Kyrios is used, on analogy with the way in which Adonai is read by pious Jews to avoid the pronouncing of the Tetragrammaton (YHWH). This could indeed be considered provocative, and one wonders whether it reflects some actual practice”²⁰⁸.

When Silas and Timothy arrived from Macedonia, Paul was occupied with preaching. The verb συνέχω has the sense here of “involving oneself”. The imperfect tense is correctly read as inchoative. We find the same term for preaching in 4:29, 31; 6:2, 4; 8:4. Paul bore witness to the Jews that the messiah was Jesus. However, the Jews opposed and reviled him. The verb ἀντιτάσσομαι occurs only here in Luke-Acts and this verb has the connotation of an organised front of resistance²⁰⁹. Paul’s reaction to their hostility is mentioned by way of a deed and words: *he shook out his garments*. This is the gesture of rejection toward those who rejected him. Such an instruction was given by Jesus in his missionary discourse in Lk 10:11. A similar behaviour of Paul could be seen in 13:51. His words declare that it is they who are responsible for the division and not him: “*Your blood be upon your heads! I am innocent. From now on I will go to the Gentiles*”. This formula derives from 2 Sam 1:16; 1 Kgs 2:33; 3:1. In Paul’s farewell discourse at Ephesus we find a variation of this expression. When Paul says “*I will go to the Gentiles*” he makes the second solemn declaration of his intention. The first was in 13:46. However, both these declarations do not prevent him from continuing his work among the Jews²¹⁰. “Luke’s narrative has the double

²⁰⁷ Cf. Strabo, *Geography* 8, 6, 20-23.

²⁰⁸ Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 323.

²⁰⁹ Cf. Herodotus, *Persian wars* 4:134.

²¹⁰ Cf. Acts 18:19; 19:8.

function of legitimating the Gentile mission but also asserting God's fidelity to his people"²¹¹. This narrative tension remains unsolved till the end.

The Lord who appears to him in the vision must be understood to be the risen Jesus (cf. 9:5). The words of the risen Lord, Μὴ φοβοῦ (fear no longer), are repeated by the angel to Paul, at his vision on the ship. The narrator does not tell us why Paul should have been frightened in the first place. One is reminded here of Paul's own words in 1 Cor 2:3: "*I came to you in weakness and fear and much trembling*". Paul is told to speak and not to be silent. λαλέω and σιωπάω are also put together in Lk 1:20 where the angel tells Zechariah that he "*will be silent and not able to speak until the day these things come to pass*". The words of assurance ἐγὼ εἰμι μετὰ σοῦ ("I am with you") is often found in the prophets (cf. Isa 41:10: 41:5; Jer 1:8, 19). However this reassurance is given immediately before Paul is in fact attacked. Johnson takes τοῦ κακῶσαί σε as a result clause rather than a purpose clause because the attack on Paul in 18:12-17 does not bring Paul any personal harm²¹². The risen Lord further grounds his exhortation of assurance with the addition: "*for I have many people in this city*". It is worth noting the word λαός here²¹³. Luke uses this word consistently for the people of Israel. This announcement is particularly significant in light of 15:14 that God was visiting the Gentiles to take from among them a λαός for his name.

4.5.5.3.4 Vision to Paul Concerning his Witnessing in Rome (23:11):

*The following night the Lord stood by him and said, "Take courage, for as you have testified about me at Jerusalem, so you must bear witness also at Rome"*²¹⁴.

Paul was brought before the Sanhedrin. In this and the following defence scenes, Paul will appear before the highest religious and political authorities of the region: the Jerusalem Sanhedrin, two Roman governors, and King Agrippa. Tannehill brings out the significance of these encounters: "The narrator is not content to present the powerful effect of the Christian mission in the private lives of individuals. Its

²¹¹ Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 323; cf. also Eric Franklin, *Christ the Lord*, 110. He cites a number of references in Acts where Paul goes to the Gentiles without prior hostility or break away from the Jews.

²¹² Cf. Ibid.324.

²¹³ Cf. G. Lohfink, *Die Sammlung Israels: Eine Untersuchung zur lukanischen Ekklesiologie* (München : Kösel, 1975) 59-61.

²¹⁴ A good parallel to this vision is seen in Josephus *Life* 208-209.

cultural and political effect is also important. This aspect comes to the fore as Paul confronts high authorities of Judaism and Rome. Those who control religious and political institutions must listen to Paul and respond in some way to him”²¹⁵. Paul asserts to the members of the Sanhedrin that he has lived with a good conscience before God. This means he has lived in obedience to his heavenly call. The high priest commands that Paul be struck on the mouth. This action of the high priest indicates his complete and immediate rejection of Paul’s claim that his mission represents faithfulness to God. Paul reacts with a sharply worded threat of divine retribution and later apologises that he did not know that he was speaking to the high priest

But when Paul perceived that one part were Sadducees and the other Pharisees, he cried out in the council, "*Brethren, I am a Pharisee, a son of Pharisees; with respect to the hope and the resurrection of the dead I am on trial.*" When they heard this a dissension arose between the Pharisees and the Sadducees; and the assembly was divided. The scene before Sanhedrin ends in uproar and the tribune intervenes with his troops because he fears that Paul may be killed by mob violence. In this context the Lord’s assurance is specially needed. Paul receives this reassurance in a night vision. *The following night the Lord stood by him and said, “Take courage, for as you have testified about me at Jerusalem, so you must bear witness also at Rome (οὕτω σε δεῖ καὶ εἰς Ῥώμην μαρτυρῆσαι)*”.

The previous episodes showed how when Jesus’ witnesses were imprisoned, the prison doors were wondrously opened for them (5:17-21; 12:1-11; 16:23-26). Now it is different. The Lord’s reassurance must take the place of miraculously opening doors. “The divine power that rescues from prison has become a powerful presence that enables the witness to endure an imprisonment that lasts for years”²¹⁶.

This vision is more of a dream. Luke does not apply here the technical term for dream or vision. But the situation does suggest a dream: *and the following night the Lord stood by him*. The verb ἐφίστημι is used for angelic visions in Lk 2:9; 24:4; Acts 12:7. This vision has the effect of showing the reader that Paul’s witnessing has

²¹⁵ Tannehill, *Narrative Unity* 2, 285.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.* 292.

the Lord's approval. It also functions as a programmatic prophecy which shows the direction the plot will continue to take. It indicates that the form of Paul's witness to Rome will be as it is here, in captivity²¹⁷. Paul is speaking not merely in defence of himself but as a witness for Jesus. "The Lord's words remind us of Paul's decision in 19:21 to go to Jerusalem, after which he also must (dei) see Rome. The picture is sharper now; the Lord does not speak vaguely of a plan to "go" to Jerusalem and to "see" Rome but of the witness of Paul in these key places. Paul has completed the first half of his journey, but he is no longer a free man and his life is threatened. The Lord assures him that his witness in Rome is still part of the divine plan"²¹⁸. The expression "the Lord stood by him" is noteworthy. Schneider writes: "Die von Gott verfügte Notwendigkeit, daß Paulus nach Rom gelangt, wird hier von Christus kundgetan"²¹⁹. At the same time we have a promise here which gives the reader certainty that Paul had in fact witnessed in Rome.

4.6 Conclusion: Acts 27:21-26 narrates a vision like the other visions of Paul in Acts. All the visions of Paul that we have seen have many similarities. However the vision on the ship is more similar to the visions narrated in chs 18 and 23. David Aune considers these three as "dream or vision oracles which closely confirm to the OT and early Jewish oracle of assurance"²²⁰. The first two are narrated by the author and the last one is told by Paul himself to the crew and passengers on the ship voyaging to Rome. The supernatural revealer in the first two oracles is the Lord and in the third it is the angel of God. Each oracle is given to Paul under circumstances of great stress²²¹. None of them is an explicit response to a prayer of lament or distress.

In all of these visions the same message is revealed: the Gentile mission is a divine command. In 16:9 Paul is commissioned to go to Macedonia and thus to cross the water and go to Europe and bring the Good News there. This commission, a new phase in the Gentile mission, is prepared by the references to the Holy Spirit who prevented Paul and Timothy from preaching in Asia and Bithynia (16:6-7), but

²¹⁷ Cf. Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 399.

²¹⁸ Tannehill, *Narrative Unity* 2, 292.

²¹⁹ Schneider, *Die Apostelgeschichte* 2, 334.

²²⁰ David Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World*, (Grand Rapids: Michigan, 1983) 266-67.

²²¹ Ibid.

instead led them to Troas. In 18:9-10, the vision (with three elements: the Lord, the night and a vision) is part of a pericope dealing with the Gentile mission. Paul is told not to fear when he turns to the Gentiles (18:7). The vision in 26:19 makes it clear that Paul is sent to Gentiles (26:17). And the vision during the shipwreck (27:24) is a reassurance to Paul that he is an instrument in God's hands for the Gentile mission. The vision on the ship forms as the climax of the other visions of Paul. We are told here for the third time that Paul must complete his journey to Rome. This time the goal is even more distinct: Paul has been told that he must stand before Caesar. Jerusalem and Rome are important as the seats of central authorities: the Sanhedrin and high priest, on the one hand, the Emperor on the other. "Through Paul's journey to Jerusalem and to Rome the testimony to Jesus Messiah is carried to the highest authorities by a prisoner. The journey to Rome will be especially difficult. This difficulty is balanced in the narrative by a threefold indication of its necessity (using δέι in each case) at the crucial stages: when the plan is conceived (19:21), as Paul's life is threatened in Jerusalem (23:11), as Paul's life is threatened at sea (27:24)"²²².

All these visions of Paul are in line with the programmatic statement in Acts 2. Peter cites the Prophet Joel in such a way that this text could be interpreted as the Scriptural proof for the Gentile mission. When the visions, prophesied in Acts 2, occur, they are channels by which God assures and commands the Gentile mission. We can conclude that Luke chose revelation by dreams and visions as a mode by which he justifies the Gentile mission. Peter, Cornelius, Ananias and specially Paul are guided through visions. We can sum up this with the words of Bart J. Koet: "After the resurrection of Jesus dreams and visions communicate to the disciples how Jesus' mission to be followed. Dreams and visions in Acts are a proof that the mission to the Gentiles come from God. Acts is a defence of the Gentile mission. It offers Scriptural proof that the Jews remain law-abiding when engaged in the Gentile mission, but the visions also tell us that the Gentile mission is commissioned by divine revelation. These are the two sides of the same coin"²²³.

²²² Tannehill, *Narrative Unity* 2, 292.

²²³ Bart J. Koet, "Divine Communication in Luke-Acts", in: *The Unity of Luke-Acts*, J. Verheyden (ed.), 7.

We have analysed exegetically Paul's words of comfort in the stormy sea. We have considered these verses as a speech and seen them in the light of the speeches of ancient historiography and especially in comparison with the other two Gentile speeches of Paul in Acts. And finally we have discussed these verses under the title Gentile mission: divine necessity, communicated through visions. These few verses provide a key to our understanding of the voyage narrative in Acts 27-28. They also have the function of relating the voyage to Rome to the rest of Acts. The key words of these verses are those spoken by the angel: Paul *must stand before Caesar; and lo, God has granted you all those who sail with you (27:24)*. All will be saved on account of Paul's mission in Rome. The Gentile mission which has been the major theme of Luke-Acts finds its important phase here. The angelic vision emphasises universal salvation, which here refers to the rescue from sea. The universal significance is indicated by two expressions in this passage: one from the words of Paul: *for there will be no loss of life among you*; and the other from the words of the angel: *God has granted you all those who sail with you*. This theme of universal salvation will be carried forward in the narrative. This appears very emphatically in the account of the meal of salvation in vv. 33-38. Paul encourages them to eat *for not a hair is to perish from the head of any of you*. Having said this *he took bread and gave thanks to God in the presence of all*. Then the narrator continues: *they were all encouraged; we were all in two hundred and seventy six persons in the ship*. And at the end of the chapter the author narrates the shipwreck and their escape to the land with the words: *And so it was that all escaped to land*. The salvation of all is repeatedly emphasised in this voyage narrative. The reader who has gone through the whole of Luke-Acts will naturally remember the words of the Prophet Isaiah cited in the preaching of John the Baptist: *And all flesh will see the salvation of God* (Lk 3:6). God's plan of universal salvation is carried out by the life and death of his Son Jesus Christ. The twelve are specially commissioned to preach his Gospel from Jerusalem to the ends of the earth. Paul, though he does not belong to the group of twelve, has a special place in this mission. He is the chosen instrument of God to carry the Gospel to Gentiles. In the fulfilment of the prophecy of Isaiah – all flesh will see the salvation of God - Paul has a very important contribution to make.

Chapter Five

Shipwreck and Salvation (27:27- 44)

5.1 Introduction: The events of the fourteenth day revolve around the word *salvation*. This word appears 7 times in this section. This section can be subdivided into three smaller parts and each of these three subdivisions has salvation as the central theme. In the first subdivision (vv. 27-32) when the soldiers seek to escape from the ship, Paul intervenes and tells the centurion, “Unless these men stay in the ship, you cannot be *saved*”. In order to be saved from the death due to shipwreck all need to be together. Individuals seeking to escape from the danger at the neglect and expense of others would not help. Salvation needs the forgoing of self-interest for the sake of common good. The second subdivision (vv. 33-38) can be titled as “the meal of salvation”. Paul encourages them to have food and exhorts them that this meal is good for their *salvation*. He further adds that not a hair of their head will be lost. Paul breaks the bread and after giving thanks eats before them. The others, too, are encouraged by this and begin to eat. And the result of this meal is that they have strength to unload the ship and prepare themselves for the safe swimming to the land at the shipwreck. The third subdivision is the shipwreck and the safe landing of all on the shore. The centurion does not allow the soldiers to execute their plan of killing the prisoners because he wished to *save* Paul. And the narrative ends with the words “all *escaped* to land”.

These three events happen on the fourteenth night and day. The time-indication is clearly marked at the beginning of each paragraph: “When the fourteenth day had come” (v.27); “As the day was about to dawn” (v. 33); “And when it was day” (v. 39). In each of these paragraphs Paul takes the place of prominence. In the first two paragraphs Paul intervenes and his intervention is listened to by the centurion and by the voyagers. In the last paragraph it is the centurion who intervenes with the purpose of saving Paul. In the first two paragraphs it is Paul who is in some way instrumental in saving. But in the last paragraph he is the object of saving the rest.

5.2 The Events of the Fourteenth Night (vv. 27-32)

5.2.1 The Structure: This paragraph has three parts: vv. 27-29 narrate the safety actions of the soldiers as they were drifting across the sea of Adria. This paragraph has both time and place indications. The narrator mentions that it was midnight and they were drifting across the sea of Adria. There are three actions from the sailors and they all are safety measures: they sounded; they let down four anchors from the ship and they prayed for the day to come. The second paragraph (vv. 30-31) is a plot of the sailors to escape and the intervention of Paul. They seek to escape under the pretence of laying out anchors from the bow. Their intention is sorted out by Paul and he intervenes. He tells the centurion that the sailors must remain in the boat for the safety of all. The third paragraph narrates the action of soldiers who cut away the ropes of the boat and let the boat go. The following table shows three-fold structure of these verses:

1. The safety measures of sailors.

a. The circumstances (v. 27)

Ὦς δὲ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτῃ νύξ ἐγένετο
διαφερομένων ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀδρία,
κατὰ μέσον τῆς νυκτὸς ὑπενόουν οἱ ναῦται προσάγειν τινα αὐτοῖς χώραν.

b. The safety actions of the sailors (v. 28-29)

καὶ βολίσαντες εἴρον ὄργυιὰς εἴκοσι,
βραχὺ δὲ διαστήσαντες καὶ πάλιν βολίσαντες εἴρον ὄργυιὰς δεκαπέντε·
φοβούμενοί τε μή που κατὰ τραχεῖς τόπους ἐκπέσωμεν,
ἐκ πρύμνης ῥίψαντες ἀγκύρας τέσσαρας ἤρχοντο ἡμέραν γενέσθαι.

2. The intervention of Paul at the plot of the soldiers to escape.

a. The plot of escape from the sailors (v. 30)

τῶν δὲ ναυτῶν ζητούντων φυγεῖν ἐκ τοῦ πλοίου
καὶ χαλασάντων τὴν σκάφην εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν
προφάσει ὡς ἐκ πρῶρης ἀγκύρας μελλόντων ἐκτείνειν,

b. Paul's intervention (v.30)

εἶπεν ὁ Παῦλος τῷ ἑκατοντάρχη καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις,
Ἐὰν μὴ οὗτοι μείνωσιν ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ, ὑμεῖς σωθῆναι οὐ δύνασθε.

3. The action of the soldiers (v. 31)

τότε ἀπέκοψαν οἱ στρατιῶται τὰ σχοινία τῆς σκάφης
καὶ εἶασαν αὐτὴν ἐκπεσεῖν.

5.2.2 Exegetical Comments

5.1.2.1 The Safety-actions of the Sailors: The verb διαφέρω appears in this narrative for the third time (27:15, 17). The geographical indication “along the sea of Adria” seems to refer to “the section of the Mediterranean between Crete and Malta, with Sicily and the foot of Italy to the north-west”¹. What we now call “Adriatic sea” was referred to as the Gulf of Adria at the time of Luke². The shipwreck of Josephus too occurred at this location³. Polhill states: “There was a rocky promontory on the northeast extremity of Malta now known as Point Koura. The breakers against Koura are audible for some distance, and it was perhaps this sound that alerted the sailors to the possibility that they were nearing the land”⁴. About midnight the soldiers suspected that they were nearing the land. προσάγειν τινὰ αὐτοῖς χώραν literally means “some land was approaching them”. It is a distinctive construction. It suggests that the perspective was that of the soldiers themselves⁵. The verb προσάγειν has variants in many manuscripts. This may be due to the oddness of the construction. The Codex Vaticanus has an unusual word: “that land was *resounding*” instead of “that land was approaching”. According to Marshall “this conveys the probable sense accurately, and may perhaps be the original reading, although it could be a learned correction of the text”⁶.

The soldiers made a sounding of the depth of the waters. Luke uses the technical term βολίζω which is a rare verb. It means the throwing of a line weighted with a lead weight (βολισ) overboard in order to measure the depth of water. Ancient sounding leads had a hollow place on the underside that was filled with grease so some of the bottom of the seabed would adhere⁷. They found that the depth was

¹ Cf. Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 454.

² The NIV notes that this sea is not to be confused with the modern Adriatic Sea between the coasts of Yugoslavia and Western Italy.

³ Cf. Josephus, *Life*, 15.

⁴ Polhill, *Acts*, 524.

⁵ Cf. Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 454

⁶ Marshall, *Acts*, note on p.411.

⁷ Cf. C. Hemer, *The Book of Acts in the Setting of Hellenistic History*, 147.

twenty fathoms. As the successive soundings follow at short intervals⁸ they realise that the depth was growing shallower. They were afraid of running aground with no visibility. And so naturally they let out four anchors⁹ from the stern and prayed¹⁰ for the day to come. According to Polhill, “the advantage of throwing them (the anchors) off the stern was that this would keep the vessel pointed toward the shore and thus give immediate command of the ship for beaching”¹¹.

5.1.2.2 The Sailors Plot to Escape and Paul’s Intervention: This verse (v. 30) begins with a genitive absolute. The main indicative verb appears only in the next verse (v. 31). It is the sailors above all who perceive the danger to the ship and seek to save themselves. Their pretence consisted in lowering the boat as though they were going to lower the anchors from the bow. Barrett assumes, “it may be supposed that the stern anchors had checked the forward motion of the ship and that the sailors’ intention (if it was not that which Luke attributes to them) was to maintain the ship’s position in the line of the wind, and so to prevent it from being struck broadside by the heavy seas”¹². Paul believes that once the sailors are in the boat, they could cut the boat free and save themselves from the wreck that was imminent¹³.

Paul intervenes. He has had much sailing experience. Perhaps his own nautical experience made him to think that there is no advantage in anchoring the ship by the bow in the present circumstances¹⁴. He addresses the centurion and points out that there was no way the rest of them could be saved if the sailors abandoned the ship. According to Schneider, the intervention of Paul is a Lucan insertion and Luke does it in order to underline the theme of “saving”¹⁵. Beg. argues that Paul (Luke) indeed misunderstood the action of the sailors: “It seems quite likely that the sailors had no intention of deserting. The boat was safe enough where she was, and they would be much greater danger in a

⁸ For the expression “a little further on” (βραχὺ δὲ διαστήσαντες) cf. Lk. 22:59 (for time) and 24:51 (for space).

⁹ The ships in ancient times carried many anchors. Excavations have shown a ship of the fourteenth century BC with twenty-three stone anchors, and a first century Roman ship that has five lead anchors. Cf. N. Hirschfield, “The Ship of St. Paul – Part 1: Historical background”, in: *BA* 53 (1990), 25-30.

¹⁰ This is found also in the shipwreck of *Odyssey*. Cf. Homer, *Odyssey* 9.151.

¹¹ Polhill, *Acts*, 525.

¹² Barrett, *Acts*, 1205.

¹³ The motif of sailors abandoning ship by means of the lifeboat is found also in Achilles Tatius, *Leucippe and Clitophon* 3:3; Petronius, *Satyricon* 102.

¹⁴ Cf. Bruce, *The Book of Acts*, 491.

¹⁵ Cf. Schneider, *Apg* 2, 395.

dinghy in the dark, off an unknown shore. Probably the captain was by no means pleased to lose his dinghy which might have been very valuable in making the shore”¹⁶. Is it a misunderstanding from Paul?¹⁷ Was the cutting off of the boat the direct cause of the shipwreck¹⁸. Schille rightly points out that questions such as these fail to recognise the literary character of the story¹⁹. Luke is describing a panic. It is possible that the soldiers and passengers acted in panic and misunderstood the sailors. However, we need not probe deeper into the intentions of the sailors. It is sufficient for us to understand what the narrator wants to communicate. He wants to make the point that the presence of everyone is needed for the safety of all. Everyone in the ship needs to stay and work together for their common deliverance. One cannot look for his individual safety and escape, leaving the others in danger. Paul is convinced of this as he is told by the angel that all on the ship will be saved on account of Paul. Unlike the previous case the centurion listens to Paul this time. The lifeboat is cut away and set adrift before the sailors could carry out their plan²⁰.

5.3 The Meal of Salvation (vv. 33-38)

5.3.1 Structure: In these five verses we can trace a five-fold structure. The narrative begins with a time indication: “as the day was about to dawn”. This is followed by the introduction to Paul’s exhortation and then the actual exhortation. Paul’s exhorts them to eat first of all by referring to the last fourteen days they have spent without eating. The exhortation to eat is accompanied by two statements. The first one is the statement of reason why they should eat: “It is good for their salvation or survival”. The second statement is one of assurance: “and not a hair is to perish from the head of any of you”. The exhortation to eat is immediately followed by Paul’s action of eating. In fact there are four actions: Paul took bread, gave thanks to God in the presence of them all, he broke it and began to eat. What follows seems to be the result of Paul’s exhortation and action: the third person plural are encouraged and eat, the mentioning of the number of persons present in the ship, and finally the lightening of

¹⁶ *Beg iv.* 335-6.

¹⁷ Haenchen thinks that Paul misunderstood what could have been a legitimate and praiseworthy attempt by the sailors to anchor the bow. He accuses Paul being in some way the cause of the shipwreck. Cf. *Acts*, 706, 710.

¹⁸ *Beg.* 336: “if they had kept the dinghy there was no reason why they should have lost the ship. They were anchored safely, and they had plenty of provisions on board. It was only necessary to wait for the end of the gale, and row ashore in comfort”

¹⁹ Schille, *Apog.* 466.

²⁰ The motif of cutting off of the lifeboat in a storm is found in Heliodorus, *The Ethiopians* 5, 27, 6.

the ship by throwing the wheat out in to the sea. The following table shows us this five-fold structure of vv.33-38.

1. Temporal setting (v. 33a)

Ἄχρι δὲ οὗ ἡμέρα ἤμελλεν γίνεσθαι

2. Introducing Paul's address (v. 33b)

παρεκάλει ὁ Παῦλος ἅπαντας
μεταλαβεῖν τροφῆς λέγων

3. Exhortation:

a) Reference to past (v. 33c)

Τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτην σήμερον ἡμέραν προσδοκῶντες ἄσιτοι ιατελεῖτε
μηθὲν προσλαβόμενοι

b) Advise to eat (v. 34a)

διὸ παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς μεταλαβεῖν τροφῆς·

c) Statement of reason (v. 34b)

τοῦτο γὰρ πρὸς τῆς ὑμετέρας σωτηρίας ὑπάρχει

d) Statement of assurance (v. 34c)

οὐδενὸς γὰρ ὑμῶν θρῖξ ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀπολείται

4. Paul's action (v. 35)

εἶπας δὲ ταῦτα
καὶ λαβὼν ἄρτον
εὐχαρίστησεν τῷ θεῷ ἐνώπιον
πάντων
καὶ κλάσας
ἤρξατο ἐσθίειν.

5. Result (vv. 36-38)

εὐθυμοὶ δὲ γενόμενοι πάντες
καὶ αὐτοὶ προσελάβοντο τροφῆς.

ἤμεθα δὲ αἱ πᾶσαι ψυχαὶ ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ διακόσαι ἑβδομήκοντα ἕξ.
κορεσθέντες δὲ τροφῆς
ἐκούφιζον τὸ πλοῖον ἐκβαλλόμενοι τὸν σίτον εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν.

5.3.2 Exegetical Analysis

5.3.2.1 Temporal Setting:

Conzelmann affirms that these verses are an insertion²¹. On the other hand Barrett assumes that they follow immediately after v. 21²². According to him vv. 22-26 are an insertion. We may recall that v. 21 begins with the phrase, “as they had been long without food”. Barrett observes the repetition of the word “food” here which is mentioned in the episode of vv. 22-26. We do not need to go for a discussion on these views as they do not serve our purpose. The temporal sequence of time is clearly indicated by the author²³: they near the land at midnight (v. 27); then after making soundings pray for day to come (v. 29); Now day is to arrive (v. 33); and finally day comes in (v.39).

Verse 21a is translated by most as “As the day was about to dawn”. But the preposition ἄχρι is rendered as “until”. Barrett holds this natural rendering of ἄχρι as “until” and translates the verse as “Until day was about to come”²⁴. The German translation by Shatter too agrees with this. Barrett points out that ἄχρι δὲ οὐ followed by imperfect παρεκάλει suggests an incomplete action. παρεκάλειν may be iterative: *Until day was about to break, Paul kept on exhorting*. Barrett’s translation makes more sense when we relate this episode to the previous one where Paul intervenes to encourage the passengers. In v. 23 Paul says, “In this night”. It can mean “in this night, which is not yet over, and Paul kept on urging until day was to break”.

5.3.2.2 Introducing Paul’s Address:

After giving the time indication, Luke reports that Paul urged them all to take food. The verb παρεκάλειν is used to introduce Paul’s exhortation. The root meaning

²¹ Cf. Conzelmann, *Acts*, 220.

²² Cf. Barrett, *Acts*, 1206.

²³ Cf. Johnson, *Acts*, 454-5.

²⁴ Cf. Barrett, *Acts*, 1206.

of this verb παρεκάλειν is to “call in”. From this follows the other meanings which are not easy to distinguish from one another: a) to ask (sometimes used of invocation of the gods); b) to request, exhort; c) to speak consoling words especially in case of bereavement.

In the LXX it is mainly used for the Hebrew נָחַם, which means “be moved to pity, comfort (cf. Ps 119:50). In Genesis 37:35, this verb is used concerning the mourning for the dead. It is the Prophet’s task to comfort. The book of Deutero-Isaiah begins with the words “comfort, comfort my people” (Is 40:1). παρεκάλειν can also stand for נָחַם as niph, hiph, where the sense is to be sorry, have compassion (cf. Ps.135:14). In Deut 3:28 it means “to strengthen”, and in Ex 15:13 it means “to lead along”, “to guide”.

The verb appears 109 times in the NT, with the meanings: a) summon, invite, implore, b) exhort and c) comfort, encourage. In all strands of the Synoptic tradition παρεκάλειν means to ask, to implore, in the context of needy people who come with their request to Jesus²⁵.

This verb is found in Acts 21 times²⁶. It is translated as “exhorting” (5 times), “besought” (5 times), “desiring” (3 times), “comforting” (3 times), “praying” (3 times) and “calling” and “inviting” (once). It is worth noting that in most of these verbs Paul is involved either directly as the subject of the verb or as the object. We shall look into a few occurrences.

13:42: Paul and Barnabas are in the Synagogue of Antioch of Pisidia on the day of Sabbath. After the reading of the Law and the Prophets the rulers of the synagogue invite them to speak to them words of encouragement (λόγος παρακλήσεως) (v.15). The Paul stands up and speaks to the people. The long address of Paul recapitulates the history of the chosen people now being fulfilled in the death and resurrection of Jesus. Verse 42 says, *as they went out, the people begged (παρεκάλουν) that these things might be told them the next day.*

²⁵ Cf. J.Thomas, Art. “παρεκαλέω” in: *EDNT* III, 55.

²⁶ 2:40; 8:31; 9:38; 11:23; 13:42; 14:22; 15:32; 16:9; 16:16; 16:39; 16:40; 19:31; 20:2; 20:12; 21:12; 24:4; 25:2; 27:33; 27:34; 28:14; 28:20

14:22: The missionaries, Paul and Barnabas, preach the Gospel and make many disciples in Derbe. Then they return to Antioch in Syria, *strengthening the souls of the disciples and exhorting them to continue in the faith* (*παρακαλοῦντες ἐμμένειν τῇ πίστει*), and saying that through many tribulations we must enter the Kingdom of God.

16:9: At Troas Paul has a vision in the night: *a man of Macedonia was standing beseeching him and saying, “come over to Macedonia and help us”*.

16:15: In Macedonia Paul and Barnabas preach the Gospel at a place of prayer at the riverside on Sabbath. One of the hearers is Lydia. When she was baptised with her household, she *besought* Paul and Barnabas to come to her house and stay.

16:40: Paul and Barnabas went out of prison and visited Lydia, and when they had seen the brethren, they *exhorted* them and departed.

20:2: Paul is in Macedonia. The verse says *When he had gone through these parts and had given them much encouragement he came to Greece*.

At the moment of fear and lack of hunger, Paul comforts his fellow voyagers. The references above indicate that Luke often paints Paul as the one who brings comfort. Elsewhere in Acts, he brings comfort through preaching the Gospel of salvation. He mediates the comfort which he has received from the risen Lord at his Damascus encounter. But the comfort that he gives to the fellow voyagers on the ship is not directly related to the Christian message. The majority on the ship's passengers is pagans. At the natural level Paul offers them words of encouragement to eat. However, this encouraging or comforting of Paul is related to the meal which is not just an ordinary meal. As we shall discover this meal has Eucharistic overtones.

The narrator says that Paul encouraged “all”. If ἅπαντας is to be distinguished as a stronger word than πάντα, it will be intended to make the point that Paul had in mind his fellow passengers, the soldiers, and the sailors. This, however, would be the natural meaning even if πάντα were used. It may be no more than a mannerism. ἅπαντας occurs in Luke 11 times, in Acts 10 times, in the rest of the NT 11 times. Once again the universal character of this narrative is underlined. In the preceding narrative Paul has informed the centurion that everyone needs to be on the ship for the safety of all. Here he is encouraging all to take some food. The feminine noun τροφῆς

lit. means “nourishment, food, provision”²⁷. Metaphorically it refers to spiritual or mental nourishment (Heb 5.14). In our section of the meal in the ship the word τροφῆς appears four times.

5.3.2.3 Reference to the Past: Paul begins his exhortation with the words: “Today is the fourteenth day that you have continued in suspense and without food, having taken nothing”. BDR §161.3, n.6 describe Τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτην σήμερον ἡμέραν προσδοκῶντες as a “besondere Redensart” and translates, “jetzt schon den 14. Tag wartend”: “We are now awaiting the 14th Day”. This presumably is to be associated with the 14th Night (in v. 27), and with the statement at the beginning of the present verse that day was about to break. If nights are counted before days, we have now had almost the whole of the 14th night and are now awaiting the imminent beginning of the 14th day of sailing before the NE wind. We know already from v. 21 that this period had been marked by πολλή ἄστυα.

The verb προσδοκάω means to wait with anxiety, to await with apprehension concerning impending danger or trouble, to expect. This verb occurs 16 times in the NT, of which 6 times in the Gospel of Luke and 5 times in Acts²⁸. It has an apocalyptic and eschatological sense of waiting for the “coming” of messiah in Luke 7:19, 20: John, calling to him two of his disciples, sent them to the Lord, saying, «Are you he who is to come, or shall we look for another» (Σὺ εἶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἢ ἄλλον προσδοκῶμεν) (cf. Mt 11:3). In Lk 3:15 it occurs in a genitive absolute: As the people were in expectation, and all men questioned in their hearts concerning John, whether perhaps he were the Christ. In the second letter of Peter this verb has the sense of Christian hope (cf. 2Pet 3:12, 13, 14). This sense is found also in some Psalms (cf. Ps. 103:27; Ps.118, Ps.166).

Expectation with a sense of surprise is found in Lk 12:46 where Jesus says that the master of that servant will come on a day when he does not expect him: ἕξει ὁ κύριος τοῦ δούλου ἐκείνου ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἣ οὐ προσδοκᾷ. Waiting for a long time whose

²⁷ Danker, *A Greek Lexicon of the New Testament*, 1017. In his mission discourse Jesus says, “A worker is worthy of his food (τῆς τροφῆς)” Mt 10.10. The word appears in the sermon on the mount where Jesus advises the disciples not to be anxious about ones life (Mt 6.25). “For life is more than food (τροφῆς), and the body more than clothing”(Lk12:23). In all the other places it means simply food: Mt 3:4; 10:10; 24:45; Jn 4.8; Acts 9.19; 14:17, 27. James 2.15 and Heb. 5:12, 14.

²⁸ Cf. E. Palzkill, Art. “προσδοκάω” in: *EWNT* III, 393.

coming is delayed is found in Lk 1.21 for Zechariah in the temple after his vision, for Jesus in Lk 8:40, and for Peter in Acts 10:24. The verb is used of a beggar at the gate of the temple who waits with the hope of receiving something from Peter and John at the third hour (Acts 3:5).

In Acts 27-28 this verb appears three times. In 28:6a the dwellers of Malta are waiting to see whether Paul would fall down and die after he has been bitten by a poisonous snake. Here the verb has a sense of curiosity. In the context it is waiting in hopelessness at the threat of perishing in the sea. This sense of hopelessness is emphasised by using this verb twice in quick succession.

The verb διατελέω means “continue”, “go”, “be”. This verb occurs only here in the NT. It is used with participle and adjective to denote the state in which one remains²⁹. The adjective ἄσιτος means a state of having been without food, frequently with the implication of being caused by a lack of appetite.

προσλαβόμενοι³⁰ means: a) to take something that meets a personal need, take, partake food (its meaning here in vv 33 and 34); b) to promote one’s own ends; c) to extend a welcome, receive into one’s home or circle of acquaintances³¹. In Acts 18:26 and 28:2 it means welcoming people in to the house. It has the note of hospitality here. In Rom 14:1, 3 and 15:7 it has the sense of communion with God which is guaranteed to the believers. And this is the basis for accepting one another, specially the week. In our context it means to take food.

5.3.2.4 Paul’s Advice: Paul encouraged them all to partake of food. For taking food Paul uses here μεταλαμβάνειν with the genitive. Later in the same verse he uses προσλαμβάνεσθαι with the accusative. In v.34 once again he uses μεταλαμβάνειν³² and the genitive. In v.35 ἐσθίειν with no object; in v.36 προσλαμβάνεσθαι with the genitive. LS 1113 quote only Acts for μεταλαμβάνειν with the meaning *to partake of*

²⁹ Danker, A Greek Lexicon of the New Testament, 238.

³⁰ This verb appears 17 times in the NT. Always in the middle voice. It appears 5 times in Acts and 4 times in the letter to Romans.

³¹ Ibid 883.

³² H L P 049 326 1241 2495 have προσλαμβάνεσθαι

food, but it is clear that this meaning was coming into use in the post- classical period³³.

The verb μεταλαμβάνειν means “to share or participate in something” or “to come in possession of something”³⁴. Of its seven occurrences only once it is used with an accusative³⁵. Otherwise it always has genitive. This verb appears in the narrative of the summary of early Christian community of Jerusalem in Acts 2: 46: *And day by day, attending the temple together and breaking bread in their homes, they partook of food* (μετελάμβανον τροφῆς) *with glad and generous hearts*. In the 2nd Letter to Timothy the author exhorts Timothy to be courageous enough to suffer for the sake of Christ and his Gospel. He brings in the example of an athlete and a soldier who must follow their hard rules. Then he adds: *It is the hard-working farmer who ought to have the first share* (μεταλαμβάνειν) *of the crops*. In Heb 6:7 the author warns against apostasy. He advises the Christians to leave the elementary doctrine of Christ and go on to maturity. In this context he speaks of the blessings of God: *For land which has drunk the rain that often falls upon it, and brings forth vegetation useful to those for whose sake it is cultivated, receives* (μεταλαμβάνει) *a blessing from God*. In Heb. 12.10 the author speaks of the discipline of the Lord: *For they disciplined us for a short time at their pleasure, but he disciplines us for our good, that we may share* (μεταλαβείν) *his holiness*.

5.3.2.4.1 The Statement of Reason: It is for Your Salvation: This part of the verse - τοῦτο γὰρ πρὸς τῆς ὑμετέρας σωτηρίας ὑπάρχει - is translated differently: it will give you strength (RSV); You need it to survive (NIB); your safety depends on it (NJB); it will help you survive (NAB). It is clear that here σωτηρίας has a material sense. The need of the hour is the food as they have not eaten for a long time. However the frequent occurrence of this word and its verbal forms in this narrative indicate that the author uses this word here in more than one sense. We shall not focus on this word at this level. We will be coming to it later when we interpret the meal that Paul has on the ship.

³³ Cf. Josephus, *War* 2.143; PRyl 2.77.19 (BA 1035).

³⁴ Danker, *A Greek Lexicon of the New Testament*, 639.

³⁵ Cf. Acts 24:25. Here the Roman governor Felix tells Paul to “go away, when I have an opportunity I will summon you”. (καιρὸν δὲ μεταλαβὼν μετακαλέσομαί σε).

5.3.2.4.2 The Statement of Assurance: Not a Hair of Your Head will Perish

5.3.2.4.2.1 OT Background: This proverbial saying is found three times in the OT. It refers to the physical security that comes from God. In the first book of Samuel this proverb is cited with reference to Jonathan, the son of Saul, and Absalom, the rebelling son of David. Both have disobeyed their fathers and deserve punishment for their act of disobedience. However, the people of the Kingdom intervene on their behalf and plead for mercy from the kings. They justify their pleading for mercy by indicating that the lives of both have been precious before God and are protected by God. The third occurrence of this proverbial saying is in the first book of kings. It is spoken in reference to Solomon. Let us briefly examine these three OT texts.

a) 1 Sam 14:45: In 1 Sam 14:23b-46 the author narrates the cursing of Jonathan by King Saul. During the war against the Philistines, Jonathan breaks the vow made by his father Saul by eating honey. As Saul casts lots Jonathan confesses his deed. Saul intends to kill Jonathan. But the people interfere and deliver Jonathan. His bold attack on the enemy was the beginning of the victory, and without it the victory would not have been obtained; “the sense is, apparently, that if God was so pleased with Jonathan as to give him victory, he cannot now require his death”³⁶. *As Yahweh lives, not a hair of his head shall fall to the ground*. The expression points out to divine providence and protection particularly to someone who is pleasing before God. It refers to deliverance from physical death.

b) 2 Sam 14:11: In 2 Sam 14:1-20 the narrator depicts an acted parable from the wise woman of Tekoa who, with the instruction of Nathan, goes to David and pleads him to save her son. She tells David that her son had murdered his own brother in a fight and now the villagers wanted to kill him and wipe out her prodigy. In telling this story she is in fact telling David not to destroy Absalom, his son, for his deed. David promises to protect her son and so her prodigy. He says: *As the LORD lives, not one hair of your son shall fall to the ground* (2 Sam 14:8-11).

c) 1 Kgs 1:52: The author narrates the account of the enthronement of King Solomon. David has become old. His son, Adonijah, has declared himself king with the help of

³⁶ Smith, *Samuel*, 123.

Joab. Prophet Nathan reminds the king of his oath that Solomon his son will be David's successor. David reaffirms his promise to Solomon and asks the prophet Nathan and the priest to anoint Solomon as king. So Solomon rides on the mule of David and sits on his throne. As the city rejoices over the new king, Solomon, the news comes to Adonijah. He is afraid that Solomon may destroy him. But Solomon says: *If he proves to be a worthy man, not one of his hairs shall fall to the earth; but if wickedness is found in him, he shall die.*

In all three cases saving from physical death is meant. In the first two cases the promise is as strong as an oath. The expression "as the Lord lives" is used. In the third case though there is no such an expression, God comes in to question because Adonijah is holding the horns of the altar. When God wants to save one, no other instrument can come on the way; on the other hand, if God wants to destroy, no one else can save.

5.3.2.4.2.2 In Luke: This expression is found on the lips of Jesus in Lk 21:18 which forms part of the eschatological discourse of Jesus. This discourse could be subdivided into three parts³⁷:

- a) Lk 21:8-19: The sufferings and trials of the faithful before the divine judgement arrives (cf. Mk 13:5-13)
- b) Lk 21: 20-28: The process of the divine judgement leading up to the coming of the Son of Man (cf. Mk 13:14-27)
- c) Lk 21: 29-36: A warning to the disciples to be prepared (cf. Mk 13: 28-37).

The eschatological discourse in Luke is basically from the Markan source. However, Luke may be using a special source as well³⁸. In Mark there is no explicit reference to the fall of Jerusalem. The dominant note in Mark is the solemn warning while in Luke the emphasis falls upon the certain triumph that is to attend the witness of Christ's disciples³⁹. Their adversaries will be unable to withstand the wisdom which shall be given them. Not a hair of their head will perish. "The Lucan

³⁷ Cf. John Martin Creed, *The Gospel according to Luke* (London: Macmillan, 1969) 253.

³⁸ For a detailed account of differences between Luke and Mark with regard to the eschatological discourse of Jesus cf. R. Alan Culpepper, *Luke: The New Interpreter's Bible* vol.9, 398.

³⁹ Talbert arranges this discourse in a kind of concentric structure. At the centre of this structure are the verses 12-19 which he titles as "The time of testimony which comes before all this". Such a structure does indicate the importance of testimony in this discourse. Cf. Charles Talbert, *Reading Luke, A Literary Theological commentary on the Third Gospel*, 199-200.

modifications are due to history. Verses 12-19 foretell the triumphant spread of the Gospel which Luke is to record in Acts, and upon which he looks back as accomplished triumph”⁴⁰.

In Lk 21:12 Jesus tells “*they will lay their holds on you and persecute you, delivering you up to the synagogues and prisons, and you will be brought before kings and governors for my name’s sake*”. In 21:13 he tells them that the persecution will give them an opportunity to testify to him. In 21:14-15 Jesus repeats the promise made at 12:11, 12: *so fix it in your hearts not to plan your defence before hand, for I will give you a mouth and wisdom, which none of your adversaries will be able to withstand or contradict*”. In vv. 16-17 Jesus foretells the betrayal by parents, brothers, kinsmen, friends, etc. The disciples of Jesus will be hated by everyone for his name’s sake (cf. Mt 10:21, 22; Mk 13.2). Then follows a note of comfort in v. 18 and 19: “But not a hair of your head will perish. By your endurance you will gain your lives”.

These sayings of Jesus turn out to be a prophecy which is fulfilled in early church. We find an almost literal fulfilment of Lk 21:12 in Acts 9:1 where Paul *still breathing threats and murder against the disciples of the Lord, went to the high priest and asked him for letters to the Synagogues at Damascus, so that if he found any belonging to the way, men and women, he may bring them bound to Jerusalem*. In Acts 22:19 in his defence before the tribune Paul refers to his conversion and says *Lord they themselves know that in every synagogue I imprisoned and beat those who believed in thee*. The fulfilment of the words of Jesus regarding the persecution of Christians by the governors and rulers (Lk 21:13) is fulfilled in Acts 12:1 where King Herod Agrippa the First killed James. Moreover Paul is brought before the governors, Felix and Festus, and before King Agrippa the Second. Jesus foretells that this persecution will take place “*for my name’s sake*”. This expression would remind the reader of the words of the Risen Lord to Paul on the way to Damascus, “*Saul, Saul, why do you persecute me?*” In Acts we find several references where the disciples of Jesus, at their persecution, testify by their words of mouth (cf. Acts 4:5-12,19,20; 9:15,16; 22:1-21; 23:1,6,11; 24:10-21; 26:1-29; 27:21-26; 28:23-28).

⁴⁰ John Martin Creed, *The Gospel according to Luke*, 253.

These words stand in plain contradiction to Mark, and to any version in which the threats to the disciples of harm and death were really meant. For some scholars the tension and so called contradiction arises due to the mingling of many sources. According to Marshall “the difficulty is due to verses from different sources being placed together in-felicitously”⁴¹. Similarly Fitzmyer believes that “it is simply another instance of Luke’s lack of concern about ironing out things he puts together from various sources”⁴². Some scholars think that Luke has taken the verse from his source and has qualified its optimistic spirit by introducing the hard realities found in Mark. However, Conzelmann and Grässer suggest the opposite⁴³. For them Luke wanted to be more optimistic than Mark. Some suggest that v.16 refers to only a few martyrs, while this verse (18) refers to the safety of the church as a whole⁴⁴.

Most scholars interpret this proverbial saying in a spiritualised sense. Persecution and death cannot harm the followers of Jesus: “It is intelligible here only if spiritualised to mean that even in death they will remain essentially unharmed because protected by God....It is perhaps, an expression of Lucan optimism, and a somewhat exaggerated preparation for the frequent escapes of Christians from danger through divine overruling (Acts 5:19-26; 12:11; 14:19; 16:25, 18:9ff; 19:23, 30ff.; 20:3, 19, 23; 23:12ff; 26:17; 27:22ff)”⁴⁵.

It has been suggested that the saying simply means that no harm will occur to the disciples without the Father’s permission⁴⁶. According to William Hendrisken “what Jesus meant, not even our hairs, is excluded from the domain of God’s tender care, so that we may be assured that if any hair perishes it is by his will and for his purpose. And that purpose is the promotion of our salvation, to God’s glory (cf. Rom 8:28; Phil 1:19; 1 Pet 4:11; 5:10)”⁴⁷. Such a spiritual understanding is found in many other authors: “Although they are to suffer physical pain and death, they can never be plucked from the protecting hand of God – nothing will happen to them outside his will, and he will make all things work together for their highest welfare and their

⁴¹ Marshall, *Luke*, 769-70.

⁴² Fitzmyer *The Gospel according to Luke xx-xxiv*, 1341.

⁴³ Cf. Conzelmann, *Luke*, 119, 121; Grässer 161.

⁴⁴ Cf. J. Weiss, *Lukas*, 506.

⁴⁵ C. F. Evans 745

⁴⁶ Cf. Zimjwski *Lukas*, 175.

⁴⁷ William Hendrisken *The Gospel of Luke*, 929.

eternal salvation, and at his second advent they will arise with glorified, celestial bodies in which there will be no defect or injury”⁴⁸. Ellis has the same view: “Although put to death, not a “hair” will perish”⁴⁹.

Most probably the Lord spoke these words in a spiritual sense. The context in which these were recorded and written was persecution and martyrdom. As Robert Stein puts it, “the whole flavour of 21:12-19 indicates that martyrdom may be experienced by only a few, many will experience persecution. Furthermore, although Acts ends before the Neronian persecutions, Luke’s readers must have known about them and the martyrdom at that time were more than a “few”. Most probably this proverb is meant to contrast what humanity can do and what it cannot do to God’s people. In 12:4-5 the reader is told not to fear those who kill the body and after that can do no more. Rather they are to fear him who has power to cast into hell. These words are therefore meant to encourage Jesus’ followers by reminding them that whatever may happen to them, by way of persecution, nothing can ultimately harm them, not even death, for they possess eternal life”⁵⁰. Perhaps we can gain some explanation from the parallel saying from Mt. 10:29-30 “Truly, I say to you, there is no one who has left house or brothers or sisters or mother or father or children or lands, for my sake and for the Gospel, who will not receive a hundred fold now in this time, houses and brothers and sisters and mothers and children and lands, with persecutions, and in the age to come eternal life”. Jesus assures them that God’s providence and protection will accompany them even in the midst of persecution and death.

What does Paul mean by these words in the context of voyage and shipwreck? It is in continuity of what Paul spoke earlier in his second intervention (27:21-26). After telling his companions on the ship the message from God’s angel and the assurance that they all will be saved for the sake of Paul’s mission in Rome, Paul adds: “So take heart, men, for I have faith in God that it will be exactly as I have been told”. The faith that Paul has expressed in those words is now repeated in the proverbial saying of 27:34. But here the expression of his faith in God’s providence comes in the context of a meal that is going to follow. This assurance in divine

⁴⁸ N. Geldenhuys *Commentary on the Gospel of Luke* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993) 527.

⁴⁹ E. E. Ellis, *The Gospel of Luke* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1981) 244.

⁵⁰ Robert Stein, *Luke*, 517.

providence is supposed to provide encouragement to them all to take food. Though there is no direct proclamation of the Christian message here, the language that Paul uses is very much of the Christian proclamation. Such language also provides a key to the interpretation of the meal that is going to follow. The words of Jesus which Paul repeats here just before the meal, is a clear indication that the meal to be taken cannot be just an ordinary meal. At least it should have some Christian significance.

5.3.2.5 Paul's Action: Having spoken these words of encouragement Paul “took bread, and giving thanks to God in the presence of all he broke it and began to eat”. Paul gives them an example. He follows his own words. At this level the reader is curious why Luke describes in such a way every action of Paul's meal. It would have been enough to say Paul began to eat. The reader who has gone through the entire narrative of Luke-Acts is naturally reminded of many meal scenes in Luke-Acts. He would be immediately able to see the closeness of this language to the meal description of Jesus at the Last Supper. The action of Paul is rich in its meaning in the context of Luke-Acts. Let us look at each of Paul's actions.

5.3.2.5.1 λαβῶν ἄρτον

The etymology of ἄρτος is not clear. The noun is perhaps derived from *aro* (to fit together) or from a root *ar* (the earth). It signifies a small loaf or cake, made of flour and water, and baked, in shape either oblong or round, and as thick as about the thumb⁵¹. The best bread was made out of wheat, called «flour» or «meal» (cf. Judg.6:19; Sam 1:24). A coarser bread was made of barley (cf. Judg. 7:13; Jn 6:9-13). Millet, beans and lentils were also used (Ezek 4:9-12). The leavened dough was allowed to rise (cf. Mt.13:33; Lk13:21), sometimes a whole night⁵². When time for making the bread was short the leaven was omitted, and unleavened cakes were baked, as is customary among the Arabs (cf. Gen 18:6; 19:13; Ex 12:39; 1 Sam 28:24). Such were called in Hebrew «massa», «sweetness». The thin cakes were not cut but broken and hence the expression usual in Scripture of «breaking bread» to signify ‘taking a meal’ (cf. Lam 4:4)⁵³. “Bread was not merely the basic food. It was also served in eating other foods, e.g. meat or fish, which were wrapped in it and so

⁵¹ Cf. W. E. Vine, *Expository Dictionary of Bible Words*, 146-7.

⁵² Cf. Hos.7:6: “their baker sleepeth all the night“.

⁵³ Cf. Merrill F.Unger, *The New Unger's Bible Dictionary*, 183.

eaten”⁵⁴. In other words, bread was used as „Eßwerkzeug, in das die Zukost, wie etwa Fleisch oder Fisch, eingewickelt und so gegessen wurde“⁵⁵.

Bread was the staple food of the ancient Israelites. Indeed the very word bread could be used generically for any kind of food. As the mainstay of life bread came to be a primary metaphor for life and sustenance⁵⁶. The prodigal son in the far country remembers that his father’s paid servants “have bread enough and spare”, i.e. «have more food than they can eat» (Lk 15:17). Hence to eat bread means to have a meal (cf. Is 65:25). “To break one’s bread for the hungry” means to feed and care for him (Is 58:7, 10). “To eat no bread and drink no wine” means to live as an ascetic (cf. Lk 7:33). “He who shall eat bread in the Kingdom of God” (Lk 14:15) means “will share in the festival meal of rejoicing in heaven”. In quoting Deut. 8:3, “man does not live by bread alone”, Jesus was referring to material things in general, to which he opposed the life- sustaining power of the word of God (cf. Mt 4:4).

In the Bible the bread functions as a social bond. The giving of bread to another is a major element of hospitality and serves as a sign of respect and concern (cf. Gen. 14:18; 18:6; 19:3; Deut 23:4; Ruth 2:14 etc.). Conversely to take someone’s bread and then turn against that person is to commit a heinous offence of ingratitude and betrayal, as in the case of Judas (cf. Ps. 41:9; Jn 13:18-20). Bread can symbolise a financial investment (cf. Eccl 11:1). Eating the bread of idleness is to indulge oneself without doing one’s household duty (cf. Prov. 31:27)⁵⁷.

Bread played a role in the consecration of Aaronic priests (cf. Ex 29:2-3). It was always used as part of an offering of thanksgiving to God (cf. Lev.7:12-13). Of particular importance in Israel’s worship is unleavened bread. In the first Passover, the eating of unleavened bread typified the haste of Israel’s departure from Egypt (cf. Ex 12:8-11), although there are indications that leaven is associated with the pervasive influence of evil (cf. Ex 12:14-20). So important was the concept that a special festival of Unleavened Bread was instituted (Lev. 23:6).

⁵⁴ F. Merkel, Art. “*Bread, Daily, Manna*” in: *Collin’s Dictionary of the Bible*, 249.

⁵⁵ H. Lichtenberger, Art. “*ἄρτος*” in: *Theologisches Begriff Lexikon zum N.T.1*, 203.

⁵⁶ Cf. Duanne Garret, Art. “*Bread*” in: *Evangelical Dictionary of Biblical Theology*, 75.

⁵⁷ Cf. *Ibid*, 75-76.

Bread stands for God's provision for his people. The practice of setting the bread of the presence before God expresses this concept. Every Sabbath the priests put twelve loaves of bread on the table of the bread of the presence in the temple (Ex 25:23-30; 35:13; Lev 24:5-9). In contrast to the religious ideas of the surrounding nations, the Bible does not imply that the bread was meant as food for God (Ps.50:12-15). Instead, the bread was placed before Yahweh as a token of gratitude for the provision he made for his people. For Jesus, David's eating of the bread of the presence suggests that human need can at times overrule ritual prohibition (1Sam 21:4-6; Mk 2:26)⁵⁸.

The manna in the wilderness is the quintessential example of bread as a provision of God. The Israelites were to gather just enough for each day and not hoard it, since they needed to learn to depend on God for each day's supply (Ex.16:4-5). Similarly, the Christian prays for daily bread (Mt 6:11). Such provision spares one from the dangers of both poverty and wealth (Prov.30:8).

In the early Rabbinic period, when guests were present, the head of the house took a loaf from the table in front of him and pronounced the blessing, "Blessed be the Lord our God, the king of the universe, who has caused bread to spring out of the earth" the guests answered, "Amen". The host then gave a piece of bread to each of the guests, and then ate first himself. Jesus who was firmly rooted in Jewish tradition, used this blessing, as is suggested both in the accounts of the feeding of the five and four thousand (Mk 6:41 and par.) and of the Last Supper⁵⁹.

Paul is a Jew and like any Jew he uses bread for his meal on the ship. When we take Paul's action here in isolation it is just a typical action of a Jew. As a Jew, Paul takes the bread and gives thanks and begins to eat. But when we see it in the context of the whole narrative of Luke-Acts, the action of Paul has deeper meanings. The narrator would not give us every detail of Paul's action just to describe an ordinary Jewish meal.

⁵⁸ Cf. Ibid 76.

⁵⁹ F. Merkel, Art. "Bread, Daily, Manna" in: *Collin's Dictionary of Bible*, 250.

5.3.2.5.2 Gave Thanks to God Before Them (εὐχαρίστησεν τῷ θεῷ ἐνώπιον πάντων): The noun εὐχαριστία belongs to the word family of χαῖρ (which expresses the feeling of joy) and χάρ (grace, everything for which one can be joyful), with the composition with εὖ (good). So it means thanks or thanksgiving. The adjective εὐχάριστος, which appears in Herodot, Xenophon, means “pleasant”, “thankful” and “beneficial”. The verb εὐχαριστέω means to be thankful, to be obliged to offer thanks (from the time of Hippocr Epid 17), to give thanks (from the time of Demosthenes). These words are frequently found in the inscriptions where different gods have been thanked because they guaranteed forgiveness to the offences committed⁶⁰.

In the Hebrew Bible, there is no word which is really equivalent to εὐχαριστεῖν; instead an individual or a group praises God with the so called offer of thanksgiving or praise. In the LXX, this word-group occurs only once in the canonical writings (Prov.11:16). In this context it is the adjective and it translates the Hebrew word *hen*. The verb and the noun occur only in the non-canonical texts. In these texts we find both the meanings: thanks from human beings to human beings and thanks to God. For example the Maccabbeans thank the pagans for their good nature towards the Jewish strangers (2 Macc 12:31). The reason for thanking God is the redemption from the foreign oppression and persecution (2 Macc 1:11; 3Macc 7:16), the victory (2Macc 10:7) and also the trials, which have a saving character in history (Jdt 8:25) or the preservation of the saints from sin (Wis 18:2). The Wisdom of Solomon counsels one to begin the day, even before the rising of the sun, with a prayer of thanksgiving (Wis 16:28)⁶¹.

The verb εὐχαριστέω appears 38 times in the NT. It occurs especially in Paul and in the Gospels. Apart from a very few exceptions (Lk 17:16; Acts 24:3; Rom 16:4) εὐχαριστέω refers to thanks which is given to God. In many cases God is expressively named and stands as the object of a dative case⁶². Sometimes the idea is clear from the context. The verbs εὐχαριστέω and εὐλογέω are often used at prayers at meals.

⁶⁰ H. H. Eßer and B. Wander, Art. “εὐχαριστία” in: *Theologisches Begriff Lexikon zum N.T.1*, 240.

⁶¹ Ibid. 241.

⁶² H. Patsch, Art. “εὐχαριστία” in: *EDNT II*, 220.

In accordance with the Hellenistic letter-writing style, Paul and his disciples use this verb in the Prologue of the letter, as thanksgiving. With short variations the author of the letter thanks God and gives in a ὅτι sentence the reason for his thanksgiving, which often concerns the addressee: the graces given to the community (1Cor 1:4), their faith (Rom 1:8), faith and love (2Thes 1:3). Outside the prologue of the letter, the verb is also used in the body of the letter to thank God: for the community's acceptance of the word of God (1 Thes 2:13), their call (2 Thes 2:13). The doxology of the elders before God (Rev 11:17ff; Did. 9:2, 3) makes one to recognise the Jewish background to the formulations of the New Testament (Ps 134-36; Jdt 8:25; 1QH 2,20.31). For the personal prayer of thanksgiving we can look at the prayer of the Pharisee (Lk 18:11) on the one hand, and the prayer of Jesus at the raising of Lazarus (Jn 11:41), on the other hand.

Following the Jewish custom (bBer 35a), Paul on the ship says the grace before the meal. This custom was prevalent in the Christian communities and so Paul can argumentatively refer to it (Rom 14:6). We could think of such prayer of thanksgiving also in 1 Cor 10:30, where Paul addresses the problem of eating the food offered to idols. In the Last Supper accounts Jesus, as a Jewish elder, prays over the bread the prayer of praise (Mk 14:23; Mt 26:27; Lk22:17).

5.3.2.5.3 He Broke It and Began to Eat (καὶ κλάσας ἤρξατο ἐσθίειν): Five times in Acts the narrator speaks of the breaking of bread. Sometimes he uses the verb and at other times the noun. In Acts 2:42-46, as part of a description of the life of the Jerusalem church directly after the outpouring of the Spirit at Pentecost; Acts 20:7-11, in the narrative of Paul's visit to the assembly of Troas; Acts 27:35, in the narrative of voyage where Paul encourages his companions to take food at the danger of shipwreck. The expression also occurs in Acts 6:1-6.

In classical Greek κλάω is a general verb for “to break”, “to break off”, “break into pieces”. It was especially used for the idea of pruning branches of a tree. In Jer. 16:7 this verb is used in the expression of breaking bread. Κλάσμα refers to a cake (1 Sam 30:12) or broken pieces of grain offering (Lev 2:6;6:21). Ἐκκλάω is used for the breaking of a birds wings in preparation for an offering (Lev 1:17). Κατακλάω refers to broken branches in a vineyard, symbolic of the Lord's judgement (Ezek 19:12).

In the NT κλάω appears 14 times and always in the expression of breaking bread⁶³. In the first century it was the usual pattern to break bread with one's hands at the beginning of a meal, rather than to cut it with a knife. This is what Jesus does at the multiplication of bread in Mt 14:19ff. and par. But breaking bread takes on a religious significance because of the fact that Jesus broke bread with his disciples in the upper room as he celebrated the Passover with them, telling them to do this in remembrance of him. As the early church developed, "Breaking bread" seems to have become a technical phrase for the Lord's Supper (Acts 2:42 (κλάσις), 46; 20:7,11 (κλάω)). Breaking and eating bread in a worship setting denoted "participation in the body of Christ" (1Cor 10:16). This "breaking bread" evoked not only the memory of the Last Supper but also the fact that Jesus broke bread with his followers after he was raised from the dead (Lk 24:30).

In Jewish practice, bread was broken when God was blessed at the start of the meal. In primitive Christianity, the "breaking of bread" bore the special imprint it had acquired from its significant usage by Jesus: at the multiplication of loaves (Lk 9:16 and par.), at the Last Supper (Lk 24:30), on the road to Emmaus (Lk 24:30). Around those highly significant occasions cluster, then, all the multiple words and deeds of Jesus involving food and drink that also give weight and texture to the observance which the church of Acts called "breaking of bread".⁶⁴

Jesus had pictured God's coming reign as a feast: "People will come from east and west and from north and south, and sit at table in the Kingdom of God" (Lk 13:29). Apart from the messianic act of already feeding the multitudes in anticipation of the Kingdom, Jesus had been known also for eating and drinking with publicans and sinners (Lk 7:34; 15:1-2); he thereby led them to repentance (Lk 5:30-32), for mere eating and drinking in his presence was no guarantee of salvation (Lk 13:22-30). At the Last Supper, Jesus spoke of himself as being among his disciples as "one who serves" (Lk 22:27), yet he was also able to promise them a place at his table in the Kingdom which his Father had given him (Lk 22:28-30). After his resurrection, his appearance at Emmaus was not the only one in which he shared in a meal with his

⁶³ Cf. J. Wanke, Art. "κλάω" in: *EDNT* 2, 295.

⁶⁴ G. Weinwright, Art. "Lord's Supper, Love Feast" in: *Dictionary of the Later NT and its Development*, 686-7.

followers; he ate with the others in Jerusalem (Lk 24:36-43), and in Acts, Luke puts in the lips of Peter, the summary statement that *God raised Jesus on the third day and made him manifest... to us who were chosen by God's witnesses, who ate and drank with him after he rose from the dead* (Acts 10:40-41).

5.3.5 Theological Interpretation:

5.3.5.1 Different Opinions: What kind of significance does this meal of Paul on the ship have? Did Paul celebrate a Eucharist or was it a simple meal? There has been a lengthy discussion on this question. The opinions of scholars can be put into three categories. 1) There are those who deny the Eucharistic symbolism of this meal completely and hold for just an ordinary Jewish meal; 2) those who hold for a Eucharistic meal; 3) those who hold for a meal which is full of Eucharistic nuances.

5.3.5.1.1 An Ordinary Jewish Meal: Those who hold for this opinion point out that it is rather absurd to think that Paul could celebrate the Eucharist in a pagan surrounding. The context was not just suitable for the celebration of Eucharist: "We need not conclude that this was technically a celebration of the Holy Eucharist. It is not likely that St. Paul would have celebrated the holy mysteries before a company of unbelievers, nor is the condition of a ship tossing in a heavy sea favourable for the solemnities of religious worship"⁶⁵. Dunn adds: " In the circumstances, what was needed was not a symbolic piece of bread, but sufficient bread to give them strength for the final stage of the long running crisis (27:34); and not a private celebration between Paul, Luke and Aristarchus, but a break-fast for everyone, giving nourishment to all (27:38)"⁶⁶. The narrator does not tell us that Paul shared the meal with others. On the other hand he says Paul ate in front of them. Roloff comments: „Nach der Weise des jüdischen Hausvaters spricht er vor aller Augen das Dankgebet über dem Brot (vgl. Mk 6:41 par; 8:6 par) und beginnt selbst zu essen. Damit ist der Bann bei den übrigen gebrochen: sie folgen seinem Beispiel und essen bis sie satt sind“⁶⁷. Beg. 336 interprets the words "gave thanks" as the "the usual Jewish custom of offering thanks before food" and adds, " it would be absurd to see in this passage any reference to the Eucharist". A Similar position is held by Haenchen: "Luke

⁶⁵ Racham, *Acts*, 490.

⁶⁶ Dunn, *Acts*, 341.

⁶⁷ Roloff, *Apg*, 364.

describes only the blessing before the meal, which for Jews and Christians was a matter of course⁶⁸. Marshall does not fully deny the possibility of Paul celebrating the Eucharist. However, he believes that “the action described in no way goes beyond normal Jewish practice at a meal, and it takes place in the open presence of a mixed company of people. It therefore seems more probable that Luke is simply describing an ordinary meal and not Christian sacrament or a prefiguration of such a sacrament for the benefit of those who might later become believers⁶⁹. William maintains that “the Eucharistic-sounding language is probably used unconsciously; every meal to a Jew has some religious meaning⁷⁰”.

These are very valuable observations. The main objection is how could Paul celebrate the Eucharist in a pagan surrounding? Therefore the above-mentioned scholars regard the meal on the ship as a simple Jewish meal. But such an affirmation does not provide a satisfactory explanation. Why should Luke narrate a *Jewish* meal in a *pagan* surrounding? Paul’s observing the Jewish ritual (thanksgiving and breaking the bread) before the meal should be irrelevant to the pagans. If the celebration of the Eucharist made no sense to the pagans neither would a Jewish ritual meal make sense to them. Some hold that the situation of the stormy sea was not suitable for an Eucharistic meal. Such reasoning is too subjective. We could equally say that the imminent shipwreck and the dangers of death could provide the best of circumstances for an Eucharistic meal.

5.3.5.1.2 An Eucharistic Meal: One of the commentators who holds for a Eucharistic interpretation is Schneider. He takes support from the word “salvation”: “Die Mahlzeit hat eine ähnliche Transparenz auf die Eucharistie hin, wie das Stichwort σωτηρίου in v. 34 auf die Bedeutung “Heil” hin offen ist. Der Christ weiß, daß das Herrenmahl als Ausdruck der “Hoffnung” dem “Heil” dient⁷¹. Bruce, too, thinks in similar lines. However, he makes a distinction: “There is a cluster of words and phrases here which are familiar in an Eucharistic setting. This supports the view of many commentators that the meal here described was a Eucharistic meal. Probably it was so in a limited sense. All shared the food, but to the majority it was an ordinary

⁶⁸ Haenchen, *Acts*, 707.

⁶⁹ Marshall, *Acts*, 413-14

⁷⁰ Williams, *Acts*, 272.

⁷¹ Schneider, *Apg* 2. 397.

meal, while for those who ate with Eucharistic intention (Paul and his fellow Christians) it was a valid Eucharist⁷². Bruce maintains that Paul and his Christian friends did not withdraw into a corner to communicate. Paul gave thanks "in the presence of all" and the communicant Christians broke the bread and ate it with the ship's company. Weiser goes for a difficult distinction. Paul first began to eat and others followed his example and began to eat. Although not all received the Eucharistic bread, they all had a share in the Eucharistic meal, the saving meal of the risen and exalted Lord, which Paul and his companions had⁷³.

Reicke is the one who strongly advocates the Eucharistic significance of this meal⁷⁴. He supports his argument with the following points: 1) In the whole narrative Paul is not just an ordinary man in the sight of his fellow voyagers⁷⁵. He is not considered just from a human point of view. His timely advice and interventions and the respect with which the centurion treats him indicate that Paul is a "*theos anthropos*", a Man of God, with the special gifts of interpreting the present and the future. He stands in direct contact with God. The whole voyage, the storm and rescue is mastered by God and in relationship to Paul. God communicates to him through an angel. Through his three addresses Paul appears as a seer or prophet of God. The expression *θεοπέω* which Paul uses indicates that he is not just an expert adviser of the weather and geographical conditions of the voyage. The word *θεοπέω* is used in Acts 7:56; 8:13; 9:7; 10:11 and in all these cases it has the nuance of visions⁷⁶.

The meal comes as a turning point in the narrative. Paul indicates that this meal is for their salvation. Through the nourishment of this meal the fellow voyagers will have the strength and courage to lighten the ship and turn it towards the land. Paul bases his encouragement in no way just on a natural fact that the food be a contribution for physical strength. He tells them that not a hair from their head will be lost. The exhortation of Paul to eat does in no way depend on the human counting. It comes as divine revelation.

⁷² Bruce, *Acts*, 492-3.

⁷³ Cf. Weiser, *Apg*, 664.

⁷⁴ Cf. Bo Reicke, „Die Mahlzeit mit Paulus auf den Wellen des Mittelmeers Act. 27, 33-38“, *Theologische Zeitschrift* 6 (1948), 401-10.

⁷⁵ Cf. *Ibid* 402.

⁷⁶ Cf. *Ibid* 403.

The form of this episode is very much like Lk 22:19 (the Last Supper), Acts 20:1 and 1 Cor 11, 23ff. In these three texts (except on Last Supper) no mention is made of the distribution of the bread. Therefore the lack of mentioning of distributing the bread is in no way an obstacle to the acceptance of the sacramental character of the meal. On the other hand, Acts 20:11 specially tells us how Paul began to eat. The narrator would never give all these details if he had no specific motive⁷⁷. Why should the narrator mention this just to indicate that Paul was faithful to the Jewish customs? That would not have any purpose in this context. The purpose is naturally for the Christian reader to lead him to trust in Lord's Supper⁷⁸.

Certain scholars try to indicate a middle way. Though it was a Eucharist for Paul and his Christian companions, for the pagans it was just a normal meal. However, the text says expressively that Paul “gave thanks before them all”, and “all” were encouraged and began to eat. Then the counting of the group follows. All this indicates that Luke wants the readers to consider this meal as one meal. I would hold for the following view: it was a Eucharistic meal to Paul and his Christian friends. But the effect of this Eucharist was for all on the ship. Here we have one incident in the NT where the pagans are benefiting from the Eucharist. Naturally the pagans on the ship are not celebrating a Eucharistic meal. They have an ordinary meal. The Eucharist of Paul and his Christian companions has a bearing on the pagans as well. We shall consider the other meals in Luke-Acts and a comparison with them would provide more light to understand the significance of Paul's meal on the ship.

5.3.5.2 Comparisons with the Last Supper and Emmaus Meal: Paul's meal on the ship has close similarities with the Last Supper and the meal of the Risen Lord with the two disciples on the road to Emmaus. The following table shows that the narrator has deliberately related Paul's meal to these other two meals by the use of similar vocabulary.

| | |
|---------------|--|
| Acts 27:35 | εἶπας δὲ ταῦτα καὶ λαβὼν ἄρτον εὐχαρίστησεν τῷ θεῷ ἐνώπιον πάντων καὶ κλάσας ἤρξατο ἐσθίειν. |
|---------------|--|

⁷⁷ Cf. Ibid 406.

⁷⁸ For a summary and criticism of the views of Reicke cf. Philip Francis Esler, *Community and Gospel in Luke-Acts*, 102-3.

| | |
|------------|---|
| Luke 22:19 | καὶ λαβὼν ἄρτον εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς λέγων, Τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον· τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἑμὴν ἀνάμνησιν. |
| Luke 24:30 | καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ κατακλιθῆναι αὐτὸν μετ' αὐτῶν λαβὼν τὸν ἄρτον εὐλόγησεν καὶ κλάσας ἐπέδίδου αὐτοῖς· |

The language of Acts 27:35 resembles very closely that of the words of institution in Lk 22:19. Only in these two cases Luke uses the word εὐχαρίστειν. Of course Acts 27:35 has only three elements: taking the bread, thanksgiving and breaking. The other two narratives have a fourth one, that of giving or distributing. Instead in the meal narrative on the ship, it is not said that Paul gave them the broken bread, although the manuscripts of the Western text have it so. Instead Paul himself eats in their presence. “But the omission of the fourth element, that of distributing, does not disprove the Eucharistic intention and effect on the part of the implied author and audience”⁷⁹. In Acts the third element alone, the breaking of bread, is enough to express the celebration of the Eucharist (cf. 2:42, 46: 20:7, 11). In the first letter to Corinthians, Paul speaks of the tradition of the Eucharist which he received from the church. Here, too, the action of distributing the bread is omitted (1 Cor. 11:23-24).

5.3.5.3 Comparison with the Feeding Miracles in the Gospels: There are six accounts of the feeding of the multitude in the Gospels: five in the Synoptics and one in John. While Luke and John narrate one story each, Matthew and Mark have two feeding stories each. The language of the second feeding story of Matthew/ Mark indicates that it has a Gentile audience. Probably there was only one event of feeding the multitude as we have it in Mk 6, Mt 8, Lk 9 and John 6. This miracle probably took place in a Jewish territory. As the Gospel reached the Gentile territory, the story of the feeding was given a Gentile colouring. And so when the Gospels were written, two such stories were in circulation. This miracle took place in the territory of Galilee. These feeding stories of in the Synoptics have a lot of common elements with the story of Paul’s meal on the ship.

⁷⁹ Praeder, *The Narrative Voyage*, 132.

The pattern of Acts 27:27.35-38 is similar to the conclusions to the feeding-miracles in Mt.14:19-21, 15.36-38, and Mk 6:41-44. They all contain five elements: Eucharistic formula, universalism, satiation, collection of excessive food, and numbering of participants. These elements are paralleled to some extent in the above-mentioned elements in Acts 27.35-38. The feeding story in Lk 9:12-17 also contains the five elements. But Luke’s story has the numbering of those participating in the meal before the conclusion in 9:16-17. The conclusion in Mk. 8.8-9 and Jn 6:12-13 omit the expression of universalism, and John expresses the numbers participating in 6:10. All the feeding miracles, except Acts 27.35, express the distribution. In the feeding miracles loaves and fishes are distributed; but in Acts 27:35 bread is broken. Mt 15:36, Mk 8:6, Jn 6:1 and Acts 27.35 express the blessing over the bread eucharistically. Mt 14.19, Mk 6.41 and Lk 9.16 do not. John omits the breaking of the loaves. We could assume that the Eucharistic formula, universalism, numbering of all on board, satiation, and jettisoning of grain in 27:35-38 are stylised and patterned for comparison and contrast in reading time and space to Jesus’ multiplication of loaves and fishes in Lk 9:12-17 and perhaps Mt 14:15-21, 15.32-39, Mk 6:35-44, 8:1-9, and Jn 6:1-15.

5.3.5.3.1 Universalism: This element is very striking in the narrative of Paul’s meal on the ship and the feeding stories in the Gospels. The following table makes it clear:

| |
|---|
| Acts 27:36 εὐθύμοι δὲ γεινόμενοι <u>πάντες</u> καὶ αὐτοὶ προσελάβοντο τροφῆς. 27.33 <u>ἅπαντας</u> , 27:35 ἐνώπιον <u>πάντων</u> , 27.37 αἱ πᾶσαι ψυχαί. |
| Mt 14:20 καὶ ἔφαγον <u>πάντες</u> Mt 15:37 καὶ ἔφαγον <u>πάντες</u> |
| Mk 6:42 καὶ ἔφαγον <u>πάντες</u> |
| Lk 9:17 καὶ ἔφαγον' <u>πάντες</u> |

In earlier addresses Paul used the expression “men” (27:10, 21, 25). In this present narrative (27:33-34) he abandons such a form of address. In vv 33-38 the narrator expresses the universality of the participants four times: Paul invites all

(ἀπαντας), and give thanks to God before all (ἐνώπιον πάντων). In 27:36 all on board (πάντες καὶ αὐτοί) become of good courage and eat. As Praeder explains, “in v. 37 the existence and sailing experience of the first and third person plurals is for the first time and only time expressed as the shared, first person existence of all on board, “we” on the ship were in all (πᾶσαι) 276 souls. This universal exposition of narrative existence only after Paul, the first person plural and third person plural eat is a narrative-world expression of the universality of the Christian community”⁸⁰.

The expression “all” enters the narrative world for the first time in 27:24 as “all those saved with you” as those whom God promised to save. In 27:35 Paul reciprocates God for his gift of all on board by giving thanks to God before all on board and including them in a meal which insures their safety. This is reflected in the reciprocal language of 27:24 and 27:36⁸¹:

κεχάρισταί σοι ὁ θεὸς πάντας τοὺς πλείοντας μετὰ σοῦ
εὐχαρίστησεν τῷ θεῷ ἐνώπιον πάντων

5.3.5.3.2 Numbering of Participants: The narrative of Paul’s meal on the ship concludes with the words: *We were in all two hundred and seventy-six persons in the ship*. Such numbering is mentioned in all the feeding stories. This again is a convincing indication that Luke wanted his readers to understand Paul’s meal on the ship in the light of these feeding stories of the Gospels. The number of the crowd in the Gospels, five thousand and four thousand, is much more than the 276 on the ship. The discrepancy between the large crowd and the small amount of food (five loaves and two fishes or seven loaves and several fishes) used to fill their hunger, is expressed in order to indicate the miraculous power of Jesus. What we have in these feeding-stories is a miracle of Jesus. It is the multiplication of bread and fish. Such an element of wonder is not present in the story of Paul’s meal on the ship. Acts 27:35-38 lacks the contrast between a large crowd and a small amount of food. Nevertheless, events are expressed according to the pattern of miraculous mediation, part of which includes numbering the participants, in order to demonstrate by whose authority and example Paul invites all to eat⁸².

⁸⁰ Praeder, *The Narrative Voyage*, 134.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Cf. Ibid. 138.

Why did Luke give at this stage the number of the people on the ship? Why did he not give it earlier or later when it would have been more fitting? The author has been influenced by the narratives of feeding the multitude in the Gospels. In these accounts the number is counted immediately after the mentioning of their eating and being satisfied. This seems to indicate that the meal of Acts 27, too, has a supernatural element. The number 276 must also be in relation of the guarantee of the angel in v. 24 where he prophesied that all will be saved because of Paul, as a gift to Paul.

5.3.5.3.3 Satiation: Acts 27:38 begins with the clause “when they had eaten enough”. The verb κορεσθέντες⁸³ in this verse is yet another strong clue to the reader that Luke relates the account of Paul’s meal to the feeding stories in the Gospels. The verb κορέννυμι is not found in the feeding stories in the Gospels. However, the verb χορτάζω that is found in all the feeding stories except Jn 6. These verbs are not too different from each other.

The expression of satiation in the Synoptic Gospels as καὶ ἐχορτάσθησαν is appropriate to their contexts of pasture land and desert places. On the other hand this expression would be inappropriate to the sea- voyage context of Acts 27:38. Χορτάζω is also used of flock animals sated by their fodder of χόρτος, and in Mt 14.21 and Mk 6:42 (and in Jn 6:10) the crowds recline on feeding grounds, on χόρτος. Mk 6:34 explicitly connects the expression of the crowds satiation as feeding on fodder and their reclining to eat on feeding ground by voicing the reason for Jesus’ pity on the crowds in Scriptural language, “they were like sheep without a shepherd”. Mark makes a lot of allusion to Psalm 23. Michael Oberweis finds in this meal of Paul on the ship too an allusion to Ps.23⁸⁴.

5.3.5.3.4 Conclusion: None of the five elements of miraculous feeding in Acts 27:35-38 is miraculous in the sense of a violation of the natural laws of the real world. Paul says the blessing before eating with the first person plural; all the rest, the third person plural, eat their meals; there are 276 on board; after eating the third person plural are

⁸³ This verb is found only twice in the NT (cf. 1Cor 4:8). In both the cases it is given in passive form.

⁸⁴ Cf. Michael Oberweis, „Ps. 23 Als Interpretationsmodell Für Act 27“, in: *Nov. Testamentum* xxx, 2 (1988), 169-83.

no longer hungry; they lighten the ship by throwing its cargo overboard. But the selection and expression of these events and existence are not for the purpose of representing real-world occurrences one morning off Malta but the real-world event of salvation. In 27:33-38 Paul's exhortation to be of good courage and God's promise in 27:21-26 are realised in an entreaty to eat and a sharing of Jesus as Saviour⁸⁵.

The feeding of the multitude is not a Eucharistic meal in the strict sense. However it has been regarded as a foreshadowing of the Eucharist. It is clear from the Bread of Life discourse in Jn ch. 6 and the tradition of the carving of bread and fish, with Eucharistic symbols, in Roman catacombs. In fact the narratives of these feeding stories took their shape in the context of the Breaking of Bread in the primitive Christian community. The multiplication, too, took place in the pagan context, at the sea of Gennesaret. Many of these people did not belong to the circle of disciples. Moreover Jesus has been presented as bread both to the Jews and Gentiles⁸⁶. Paul's meal on the ship, too, is before the pagans. They have no idea of Eucharist. However, there is nothing against them profiting from the Eucharist which Paul and his Christian companions celebrated.

5.3.5.4 The Meal of Salvation: To understand the significance of Paul's meal on the ship we need to pay attention to what Paul said immediately before the meal. He told them that the goal of this meal is their salvation: *For it is for your salvation, for from the head of no one of you will a hair be lost* (27:34). Paul reaffirms strongly what he has already told in his previous intervention that there will be the loss (ἀποβολή) of no one, only the ship (27:22). Their communal sharing of food is for their salvation. It is aimed at restoring their hope of being saved (27:20). This sharing of food comes in a context of the need to remain united. Indeed, unless they all remain communally united on the ship, they cannot be saved (27:31). To understand the significance of this meal we need to examine the concept of salvation in Luke-Acts and then consider the meals in Luke-Acts in which the word salvation is found or the theme of salvation is present.

⁸⁵ Cf. Praeder, *The Narrative Voyage*, 140-1.

⁸⁶ The two feeding stories in the Gospels of Mark and Matthew are narrated for this motive. These miracles take place in Jewish (ch.6) as well as Gentile (Mark ch.8) territory.

5.3.5.4.1 The Meaning of Salvation in Luke-Acts:

5.3.5.4.1.1 σῶζω and σωτηρία in Secular World: it means deliverance from a particularly dangerous situation, a mortal danger: a) war or deliverance from enemies⁸⁷; b) from the perils of navigation⁸⁸. This deliverance or salvation is spoken of with respect to all the dangers of an earthly⁸⁹ pilgrimage, notably desert crossings.

In the secular world the most common use of σωτηρία, σῶζω was medical⁹⁰, to save mean to heal a disease, remedies are saviours; physicians are saviours⁹¹. Frequently σωτηρία is associated with *hygieia*⁹², which suggests that salvation is not merely deliverance but also protection or preservation⁹³. It is in this sense that σωτηρία is a tutelary household deity⁹⁴. This weakened meaning is common. To save is to leave alive, protect and pardon, preserve from misery, remain safe and sound, subsist, with a nuance of security⁹⁵, so that a way to say “keep a spark from dying” is “save the seed of fire”⁹⁶

In a number of the texts cited in medical usage, σωτηρίας and σῶζω have a positive meaning referring to a good, namely, good health: being well⁹⁷. This is clearly the case with regard to vows hyper soterias: a statue is set up, a column is erected, an altar is prepared for the prosperity or happiness of loved ones, and specially for the happiness of the Emperor; thus authorities or private individuals save a city that is, contribute to its welfare, safeguard its happiness; so σωτηρία is synonymous with eudaimonia.⁹⁸

⁸⁷ Homer, *Odyssey* 11. 500: darkness saved the army from extermination. Plato, *Symp.* 220 d, wounded, „I owe my salvation to no one in the world except this man... he saved both my weapons and myself.

⁸⁸ Homer, *Odyssey* 5.130: “I saved this shipwrecked man when his crew had died”; Plutarch, *Con. Sept. sap.* 19: A young woman was saved from the sea by a Dolphin.

⁸⁹ Homer, 11. 9.393: 2 if the gods save me and I return to my country“

⁹⁰ Joseph 110; Philo, *alleg. Interp.* 3.129

⁹¹ In the second century BC, a decree of Samos honours the physician Diodorus, who cared for and restored many patients and “was the cause of their salvation...he placed the common salvation above all fatigue and all expense”. See Pouilloux, *Choix*, n. XIV, 17. Decree of Delphi for a physician from Corone, J. and L. Robert, „Bulletin epigraphique“, in REG, 1955, p. 229, n.123.

⁹² SB 6087, 6; 0034, 12

⁹³ cf. p. Apoll. 49:7: “May I not see my prayer rejected for the salvation of your children as god keeps them”.

⁹⁴ P. Oslo 148, 12.

⁹⁵ P. Panop. Beatty 2, 16 and 151; P. Mich 490,7.

⁹⁶ Homer, *Odyssey* 5.490.

⁹⁷ Cf. Spiq, Art. “σῶζω” in: *Theological Lexicon of the NT III*, p.346.

⁹⁸ P. Oxy. 2559,7.

The σωτηρία of the universe is attributed to the gods, because Zeus “has arranged everything for the preservation and perfection of the whole”⁹⁹, he protects and nourishes¹⁰⁰. If we leave aside the philosophers and the mystery religions, salvation has no moral connotations.

5.3.5.4.1.2 σωτηρία and σῶζω in the LXX: The words carry the same meanings as in secular Greek: deliverance, healing, health, happiness and prosperity¹⁰¹. The Hebrew verb *yasa*, which is most commonly used, would originally have the nuance “be spacious, have plenty of room, be comfortable”. It means primarily the possession of space and the freedom and the security which is gained by the removal of constriction¹⁰². It would be the opposite of *sarar*, “be pressed, constrained, and oppressed”. Salvation is usually Israel’s independence and security, brought about sometimes by heroes like Manoah (Judg 13:5; cf. Jer 14:9), sometimes and in fact almost always by God himself in response to the cry of his people¹⁰³. Philo constantly emphasises that the God of Israel is the only saviour, helper, and protector of the soul, benefactor, providing refuge and complete security; but this OT salvation is also moral and spiritual and applies only to people who have been purified of sin: “Cleanse your heart of evil, O Jerusalem, so that you may be saved” (Jer 4:14).

5.3.5.4.1.3 σῶζω and σωτηρία in Luke- Acts: Salvation is a major theme in both Luke-Acts. The words σωτηρία and σῶζω occur 24 in the Gospel and 22 times in Acts. In the Gospel, Luke presents Jesus Christ as the one who brought God’s salvation, in fact, was God’s salvation¹⁰⁴. “The extent of salvation, which was seen to be open to all classes of people - Gentiles, “sinners” and the socially disenfranchised – now in Acts penetrates one geographical and cultural boundary after another. The summaries throughout Acts of the progress of the Gospel show that many Jews, including priests, believed. But the message of salvation was carried far into the Gentile world, and whenever Jewish people refused the Gospel, Luke emphasises the

⁹⁹ Plato, *Leg.* 10.903 b.

¹⁰⁰ Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 12..29

¹⁰¹ Cf. Spiq, Art. “σῶζω” in: *Theological Lexicon of the NT III*, p.349.

¹⁰² John L. Mckenzie, *Dictionary of the Bible*, 760.

¹⁰³ Cf. Ps. 12:6 – I will arise says Yahweh, I will establish in safety the one who longs for it; 28: 9- “Yahweh, save your people...shepherd them”

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Walter L. Liefeld, *Interpreting the Book of Acts*, 92-93.

offering of salvation to Gentiles, who gladly receive it”¹⁰⁵. And, in fact, Acts closes with this theme.

Luke mostly speaks of salvation in general terms, without describing the exact content (cf. Acts 2:21,40,47; 5:31; 11:14; 13:23,26,47; 15:1,11; 16:17,30f.). He presupposes that his readers know what salvation means. For Luke it is more important to establish that salvation occurs now, who the saviour is, and where salvation is to be found¹⁰⁶. He takes up many of the Markan examples, in both senses used by Mark. But he also adds passages in which, “on the one hand, the Pauline and especially deutero-Pauline sense of present salvation through the forgiveness of sins is expressed; and, on the other hand, especially in the canticles of Luke 1-2, passages drawn from old Jewish-Christian tradition, in which God is the saviour of the nation Israel (Lk 1:47, 69, 71; in 1:77 national salvation is linked with the forgiveness of sins)”¹⁰⁷.

The theme of present salvation occurs in Luke 19:9f. and probably in Acts 2:21, 40, 47; 11:14; 15:1, 11. In some passages Luke hints at a connection between physical and spiritual healing: e.g. Acts 4:9-12; in Luke 7:50 the same formula of salvation is used for the forgiveness of sins as is used in Mk 5:34 par. for physical healing. A similar link between physical and spiritual is hinted at in Acts 16:30f. In particular, for Luke salvation is a “way” (Acts 16:17; cf. Luke 3:4-6) which may already be travelled by believers. We can see the following elements in Lucan idea of salvation.

5.3.5.4.1.3.1 Salvation is a Divine Prerogative. The initiative of salvation lies entirely in the hands of God. As Marshall explains it, “For Luke salvation is dependant upon the initiative of God who not only sends out the Word but also prepares the hearts of men and women to receive it. Luke stresses the divine grace which leads to salvation”¹⁰⁸. It is a part of the history of the people of God. God has repeatedly acted as their saviour throughout their history. This history is, therefore, a history of

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Jervell, *The Theology of the Acts of the Apostles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) 95.

¹⁰⁷ Robert Maddox, *The Purpose of Luke-Acts*, 117.

¹⁰⁸ Marshall, *Luke: Historian and Theologian*, 189.

salvation (cf. Acts 7:2-53; 13:16-26 and also Lk 1:46-55, 68-79). It was not so in the history of the nations. God has not acted as the saviour of the Gentiles (Acts 14:16; 17:25ff.). God saved Israel through his servants like Abraham, Moses, David (Acts 7:7ff., 25, 35; 13:17ff.). Jesus is the last link in that chain. In the end of times, God has transferred the divine prerogative of salvation to his Son Jesus¹⁰⁹.

5.3.5.4.1.3.2 Salvation in Jesus: God has transferred the divine prerogatives in salvation to Jesus (Acts 4:12; 5:31; 13:23; Lk 1:47, 69, 77; 2:11). “Although salvation is the gift of God the Father, it is clearly linked with Jesus, the only Savior; only through him may men receive salvation”¹¹⁰. The programmatic saying in Acts 4:12 has a polemic tone: *There is no salvation in anyone else at all, for there is no other name under heaven granted to men, by which we may receive salvation*. Here salvation is the healing of a crippled man (3:1-10). The name plays a decisive role in the healing (3:6; 4:7, 12, 17, 18). It is the Old Testament concept of the name as representing the person himself. It denotes the power and authority of the person¹¹¹. Luke thus emphasizes on the authority of Jesus to heal, to save. This authority is granted to him by the God of Israel. God alone has the right to offer salvation: *The God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, the God of our fathers, has given the highest honor to his servant Jesus....*(3:13). The polemic is addressed to Jews, who denied that Jesus had any right whatsoever to offer salvation (Lk 5:21ff.). They had other institutions, other persons and names as the savior. Some of the Jewish Christians had applied salvation even to the name of Moses (15:1ff.), in addition to Jesus’ name (cf. 13:39). Luke is aware of this. So he removes for his Jewish-Christian readers any doubt that Jesus actually was their savior. It was necessary for him to demonstrate that the suffering and death of Jesus were in accordance with God’s will and his predetermination, and prophesied in the Scriptures (2:24; 3:18; 13:28-30; 17:3; Lk 9:22,24; 17:25; 18:31-34; 22:22; 24:7,26,46). This suffering was a necessity¹¹².

Salvation is linked exclusively with Jesus (cf. 2:21; 4:12; 13:23; 16:31; Lk 1:69; 2:11; 19:9). However the details are not absolutely clear in this connection. This is why Luke can connect the same effects of salvation with different parts of Jesus’ life and work, his death, and his resurrection and ascension. So, for example, the

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Jervell, *The Theology of the Acts of the Apostles*, 94.

¹¹⁰ Marshall, *Luke: Historian and Theologian*, 169.

¹¹¹ Ibid. 170.

¹¹² Cf. Jervell, *The Theology of the Acts of the Apostles*, 95-96

forgiveness of sins is connected with the life of Jesus (cf. Lk 5:21; 7:47), with his death (cf. Lk 24:46-7) and with his resurrection (2:38; 5:31). That means that you cannot isolate any single phase; rather the whole sweep is redemptive. Above all salvation is connected with the resurrection as God's saving act for his messiah (cf. 2:25-8; 13:37).

The forgiveness of sins is given through the resurrection (cf. Acts 2:38; 3:19; 5:30f. 10:43; 13:38; 22:16; 26:18; Lk 24:27), and so is the Holy Spirit (cf. 2:38). Through the resurrected one, the sick are saved, cured (cf. 3:15ff.; 4:10ff.). Salvation means even to be rescued from the evil of the people, Israel, as well as from the evil of the Gentiles (cf. 2:40; 26:27). The life and work of Jesus also have saving effects. His life means healing and deliverance from the devil (cf. 10:38; Lk 4:18; 7:20ff.; 17:15ff.). Further it means forgiveness of sins (cf. Lk 5:21ff.; 7:47). "Forgiveness is Luke's characteristic word for the content of salvation"¹¹³. Salvation is also spoken in more general way, that is without giving any significant idea of its content (cf. Lk 2:11; 19:9)¹¹⁴.

Does the death of Jesus have saving significance in Acts? It is clear that Luke does not regard Jesus' death as a sacrifice or as an expiation for sin. But he knows about the sacrificial death of Jesus: cf. Acts 20:28 "*the church of God, which is acquired through the blood of his own*". This alludes to the death of Jesus as an atonement, but, apart from the mere mention, this has no further significance for Luke. In addition we have sacrificial nuances in the words pronounced at the Last Supper: *This is my body, which is given up for you* (Lk 22:19); *this cup, poured out for you, is the new covenant in my blood* (Lk 22:20)¹¹⁵. Luke is aware of the sacrificial death of Jesus and does not deny it, but thrusts it into the background for some inscrutable reason. Acts 13:28-30 states that the death of Christ was related to God's salvific plan; Jesus' death is implied as being God's will (cf. Lk 13:33; 17:25; Acts 3:18). Luke has a series of sayings on the suffering of Jesus as a divine necessity (cf. Acts 3:18; 13:28-30; 17:3; Lk 17:25; 24:26,44); preaching of the forgiveness of sins is the outcome of the resurrection and the death of Christ (cf. Lk 24:46-47). The situation is that Luke clearly connects salvation with the death of Christ, but he does

¹¹³ Marshall, *Luke: Historian and Theologian*, 169.

¹¹⁴ Cf. Jervell, *The Theology of the Acts of the Apostles*, 97-98.

¹¹⁵ Marshall, *Luke: Historian and Theologian*, 170-75.

not say what the death is intended to accomplish. It suffices for him to say that the death of Christ is part of redemption¹¹⁶.

5.3.5.4.1.4 σώζω and σωτηρία in Acts 27-28: Salvation here refers, first of all, to their immediate rescue from death in the sea. But based on what the reader has already read about salvation in the previous narratives of Luke-Acts, their immediate salvation from the sea storm also seems to point to and anticipate their participation in the eschatological salvation from death accomplished by the death and resurrection of Jesus. This is commemorated in the Eucharistic sharing of food” (meal scenes). Indeed, the double and deeper sense of salvation involved in this final meal scene in Luke-Acts climaxes for the audience a progressive development of the theme of salvation in previous meal scenes.

5.3.5.4.2 Salvation in Meal Contexts in Luke-Acts: Having examined the concept of salvation in the NT in general and in Luke-Acts in particular, let us consider how Luke has related the theme of salvation to meal scenes. Any one who reads Luke-Acts is able to point out immediately that Luke has a special love for meal scenes. More than all the other NT authors he has described meals in his narrative. In most of these meals either Jesus himself or his followers impart salvation. Let us look at some important meal-scenes in Luke-Acts.

5.3.5.4.2.1 Luke 7: 36-50: One of the Pharisees asks Jesus, considered to be a glutton (φάγορ) and a drunkard, who eats and drinks with tax collectors and sinners (7:34), to eat (φάγη) with him (7:36). Jesus enters the house of a Pharisee and reclines at table (7:36) for a meal. Such an act from Jesus recalls for the audience how he earlier was in the house of the tax collector, Levi, for a great banquet symposium (5:29). To his critics (5:30) Jesus announced that he has come to call sinners to repentance¹¹⁷.

The meal in the house of a Pharisee is the first meal scene in the Gospel of Luke (Lk 7:37-38). Having learned that Jesus, considered to be a friend of sinners, was at table, a woman, publicly known as a sinner in the city, dares to come to Jesus privately “in the house of the Pharisee”, bringing in an alabaster flask of perfumed

¹¹⁶ Cf. Jervell, *The Theology of the Acts of the Apostles*, 98-99.

¹¹⁷ Cf. John P. Heil, *The Meal Scenes in Luke-Acts* (SBL: Monograph series 52; Atlanta: Soc. of Bibl. Literature, 1999) 45.

ointment. Not having been invited as a guest, she plays the role of an intruder¹¹⁸ to the symposium. This woman thus “supplied the customary unguent hospitality omitted by this host, who had also possibly neglected to have a servant bring the basin and towel for hands and feet (cf. Gen: 18:4; Jn 13:5-10)”¹¹⁹. The narrator brings out the spirit of lowliness of this woman. “That the woman was “standing behind” Jesus “at his feet” rather than facing him not only corresponds to his position of reclining on a couch facing the table, but begins to describe her extremely humble, shameful, and loving gestures of unconventional and extraordinary hospitality focussed on the feet of Jesus (Lk 7:38)”¹²⁰.

At the criticism of the host, Jesus tells the sinful woman that her many sins were forgiven because she showed such a great love toward him (Lk 7:47): “*Your faith has saved you: go in peace*” (Lk 7:50). The sinful woman believes that Jesus can and does forgive her sins. She is repentant. Her faith in Jesus as the one who forgives sins has saved her and has placed her in the present state of salvation. Here the verb σέσωκεν is used in the perfect tense, expressing the continuing effect of a past act. Jesus has extended meal fellowship to her in the form of eschatological salvation and peace that he brings. She can now go in peace.

Did she participate in the meal? The narrative does not say this. One can truly say that this Jewish woman individually received God’s salvation from Jesus, God’s saviour, in the context of a meal. She individually experienced the “peace on earth” (Lk 2:14) that the birth of Jesus as the “saviour” who is Christ the Lord brings (Lk 2:10). She was gifted the “the salvation” John prepared all flesh to see in the presence of Jesus”¹²¹. All this happened in the context of a meal.

5.3.5.4.2.2 Luke 19:1-10: Meal in the house of Zacchaeus. This meal-event takes place in the concluding section of the travel narrative (18:31-19:48). The name Zacchaeus could mean “clean”, “innocent”¹²². But being a chief tax collector

¹¹⁸ Cf. *The New Harper’s Bible Dictionary*, 428: “The dining room had one side open to the street, with adjustable curtains hanging from the lintel or columns; passers-by could look in and gossip about the guests..... when he was dining in a similar room with Simon the Pharisee (Lk 7:36-50) a woman passing by saw him, slipped in, stood at his feet behind him (v.38)”.

¹¹⁹ *The New Harper’s Bible Dictionary*, 429.

¹²⁰ Heil, *The Meal Scenes in Luke-Acts*, 45-46.

¹²¹ *Ibid.* 51.

¹²² Cf. Fitzmyer, *Luke X-XXIV*, 1223.

“associates him with the Gentile Roman occupation and renders him ironically anything but clean or innocent in Jewish, especially Pharisaic, eyes”¹²³. Though the word “meal” is not used in this scene, the context makes it clear that Jesus is sharing the table fellowship with Zacchaeus. “The close association of food with lodging has been indicated earlier in the narrative, when the twelve told Jesus: “Dismiss the crowd, so that they may go into the surrounding “villages and farms to lodge (καταλύσσωσιν) and find provisions” (9:12). The vocabulary of a travelling guest “remaining in the home” (19:5), being “welcomed” into the home (19:6), and “lodging” in the home (19:7), as well as the continual “grumbling” (19:7), which earlier was always directed toward Jesus’ meal fellowship with sinners (5:30; 7:34,39; 15:2), indicate to the audience that an implicit meal shared by Jesus with Zacchaeus is a dominant concern of the scene..”¹²⁴. Jesus tells him, “*Make haste come down; for I must stay at your house today*” (Lk 19:5). Then the narrator adds that “Zacchaeus came down and received him joyfully” (Lk 19:6). The others object the action of Jesus for “*he has gone in to be the guest (καταλύσαι) of a man who is a sinner*” (Lk.19:7). The verb καταλύω occurs only once in Luke (17 times in the NT) and only in Luke it means “rest” or “lodge”¹²⁵. Jesus concludes the meal with the announcement. *Today salvation has come to this house, because he too is a son of Abraham*¹²⁶. *For the Son of Man has come to seek and to save what was lost* (Lk 19:9-10). In this scene there is an emphatic focus on salvation. The narrator employs both the verb (σῶσαι) and the noun (σωτηρία).

Like the sinful woman Zacchaeus too acknowledges his sinfulness. He now experiences God’s eschatological salvation brought by Jesus in the context of meal hospitality. The sinful woman’s repentance brings her salvation as an individual. On the other hand, the repentance of Zacchaeus brings salvation not only to himself but to his entire household: “*salvation has arrived in this house*” (Lk 19:9). That Zacchaeus, one who was “lost”, was saved is metaphorically equivalent to being saved from “death”. The Greek word for “lost” (ἀπολωλός) often connotes “dead” as confirmed

¹²³ Heil, *The Meal Scenes in Luke-Acts*, 150.

¹²⁴ Ibid. p.154-5, note 17.

¹²⁵ H. Hübner, Art. “καταλύω” in: *EWNT* II, 651.

¹²⁶ A distinction has been often made between “son of Abraham” in a physical sense and in an ethical sense. In the former sense the expression means an Israelite as a bodily descendant of Abraham; and in the later sense it means an Israelite who has the qualities of Abraham. Cf. Hermann L.Strack and Paul Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, vol. 2, 251.

by parallels between being “dead” and “lost” in the parable of the prodigal son (cf. Luke 15:24, 32).

5.3.5.4.2.3 Acts 2: 42-47. This is the first summary in Acts. Luke describes the life of the early Christian community of Jerusalem. The community is formed as a result of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit and the sermon of Peter on the day of Pentecost. The narrator summarises the life of this Christian community with the words, “*they devoted themselves to the apostles teaching and fellowship, to the breaking of bread and the prayers*” (2:42). The reference to the communal meals of the Jerusalem believers as “the breaking of bread” means that they are continuing the special meal fellowship Jesus modelled for them at the Last Supper. Jesus’ deliberate gesture of “the breaking of the bread” was a noteworthy and memorable feature of his meals with the disciples (cf. Lk 9:16; 22:19; 24:30, 35). The fellowship of the Jerusalem believers who were together and had all things in common was a publicly and privately manifested communal unity. They were selling their properties and possessions. “The verbs are in the imperfect to denote customary behaviour and serve to generalise what may have been exceptional acts of generosity”¹²⁷.

The daily devotion of the believers to meeting together publicly “in the temple” was paralleled and complemented by their breaking of bread privately in their houses. Not only were they continually breaking bread in their houses, but they were also practising an ideal communal fellowship, “sharing food with gladness and generosity of heart” (2:46)¹²⁸. That the believers were sharing food “with gladness” (2:46) expresses the joyful celebration of their repentance for the forgiveness of their sins (2:38). Jesus had illustrated the appropriateness of celebrating the joy of repentance with festive meals in his parables about finding of lost sinners (Lk 15:6-7, 9-10, 23-24, 32). “According to Luke, the Jerusalem church was well aware that the redemption in which it rejoiced had been bought at the price of the Lord’s crucifixion (2:23)”¹²⁹.

¹²⁷ Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 59.

¹²⁸ Heil, *The Meal Scenes in Luke-Acts*, 238-9.

¹²⁹ G. Wainwright, “Lord’s Supper, Love Feast”, in: *Dictionary of the Later New Testament and its Developments*, 687.

The word “saved” appears at the end of the summary: “And the Lord added to their number day by day those who were being saved” (2:47). The present participle here indicates that salvation here was progressive¹³⁰. The theme of salvation through table-fellowship progresses to the salvation of the entire community of the first Jewish believers in Jerusalem. In his Pentecostal sermon, Peter exhorts the multitude in Jerusalem “to be *saved* from the crooked generation” (2:40) by repenting and being baptised for the forgiveness of their sins (2:38). The Lord was daily adding “those who were *being saved* to the community” (2:47). The community of being saved celebrated and demonstrated their salvation in and through their communal sharing of meal-fellowship (2:42-47).

5.3.5.4.2.4 Acts 10:1-11:18 - The Conversion of Cornelius: The theme of salvation through meals advances to include a community of believing Gentiles. This scene takes place in Caesarea. God, through an angel, directs the Gentile God-fearer, Cornelius, to “bring one who is called Peter”. Peter himself has a vision from heaven: *he saw the heaven opened, and something descending, like a great sheet, let down by four corners upon the earth. In it were all kinds of animals and reptiles and birds of the air. And there came a voice to him, “rise, Peter; kill and eat”. But Peter said, “No Lord; for I have never eaten anything that is common or unclean” and the voice came to him the second time, “what God has cleansed, you must not call common”* (10:11-15). Peter comes to the house of Cornelius. The speech of Peter follows the baptism of Cornelius and his family. The narrative only says that “they asked him (Peter) to remain for some days” (10:48).

Later Peter has to answer his Jewish accusers as to why he shared meal with the pagans: “*why did you go to uncircumcised men and eat with them?*” One could note here “how the twin issues of “entering” and “eating” are closely linked in the minds of Peter’s accusers”¹³¹. He tells them how Cornelius had seen an angel standing in his house, directing him to send for Peter (11:13), who will speak words by which “*you and your household will be saved*” (11:14). The words of Peter silenced the accusation, implying that he was justified to enter and eat with a household of Gentiles (11:3) in order to bring them salvation. “Peter makes table-fellowship an

¹³⁰ Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 60.

¹³¹ D. L. Matson, *Household Conversion Narratives in Acts: Pattern and Interpretation*, (Sheffield: Sheffield Acad. Press, 1996), note 156 on p. 122.

integral element of Gentile salvation. If Peter is to speak the word of salvation to Gentiles, Peter must “enter” the house of Cornelius, which implies that he may now “eat” there as well¹³². The concluding exclamation of the Jewish accusers, “*so even to the Gentiles God has given the repentance that leads to life*” (11:8), indicates to the reader how “salvation” experienced through meal fellowship includes a share in eschatological “life”.

Salvation here implies joining the Christian community through repentance of sins and baptism in the Holy Spirit. The whole story of Cornelius narrates a threefold repentance in the context of meal-fellowship: 1) Cornelius and his Gentile household repent of their sins, are baptised and receive the Holy Spirit just like the Jews; 2) Peter and those Jews with him convert from their refusal to eat the unclean food that separates them from meal hospitality with Gentiles; 3) the Jewish believers in Jerusalem repent of their objection to Peter sharing meal hospitality with Gentiles. Gaventa expresses this thought emphatically: “By means of the issue of hospitality, Luke demonstrates that the conversion of the first Gentile required the conversion of the church as well. Indeed, in Luke’s account, Peter and company undergo a change that is more wrenching by far than the change experienced by Cornelius”¹³³.

“The central issue in this narrative is not that the Gospel has been preached to Gentiles, but the far more particular fact, of great ethnic and social significance, that Peter has lived and eaten with them. This is after all the substance of the complaint against him by members of the church in Jerusalem in Acts 11:3”¹³⁴. What is the message that Luke is attempting to convey? Certainly “God instigated the mission to the Gentiles”. This is the conclusion drawn by Dibelius and Haenchen among many others. “Unfortunately, however, this solution fails to do justice to the particular issue with which Luke was concerned in the Cornelius narrative – not the legitimation of the Gentile mission in general, but the table-fellowship between Jew and Gentile within the Christian community that he presents as essential to that mission”¹³⁵. It is worth noting that Peter is called to account by the church in Jerusalem not for

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ B. R. Gaventa, *From Darkness to Light: Aspects of Conversion in the New Testament* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986) 109.

¹³⁴ Philip Francis Esler, *Community and Gospel in Luke-Acts* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1987) 93.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

baptising Gentiles, but for eating with them. “What matters to Luke is the legitimation of complete fellowship between Jew and Gentiles in the Christian communities, which could, indeed, have been legitimated by accounts of apostolic baptism of non-Jews”¹³⁶. For Luke, Paul’s mission is not simply the broad task of baptising Gentiles, but also that of initiating Christian communities where Jews and Gentiles share common Eucharistic meals.

5.3.5.4.2.5 Acts 16:30-34 - Meal Shared by Paul and Silas with the Baptised Roman Jailer and his Household at Philippi: The theme of salvation through meal fellowship now moves from Petrine to Pauline mission. It moves from a household of God-fearing Gentiles in Caesarea to a household of pagan Roman Gentiles in Philippi. Cornelius was already a notable God-fearer before he was converted. But the Roman jailer is converted as an anonymous pagan Gentile. The miraculous earthquake, which freed Paul and Silas, moves him to accept their message. He expresses his desire to be converted by asking, “*What must I do to be saved?*” (16:30). Tannehill observes that the question of the jailer “combines the question following the Pentecost sermon (2:37: “What should we do, brothers?”) with Peter’s reply (2:40: “Be saved from this crooked generation”)¹³⁷. Paul and Silas exhorted him to believe in the Lord Jesus to be saved. Their emphatic expression that “*you will be saved – you and your household*” (16:31), echoes what the angel told Cornelius (11.14). The communal dimension of the Roman jailer’s conversion is thus underlined. Just as the believers in Jerusalem celebrated their coming to salvation “with gladness” at Eucharistic meals (2:42, 46), so the “rejoicing” of the Roman jailer and all his household in coming to salvation (16:30-31) occurs at a special meal with Eucharistic associations (16:34). “The celebratory meal shared by Paul and Silas with the Roman jailer and his whole household continues to develop for the audience the pattern of meal fellowship with the newly baptised, which completes their initiation into the believing community as fellow members”¹³⁸. The expression *παρέθηκεν τράπεζαν* used here means literally “set a table” or “set food” (16:34). It may not mean an Eucharistic meal in the full sense¹³⁹. However “the combination of all the special circumstances”¹⁴⁰ as well as the

¹³⁶ Ibid. 96.

¹³⁷ Tannehill, *Narrative Unity*, 2.200.

¹³⁸ Heil, *The Meal Scenes in Luke-Acts*, 278.

¹³⁹ Cf. Conzelmann, *Acts*, 133; Pesch, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (Apg 13-28), 116.

total narrative context of this meal causes it to resonate with Eucharistic overtones in the ears of the audience”¹⁴¹. Pervo explains the nuance of this meal more clearly: “This is not explicitly described as a Eucharist, but the allusions are plain. Every meal in Luke-Acts has dimensions that intimate the Eucharist”¹⁴².

5.3.5.4.2.6 Acts 20: 7-12: Paul restores Eutychus at a Eucharistic meal. The vocabulary of salvation is not found here. But the theme of salvation through meal-fellowship is present. The salvation involved here is the rescue of life from death. When Eutychus¹⁴³ fell and was taken up “dead” (20:9), Paul assured the community gathered for the meal that his “life” is in him (20:10). After the Eucharistic breaking of bread and eating they took Eutychus away “alive” (20:12). In the previous meal scenes salvation was experienced and celebrated in table-fellowship by those who had repented and become new believers. But here an already believing member of the community receives salvation in the form of the life-giving effects of the death and resurrection of Jesus that is continually commemorated in the Eucharist (Lk 22:19-20). This miraculous life-from-death experience at the breaking of bread, which immeasurably encouraged (20:12) the community at Troas, indicates to the reader how the communal celebration of the Eucharist anticipates the future and final salvation of eschatological life after death.

5.3.5.4.2.7 Conclusion: Let us come back to the meal on the ship. The meal that Paul has with his fellow voyagers on the ship has many things in common with the meals we have considered. Paul’s meal on the ship, too, is a meal of salvation. The theme of salvation is what puts all these meals at the same level. But salvation here is primarily a physical rescue. It is the deliverance from the immanent shipwreck. This aspect of deliverance from death ties this meal on the ship especially to that meal in 20:7-12 where Eutychus was restored to life. Eutychus alone was saved from death during the communal meal at Troas. Paul now urges “all” on board the ship (27:33), including the non-believers, to share the food for their salvation (27:34).

¹⁴⁰ The meal is taken at an unusual time-past midnight (16:25) which itself brings out the spontaneous celebration of salvation. This is a celebration of faith in God (16:34) and in the Lord Jesus Christ for salvation (16:31).

¹⁴¹ Heil, *The Meal Scenes in Luke-Acts*, 279-80.

¹⁴² R. I. Pervo, *Luke’s Story of Paul* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990) 58.

¹⁴³ The name means “lucky” or “fortunate one”.

That this “salvation” includes but also transcends their immediate rescue from death in the sea-storm and points to their eschatological salvation is confirmed by Paul’s additional reason for their sharing of food: “Not a hair from anyone’s head will be lost” (27:34). This proverbial expression promises, first of all, the complete physical safety of each and every individual on the ship – “no one” will be lost in death. But it also reminds the audience of Jesus’ previous promise to the disciples: “But not a hair from your head will ever be lost” (Lk 21:18; cf. 12:7). Since this promise closely follows upon Jesus’ warning that “they will put some of you to death” (21:16), it refers not just to immediate, physical safety but also assures ultimate, eschatological salvation in eternal life.

Therefore Paul’s breaking of bread should be taken in close connection with his saying, “Not a hair from anyone’s head will be lost” (27:34). The repetition of this saying in 27:34 indicates that the narrator is establishing a parallel between the situation of those on the ship with Paul and the fate Jesus predicted for his disciples. And just as Jesus tells his disciples in Lk 21:19 that they will win their lives (τὰς ψυχὰς) by endurance, so Paul can prophesy that no one on board will lose his life (ψυχῆς) in Acts 27:22. “Thus, while on the literal level of the story in Acts 27 Paul takes action appropriate to an emergency, there is another level being created in which the fate of those on the boat symbolises the experience of the disciples of Jesus after his resurrection but before the end. In one sense this is an emergency, but it is only what the disciples must expect during this time. Accordingly, the existence of this parallel and the Eucharistic meaning of 27:33-7 necessitate interpreting “salvation” (27:34) as operating on both the literal and the symbolical level, to convey survival of shipwreck and the salvation which comes from Christ for Jew and Gentile”¹⁴⁴.

This meal on the ship has another aspect. It is a meal which both Jews (Paul and his Christian companions) and Gentiles share. The threat of nearing death has brought them together. Luke has already emphasised the co-operation and collaboration between these two ethnic groups for the rescue of all. As in the case of the Cornelius account we have here the issue of Jews and Gentiles sharing the meal-fellowship. This table-fellowship between Jews and Gentiles is a very prominent

¹⁴⁴ Esler, *Community and Gospel in Luke-Acts* 104.

elsewhere in Acts. According to Esler “Acts 27:33-7 is the fourth occasion in the work in which Paul enters into table-fellowship between Jews and Gentiles, thereby necessarily raising once again the problems for Jewish ethnic integrity which such behaviour entailed”¹⁴⁵. Commenting on the article of Reicke, who interprets this meal as an Eucharist, Esler states: “The eucharistic features persuasively expounded by Reicke are relevant, but as aspects of the fundamental social problem of the proper relationship between Jews and Christians in the Christian community, not simply in isolation as indicative of a Lucan interest in the theology of the Eucharist”¹⁴⁶.

To conclude, the meal on the ship is more than an ordinary Jewish meal. Luke wants the reader to understand it in an Eucharistic sense. We have seen the objection: how could Paul celebrate Eucharist in the presence of pagans? It is possible that for the Christian companions of Paul it was a Eucharist, while for the pagans it was an ordinary meal. However, the pagans did benefit from the Eucharistic meal that Paul and his Christian companions had. We should not forget the fact that at the beginning there was no dogma of real presence that we have today. Every meal that Christians shared was in some sense a Eucharist. They experienced the presence of the Risen Lord at each common meal and it was for them a meal of salvation.

5.4 The Shipwreck and Deliverance of All (vv. 39-44)

5.4.1 Structure: In this last paragraph we can see a five-fold division. The paragraph begins with a time indication. It was day. Many who compare the shipwreck and rescue of Paul to the death and resurrection of Jesus see here a special meaning in the expression “it was day”. The paragraph begins with the comment that they recognised the land. Then follow the last safety actions from the sailors. These are three in number: casting the anchors, loosening the ropes and hoisting the foresail. The subject of these actions is “they”. The type of these actions clearly indicates that these are the actions those of the sailors. The third element is the shipwreck. There follows another plot: this time of the soldiers. They plan to kill the prisoners lest they escape. Once again the centurion intervenes for the sake of Paul. He does not allow them to carry out their plan. On the other hand, he orders them to swim or use the planks of the ship

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.103.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid. 103.

to reach the land. And finally the narrative ends with the statement that they all escaped to the land.

1. The recognition of the bay (v. 39)

Ὅτε δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο,
τὴν γῆν οὐκ ἐπεγίνωσκον,
κόλπον δὲ τινα κατενόουν ἔχοντα αἰγιαλὸν
εἰς ὃν ἐβουλεύοντο εἰ δύναιτο ἐξῶσαι τὸ πλοῖον.

2. The final measures to head towards the beach (v. 40)

καὶ τὰς ἀγκύρας περιελόντες εἶων εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν,
ἅμα ἀνέντες τὰς ζευκτηρίας τῶν πηδαλίων
καὶ ἐπάραντες τὸν ἀρτέμωνα τῇ πνεύσῃ κατεῖχον εἰς τὸν αἰγιαλόν.

3. The shipwreck (v. 41)

περιπεσόντες δὲ εἰς τόπον διθάλασσον
ἐπέκειλαν τὴν ναῦν
καὶ ἡ μὲν πρῶρα ἐρείσασα ἔμεινεν ἀσάλευτος,
ἡ δὲ πρύμνα ἐλύετο ὑπὸ τῆς βίας [τῶν κυμάτων].

4. The plot to kill the prisoners and the centurion's intervention (vv. 42-44a)

4a The plan of soldiers

τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν βουλὴ ἐγένετο
ἵνα τοὺς δεσμώτας ἀποκτείνωσιν,
μή τις ἐκκολυμβήσας διαφύγῃ

4b Centurion's intervention not to carry out the plan

ὁ δὲ ἑκατοντάρχης βουλόμενος διασῶσαι τὸν Παῦλον
ἐκώλυσεν αὐτοὺς τοῦ βουλήματος,

4c Centurion's order to escape to the land

ἐκέλευσέν τε τοὺς δυναμένους κολυμβᾶν
ἀπορίψαντας πρώτους ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἐξιέναι
καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς οὓς μὲν ἐπὶ σανίσιν,
οὓς δὲ ἐπὶ τινῶν τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πλοίου.

5. The deliverance of all (v. 44b)

καὶ οὕτως ἐγένετο πάντας διασωθῆναι ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν.

5.4.2 Exegetical Comments

5.4.2.1 The Recognition of the Bay: The verb *κατανοέω* means to consider closely or notice. This verb in the present normally represents a durative action¹⁴⁷. Here in 27:39 it appears to be an exception. The imperfect use of the tense could mean here they “noticed one after another” or “as daylight increased they perceived more and more clearly”. They saw a bay, with a beach and it offered them a way to escape the stormy sea. Barrett maintains, “Had the dinghy still been available it might have been used for successive trips to the shore; it was not available (v. 32) and the alternative was to run the ship on the shore”¹⁴⁸. Luke uses his favourite verb *βουλεύομαι* for their planning. The verb literally means “to intend” or “think about carefully”. Their act of planning is qualified by the parenthetical *εἰ δύναιντο*. The optative use of this verb would mean here “if possible”. Haenchen believes that this verse 39 is perfectly connected to v. 32¹⁴⁹. I find this opinion not very convincing. One cannot simply see why verse 39 is not connected to the previous verse 38.

5.4.2.2 The Efforts to Reach the Beach: This verse describes almost a last attempt which involves three co-ordinated actions. These actions are taken to achieve the goal mentioned in v. 39. They release the anchor on both sides and obviously they left them in the sea. The verb *περιελόντες* was also used in v. 20 and occurs again in 28:13 (with a different meaning). It means “to strip off, to take off”. The phrase suggests that the anchors were detached from the ropes that held them and allowed (*εἶων*) to drop into the sea. At the same time (*ἅμα*) they free the rudder from the cables that had secured it¹⁵⁰. The feminine noun *ζευκτηρία* means “bands” or “fastening”. Then they raised a sail, probably a foresail¹⁵¹. This was a small sail in the bow of the ship that was primarily used for guiding it. With regard to the use of this term here Polhill comments: “Luke referred to the sail as the *ἄρτέμων*, which is not found

¹⁴⁷ Moulton 1.117.

¹⁴⁸ Barrett, *Acts*, 1211.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. Haenchen, *Acts*, 677.

¹⁵⁰ The rudders of ancient ships consisted of large paddles and in a storm these were lifted from the water and tied down. Cf. Smith, *Voyage*, 141.

¹⁵¹ Usually the Roman ships had two sails: the mainsail and the foresail. It is possible that some ships had as well a third sail on the stern. Cf. M. Fitzgerald, „The ship of Saint Paul –Part II: Comparative Archaeology“ in: BA 53 (1990), 31-39.

previous to this in Greek literature. It is evidently a Latinism and is used in later Italian literature for the foresail”¹⁵². These steps were taken in order to head the ship toward the beach¹⁵³.

5.4.2.3 The Shipwreck: RSV translates verse 41 as “But striking a shoal they ran the vessel aground; the bow stuck and remained immovable, and the stern was broken up by the surf”. The verb περιπίπτω is a nautical term. It is used of ships falling foul of one another and of ships being wrecked. The phrase ἐπέκειλαν τὴν ναῦν (ran the vessel aground) is made up of two classical Greek words, ἐπικέλλω and ναῦς, which occur only here in the NT¹⁵⁴. The adjective διθάλασσον literally means “place of two seas” or “a sea divided into two parts”. LS 427 translates this part of the verse as “between two seas, where two seas met”. According to Barrett, “this suggests a headland jutting out between two distinguishable stretches of water”¹⁵⁵. For Bruce it is a reference to the narrow channel between Malta and a small island that shelters St. Paul’s Bay on the northwest¹⁵⁶. According to Johnson this word suggests something like “a ridge of sand dividing the water”¹⁵⁷. NIV translates it as “shoal” or “sandbar”. Barrett, too, favours this translation: “If the ship ran on to land it is hard to see why the travellers should need to swim or otherwise take to the water (42-44). Even if they were at the stern of the ship, this did not break up at once and they could have jumped to the ground. If, however, the bow was stuck in a shoal and the stern was exposed to the force of the waves all is clear. Everyone would be obliged to swim ashore, or find some other means of getting through the water”¹⁵⁸. The imperfect is ἐλύετο durative and suggests that bit by bit the stern was broken up.

The traditional site for Paul’s shipwreck is known today as St. Paul’s Bay. Smith holds that this site is the correct location¹⁵⁹. However N. Heuger argues that it

¹⁵² Polhill, *Acts*, note 51 on p.529.

¹⁵³ The expression κατείχον εἰς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν is found in Herodotus, *Persian Wars* 7:188.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. Homer, *Odyssey* 9.145, 546.

¹⁵⁵ Barrett, *Acts*, 1213.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. Bruce, *Acts*, 518. For a discussion on whether the ship hit the western or the eastern beach of St. Paul’s Bay cf. G.A. Sim, “Acts xxvii.39”, in: *Exp Time* 28 (1916-17) 187f.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 456.

¹⁵⁸ Barrett, *Acts*, 1213.

¹⁵⁹ Smith, *Voyage*, 140f.

is the modern Mellieha which is the correct site where Paul's ship was wrecked¹⁶⁰. A discussion on this issue is not relevant to the purpose of our study.

5.4.2.4 The Plan to Kill the Prisoners and the Intervention of the Centurion:

According to Roman law, the soldiers who let the prisoner escape were penalised and were made to pay with their own lives¹⁶¹. Naturally this would arouse a lot of fear in them and they would do anything to avoid letting the prisoners running away. Acts 12:19 tells us how, after Peter's miraculous escape from the prison, Herod examined the sentries and ordered that they should be put to death. A similar incident is found in Acts 16:27. When the jailer found the prison doors opened he supposed that Paul and Silas had escaped. He drew his sword and was about to kill himself. The soldiers here in the shipwreck want to kill the prisoners lest they escape. But the centurion prevents them from carrying out their plan. As Johnson says "Luke makes the centurion's concern focus solely on Paul, and in this way the prophecy in the vision is fulfilled, that God "granted all those sailing with him" to Paul (27:24)"¹⁶². The use of this verb here means that Julius wished to bring Paul safely through the present danger. Barrett assumes that "there may also have been a desire to distinguish rescue from shipwreck from being saved in a Christian, religious sense"¹⁶³. The Centurion prevents them from carrying out their plan. The verb κωλύειν with accusative of person occurs also in 8:36 where the eunuch tells Philip, "what is to *prevent* my being baptised?" and 11:17 where Peter tells the circumcision party of Jerusalem: *If then God gave the same gift to them as he gave to us when we believed in the Lord Jesus Christ, who was I that I could withstand (prevent) God?* The centurion could not save Paul without saving all. So he ordered those who could to swim across and others to use the planks¹⁶⁴ or pieces of ship to make it to the shore. The narrator distinguishes the two groups by the expression οὐς μὲν οὐς δέ. The phrase οὐς δὲ ἐπὶ τινῶν τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πλοίου is rather unclear. It could also be translated as "on some people from the ship"¹⁶⁵. According to Polhill, "the picture could be that of the non-swimmers being carried of the backs of those who could swim"¹⁶⁶.

¹⁶⁰ N. Heuger „Paulus auf Malta im Licht der Maltesischen Topographie“ in: *BZ* 28 (1984), 86-88.

¹⁶¹ Cf. Polhill, *Acts*, 529.

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ Barrett, *Acts*, 1214.

¹⁶⁴ For the use of planks to reach the shore from shipwreck see *Testament of Naphthali* 6:6 and Xenophon, *The Ephesians* 2, 11.

¹⁶⁵ Polhill, *Acts*, 530.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid. 530.

5.4.2.5 The Deliverance of All: The paragraph ends with the sentence “and so it was that all escaped to land”¹⁶⁷. The narrative has made it clear that the presence of Paul in the ship was responsible for the rescue of all in the ship. Of course it was God who rescued them all for the sake of Paul witnessing before the Emperor in Rome. What happens here is something of a reversal of expectations. This is unlike the story of Jonah. Polhill comments rightly: “In many ancient shipwreck stories there is a motif in which a storm or shipwreck is attributed to the presence of one on board who has incurred the wrath of a god. The presence of the guilty party endangers the lives of all the voyagers. In this instance the opposite took place. Paul’s presence was in no sense responsible for the storm. Had his advice been followed, the ship would have never encountered the storm in the first place. On the contrary, Paul’s presence was responsible for their *deliverance* from the storm. His God was with him, and because he was with the apostle, *all* were saved”¹⁶⁸.

5.5 Conclusion: The study of this section (27:27-44) showed us how this whole section is centred on the word “salvation”. The concentration of the words σωζω and σωτηρία give a key to the interpretation of the section. Another word that has frequently occurred in this section is the word πάντας. These two words- “salvation” and “all”- provide a title to this section and in fact a title to the whole voyage narrative. It is basically a narrative on universal salvation. The theme which began in the infancy narrative in the Gospel, continued in the ministry of John the Baptist, Jesus and the disciples of Jesus, now comes to a culminating end in this voyage narrative. In his genealogy Luke goes back to Adam himself and thus gives a universal significance to the story of Jesus. In narrating the birth of Jesus he had referred to Caesar to give a universal significance to his story. The voyage narrative is to be read on two levels. On one level it is just the rescue from a shipwreck. But on another level it is the story of the God’s salvation reaching the ends of the earth. It is a parable of universal salvation.

In the first subsection (vv. 27-32) Paul intervenes and tells the centurion, “unless these remain in the ship, you cannot be saved” (27:31). Now he urges them all to eat because it will be “good for their salvation” (v. 34). Naturally the reference here is to being rescued from the sea. However we need to take these verses as part of an

¹⁶⁷ This line is a reminiscent of Aelius Aristides, *Sacred Tales* 2:12.

¹⁶⁸ Polhill, *Acts*, 530.

emphasised theme¹⁶⁹. The rapid repetition of this word σώζω and σωτηρία in 27:43, 44; 28:1 is a particular sign of emphasis. These words occur in other voyage narratives of ancient literature¹⁷⁰. The ancient readers would find them just natural in their context. But there is a double sense in these words. The narratives are created and read in the light of real world context of experience and imagination that enters literary expression. Two such contexts have taken literary shape and particularly relevant to reading Acts 27:1- 28:15: the imaginative experience of ancient sea voyages expressed in sea-voyage literature and the imaginative experience of first-century Christianity as expressed in Luke-Acts¹⁷¹.

Tannehill states: “These two contexts render a double reading to this theme of salvation or rescue. In the former context the hope for rescue from the sea is a natural part of the experience of a sea voyage, when danger arises. The salvation or rescue may come from various human and divine agents. In the latter context salvation takes on a special significance. It is not only the hope of those in a storm at sea but the purpose of God for all humanity, as announced at the beginning of Luke (2:30-32; 3:6). The emphasis on salvation in Luke- Acts gives to the emphasis on salvation in this sea voyage a second, symbolic sense”¹⁷².

The angel had told Paul that everyone on board of the ship will be saved on account of Paul. He needs to witness Christ before Caesar. The words of the angel echo the promise that “all flesh will see the salvation of God” in Lk 3:6. According to Tannehill, “the fulfilment of God’s promise to Paul that all those in the ship will survive the storm becomes a sign in miniature of God’s promise of salvation for all flesh, which has not yet been fulfilled”¹⁷³. Paul is speaking mainly to pagans when he shares God’s promise. They are promised salvation from the sea. Paul makes no reference to faith in Jesus Christ as a precondition for this salvation. God graciously grants salvation to all on the ship, not because of their works or their faith, but simply

¹⁶⁹ Cf. Tannehill, *Narrative Unity*, 336.

¹⁷⁰ Cf. Praeder, *Narrative Voyage*, 245-6.

¹⁷¹ Cf. *Ibid.* 95-99.

¹⁷² Tannehill, *Narrative Unity*, 336-7.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*

because it fits God's purpose. Throughout the voyage narrative we are not told that Paul preached Jesus. One gets the impression that the benefits that God brings through Paul do not depend on acceptance of this message. As he arrives in Rome, Paul will continue his work as a missionary. He has not changed his mind on the importance of this work. However, the voyage-narrative presents a more comprehensive vision of God's saving work. God's salvation is not limited to those who hear and accept the Gospel. The mission continues within the context of this vision.

This section of Acts represents a new hope. It seems to anticipate salvation (in some sense) of every individual of a pluralistic community. People like Paul are chosen as mediators of this promise. Perhaps Luke has not reached a theological clarity on this issue. He is not adhering to one view consistently. The nature of this salvation is not made clear. The larger Lucan context indicates that salvation here has a second level of meaning that goes beyond the rescue from a shipwreck.

Chapter Six

The Mission in Malta (28:1-10)

6.1 Introduction: The first eleven verses of Acts 28 are a narration of the stay of Paul and his companions at Malta. The story of God's providence is continued. The majority of the crew wanted to reach as far as Phoenix so that they could pass the winter there. Julius, the centurion, had yielded to their expert opinion against that of Paul who wanted to spend the winter in Fair Havens. But the shipwreck and divine Providence brings them to Malta and they remain there for three months before they could proceed to Rome. This section can be titled as the "Überwintern der Schiffbrüchigen auf Malta"¹. It contains two episodes, which demonstrate that Paul is the carrier of salvation and healing. One is the miracle of rescue of Paul and the other is the healing by Paul.

6.2 Snake Bite and Rescue - The Innocence of Paul (28:1-6): The third person plural exit from the narrative world. Vv.1-2 set the scene near a bonfire in the wet and cold winter weather of Malta. The natives of Malta receive the first person plural with unusual kindness. They obey the laws of guest-friendship and love of neighbour. "The first person narrator's expression of his participation three times in 28:1-2 establishes his peripheral presence to the events narrated in the third person in 28:3-6"². Acts 28:1-6 can be considered as a conversion story³. The narrator brings out a change in the judgement of the natives. When they see Paul bitten by a viper they think he is a criminal. He was able to escape from the sea but not from the vengeance of the goddess of justice. However, things do not turn out according to their expectation. Paul is unharmed by the viper and so proved to be innocent. The natives now swing their judgement to the other extreme: he is a god. Luke is thus narrating a process of change in the thinking of the natives. We could even say that the inhabitants of Malta demonstrate their faith in the God who saves Paul from death. The point of this story is the innocence of Paul, the divine protection he enjoys and the confirmation of his mission. I would suggest the following structure to this piece of narrative:

¹ Eckey, *Apq*, 573.

² Praeder, *Narrative Voyage*, 150.

³ Cf. *Ibid*.

6.2.1 Structure: We could consider a four fold structure in these 6 verses. Vv.1-2 describe the setting. They give us an indication of place and season. The survivors of the shipwreck have landed on an island called Malta and are welcomed by the natives. There is no time indication. However the narrator describes a season of cold and rain. Naturally they light a fire so that Paul and his companions could be warmed up. So the setting is around the fire. Vv.3-4 can be regarded as exposition in which the narrator describes an event (the viper on Paul's hand) and then the reaction of the inhabitants. V. 5 can be regarded as the kernel of this story. It describes Paul's immunity to the bite of the viper. This verse proves Paul's innocence and the divine protection that Paul enjoys. V. 6 provides a conclusion to the whole story. It is the concluding judgement of the islanders who think that the person whom they initially regarded as a murderer is in fact a god.

1. Setting (vv. 1-2):

1a Καὶ διασωθέντες τότε

1b ἐπέγνωμεν ὅτι Μελίτη ἡ νῆσος καλεῖται.

2a οἱ τε βάρβαροι παρείχον οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν φιλανθρωπίαν ἡμῖν,

2b ἄψαντες γὰρ πυρὰν προσελάβοντο πάντας ἡμᾶς

2c διὰ τὸν ὑετὸν τὸν ἐφειστώτα καὶ διὰ τὸ ψῦχος.

2. Exposition (vv. 3-4):

a) Event: The serpent on Paul's hand

3a συστρέψαντος δὲ τοῦ Παύλου φρυγάνων τι πλῆθος

3b καὶ ἐπιθέντος ἐπὶ τὴν πυρὰν,

3c ἔχιδινα ἀπὸ τῆς θερμῆς ἐξεληθοῦσα

3d καθῆψεν τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ.

b) The reaction of the inhabitants

4a ὡς δὲ εἶδον οἱ βάρβαροι κρεμάμενον τὸ θηρίον ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ,

4b πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔλεγον,

4c Πάντως φονεὺς ἐστὶν ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος

4d ὃν διασωθέντα ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης

4e ἡ δίκη ζῆν οὐκ εἴασεν.

3. Centre (v. 5):

5a ὁ μὲν οὖν ἀποτινάξας τὸ θηρίον εἰς τὸ πῦρ
5b ἔπαθεν οὐδὲν κακόν,

4. Conclusion (v. 6):

6a οἱ δὲ προσεδόκων αὐτὸν
6b μέλλειν πίμπρασθαι ἢ καταπίπτειν ἄφνω νεκρόν.
6c ἐπὶ πολὺ δὲ αὐτῶν προσδοκόντων καὶ θεωρούντων
6d μηδὲν ἄτοπον εἰς αὐτὸν γινόμενον
6e μεταβαλόμενοι ἔλεγον αὐτὸν εἶναι θεόν.

6.2.2 Exegetical Comments:

6.2.2.1 Setting (vv.1-2):

The participle διασωθέντες connects this section of the narrative to the preceding one. This verb means to rescue from danger. The verb διασώζω is repeated for the third time. Cf. 27:20, 31; in 27:34 σωτηρία. The repeated use of this verb in this part of the narrative make clear that Luke wants the reader to understand much more than the saving from the perils of the sea. In the first letter of Peter this verb is used in the context of baptism. The author compares baptism to the saving of flood of Noah and eight persons. Paul himself has to experience being saved from the perils of the sea before he becomes the healer of others.

6.2.2.1.1 The Recognition of the Land. It was not until they came on the shore that they found out which island it was that they had landed on. No doubt many of the crew knew Malta, but they were accustomed to put in at Valletta, in the grand harbour, and naturally did not recognise this part of the coast.

Luke tells us they *came to know* that the island on which they landed was Malta. How did they come to know this? Barrett holds that the expression “we have learned” or we “were informed” would have been more appropriate⁴. The aorist form of the verb ἐπιγινώσκω is used here. It means “to recognise”, “perceive”. It can also mean to “learn of”, “find out”. In Luke 7:37 this verb is used of a woman who finds out that Jesus was staying in the house of a Pharisee.

⁴ Barrett, *Acts*, 1219.

The explanation given by Zahn is quite enlightening: „Es wäre möglich, daß die Matrosen und ihre Vorgesetzten (27:11,30) schon auf früheren Fahrten mit ihrem von Alexandrien nach Italien fahrenden Kornschiff (27:6) das eine oder andere Mal in derselben Bucht gelandet waren und sie nun im Morgenlicht wiedererkannten, eine Entdeckung, die dann allen übrigen Reisegegnossen, die diesen Strand zum ersten Mal betraten, sich mitteilen mußte, da sie nicht auf Täuschung beruhen konnte“⁵. He further holds the possibility that there may have been some kind of board with the inscription “Malta” which was to help the voyagers: „Möglich wäre auch, daß schon an oder in der Nähe der Landungsstelle Wegweiser den zahlreichen Ankömmlingen den Weg zu der landeinwärts liegenden Stadt zeigten, oder auch andere Inschriften den Namen Melite enthielten“⁶. We cannot exclude the possibility that Paul himself was able to find this out through an initial conversation with the natives. Paul could speak Hebrew as well as Aramaic. The language of the natives was Punic and is related to Hebrew. However, the observation of Zahn seems to be rather imaginative and amusing. The narrator is not interested in telling us *how* Paul and his fellow-voyagers found out that the island in which they landed was Malta.

6.2.2.1.2 Malta

6.2.2.1.2.1 The Identification of the Place: The traditional site of the wreck is known as the Bay of St. Paul in Malta. Early writers had no problem with the identification of the site on which Paul and his companions landed. However, in the 8th century, Constantinus Porphyrogenitus (*De Administrando Imperio* 36) believed that the island on which Paul and the other survivors of the shipwreck landed was Cephallenia, an island in the Adriatic now known as Meleda, Melite, or Mljet. Warnecke holds this view: it was in the Adriatic that Paul and his fellow sailors were stranded. He has argued extensively on this proposal. The gale that threatened to drive the ship on to the Syrtes (27:17) must have been northeastern, and it is hard to see how it could have led to a wreck on the east side of the Adriatic.

Ignazio Georgi, an eighteenth century Benedictine, identified Mljet (Melite Illyrica), a small island off the coast of Dalmatia (opposite modern Dubrovnik), as the place of Paul’s shipwreck. This view has been espoused in modern times by Acworth,

⁵ Zahn, *Apg*, 840.

⁶ *Ibid.*

Meinardus, and Warnecke. Bruce is one among many who does not accept this view: “The idea that the island on which they landed was Miljet (Meleda) off the Dalmatian coast is bound up with the misinterpretation of the “sea of Adria” (27:27) as the Adriatic Sea; both are impossible identifications if Euraquillo be read as the name of the wind which drove them away from the south coast of Crete (27:14)”⁷.

6.2.2.1.2.2 Malta: its History and Culture: Melite is sizeable island in the middle of the Mediterranean to the south of Sicily, called in Latin, Melite Africana. It was an important centre in the navigation of the Mediterranean.

The Phoenicians had first colonised the island; Greeks followed; then Carthage annexed it; and finally it passed from the dominion of Carthage to that of Rome, and was assigned to the province of Sicily. “Since 218 BC it was controlled by Romans, because it was important in the trade that passes east-west in the Mediterranean Sea”⁸. The name Malta was first given to the island by Phoenician seafarers: it is the Canaanite word for *refuge* and they must have found it a true refuge on more than one occasion⁹. “It has even been suggested that when Luke wrote “we learned that the island was called Malta” he really meant, “we recognised that it was well named”¹⁰. Whether Luke was aware of this or not we do not know.

The culture and the language of Malta and Gozo were predominantly Punic. Gradually the Greek language, too, began to exist side by side with it. Before the first century AD Malta had been both Hellenised and Romanised. Inscriptions in both Greek and Latin are found, together with ruins of Roman villas, theatres and baths. Julius Caesar settled some of his veterans in Malta, and a little later the island received the citizenship, as is confirmed by coins¹¹. Punic was the only language which the common person of the island could speak, understand and read¹². It is proved by inscriptions¹³.

⁷ Bruce, *Acts*, 496-7.

⁸ Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 782.

⁹ Cf. Bruce, *Acts*, 497.

¹⁰ Ibid

¹¹ Cf. Barrett, *Acts*, 1220.

¹² Cf. Zahn, *Apg*, 840.

¹³ Wilkenhauser, *Apg*, 410: “Neben Münzen mit griechischer Legende wurden, wie es scheint noch im ersten Jahrhundert v. Chr. solche mit punischer geprägt. Diese Tatsache, daß Punische Münzen auf

The governor of Sicily had some representative in the island. Its local self-government was constituted after the Greek model with a Senate, Archons, and Demos (people). Under the Empire we find a procurator in Malta. His exact role is not clear. Whether he was merely the steward of the imperial revenues or the actual governor we do not know. Besides the procurator there was a “First of the Maltese”. This title has been found on inscriptions; but one cannot be sure whether this was a title of office or of compliment. During the period of Paul’s stay in Malta this title was borne by one Publius. This is a Roman name; but as it is only a *praenomen* and no other name is given, we should rather infer that Publius was not of Roman blood¹⁴.

6.2.2.1.2.3 The Natives of Malta: Luke calls them οἱ βάρβαροι. This word appears only twice in Acts: here and in verse 4. Paul uses this word a few times: cf. Rom 14; 1Cor 14:11; Col 3:11. Its primary meaning is related to language. Its original meaning is found in 1 Cor 14:11 where it refers to one who speaks a foreign and unintelligible language: *but if I do not know the meaning of the language, I shall be a foreigner to the speaker and the speaker a foreigner to me* (1Cor 14:11). “The adjective βάρβαρος is formed onomatopoeically of reduplicated bar, which to ancient Greeks imitated the unintelligible sounds of foreign language; they even likened them to the twittering of birds”¹⁵. Balz describes this word as “der eine nichtgriechische Sprache spricht und sich damit unter Griechen als Ausländer zu erkennen gibt”¹⁶. The word was specially used of Medes and Persians; after the Persian war it came to mean brutal or rude¹⁷. Certainly Luke is not using this word in that sense. In fact he characterises them as people full of hospitality.

In Psalm 113:1, the Egyptians are barbarians from the point of view of Israel. The expression Greeks and βάρβαροι which we find in Rom 1:14 is commonly used to indicate the totality of the people from the Greek perspective. Paul underlines his universal mission. The apostolic mission of Paul is to all: the Greeks and to the

Malta und Gozo überhaupt auftreten, während man sonst in der Provinz Sizilien damals überall griechisch geprägt hat, beweist die Stärke des Phönizertums auf Malta in damaliger Zeit. Die Weihegaben, welche die Tyrier und Osirschamar dem Herakles Melqart dargebrachten (wohl im 2. Jhd. v. Chr.), tragen die Inschrift in punischer und griechischer Sprache. In der römischen Kaiserzeit verlor die Bevölkerung zum großen Teil jedoch ihre phönikische Eigenart, welche der Überlegenheit der griechischer Kultur weichen mußte.....“

¹⁴ Cf. Rackam, *Acts*, 493.

¹⁵ Herodotus, *History* 2.57.

¹⁶ Balz, Art. “βάρβαρος” in: *EWNT* 1, 473.

¹⁷ Cf. Barrett, *Acts*, 1220.

barbarians. He couples these categories immediately with the wise and foolish. So βάρβαροι means here those who are not Greek from inheritance and from education. In Col. 3:11 Paul speaks in the context of baptism: “here we cannot be Greek and Jew, circumcised and uncircumcised, barbarian, Scythian, slave, freeman, but Christ is all, and in all”. The old differences are no longer valid to those who are made new according to the image of the creator.

6.2.2.1.2..4 The Hospitality of the Islanders: They showed extraordinary kindness to Paul and his fellow-voyagers. As Klauck points out “one can imagine the inhabitants of the island reacting in various ways, and classical novels do in fact depict such figures as pirates waiting on the shore and cannibals”¹⁸. But the natives of Malta are different. Their hospitality is without measure. The phrase οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν also appears in 19.11. The word is characteristic of the second part of Acts. Barrett finds here an excellent linguistic parallel in BGU, a fayyum papyrus of the second or third century AD¹⁹. They lit a fire and welcomed, or received, us all, or brought us to it. Such an action was desirable because of rain and cold. One may find it a little strange that there is no reference to the wetting in the sea. The rain was ἐφειστώτα; perhaps that came suddenly or unexpectedly.

Warnecke cites this unexpected rain as another argument for his thesis that it was Melida and not Malta where Paul was stranded. According to him the average rainfall of Malta in October is 83.3 mm, whereas that of Melida is heavy. He further adds that even the highest and the lowest temperature in Malta in October are 17.2 and 27.8c. and in November 12.2 and 23.3. This would not cause a problem for Paul. Cephallenia was much colder. Schille seems to hold the same view. He feels that the context suggests that Luke has used a tradition whose place was much further north²⁰. These arguments have not convinced many as the weather conditions could have been different at that time than they are now.

¹⁸ Hans-Josef Klauck, *Magic and Paganism in Early Christianity*, 113.

¹⁹ Cf. Barrett, *Acts*, 1221.

²⁰ Schille, *Apg*, 471: „Merkwürdig ist auch die Begründung der Kälte (als Motivation für das Lagerfeuer) durch einen aufkommenden Regen als wären die aus dem Wasser Geretteten nicht durch und durch naß gewesen. Man darf nicht ohne weiteres an einen kalten Wintertag denken; die Normal Temperatur kann auf 22 Grad Celsius berechnet werden und wird oft beträchtlich überschritten, da der im Spätherbst häufige Südost fast unerträgliche Hitze mit sich führt. Man wird damit zu rechnen haben, daß die von Lukas übernommene Tradition ursprünglich einen sehr viel nördlichen Schauplatz verlangte“

For προσελάβοντο, ⚭* ψ 614 2495 pc lat have προσανελάβανον which can be translated as “refreshed us”. Bruce favours this variant. The verb προσελάβοντο has been used by Luke with several of its meanings²¹. Here it can mean either “they gathered all of us” (around the fire), or “they welcomed all of us”²². Throughout Luke-Acts, the theme of hospitality has been an important symbol of receptivity to God’s visitation (Lk 5:29; 7:36-50; 9:4-5; 10:1-1, 38-42; 19:1-10; Acts 10:24; 16:11-15). The motif of sailors finding refuge among kindly barbarians is fairly standard in shipwreck accounts.²³

6.2.2.1.3 The “We” Group: The last mention of “we” was in 27:37. In chapter 28 the first person plural is rather heavily concentrated (vv.1,2,7,10,11,12,13,14,15,16). When Luke introduces this “we” form, does he mean the entire group of 276 people or only Paul and his Christian companions? The context would suggest a smaller group. It is rather difficult to imagine how the entire group could sit beside the fire to warm themselves or how the entire group could be received in to the house of Publius. Haenchen and Conzelmann are of this opinion. Roloff, too, limits the “we” group only to Paul and his Christians friends²⁴. But Zmijewski states that it includes all the survivors of the shipwreck : “mit dem uns sind hier noch keineswegs nur die Christen um Paulus gemeint auch wenn in der folgenden Episode Paulus ganz im Mittelpunkt steht und von den Gefangenen, den Soldaten und der Schiffsmannschaft nicht eigene die Rede ist”²⁵.

6.2.2.2 Exposition

6.2.2.2.1 Paul’s Action: Although Paul is a prisoner, he behaves here as if he is free. He participates in the act of collecting firewood. This character of Paul is consistent with that which is found in his Letters and in Acts. He works with his own hands for his own and his companions needs (cf. Acts 20:34). Like his master, Jesus, he is eager to serve rather than to be served. He gathered a bundle of sticks and put them on the

²¹ Compare Acts 17:5; 18:26; 27:33,36

²² Compare 2 Mac 10:15; Rom 14:1,3; 15:7; Phil 17

²³ Cf. Dio Chrysostum, *Oration* 7:5; Xenophon, *The Ephesians* 2,2,4; Petronius, *Satyricon* 114, Lucian of Samosata, *True Story* 1:28-29; 2:46.

²⁴ Roloff, *Apg*, 366. „Die Soldaten und Bewacher sind spurlos von der Bildfläche verschwunden, um nur noch einmal kurz in v.16 aufzutauchen. Die Form der Wir Erzählung wird zwar beibehalten, doch wechselt das wir seinen Inhalt: war es in Kap 27 auf alle Shiffsinsassen bezogen, so meinst es jetzt nur noch Paulus und seine christlichen Gefährten“.

²⁵ Zmijewski *Apg*, 870.

fire. συστρέφειν is used in a variety of ways: of animals, gathering themselves to spring; of a man screwing up his eyes; of soldiers rallying, forming a compact body. In the Western text of Acts it occurs three times (10:41; 11:28; 16:39) and it means “to come together as a gathering”²⁶. It is not easy to find a parallel to what is evidently the meaning here. Most probably Paul gathered and twisted together a bundle of twigs with a view to feeding the fire²⁷. φρυγάνων means dry branches of trees or shrubs broken or cut into suitable lengths for use as firewood.

6.2.2.2.2 The Serpent on Paul’s Hand: ἔχιδνα means literally viper, poisonous serpent, snake. Figuratively it is used for evil and despised person (cf. Lk 3:7; Mt 3:7; 12:34; 23:33)²⁸. A similar word to it would be asps. We find in Rom 3:13, “the poison of asps is under their lips”. καθήψεν is the aorist indicative active of καθάπτω. It can mean fasten on, take hold of or seize on. One could as well translate this expression in Acts 28:3 as “a snake bit his hand and did not let go”. Bruce quotes here a parallel passage from T.E. Lawrence (of Arabia): “When the fire grew hot a long black snake wound slowly out into our group; we must have gathered it, torpid, with the twigs”²⁹. Klauck finds such motifs in ancient Greek literature: “Philoctetes, one of the heroes in the Greek army, is bitten by a snake on an island en route for Troy. Since the suppurating wound refuses to heal and causes a terrible stench, he is put ashore on another island. Later he is healed and rejoins the army” (Sophocles, *Philoctetes*, 254-74)³⁰.

Today there are no poisonous snakes in Malta. It has been suggested that this was *Coronella Austriaca*, which bites though it has no poison fangs. Ramsay comments: “The objections which have been advanced, that there are no vipers in the island, and only one place where any wood grows, are too trivial to deserve notice. Such changes are natural and probable in a small island, populous and long civilised”³¹. We need to respect the perception of the natives. They obviously saw the creature as poisonous and expected Paul to die. Naturally they are the natives to the Island. They should know their own species well. Their reaction provides us the best

²⁶ Cf. Danker, *Greek Lexicon*, 979.

²⁷ Barrett, *Acts*, 1222.

²⁸ Cf. W. Foerster, Art. “ἔχιδνα” in: *TDNT* II, 815.

²⁹ Bruce, *Acts*, 497.

³⁰ Klauck, *Magic and Paganism in Early Christianity*, 113.

³¹ Cf. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, 343.

clue about how the narrative is to be taken³². Luke probably sees here a fulfilment of the promise given in Luke 10:19 (cf. Mk 16:18).

Praeder states: “Paul’s encounter with the viper is interpreted from the Punic perspective of the barbarians. Mental, sensory, and verbal actions are clustered in 28:4 and 6 and the barbarians are the agents of all of them. Only the effect on Paul of the viper’s entrance to and exit from the narrative world (by exiting and entering the fire) are narrated entirely in the voice and perspective of the narrator”³³.

6.2.2.2.3 The Reaction of the Natives: The uses of tenses in verse 6 are worth noting. προσεδόκων is in imperfect: they were expecting. πίμπρασθαι and καταπίπτειν are in present: that he would begin to swell up and fall down. προσδοκώντων and θεωρούντων are once again in present: they went on for a long time expecting and observing that nothing evil was happening (γινόμενον Present) to him, they changed their minds (μεταβαλλόμενοι aorist) and began to say (ἔλεγον, imperfect) that he was a god³⁴.

The immediate reaction of the barbarians is that Paul is a murderer being punished by the goddess δίκη: Lit. δίκη meant “custom” or “usage”. But it developed various connotations: right order; lawsuit; judgement, punishment. The proper translation of ἡ δίκη should be “lady justice”. The term here does not refer to “justice” in the philosophical sense. It is rather “justice” as a personification of retribution or vengeance³⁵. It was the name of the Greek goddess of justice, who was responsible for meting out to the guilty their just deserts. It is unlikely that the Maltese barbarians venerated the Greek goddess Dike. They may have had a similar concept in their own religion which Luke translated into Greek equivalent³⁶. According to Fitzmyer, “Dike is personified as a goddess of revenge who pursues human beings and their conduct, as often in Greek literature (Hesiod, *Theognis* 902; Sophocles, *Antigone* 538; Arrian,

³² Cf. Johnson, *Acts*, 532.

³³ Praeder, *Narrative Voyage*, 150.

³⁴ Cf. Barrett, *Acts*, 1223.

³⁵ Cf. Wis 1:8; 4 Macc 18:22; Josephus, *Jewish War* 1:84.

³⁶ Cf. Johnson, *Acts*, 532; Roloff, *Apg*, 367: “Ob es bei den Puniern eine Entsprechung zur griechischen Dike gab, braucht man hier nicht zu fragen; Lukas legt ihnen hier einfach einen griechischen Gedanken in den Mund”

Anabasis 4.9.7)”³⁷. Bruce compares a poem in the Greek Palatine Anthology (7.290) which tells of a man “who escaped from a storm from sea and was shipwrecked on the Lybian coast, only to be killed by a viper”³⁸.

The snake exercises vengeance. Even according to the rabbinic conviction no one could escape the retaliating justice. The snake plays the role of an instrument for vengeance: „wer sich der Verbrennung schuldig macht, der stürzt entweder in eine Flammen hinein oder eine Schlange beißt ihn“ (Sanh 37b) Bill 11,722³⁹. Paul suffers no damage⁴⁰. He does not need magic formulas to prevent from the poisonous attack of the serpent. Cf. Lukian, *Philopseudes* 11-12)⁴¹. The words of Jesus are fulfilled in him (Lk 10:19; Mk 16:18). Paul must see Rome and appear before the Emperor. So nothing can prevent him from that.

6.2.2.3 Conclusion: The Reverse Judgement of the Natives: After having waited for a long time for Paul to collapse and seeing that the snake bite did not affect Paul, the natives change their mind: he must be God. No objection is raised against such a judgement (cf. 14:15 at Lystra). No one kneels before Paul as was the case with Cornelius who knelt before Peter. Unlike as in Lystra there is no acclamation here (cf.14:11). The narrator corrects the false conclusion of the indwellers in a different way. The complete reversal of the spectators’ verdict is as naive as their original judgement itself: Paul must be a god. “But as the former judgement represented a heightening of the unjust charges brought against Paul by his own people, so the latter verdict represents a truer account of Paul and his mission (cf. Lk 10:19)”⁴². It is not that Luke intended their verdict to be taken literally. His earlier campaign against false ideas of God and of God’s relation to humankind was too clear and sustained for such a conclusion to be possible (8:10, 20-24, 10: 25-26; 12:20-23; 14:11-18; 17:22-31; 19:26); and those who speak the words are, after all, barbarians (Luke would

³⁷ Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 783.

³⁸ Bruce, *Acts*, 498. See Wettstein (*Anthol.pal.VII* 290). An epitaph by Statyllius Flaccus on a shipwrecked seaman killed by snakebite: “o, he escaped the storm and the raging of the murderous seas / but as he lay stranded in the Libyan sand / not far from the beach and heavy with sleep, at last, / naked and destitute, weary as he was from the terrible shipwreck, / the viper struck him dead. Why did he struggle against the waves?/ He did not escape the lot which was destined for him on land.” (*Haenchen Acts*, 713).

³⁹ Eckey, *Apg*, 576.

⁴⁰ For the motif see Apocryphal Acts, such as *Acts of Thomas* 106 and *Acts of Peter* 29.

⁴¹ Cf. Eckey, *Apg*, 577, note 1122.

⁴² Dunn, *Acts*, 347.

probably share something of the Greek contempt implied in the term). “Nevertheless, the fact that Luke makes no attempt to refine or explain their verdict but lets it stand without qualification, indicates that he regarded their verdict as more commendable and final than any of the charges earlier brought against Paul”⁴³. Those who saw the hand of divine justice in the events (28:4) rightly conclude not only that justice declares Paul innocent, but also that he is rather to be recognised as one divinely favoured and commissioned.

What interests Luke here, unlike in Lystra (14:15), is not the “religiöse Desorientiertheit polytheistischer Heiden und die Antwort des Evangeliums auf diese”⁴⁴. He just wants to emphasise that the guidance of God which stays over Paul’s way is so clear and the pagans recognise it immediately and they give expression to it from the background of their religious concepts⁴⁵. On the other hand, this incident does not support the view that Luke intended to represent Paul as a *theos aner*. According to Barrett, Paul does not need to react here as he did at Lystra, after all those who make such a judgement on Paul are uncultured barbarians: “the erroneous opinion was held by barbarians, whom a Greek could not possibly think to be right”⁴⁶. Marshall makes the following observation: “In the present story, however, it looks rather as if he (Luke) is poking fun at the superstition which was able to swing from one extreme of opinion to another at the drop of a hat. In other words, if the “divine man” motif is present, Luke is decidedly critical about it”⁴⁷. Such an observation from Marshall has no basis in this narrative. Nowhere in this narrative we notice Luke making fun of the barbarians or being critical of them. On the contrary he portrays them in a very positive light. The point lies somewhere else: respect for pagans and their customs and beliefs is one of the important characteristics of this voyage narrative. Here it is in a sense unlike the rest of Luke-Acts. The pagans are allowed to be pagans. Luke (Paul) is not affirming their judgements and beliefs; neither is he

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Roloff, *ApG*, 367.

⁴⁵ Cf. Ibid.

⁴⁶ Barrett, *Acts*, 1224. Cf. Weiser, *ApG*, 669-Luke “läßt sie als heidnischen Irrtum stehen im vertrauen darauf, daß die Leser Paulus und der Gott, dem er dient, zu unterscheiden wissen”

⁴⁷ Marshall, *Acts*, 417.

correcting them. The emphasis on acceptance and mutual respect is what makes this voyage narrative special⁴⁸.

The barbarians have expressed their faith in God, within the limits of their mental, sensory and verbal worlds. “Their confession, although a confusion of the on-the-scenes agent of God with a god, is at least recognition of the divine agency involved in saving Paul from shipwreck and snakebite. What is more, the narrator specifies their confession as a change of mind, a mental conversion, based on the reversal of their expectations”⁴⁹. The amount of narrative time and space allotted to the barbarians and their perspective shows that the implied author’s primary intention is to illustrate their faith, not to thrust a super-apostolary role on Paul⁵⁰. The barbarians are the ones who regard him as more than human. Paul’s only actions in the scene are gathering of firewood and shaking the viper back into the fire. He is not portrayed as a snake charmer or miracle worker. If surviving the snakebite is miraculous, then God is the agent and Paul the patient of his miraculous action⁵¹. The status of Paul as a prisoner is forgotten in this narrative⁵².

By ending this story on the acclamation of the natives, Luke emphasises another point in this narrative: Paul is thoroughly under the protection of God. The deliverance from the storm at sea and from a viper on the island are acts of divine providence; both are miraculous. Miracles in Acts are always in the service of the word. They provide the occasion and opportunity for proclaiming the gospel. Luke does not tell us that Paul evangelised the barbarians of Malta. Johnson is right when he writes, “following the pattern of miracle and witness found throughout Acts, one would naturally assume that Paul seized this opportunity to share the gospel with the natives”⁵³.

This episode contains a missionary dimension. The reader who has read the whole of Luke-Acts would remember the words of Jesus at the return of the seventy two: *The seventy returned with joy, saying, "Lord, even the demons are subject to us*

⁴⁸ Cf. Tannehill, *Narrative Unity* II, 341: “The voyage to Rome is concerned not with missionary preaching but with the co-operative relationships that are possible between Christianity and pagan society. In this context pagans are allowed to be pagans”

⁴⁹ Praeder, *Narrative Voyage*, 151.

⁵⁰ Cf. Ibid.

⁵¹ Cf. Praeder, *The Narrative Voyage*, 151-52

⁵² Cf. Schille, *Apg*, 471.

⁵³ Johnson, *Acts*, 533.

in your name!" And he said to them, "I saw Satan fall like lightning from heaven. Behold, I have given you authority to tread upon serpents and scorpions, and over all the power of the enemy; and nothing shall hurt you (Lk 10:17-19). The narrative of Act has made very clear that this prophesy of Jesus has been fulfilled in the life of missionaries. Peter and Paul were able to withstand any opposition because the Lord was with them. Their enemies, both Jews and Gentiles, were not able to stop their evangelical activity. Paul was told by the angel that he will appear before Caesar. The storm, the attempt to kill Paul and other prisoners by the soldiers, the shipwreck has not been able to prevent Paul's mission. And now the reader is convinced that even the poison of the viper cannot harm Paul. In this event the reader sees the fulfilment of the prophecy of Jesus. In this way the author is pointing out the indestructibility of Paul's mission.

6.3 The Healing at Malta.

6.3.1 Tradition: This paragraph reflects a pre-Lucan tradition as well as Luke's redaction⁵⁴. A number of terms, which are not common to Luke, indicate a Pre-Lucan tradition. The verb ἀναδέχομαι (7b) is an hapaxlegomenon in the Lucan writing and occurs only in He 11:17. φιλοφρόνως (7b) is found only here in the NT. The plural form of πυρετός as well as the word δυσεντέριον (v.8) are not found elsewhere in the NT. In fact P³ corrects it by using the singular form πυρετῶ. And the word δυσεντέριω⁵⁵ has no parallels in the Greek Literature. In the whole of Luke-Acts τιμάω occurs only at Lk 18:20 which is a citation from Ex 20:12 LXX. Moreover the commonly used κατάκειμαι (v.8) could go back to the tradition. It is not easy to make a clear judgement on χωρίον. This word is never used in the Gospel of Luke. But it is found in six places in Acts (1:18, 19; 4:34; 5:3, 8) which are perhaps context-bound.

The Lucan features are found especially in the use of ὑπήρχεν instead of ην (7a). One could assume Lucan redaction in a particular way in the central part (v.8-9). ἐγένετο δὲ is the typical Lucan phrase on introducing an event, which also has a function of structuring. The genitive absolute which is formed by the verb γίνομαι at the beginning of verse 9 has the same feature and function. The verb and the

⁵⁴ Cf. W. Kirchschräger, „Fieberheilung in Apg 28 und Lk 4“, in: *Les Actes des Apotres*, J.Kremer (ed.), 510-11.

⁵⁵ H. J. Cadbury, “Lexical notes on Lk-Acts. LI. Recent Arguments for Medical Language”, in: *JBL* 45 (1926) 205.

syntactical form are Lucan preference. συνέχω could be here (as in Lk 4:38) inserted by the editor. So also the word ἀσθένεια. Luke places the specific word ἰάσατο besides the more commonly used word ἐθεραπεύοντο. The uniformly formed time-structure is characteristic of Luke: the healing of the father and the positive reaction of the natives are narrated in the aorist. Thus they stand out from and form a background to the healing of others (imperfect). The text is stylistically redacted. Through the heavily lined up participles (εἰσελθὼν- προσευξάμενος -ἐπιθείς) and the verbs (ἰάσατο) Luke emphasises v. 8b and designates it as the peak of the narrative. The “improper” relative clauses (as Haenchen points out⁵⁶) ὃς (v. 7b) – πρὸς ὃν (v. 8b) and οἱ καὶ (v. 10) - indicate Lucan style. So also the anaphora ἡμᾶς ἡμέρας (v. 7b) which is contrasted with the Epiphora (ἡμᾶς.....χρείας (v. 10) ; Luke is very pond of using the Paronomasia (τιμαῖς ἐτίμησαν v. 10) as well as the chiastic standing (v. 8: πρὸς ὃν.....ἰάσατο αὐτόν).

6.3.2 The Structure: Kirchschräger suggests a three-fold structure to this paragraph⁵⁷. The three-lined structure is confirmed by the grammatical structure pointers: the beginning of each line is characterised by the conjunction δέ.- Ἐν δὲ τοῖς in v. 7; ἐγένετο δὲ in v. 8; and τούτου δὲ γενομένου in v. 9. In every line a relative pronoun closely ties the two clauses: Ποπλίω, ὃς ἀναδεξάμενος in v. 7b; τὸν πατέρα.....πρὸς ὃν... in v. 8b; οἱ λοιποὶ.....οἱ καὶ... in v. 10. Moreover the two-parts of a line are kept together by word-features and word-brackets.

When we analyse the content of these verses we notice that these three-fold structure is concentric. The action of Paul (v. 8) stands at the centre. The behaviour of the natives (in v. 7 Publius and in vv. 9-10 of the other inhabitants) are placed before and after. The first main clause characterises the point of departure of the happening (v. 7a), as well as motivates and prepares the deed (v. 8a; v. 9).

A¹ (v. 7)

| |
|--|
| <p>Ἐν δὲ τοῖς περὶ τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον ὕπῃρχεν χωρία τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς νήσου ὀνόματι Ποπλίω, ὃς ἀναδεξάμενος ἡμᾶς τρεῖς ἡμέρας φιλοφρόνως ἐξένισεν.</p> |
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⁵⁶ Haenchen, *Arg.*, 683.

⁵⁷ Cf. Kirchschräger, „Fieberheilung“, 512-13, n.17.

B (v. 8)

ἐγένετο δὲ
τὸν πατέρα τοῦ Ποπλίου πυρετοῖς καὶ δυσεντερίῳ
συνεχόμενοι κατακεῖσθαι,
πρὸς ὃν ὁ Παῦλος εἰσελθὼν
καὶ προσευξάμενος ἐπιθεῖς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῷ
ἰάσατο αὐτόν.

A (vv. 9-10)

τούτου δὲ γενομένου
καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἔχοντες ἀσθενείας
προσῆρχοντο καὶ ἐθεραπεύοντο,
οἳ καὶ πολλαῖς τιμαῖς ἐτίμησαν ἡμᾶς
καὶ ἀναγομένοις ἐπέθεντο τὰ πρὸς τὰς χρείας.

This structure in three divisions is irregular in the level of sentence and words. Their length is not the same and not uniform in their syntactic formulation (wording, phrasing): this is shown for example by the changed sequel of subject and predicate, the variation in the placing of the participles, and also the grammatical construction of the genitive absolute and the accusative with infinitive, both are used just once. The paragraph A alone (vv. 9-10) has two predicates in the first part (v. 9 προσῆρχοντο καὶ ἐθεραπεύοντο), the second part paragraph is built on two main clauses (unlike the participle constructions in v. 7b and v. 8b). Instead of the repetition of τοῦ Ποπλίου (v. 8a) one would expect only αὐτοῦ (with reference to v. 7a).

I find another way of structuring this text: v. 7 and 10 deal with the theme of hospitality. V. 7 deals with the hospitality of Publius who welcomed Paul and his companions to his house and offered them hospitality for three days. V. 10 speaks of the hospitality of the natives of Malta who presented many gifts to them and when they sailed, they put on board whatever they needed. These two verses which describe the exceptional hospitality of the natives form a kind of frame to the deed of Paul, his healing. So vv. 8-9 are at the centre of this structure. In some sense vv. 8-9 are

highlighted. Here Paul is painted as a man of God who has the power of healing. In the previous narrative he was in some way divine because he could withstand the bite of the poisonous snake. Here in the present narrative he is portrayed as having the divine power of healing. His act of charity in healing comes as a response to the hospitality of the indwellers. Paul who has received wishes to give.

6.3.3 The Particularities with Regard to the Content: The description of the sickness, fever and dysentery, indicate a precise tradition. One also needs to pay attention to the mentioning of the name Publius in this context. The combination of prayer and laying of hands at a healing is unique to the NT and Judeo-Hellenistic tradition of this period. Klauck states: “The laying on of hands can be understood as the communication of power, or else simply as an expression of care⁵⁸. 1Q GenAp XX 29 is the only text which offers us a possible comparison. But this text is not widely represented: Abraham heals Pharaoh from a demonic plague by prayer and the laying on of hands. The laying on of the hands as a blessing as well as a saving gesture is testified in the Gospels as well as in Acts. The ritual goes back to OT and to Judaism. The laying on of hands as a sign of blessing is well-known in the OT (cf. Gen 48:14)⁵⁹.

A dependence of our text on 1Q GenAp XX or even a relationship to it is to be excluded. Rather one needs to agree that these healing descriptions reflect the practice of the primitive church at the time of the composition of Acts⁶⁰. The healing through physical touch as well as through the laying on of hands was already taken over from the ministry of Jesus. Its relationship to prayer, whose necessity is emphasised in Mk 9:29 (cf. James 5:13f.), is clearly tied to the apostolic tradition. In other contexts, the combination of prayer and the laying on of hands was used in the context of mission and commissioning in the early church (Acts 6:6; 13:3). For Luke, the prayer of Jesus in the decisive situation is of greater significance. Whether he himself has inserted these details or they were passed over in the tradition is not easy to determine. For Lucan insertion we can argue from the importance he gives to catechesis. Moreover the placing of the participles (προσευξάμενος) is easy to supplement redactionally and is often used in Acts.

The mentioning of prayer, before the laying on of hands and healing, could also be of greater significance for the understanding of the pericope in this context.

⁵⁸ Klauck, *Magic and Paganism in Early Christianity*, 115.

⁵⁹ For transferring the sins on the sin-goat cf. Lev 1:4; 3:2, 8, 13; 4:4, 24, 29, 33. For the commission of office of Joshua Num 27:18-23 and of the Levites Num 8:10-12.

⁶⁰ Cf. Kirchschräger, „Fieberheilung“, 515.

Unlike the other miracle stories in Acts, the present text has no reference to Jesus, the one who actually heals⁶¹. With the remark that Paul prayed before healing is made evident that he does not act on his own power, but turns to his Lord in prayer⁶². This action of Paul can be seen as a corrective to the previous attitude of the indwellers towards Paul. Paul is not a god. He is only God's representative and one who mediates God's healing power.

6.3.4 The Healing of Fever in Lk 4:38-39: Luke has used the Markan account of the healing of the mother-in-law of Peter. He has worked stylistically on this text borrowed from Mark. He underlines the hardness of the sickness specially by the use of μέγας and gives his proper accent to the miracle narrative: while Mk (Mk 1:29 and 16-20) narrates a healing miracle which Jesus, in company of his first disciples, works on the sick woman, Luke gives the features of an exorcism to his text. Instead of the Markan κατέκειτο πυρέσσουσα (v. 30a) Luke writes συνεχόμενη πυρετῷ μεγάλῳ (v. 38b). He understands fever as the agent that stands behind the participle and acts on the woman. He characterises the entering of Jesus (Mk 1:31a: προσελθὼν) as his powerful presence before the woman (v. 39a: ἐπιστὰς ἐπάνω αὐτῆς). Luke relates the action of Jesus not with the holding the hand of the sick and the formulation ἤγειρεν αὐτήν (Mk 1:31a), which he leaves out from Mk 9:27. He forms the healing rather as an act of exorcism: ἐπετίμησεν τῷ πυρετῷ (v. 39a). By using the technical term of exorcism, Jesus orders the fever, and it leaves the woman. The object of Jesus action here is not the sick woman, but the fever which he compels to leave the woman. Luke describes the effect of the words of Jesus clearer than done by Mark. With the typical Lucan παραχρῆμα δὲ and ἀναστᾶσα, the immediate service by the healed woman is underlined.

Especially significant for Luke is the power of Jesus over the extraordinary power of fever which the reader sees as dangerous and mysterious. Jesus performs such a healing not by physical touch but by the power of his word alone. In the description of the power of Jesus over the power of the sicknesses and the spirits the

⁶¹ Cf. Acts 3:6; 16:18 in which the one who heals does so "in the name of Jesus".

⁶² Weiser, *ApG*, 370. „Das Gebet vertraut den Leidenden Menschen Gott an, anerkennt ihn als den wirklichen Herrn des Lebens und erbittet seine Hilfe. Im vorliegenden Text wird überdies dadurch zugleich deutlich, daß Paulus kein... Gott ist und daß sein Heilvermögen Geschenk von Gott her ist“.

author helps himself here from the frequently presented forms of the struggle with the demons in the Synoptics.

6.3.5 Comparison Between Lk 4:38-9 and Acts 28:7-10: Luke narrates the healing from fever in two different places of his two-volume and in two different manners. We need to look for the reasons for such variation and for the redactional work of Luke in both the pericope. The following observations can be noted:

In his Gospel, Luke proclaims Jesus as the one who in his teaching and in his deeds, clothed with power, turns to the people and to their manifold suffering and infirmity. In this Jesus-proclamation the testimony to the power of Jesus over every form of sickness and possession has its particular place. The redaction of Luke 4 is subordinate to this testimony-intention: the power of Jesus in word (cf. Lk 4:16-30; 4:32) is visible and felt in his works against the demons (Lk 4:33-37; especially v. 36), in his healing from sickness of every kind, also of fever (here thought as demonic). Subordinate to it is the catechetical, parainetic tendency of the text: in the request (prayer, entreaty) of the bystanders, the right behaviour of the Christians with regard to their master is clear. In the immediate rising and serving Luke shows the fundamental principle of the Christian conduct.

In the presentation of the miracle narrative in Acts the author wishes to make a different point⁶³: the power of Jesus is at work in the apostles. They have received this ἐξουσία and δύναμις to continue the mission of Jesus (Lk 9:1). The characterisation of the individual event is not decisive but the narration itself, the fact of the miracle. What is important is the referring back of the miraculous deed to Jesus: in his name, through the calling of his name in prayer that the apostles do extraordinary things. So it is clear, that Luke has redacted the healing of the fever in Acts 28, that he does not present here a similar basic revision of the tradition given in Lk 4. The emphasis here is on the continuity of the message and power of Jesus in the apostles. One needs to pay attention also to the catechetical feature of the narrative, which Luke has presumably inserted: the practice of the church – prayer and the laying on of hands. Why does Luke not mention exorcisms in this context? Klauck offers an answer:

⁶³ Cf. .Kirchschläger, „Fieberheilung“, 520.

“these (exorcisms) do not play the same role in Acts in general as in the gospel. For Luke they are a sign of the period of Jesus rather than of the apostolic period; one reason for this may be that they are more exposed to the suspicion of magic than the healings”⁶⁴.

The Lucan redaction of the summary statements in Lk 4:40-41 (par. Mk 1:32-34) shows clearly, that Luke sees the healing of the sick and the driving out of devils under the comprehensive aspect of the *θεραπέειν* of Jesus. To the statement of Mark that Jesus healed many sick and drew out many demons (Mk 1:34), Luke has here only one deed of Jesus: *θεραπέειν* (Lk 4:40b, as against Mark here it is in imperfect). In addition he inserts, that many demons came, crying...; this second statement is ordained for a Christological focus: Jesus first turns to the screaming demons, in order to prevent their saying: ὅτι ἤδεισαν τὸν Χριστὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι.

In Acts, Luke places the exorcism of Paul (Acts 16:16-18) beside the narrated healing of the sick by apostles without valuing it differently. So he could also leave the tradition of the healing of fever (and not fever banishing) of Acts 28 intact. He has re-worked the text, without being unfaithful to his general concept. Because in the Gospel the presentation of the power of Jesus is strictly tied to the legitimacy (authority) of his claim. But the concern of the author of Acts is to show the continuity of the word in power (*λόγος ἐν ἐξουσία*), and not the multiple ways in which the apostles exercised the power transmitted to them⁶⁵.

6.4 Conclusion: Luke narrates to his readers two miracle-stories. The focus in both cases is Paul. Within Acts these two miracles have a special place. In the rest of the miracle stories of Acts, there is a reference to the Good News of salvation. But this is not the case here. No reference is made to the power of the name of Jesus and faith in that name. However, the miracles here do demonstrate the supernatural power of the miracle worker. It seems to lead to the personal glorification of Paul who here assumes the characteristics of divine people. Roloff is of the opinion that Luke does not give us the tradition here but he has himself composed this two miracle stories⁶⁶.

⁶⁴ Klauck, *Magic and Paganism in Early Christianity*, 115.

⁶⁵ Cf. Kirchschräger, „Fieberheilung“, 521.

⁶⁶ Roloff, *Apg*, 367.: “Das ist um so befremdlicher, als Lukas hier offensichtlich nicht auf Überlieferung zurückgegriffen, sondern beide Wundergeschichten selbst mehr oder weniger freien geschaffen hat”

He assumes that behind vv.2-6 there stays a tradition which is built on the words of Jesus in Lk 10:19 and which prove that Paul is an authentic messenger of Jesus as he is not affected by the bite of the poisonous snake.⁶⁷ What is the intention of Luke behind this narrative? Is it just to glorify Paul? It has a theological function, too. Before the close of the voyage to Rome once again Luke wants to make clear his two views which he has already explained in ch. 27. Paul must reach his goal because he stands in divine protection and he shows himself above all as helper and saviour⁶⁸. The serpent-episode makes it clear that Paul is in a special way under divine protection. His rescue from the Sea is followed by a second rescue from the poisonous snake. So this is the second divine witness.

There is also an emphasis on the hospitable nature of the natives of Malta. These two events emphasise the kindness of the islanders toward their fellow human beings. These people are βάρβαροι and naturally they do not share the dominant culture of the Greco-Roman world. Yet they show unusual kindness to the strangers from the shipwreck. Their friendly reception parallels the behaviour of the centurion Julius, who at the very beginning of his association with Paul treats him in a kindly and friendly manner (27:3). Both Publius and the natives of Malta help the shipwrecked party before Paul begins to heal their sick. They are responding to the need of fellow human beings. The kind behaviour of the islanders towards Paul and his fellow-voyagers continues after Paul's healings (28:10). The unusual emphasis on the friendly reception continues the emphasis on friendship and co-operation as factors in saving the ship, but now a new group is included, the inhabitants of the island⁶⁹. Like the soldiers and sailors on the ship, this new group at Malta is not Christian. The stormy voyage and the stay in Malta present suggestive images of co-operative relationships between Christians and non-Christians. Luke indicates that such a relationship is to the benefit of all⁷⁰. In Malta, the non-Christians are first to show their kindness. Although Paul is being unjustly held as a prisoner, the narrative undermines any tendency for Christians to regard the world in general as hostile and evil.

⁶⁷ Ibid. "allenfalls wäre denkbar, daß hinter V.2-6 eine volkstümliche Tradition steht, die von dem Jesuslogion Lk 10,19 her die Immunität des Paulus gegen Schlangenbiß als Zeichen dafür deutete, daß er ein wahrer Bote Jesus sei"

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Tannehill, *Narrative Unity*, 340.

⁷⁰ Ibid. 340.

Chapter Seven

The Mission in Rome

7.1 Voyage from Malta to Rome (28:11-16)

7.1.1 Embarking: The Alexandrian Ship with “Twin Brother” Figurehead (v. 11): The stay in Malta was basically waiting for a favourable weather so that they could continue the voyage up to Rome¹. According to Barrett the verb ἀνήχθημεν here may refer only to Paul and his companions (including the military escort)². Like the wrecked ship the vessel they now take is also an Alexandrian vessel. Probably it was a giant grain carrier³. Παράσημο is a mark or sign that is placed at the prow of a ship and therefore effectively becomes the name of the ship⁴. Its figurehead bore the images of the “twin gods”. Ships did carry the figurehead of these two gods, who were Castor and Pollux, the sons of Zeus and Leda. These gods were viewed as the protectors of innocent seafarers and punishers of the guilty⁵. It is possible that Luke brings these names in in order to stress the innocence of Paul⁶. Their constellation in the sky was regarded as a favourable omen for a smooth voyage.

7.1.2 The First Part of the Voyage: Syracuse and Rhegium (vv. 12-13): The first halt was at Syracuse which was some 90 miles from the island of Malta. Syracuse is located on the eastern extremity of southern Sicily. It was the capital city of the island and had two harbours. It was a centre of Greek culture⁷. Luke says that they waited there for three days. According to Johnson, Syracuse “would be the logical stopping place for a voyage from the island (Malta), if the destination was Rome via the Straits of Messina”⁸. Luke does not give the reason of their waiting. According to Haenchen, “the long stay of three days in Syracuse is either connected with the wind conditions or cargo that had to be unloaded and a new one taken on board”⁹.

¹ Three months delay on a sea voyage has parallels in Josephus, *War* 2.203.

² Barrett, *Acts*, 1227.

³ Cf. Polhill, *Acts*, 535.

⁴ Cf. Plutarch, *Dinner of the Seven Wise Men* 18; Lucian of Samosata, *The Ship* 5.

⁵ Cf. D. Ladouceur, “Hellenistic Preconceptions of Shipwreck and Pollution as a Context for Acts 27-28”, in: *HThR* 73 (1980) 444-46.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Cf. Cicero, *Against Verres* 2, 4, 117-119.

⁸ Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 463.

⁹ Haenchen, *Acts*, 718.

V. 13 mentions the next halt on their voyage: Rhegium, 70 miles journey from Syracuse. It is a port at the southern tip of the boot of Italy just opposite Sicily and at the entrance to the straits of Messina¹⁰. The aorist participle περιελόντες is difficult to translate and has many textual variants. Some manuscripts (P⁷⁴ s^c A 006) have the participle περιελόντες which is found with a direct object in 27:40 and means “weighing anchors”. Since there is no direct object to this participle in 28:13 its meaning is not clear. Some manuscripts (s^{*} B) have the participle περιελθόντες which means “going around/in a circuit”. The RSV opts for this and translates it as “we made a circuit”. But Marshall has reservations on this: “The statement that they made a circuit and so arrived on the toe of Italy is strange, since it stood in a straight line from Syracuse. This phrase may be a nautical technical term”¹¹. Neither does he find any logic in the Alexandrian MSS that have “weighing anchors”. However, Marshall thinks that “if the text (Alexandrian) is accepted, it might perhaps mean “to cast off” sc. the mooring ropes”¹².

The next halt on the voyage is Puteoli. This port city is on the Bay of Naples, near the cities of Naples, Pompeii and Herculaneum. Puteoli was the most important port in Italy¹³. It was founded by the Ionians, taken by the Romans in the Second Punic War, and made a Roman colony in 194 BC¹⁴. Both cargo and passengers disembarked here. Seneca describes the enthusiasm by which the crowds that watched the “Alexandrian ships” come in¹⁵.

7.1.3 Meeting the Christian Brothers at Puteoli (v. 14a): At Puteoli they found brethren, and were invited to stay with them for seven days. The noun ἀδελφούς is used for the followers of Jesus in Acts 1:16; 6:3; 9:17, 30; 10:23; 11:1; 12:17; 15:1, 32; 16:40. According to Johnson “there is no confirming evidence for the presence of Christians at Puteoli”¹⁶. Polhill assumes that “as in Rome, Christianity may have made its first inroads in the Jewish synagogues of Puteoli”¹⁷. Rackam states: “Possibly the first seeds of the truth were carried home by some of the “Romans”

¹⁰ Polhill, *Acts*, 535.

¹¹ Marshall, *Acts*, 418.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Cf. Strabo, *Geography* 5, 4, 6.

¹⁴ Barrett, *Acts*, 1229.

¹⁵ Seneca, *Moral Epistles* 77:1-2; cf. also Josephus, *Life* 16.

¹⁶ Johnson, *Acts*, 464; cf. also Hemer, *Acts in Hellenistic History*, 155, n.156.

¹⁷ Polhill, *Acts*, 536, n.72.

from the first Pentecost. Certainly in the reign of Claudius Christianity had made some progress, for the tumults it occasioned among the Jews led to their banishment from the city; this progress is at least confirmed by the traditions which speak of visits of Simon Magus and of St. Peter to the city in Claudius's days"¹⁸. Probably Aquila and Priscilla may already have been Christians when they arrived at Corinth.

Paul and his companions were invited by these Christian brothers to stay with them for seven days. The aorist perfect παρεκλήθημεν means "prevailed upon"¹⁹. Haenchen regards this period of stay as a literary device to allow time for news of Paul's arrival to reach Rome and for the Christians there to send a delegation to meet him²⁰. However, Bruce maintains: "We have to conclude from the text that the centurion's official business involved a week's halt at Puteoli, and that during that week Paul was allowed to enjoy the hospitality offered him by the local church"²¹. This conclusion also has no textual basis. Roloff raises doubts on the historicity of Paul's staying seven days with the brethren on his own will as he is still a prisoner²². The manuscripts H 049 326 614 2464 2495 al have the participle ἐπιμεῖναντες instead of the infinitive ἐπιμεῖναι. This replacement could be an effort to correct the impression that Paul the prisoner had the freedom to make decisions. With the participle the sentence could be read as "We were comforted, remaining with them seven days". This reading apparently removes the difficulty that the prisoners are invited as free men²³.

V.14b says "and so we came to Rome (καὶ οὕτως εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἦλθαμεν.). The adverb οὕτως has been taken resumptively in Acts 12:8; 13:8; 19:20; 20:11; 27:17,44. But here we cannot use this adverb in this sense as Paul has not yet arrived in the city of Rome. This verse seems to be redundant with v.16. Did Luke view Puteoli as belonging to Rome in the larger sense of the total area of Italian jurisdiction²⁴? Probably Luke uses οὕτως here in an anticipatory way to mean "This is the way we arrived in Rome". οὕτως is used in this sense in Acts 1:11; 13:34, 47;

¹⁸ Rackam, *Acts*, 495-6.

¹⁹ Cf. Zerwick § 252.

²⁰ Haenchen, *Acts*, 719.

²¹ Bruce, *Acts*, 502.

²² Roloff, *Apg*, 368.

²³ Cf. Metzger 501.

²⁴ Cf. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, 347.

27:25. The reader will see in this statement the fulfilment of the prophecy made in 23:11.

7.1.4 Paul's Meeting Christians at the Forum of Appius and at Three Taverns (v. 15):

The route from Puteoli to Rome involved about 130 miles and took about five days by foot. It led to Capua by way of the Via Compana and then up the Via Appia to the capital²⁵. On the Appian Way, forty-three miles south of Rome, lay the stopping place known as Apii Forum or "Market-place of Appius". The satirist, Horace, refers to it as "full of sailors and wicked tavern-keepers"²⁶. It was here that a group of Christians met Paul. As they proceeded another ten miles towards Rome, they came to a way station known as "Three Taverns" which was some thirty miles from the city²⁷. A second group of Christians come from the city to welcome Paul here. The letter to the Romans (1:8, 15; 16:3-16) gives evidence of the presence of Christian communities in Italy before Paul's arrival in Rome.

There may have been many house-churches in Rome at that time and probably the two groups mentioned represented different congregations. Luke says nothing more about them. These Christians do not appear again in the narrative. Haenchen asserts: "That he (Luke) practically eliminates the Roman (Christian) community by his silence has another and deeper reason. He wants Paul to proclaim in Rome the Gospel up to that point unknown. Although Paul comes a prisoner to Rome, he there makes a beginning with the Christ-proclamation and so in the world's capital city crowns his work as the great missionary of Christianity"²⁸. I would rather agree with Marshall who says: "Luke describes merely what happened during the first few days after Paul's arrival in Rome, when he sought contact with the Jews, and he is not concerned about Paul's relationship with the already existing Christian church; he does, however, show that Paul was welcomed by the Christians. But his main purpose was to show how Paul behaved towards the Jews, since the question of Jews and Gentiles in relation to the Gospel is one of the dominant themes of the book"²⁹. However, the presence of Christians is very significant here. As Polhill says, "it

²⁵ Cf. Polhill, *Acts*, 537.

²⁶ Satires 1, 5, 3-4.

²⁷ Cicero mentions it several times in his *Letters to Atticus* (1, 13, 1; 2, 12, 2; 2, 13, 1), as a place where letters were exchanged, and in one of his short notes to Atticus, it is identified as the place where the letters were composed (2, 10).

²⁸ Haenchen, *Acts*, 720.

²⁹ Marshall, *Acts*, 419-20.

assures the reader of the backing of a Christian community for the apostle's witness in the city. They served as a constant encouragement for him"³⁰.

Paul gave thanks to God and took courage from the presence of the brethren who had come out from the city to visit him. This verse brings out the religious character of Paul as well as his humanity. The reader here is reminded of Paul's courage expressed previously in the narrative in 27:21-25 and Paul's thanksgiving meal at 27:35.

7.1.5 Paul's Prison Status in Rome (v. 16): The first part of this verse "and when we came into Rome" is the conclusion of the "We" narrative. Roloff expresses the narrative intention of Luke here: "Daß das Leben des Paulus nach wie vor auf dem Spiel steht, scheint uns der Erzähler vergessen machen zu wollen über dem einen, was ihm wichtig ist: Paulus erreicht in triumphaler Weise das Ziel, das am Ende eines langen, schweren Weges steht. Gottes Plan mit ihm – und das heißt zugleich: mit dem Evangelium, dessen Repräsentant er ist – hat sich damit gegen alle Widerstände durchgesetzt"³¹.

Paul is allowed (ἐπετρέπη) to stay by himself (καθ' ἑαυτὸν), with the soldiers that guarded him. Barrett states: "ἐπετρέπη implies someone who ἐπέτρεψε, permitted Paul to take up the relatively free situation described in this verse, and this must have been a Roman authority"³². Paul was allowed to stay καθ' ἑαυτὸν. Presumably it was not a public prison but a private accommodation, in custodia libera, not custodia militaris³³. It could be a kind of house arrest in which Paul is accompanied by a single soldier for a period of two whole years.

The function of v. 16 is to open the account of Paul's witness in Rome. Naturally Paul is now separated from his companions. The literary effect is to focus attention even more exclusively on Paul. The Western text expands this verse. At the

³⁰ Polhill, *Acts*, 537.

³¹ Roloff, *Apg*, 368.

³² Barrett, *Acts*, 1232.

³³ Cf. *Ibid*.

beginning, it adds “The centurion handed over the prisoners to the stratopedarch, but Paul.” and after “by himself” the text adds, “outside the barracks”³⁴.

7.2 Paul’s Encounter with the Jews of Rome (28:17-28)

7.2.1 Delimitation of the Text: Verses 17-28 are a single unit. The author indicates the beginning of a new section at verse 17 by the use of Hebraism Ἐγένετο δε followed by infinitive. Luke does use such a construction to signal the beginning of a new episode³⁵ (Lk 3:21; 6:1,6,12; Acts 4:5; 9:3.32.37; 11:26; 14:1; 16:16; 19:1; 21:1,5; 22:6,17; 28:8). In addition to this usage there is also a statement of time (μετὰ ἡμέρας τρεῖς) which indicates a new beginning. This event can be titled as “The Meeting of Paul with the Jewish Leaders of Rome”. Verse 22 seems to indicate the end of the first meeting with the Jewish leaders. But in the same verse 22 Luke narrates the second meeting to which no time indication is given. This second meeting is thus closely linked to the first one³⁶. The participle Ταξάμενοι, at the beginning of v. 23, states the appointment for the second meeting. This appointment should have taken place during the first meeting. But the attribute πλείονες to the subject, at the end of the main clause, belongs to the description of the second meeting. Such a close link between the two meetings prevents us from breaking the verse 22. The second encounter seems to go up to v. 28. It is only after this verse we find the breaking away of the Jewish leaders and v. 30 points out a new time and place indication. Thus we can conclude that vv. 17-28 form a unity in form and content.

But the events of vv. 17-28 are closely linked to previous verses, especially to verses 16 and 14. V. 17 begins with the words “three days after”. That means three days after Paul’s staying in his lodge. Moreover, v. 17 does not mention the name of the subject “Paul” and the name of the place “Rome”. These names are mentioned in v. 16. So v. 17 presupposes and is closely linked to v. 16. The verb μένειν in v. 16b

³⁴ It is a later expansion of the text but could reflect accurately the legal situation with prisoners like Paul from the provinces. The scholars are not certain who exactly the stratopedarch was. Three opinions have been suggested: a) *praefectus praetorii* (the head of the praetorian guard); b) the *princeps peregrinorum* (the centurion over the detached foreign legionaries); c) the *princeps castrorum* (the officer over the barracks for the legionaries to whom prisoners from the provinces would be delivered). Cf. Hemer, *Acts in Hellenistic History*, 199f.

³⁵ Cf. Blas/Derb § 408.

³⁶ Hauser, *Strukturen der Abschluszerzählung der Apostelgeschichte (Apg 28,16-31)*, (Rome: Biblical Inst. Press, 1979) 11-16.

indicates the description of a situation and provides a background to the two encounters between Paul and the Jewish leaders of Rome. In v. 20b Paul refers to his prison chains and naturally this situation is linked to v. 16b where it is mentioned that Paul had soldiers guarding him. We can observe another situation-description in v. 30 which says “*Paul lived there two whole years at his own expense and welcomed all who came to him*”. The verb μένειν is also found in v. 30 as it is in v. 16b. However, v. 16b belongs to the previous section which is the arrival of Paul to Rome. It comes as a fitting conclusion to that section. It is related to v. 14a as both the verses describe their coming in Rome (v. 14b: καὶ οὕτως εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἦλθαμεν. v. 16a: Ὅτε δὲ εἰσῆλθομεν εἰς Ῥώμην). Moreover v.16a uses the “we” form for the last time. On the other hand, one cannot break v. 30 from v. 31. In syntax they both form one sentence. We could conclude that v.16b and v. 30 provide outer boundaries to the section on Paul’s encounter with the Jewish leaders of Rome (28:17-28). In these 11 verses the author narrates two meetings of Paul with the Jewish leaders of Rome.

7.2.2 The First Meeting (vv. 17-22): It has a narrative unity with regard to time, place and persons. But in syntax we can make two divisions. Apart from the genitive absolute συνελθόντων δὲ αὐτῶν in v. 17a, Paul is the subject of acting and speaking in vv. 17-20. In vv. 21-22 the subject is changed and it is the Jewish leaders of Rome who answer Paul.

A new situation is indicated with the verb Ἐγένετο with a time indication, an accusative and an infinitive. Paul invites to him the leaders of Jews in Rome. Those invited are mentioned as, τοὺς ὄντας τῶν Ἰουδαίων πρώτους - without the individual names and titles.

7.2.2.1 The Addressee: Three days after³⁷ his arrival in Rome Paul invites the leaders of Jews (τῶν Ἰουδαίων πρώτους) to himself. A similar expression for Jewish leaders is found in Lk 19:47. In the context of the cleansing of the temple and Jesus’ continuous teaching there, Luke narrates that “the chief priests and the scribes and the principal men of the people (οἱ πρότεροι τοῦ λαοῦ) sought to destroy him (Jesus)”.

³⁷ Cf. Wasserberg, *Aus Israels Mitte- Heil für die Welt* (Berlin: DeGruyter, 1998) 77: “Diese Zustimmung ist ein narratives Zeichen, das auf eine Dringlichkeit des nun folgenden Gespräches laßt”; cf. also Hauser, *Strukturen*, 94; Radl finds here an allusion to Easter. Cf. *Paulus*, 237.

Such an expression is also found in the narration in ch. 25 where the principal men of the Jews (οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν Ἰουδαίων) inform Festus against Paul and urge him to send Paul to Jerusalem, planning an ambush to kill him on the way (25:2-3). According to Wikenhauser these are the “Gerusiarchen, die Präsidenten der einzelnen jüdischen Synagogengemeinden”³⁸. In Rome there were many synagogues. But, unlike Alexandria, there was not one chief synagogue that was the head of all the other synagogues³⁹. The edict of Claudius (AD 49) assumes a strong Jewish population in Rome. Aquila and Priscilla (18:2) belonged to those Jews who were exiled from Rome. After the death of Claudius the Jews could return to Rome but then the Christians founded their organisations independent of Jewish Synagogues⁴⁰.

For Paul’s action of inviting the Jews to himself Luke uses the verb συγκαλέσασθαι. This is one of Luke’s favourite verbs⁴¹. According to Wasserberg, the use of this verb by Luke indicates not only the situation of Paul being in prison, but also underlines the authority which Luke wants to attest to Paul⁴². A linguistic parallel to this verse 17 could be seen in Lk 23:13 where Pilate calls together (συγκαλεσάμενος) the chief priests and the rulers and the people (λαός), in order to investigate the accusations brought against Jesus.

The fact that it is Paul who invites the Jewish leaders to come to him highlights Paul’s authority and influence over the Jewish community. It is forgotten that Paul is a prisoner⁴³. Naturally Paul is in custody and he himself is not able to go and look for the heads of the synagogues. According to Zahn, Paul’s inviting the Jewish leaders of Rome to himself is in accordance with his normal practice in his mission journeys: “Auch in Rom hat der Heidenapostel an der Grundregel seiner Missionsarbeit festgehalten, daß überall in der Welt, wo es Juden gab, diesen zuerst das Evangelium nahegebracht werden solle”⁴⁴. The situation is changed and Paul is not as earlier in his mission journeys (cf. 13:14; 14:1; 18:4 etc.). This time he is on

³⁸ Wilkenhauser, *Apg*, 287.

³⁹ Cf. Schneider, *Apg*, note 23 in p.414.

⁴⁰ Cf. Wiefel, *Die jüdische Gemeinschaft*, 79.

⁴¹ Except its one occurrence in Mk 15:16 the verb συγκαλέω is found only in Luke-Acts (Lk 9:1; 15:6, 9; 23:13; Acts 5:21; 10:24; 28:17) in the whole of NT. cf. Bauer/Aland, *Wörterbuch NT*, 1543.

⁴² Wasserberg, *Aus Israels Mitte- Heil für die Welt*, 77.

⁴³ According to Marguerat, the fact that it is the accused who invites the Jewish leaders to himself indicates the reversal of roles. Cf. *The End of Acts*, 84.

⁴⁴ Zahn, *Apg*, 853.

trial. He must explore how the Jews of Rome are to intervene in the coming proceedings and, should the occasion arise, use their influence. Roman Jews did have good relationship with the Emperor's palace⁴⁵. Josephus speaks of the Jewish influence in Roman trials⁴⁶.

Lehnert expresses surprise why Paul, in the pagan capital of Rome, meets the leaders of Jews and not the elders of Christian community, unlike he did in Jerusalem. The reason is that Luke wants to present Paul in Rome as a testimony of Jesus to Israel. The silence on the trial of Paul and on the Christian faith he represented shows clearly that what interests Luke here is the trial of Israel with regard to its stand to the Gospel⁴⁷. According to Conzelmann, "This is the final example of Paul's schematised preaching first to Jews at the synagogue. For this purpose Luke cannot make use of any already existing Christian congregation – Paul must first preach to the Jews"⁴⁸.

7.2.2.2 Paul's Speech

7.2.2.2.1 Structure and Linguistic Observations: Paul's speech is one single unity not only from the point of view of the speaker but also from syntax. Let us examine its structure. It is in "I" form and all the verbs of the main sentence are in first person aorist or present perfect: παρεδόθην.... ήναγκάσθην.... παρεκάλεσα.... περίκειμαι. We could see two parts in this short speech. In vv. 17b-19 there is a historical report in which the listeners of the speech do not figure. It is concerned with the Jews of Jerusalem. V. 20 is the second part of the speech. A οὖν in this verse leads to the second part. It refers to the listeners (ὕμᾱς) and comes as the consequence of the previous historical report. The entire speech begins with the first person pronoun and ends with a corresponding verb. It describes the situation of the speaker with a negative argument at the beginning and a positive at the end.

17b: Ἐγώ, ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, οὐδέν ἐναντίον ποιήσας τῷ Λαῷ ἢ τοῖς ἔθεσι τοῖς πατρώοις δέσμιος.....

20b: ἔνεκεν γὰρ τῆς ἐλπίδος τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ τὴν ἄλυσιν ταύτην περίκειμαι.

⁴⁵ Cf. Roloff, *Apg*, 371.

⁴⁶ Cf. Josephus, *Vitae*, 13-16.

⁴⁷ Cf. Volker A. Lehnert, *Die Provokation Israels* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verl., 1999) 228.

⁴⁸ Conzelmann, *Acts*, 227.

The speech begins with an emphatic “I” and then follows the address ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί. Unlike the earlier speeches to the Jews of Jerusalem and to King Herod Agrippa, Paul does not mention in this speech his life-course. He straightaway comes to deny that he has committed any offence against his nation and their customs. After this introduction in a participle clause, the word δέσμιος appears rather abruptly. The speaker does not give the reason of his arrest and does not mention who had arrested him and given him in the hands of the Romans. The culprits are not named but only the name of the city is mentioned, from which he was delivered. However when it comes to whom he was delivered to, it is not the city but the group of persons is mentioned: ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων παρεδόθην εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τῶν Ῥωμαίων. The name Jerusalem is not written in the Semitic–Greek form Ἱεροσαλήμ but as Ἱεροσόλομα, a non-Jewish form.

In v. 18 Paul reports the behaviour of the Romans towards him. He points out to their positive attitude towards him. Here οἷτινες represents a relative pronoun. Some of the witnesses of the Western Text (614 2147 syh*) add a πολλὰ after οἷτινές which means “after much investigation”. After the Aorist participle ἀνακρίναντές με comes the main verb in imperfect with infinitive: ἐβούλοντο ἀπολῦσαι. The weight of the sentence thus falls not on the action but on the intention of the Romans⁴⁹: they wanted to free him. The reason follows immediately in a typical Lucan style: a nominal infinitive and the preposition διὰ with Accusative: διὰ τὸ μηδεμίαν αἰτίαν θανάτου ὑπάρχειν ἐν ἐμοί.

The beginning of v. 19 signals a change. The opponents of Paul are named this time expressively with a genitive absolute in a causal sense: They are Jews - without restriction. Their intensive opposing (present participle ἀντιλεγόντων) compels Paul to appeal to Caesar⁵⁰. Hence the action of Paul is justified but not the action of the Jews. They are active and Paul is the victim. This is clearly expressed by both the main verbs (vv. 17b, 19) which are in aorist form. To defend his action of appealing to the Caesar Paul rounds up his trial report in v. 19b with another denial: *I had no*

⁴⁹ Cf. Hauser, *Strukturen*, 20.

⁵⁰ Luke often mentions the name of the Caesar (cf. Lk2:1 Augustus; 3:1 Tiberius; Acts 18:2 Claudius). But in the trials of Jesus and Paul the names of the Caesar are not mentioned. Perhaps here the ἐπικαλέσασθαι Καίσαρα is a technical expression. We have no sufficient reason to assume that here there is a deliberate suppression of the name of Nero who persecuted the Christian.

charge to bring against my nation. The main part, the compulsion to appeal to Caesar, stands at the centre of the sentence, surrounded by two statements of reasons: the factual reason at the beginning (the action of the Jews) and the disqualification of a suspected reason at the end.

*But when the Jews objected,
I was compelled to appeal to Caesar
though I had no charge to bring against my nation.*

When we take into consideration both form and the content of these verses we can form them into the following order⁵¹.

A Denial of an offence against the nation:

Ἐγώ, ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, οὐδὲν ἐναντίον
ποιήσας τῷ Λαῷ ἢ τοῖς ἔθεσι τοῖς πατρώοις

B Paul suffers:

δέσμιος ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων
παρεδόθην εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τῶν Ῥωμαίων

C The action of the Romans:

οἵτινες ἀνακρίναντές με
ἐβούλοντο ἀπολῦσαι

D The innocence of Paul:

διὰ τὸ μηδεμίαν αἰτίαν θανάτου ὑπάρχειν ἐν ἐμοί

C¹ The action of the Jews:

ἀντιλεγόντων δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων

B¹ Paul under compulsion:

ἠναγκάσθη ἐπικαλέσασθαι Καίσαρα

A¹ Denial of an evil intention against the nation:

οὐχ ὡς τοῦ ἔθνους μου
ἔχων τι κατηγορεῖν.

⁵¹ Cf. Hauser, *Strukturen*, 23.

In this concentric structure the innocence of Paul is highlighted: A and A¹ state denial which is also found in D. In fact D only repeats the content of A but without the identical vocabulary. B and B¹ have aorist passive first person singular forms and they name the respective authority to which Paul has been delivered: the Romans or the Caesar. We can note a contrast between C and C¹ which surround the innocence of Paul (D): The behaviour of the Romans and of Jews. This diagram then points out on the one hand the innocence and patriotism of Paul and on the other the hostile behaviour of Jews.

The οὖν and διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν at the beginning of v. 20 points out a concluding request of the trial report now referring to the hearers: *For this reason therefore I have asked to see you and speak with you*(v. 20a). In v. 20b Paul brings in a positive reason for his action of inviting the Jewish leaders of Rome. γὰρ and ἕνεκεν are in fact parallel to the particles of reason in v. 20a οὖν and διὰ. This positive reason also carries a great weight: *since it is because of the hope of Israel that I am bound with this chain*. The accent lies not on the chains but on the Hope of Israel. These words at the end of the speech provide, at the same time, a link to the continuation of the conversation in proclamation (v. 23b). The speaker here moves from verbs of the past tense to the present tense. He finds himself in chains now. The passive perfect περικειμαι repeats the two main verbs in aorist passive παρεδόθην and ἠναγκάσθην. The passion of Paul has a lasting effect in the present and it challenges in some way a participation.

7.2.2.2.2 The Features of Paul's Speech to the Jews of Rome

7.2.2.2.1 Address: Paul addresses the Roman Jews as ἀδελφοί. He had addressed the Jews in Jerusalem in the same way (21:17). In 28:15 the Christians are also addressed as ἀδελφοί. By addressing the Roman Jews as ἀδελφοί Paul stands within Israel (cf. Rom 9:1-5)⁵². According to Jervell, in this scene Paul is presented as “true Jew” and as “the teacher of Israel”⁵³. Wasserberg states, “Die vertrauliche Anrede ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί signalisiert die Zugehörigkeit zum selben λαός. Paulus stellt mit dieser

⁵² Cf. Lehnert, *Die Provokation Israels*, 228.

⁵³ Cf. Jervell, *Paulus*, 181,183.

Formulierung sein Gegründetsein im *λαός Ἰσραήλ* heraus, was sogleich im weiteren Verlauf seiner Rede näher expliziert wird⁵⁴.

7.2.2.2.2 Paul's Innocence with Regard to Judaism: According to John T. Carroll, "Paul's first conversation with the prominent Roman Jews provides a retrospective summary of the course of Paul's trial and self-defence (chs.21-28)"⁵⁵. Paul tells the brethren⁵⁶ that he (the pronoun *Ἐγώ* underlines this) has not done anything against the nation of Israel (cf. 26:9) or the customs of their fathers (22:3), that is the Law and its interpretation in practice. *Τὰ ἔθνη τὰ πατρῶα* means Torah⁵⁷. In this scene, as Conzelmann describes, "The Lucan picture of Paul and his understanding of the Law, the Old Testament, and Israel within the context of salvation history are once more unveiled"⁵⁸. Paul's insistence on his adherence to the Law is a common theme in the last part of Acts (22:3; 23:1; 24:14; 26:4-5). In spite of it, from Jerusalem he has been delivered as a prisoner (cf. 23:18; 25:14, 27) in to the hands (cf. 3:13; 21:11) of the Romans. These verses present a flashback into the ministry and behaviour of Paul in Jerusalem. The reader has been following all these events that Luke has narrated in detail in chs. 21-26. Luke has characterised Paul as a faithful Jewish Christian: as a Pharisee Paul was obedient to the "Law of Fathers" (22:3) and so "persecuted this way to the death" (22:4). In his Damascus-experience it was revealed to Paul that by persecuting Christians he was in fact persecuting Jesus (9:5b). He was given the mission by the Risen Lord to carry the name of Lord Jesus to the Gentiles and to the sons of Israel (9:15). He has not been guilty against the synagogue (13:14ff; 14:1ff; 17:1ff; 17:18; 18:1ff.).

In his speech before the Jews of Jerusalem Paul makes his faithfulness to "God of the fathers" as the central point of his apology (24:14). He believed everything that was written in the Law and the Prophets (24:14). The climax of this was his hope in the resurrection (24:15). At least this hope must unite the sect of the Nazarenes (24:5) with the Jewish sect of the Pharisees (23:6ff.). But paradoxically it is for the sake of this hope that Paul has been accused (24:21).

⁵⁴ Wasserberg, *Aus Israels Mitte- Heil für die Welt*, 78.

⁵⁵ John T. Carroll, *Response to the End of History: Eschatology and Situation in Luke-Acts*, 156.

⁵⁶ Compare this form of address in Paul's speeches in 13:26, 38; 22:1; 23:1-6.

⁵⁷ Cf. Acts 22:3: ὁ πατρῶος νόμος

⁵⁸ Conzelmann, *Acts*, 227.

7.2.2.2.3 The Jewish Opposition as Against Roman Tolerance: The Jews in Jerusalem are responsible for Paul being brought as a prisoner from Jerusalem and delivered into the hands of the Romans (28:17). Paul tells them that the Romans wanted to set him free (cf. 26:32), after they had heard his case (26:27), as there was not anything in him (Cf. Jn 18:38; 19:4-6) that merited a death sentence (αἰτία θανάτου cf. 13:28). ἀνακρίνω followed by an accusative means to interrogate someone (cf. 12:19)⁵⁹. The intention to set Paul free is seen in 26:32. At the same time in 25:11 we see that Festus wants to please the Jews and wants to give Paul to them.

Consequently, Paul must clarify for his hearers why he is a prisoner in Rome. He puts the blame on the Jews. Thus Paul now puts some distance between him and “the Jews”. They protested against him and therefore he had been forced to appeal to the Emperor. ἀντιλέγω means to contradict or oppose. The verb is also found in 13:45 and 28:22. ἀναγκάζω has the nuance of “compel” or “forced to”. (cf. 26:11). Schneider believes that the statement of Paul which says that it was the objection from the Jews that made him to appeal to Caesar does deviate from what is said in 25:11⁶⁰.

The reader is aware that Paul was certainly thought to have acted in a manner contrary to the interests of the people and the Law, though of course he denied this. The first expression of this charge was the mob violence that broke out in the temple (Acts 21:30). As a result of this Paul was handed over to the Romans; the Romans took him by force out of the hands of the Jews in order to prevent him being lynched (21:31-33); this at least was the effect of their action. Its initial intention may have been to prevent the development of a dangerous riot. From this point onwards, however, Paul was in what may equally be described as Roman custody and Roman protection. Barrett sums up the sequence of events properly: “The Jews would have liked to try him in their own court and, if we may accept Luke’s narrative, there can be little doubt that such a trial would have resulted in his death. He refused to be handed over for a Jewish trial and the case was transferred to the Governor’s court in Caesarea. The Romans could see nothing more serious in the matter than a Jewish theological controversy and the bizarre assertion that a dead man, Jesus, was now alive. Eventually, in order to remain in Roman hands and secure a fair (that is, a non-

⁵⁹ Cf. also Lk 23:14; Acts 4:9; 12:19; 24:8; 28:18.

⁶⁰ Cf. Schneider, *Apg*, note 36 on p.415.

Jewish) trial – perhaps also in order to win a passage to Rome - Paul used his Roman citizenship in an appeal to Caesar⁶¹. This summary account is so radically abbreviated by Paul (Luke) as to suggest that Paul's position as a Roman prisoner was due to Jewish legal action.

Luke simplifies the proceedings in order to work out what according to his understanding is decisive⁶². Conzelmann sees here the influence of the story of Jesus⁶³. The Jews have proved to be the enemies of Paul because they have delivered Paul into the hands of the Romans as they once did Jesus. In spite of Paul's clear innocence they have further tried to destroy him. On the other hand, the Romans have been convinced of his innocence from the beginning and have treated him accordingly.

7.2.2.2.4 Parallels Between the Trials of Jesus and Paul: The expression παρεδόθην εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τῶν Ῥωμαίων in 28:17 makes allusion to the passion of Jesus⁶⁴. In Luke 24:7 a similar wording - παραδοθῆναι εἰς χεῖρας ἀνθρώπων ἁμαρτωλῶν - is used for the destiny of Jesus. When we compare this expression of Luke 24:7 with that of Mark (16:6) and Matthew (28:5f.) we can see here a clear Lucan formulation. He uses this language deliberately to create a parallel between the trial of Jesus and that of Paul. Of course with regard to the trial of Jesus Luke makes use of the preposition δεῖ and thus underlines the divine hand behind the passion of Jesus. This preposition δεῖ is not present in the case of Paul in Acts 28:17. But it is used elsewhere in the narrative of Acts for the sufferings of Paul.

Such a parallelism between the trials of Jesus and that of Paul is continued in 28:18ff. Luke narrates the hearing of Paul's trial with the similar terms used for narrating the hearing of Jesus' trial before Pilate. Paul confesses his innocence before the Roman Jews: *When they had examined (ἀνακρίναντές) me, they wished to set me at liberty, because there was no reason for the death penalty in my case (διὰ τὸ μηδεμίαν αἰτίαν θανάτου ὑπάρχειν ἐν ἐμοί.)* (28:18). A similar wording is used to narrate the innocence of Jesus in Lk 23:13-25. Pilate declares here three times that

⁶¹ Barrett, *Commentary on Acts*, 1238.

⁶² Cf. Roloff, *ApG*, 371.

⁶³ Cf. Conzelmann, *Acts*, 227.

⁶⁴ Cf. Wasserberg, *Aus Israels Mitte*, 80.

Jesus is not guilty of the charges brought against him by the Jews. The declaration of the innocence of Jesus and Paul is expressed by Luke in a very similar wording: ἀνακρίνας οὐθὲν εἶρον ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τούτῳ αἴτιον ὧν κατηγορεῖτε κατ' αὐτοῦ and οὐδὲν αἴτιον θανάτου εἶρον ἐν αὐτῷ (Lk 23:14) resemble the expression in Acts 28:18⁶⁵.

We can thus see the following parallels: both Jesus and Paul were delivered into the hands of the Romans (Lk 24:7; Acts 21:11 and 28:17); both were examined (Lk 23:14; Acts 28:18); the Romans declared both Jesus and Paul not guilty of the Jewish accusations (Lk 23:16, 20, 22; Acts 28:18b). Both would have been set free (Lk 23:22; Acts 28:18) if the Jews had not raised objections (Lk 23:23; Acts 28:19). The objection from the Jews led Jesus to crucifixion (Lk 23:24) and in the case of Paul to his appeal to Caesar and consequently his voyage and shipwreck. Such a comparison shows clearly that Luke intends to relate the trial of Paul to the passion of Jesus.

7.2.2.2.5 Paul's Wish not to Bring Charge Against the Jews: Despite all the evil that he has suffered from his people, Paul has not become the enemy to them. Paul wants to calm down his hearers with a reference to the fact that in the coming trial he does not mean to accuse his nation. οὐχ ὡς ... ἔχων τι κατηγορεῖν is a negation with a participle⁶⁶. The verb κατηγορεῖν is a technical term in legal language⁶⁷. It is used extensively by Luke in the narration of the accusations brought against Jesus Lk 23:2,10,14; cf. Lk 6:7; 11:54) as well as Paul (Acts 22:30; 24:2,8,13,19; 25:5,11,16).

As Wasserberg puts it, „Er (Paulus) sei nicht als Apostat, sondern als „Glaubensbruder“ nach Rom gekommen“⁶⁸. Paul only wants to defend himself and he appeals for the friendship of the Roman representatives of Jewish nation. The effect of Paul's words on Jewish leaders is well described by Scheitel: „Er (Paulus) versichert Ihnen, seine appellatio an das Gericht des Kaisers habe keinerlei antijüdische Spitze (v.19b), und er bekennt sich vor den Ohren der Juden zu dem Glauben der Väter (v.20), nämlich zur Hoffnung auf die Auferstehung“⁶⁹. Or as the

⁶⁵ Cf. Ibid. 81.

⁶⁶ Cf. Blass/Debr § 430,2.

⁶⁷ The verb κατηγορεῖν occurs 23 times in the NT, of which 5 times in Luke and 9 times in Acts. With the exception of Rom 2:15 this verb is always used in a legal language.

⁶⁸ Wasserberg, *Aus Israels Mitte*, 83.

⁶⁹ Scheitel, *Apg*, 239.

Western Text (614 2147 *pc gig p vg^{mss} sy^{h**}*) inserts, Paul's only concern is "to save his life from death"⁷⁰. John Chrysostom states that Paul had appealed in order to escape the danger of death⁷¹.

7.2.2.2.6 Hope of Israel: V. 20 begins with the expression διὰ ταύτην οὖν τὴν αἰτίαν (for this reason). It is not clear to what reason Paul is referring to. The phrase may look forward (it is for the sake of Israel's hope). It could also be looking backward to Paul's explanation of his appeal to Caesar (v. 19).

7.2.2.2.6.1 Israel: The name "Israel" occurs 12 times in Luke and 15 times in the Acts, in its total 68 occurrences in the NT. Luke uses this name only three times in the narrative text (Lk 1:80; 2:25; Acts 5:21). Otherwise it is used always in the speeches: angels (Lk 1:16); Jesus (Lk 4:25,27; 7:9; 22:30; Acts 9:15); pious Israelites: Mary (Lk 1:54); Zechariah (Lk 1:68); Simeon (Lk 2:32, 34); Disciples at Emmaus (Lk 24:21); Apostles (Acts 1:6; 4:27; 5:31); Peter (2:36; 4:10; 10:36); Stephen (7:23, 37, 42); Paul (13: 17, 23, 24; 28:20). The name "Israel" is never put on the lips of non-Jews or of the Jewish enemies of the Gospel. Often it appears in the Infancy narratives (7 times) and it is totally absent after the last speech to the Jews at Antioch (ch.13 - three times) till 28:20. With "Israel" one needs to pay attention to the address: "Ἀνδρες Ἰσραηλῖται. This manner of addressing indicates that the speech is intentionally directed to all Israel and not just to the listeners.

In all these references, Israel is considered as the historical people of God, with whom God has dealt in the past, and to whom he now brings the eschatological fulfilment. This historical Israel is now called upon to make a decision. To put it negatively: the name Israel is never given to the group of Jews that has come to faith; so to say it is not given to the real, purified Israel. The name is never given to the new redeemed-community. The Jews who have remained unbelieving are also never called "Israel". If Paul, at the close of his first speech in Rome, uses the name "Israel", then he seems to deliver here an important nuance to the whole paragraph.

⁷⁰ Barrett comments correctly: "Here the Western Text is not so much introducing an anti-Jewish element into the text as filling out connections that the shorter text implies but does not state, and at the same time sharpening the narrative". *Acts*, 1239.

⁷¹ *Homily in Acta Apost. LV 1.*

The problem “Israel” is here dealt with for the last time. It is concerning the hope of Israel.

7.2.2.2.6.2 Hope of Israel: The noun ἐλπίς appears in Luke’s narrative only in Acts⁷². Apart from its profane use twice (Acts 16:9; 27:20), it concerns a hope that is rooted in God. Israel, the possessor of this hope, is the people of God. In the rest of Acts it is used as a theological term which designates hope in the resurrection. It is found exclusively in the speeches of Acts.

According to Carroll “the “hope of Israel” gives to Luke’s narrative its point of departure and its destination”⁷³. Luke pictures the whole Jesus story in the context of the hope of Israel⁷⁴. The infancy narrative of Luke narrates the birth of John and Jesus as the inauguration of a new era of fulfilment for Israel. Jesus enters human history as the one who would fulfil definitively the hopes of Israel: he would be enthroned as the Messiah-king descended from David, in fulfilment of the promise made to David (Lk 1:32-33; Acts 2:30-36); through him salvation and forgiveness would come to God’s people, in fulfilment of the covenant with Abraham (Lk 1:68-75; 2:30; Acts 3:25-26). So there is an inner coherence between Lk 1-2 and Acts 28:17ff⁷⁵. Haacker states: „Paulus tritt hier an die Seite von Maria und Zacharias, Simeon und Hanna und gesellt sich zu den Jüngern auf dem Weg nach Emmaus“⁷⁶. Nevertheless, Luke tells the story of a final division within Israel even as he narrates the fulfilment of Israel’s hope⁷⁷. This division is prophesied by Simeon in Lk 2:34-35. Jesus announces that the holy city, whose redemption is the object of the hope of pious Israel at the beginning of the story (Lk 2:38), will meet destruction because it has rejected the agent of its redemption (Lk 19:41-44; 21:20-24).

7.2.2.2.6.3 Hope in the Resurrection: The first appearance of ἐλπίς in Acts is in the missionary sermon by Peter on the day of Pentecost (2:26). Peter here recites Psalm 15:9 as a proof that David had already died in the hope of resurrection: “my body too

⁷² ἐλπίς occurs 8 times in Acts (2:26; 16:19; 23:6; 24:15; 26:6; 27:20; 28:20). This noun is absent in the Gospels. It is predominantly a Pauline word. It occurs 26 times in his epistles, out of its 54 occurrences in the whole of NT.

⁷³ Carroll, *Response to the End of History: Eschatology and Situation in Luke-Acts*, 155.

⁷⁴ Cf. Lehnert, *Die Provokation Israels*, 230.

⁷⁵ Cf. Ibid. 230.

⁷⁶ Hacker, *Bekenntnis*, 442.

⁷⁷ Cf. Carroll, *Response to the End of History*, 155.

will rest secure (in hope)”. Peter interprets this psalm in a Christological sense: “he foresaw and spoke of the resurrection of the Christ, that he was not abandoned to Hades, nor did his flesh see corruption” (2:31). So David himself was the chief witness of the resurrection of the Messiah, which is now realised in “this Jesus”. “Let all the house of Israel therefore know assuredly that God has made him both Lord and Christ, this Jesus whom you crucified” (2:36). It means that Jesus of Nazareth, who has been raised by God from death, has now become the hope from as well as to Israel⁷⁸. At the same time the title κύριος used for Jesus in this context already indicates that this hope goes beyond Israel. It has a universal significance.

Apart from Acts 2:26 (Ps 15:9), it is only Paul who speaks of this hope. He further makes it clear that he shares this hope with others: with the Pharisees (23:6), with the high priest, Ananias, and the elders who accompanied him (24:15; cf.24:1), with the entire 12 tribes (26:6 f.), that means with Israel. As the object of this hope he names: the common resurrection (23:6; 24:15, 21). The question of the resurrection of the dead is a question common to whole humanity and therefore Paul proclaims this hope in his Areopagus speech (Acts 17:31)⁷⁹.

7.2.2.2.6.4 Jewish Scripture and the Hope in the Resurrection: Paul insists that he is on trial for the hope of Israel. “From parallels in Acts we can deduce that Paul sees the resurrection of the dead as an important element of this hope”⁸⁰. As we have seen the hope of resurrection as expressed in Israel’s Scriptures, has already been dealt with by Peter in Acts 2:25-31. The importance of this theme is shown by its gradual development over a series of speeches (cf. 23:6; 24:15, 21; 26:6-8), coming to a climax in the defence speech before King Agrippa, which is the centrepiece of one of the most fully developed narrative scenes in Acts. When introduced in 23:6, it is presented as a Pharisaic hope, rejected by the Sadducees, but in the course of the narrative this hope comes to be identified simply as “the hope of Israel”. That the hope towards God and the resurrection of the dead is in accordance with the Scripture is emphasised in Acts 24:14-15. This hope for resurrection is surely connected in the author’s mind with the resurrection of Jesus, who is “first of the resurrection of the

⁷⁸ Cf. Wasserberg, *Aus Israels Mitte*, 84.

⁷⁹ Cf. *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ B. J. Koet, *Five Studies on Interpretation of Scripture in Luke-Acts* (Leuven: Univ. Press, 1989) 123.

dead” (26:23). Yet this connection with Jesus’ resurrection is less clearly emphasised than two other points: 1) Paul’s authentic Jewishness in maintaining this Jewish belief, and 2) the tragic irony that Paul’s opponents, in rejecting Paul and his message, are rejecting the fulfilment of their own hope. Paul’s hope is one that Paul’s accusers themselves anticipate and await, according to 24:15. It is “hope in the promise made by God to our fathers” (26:6).

7.2.2.2.2.6.5 The Hope of the Entire People of God and Not Just of the Pharisees: The hope of Israel is the central theme in the final cycle of speeches in Acts. In his speech before the Sanhedrin in 23:6, Paul claims that the issue of his trial is “hope and resurrection of the dead”. It seems to be rather strange as no accusation on these matters has been levelled against Paul. As he introduces this subject, Paul identifies himself as a Pharisee. His reference to resurrection causes a dispute between the Pharisees and the Sadducees. The reference to hope and resurrection looks very much like a clever ploy to disrupt the proceedings, especially when we note that Paul’s statement seems to ignore the real theological issue between Paul and his Jewish accusers, namely Paul’s claim that Jesus is the Messiah⁸¹. As we proceed the narrator makes it clear that the hope of resurrection is not just confined to the expectations of the Pharisees. In 24:15 (cf. 24:21) Paul claims that his hope of resurrection is a hope which “these men themselves await”, even though the high priest Ananias, presumably a Sadducee, was among the accusers present. In 26:6-7 it is described as hope in “the promise to our fathers” and the hope of “our twelve tribes”. And in 28:20 it is simply called the hope of Israel. “Resurrection is not finally a special doctrine of Pharisees or an optional element in Judaism but represents the fulfilment of a promise that is central to Jewish existence, as understood by the narrator”⁸².

7.2.2.2.2.6.6 Hope of Resurrection in Paul’s Speech Before Herod Agrippa: According to Paul Schubert, “the speech before Agrippa summarises the rationale of Luke’s theology and its substance as the message of hope, of repentance and forgiveness”⁸³. The main point of 26:4-8 is that Paul as “a leader of the sect of the Nazarenes” shares with “the strictest sect of our religion, the Pharisees (26:5), the

⁸¹ Tannehill, *The Rejection by Jews and Turning to Gentiles*, in: *SBL 1986 Seminar Papers*, 136.

⁸² *Ibid*, 136-7.

⁸³ Schubert, “The Final Cycle of Speeches in the Book of Acts”, 16.

hope in the promise given by God to our fathers to which our twelve tribes hope to attain.... and for this hope I am accused by the Jews O king (26:6)⁸⁴.

The Christological significance of the “hope of resurrection” is made explicit at the end of this speech (26:18). Paul speaks here of the Messiah, who as “first of the resurrection of the dead is about to proclaim light both to the people and to the Gentiles (26:23)⁸⁵. It is the resurrection of Jesus, the Messiah, that fulfils the Jewish hope for resurrection of the dead⁸⁶. The resurrection of Jesus indeed initiates a resurrection that others will share. In his speech in the synagogue of Antioch Paul had previously proclaimed that the resurrection of Jesus fulfilled the promise to Israel of a Davidic Messiah. In Acts the hope of resurrection is also the hope of the messianic Kingdom. The “hope of the promise” of resurrection in 26:6-8 is a variation on the “promise” to David of a successor to his throne, which was fulfilled through Jesus’ resurrection according to 13:22-23, 32-37. This connection is supported by a peculiarity of shared language between 13:32 and 26:6. In the one case the promise is τὴν πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ἐπαγγελίαν γενομένην ; the other verse refers to hope τῆς εἰς τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν ἐπαγγελίας γενομένης. The only use of ἐπαγγελία between these two passages is a reference to the Roman tribune’s promise in 23:21. The last major speech of Paul is echoing a theme of his first major speech. According to 26:23 it is “the Messiah” who, through being “first of the resurrection of the dead” proclaims light to the people and the Gentiles. These connections make sense because the resurrection-life is one of the benefits of sharing in the Messiah’s eternal Kingdom. This insight explains how Paul can describe resurrection as the “promise to our fathers” for which “our twelve tribes” hope (26:6-8). This is not an individualistic hope for life after death but a hope for the messianic Kingdom, which is established through resurrection and characterised by resurrection life.

Paul’s emphasis on the hope of Israel is designed to show the continuity between his Pharisaism and his present role as witness of Jesus Messiah. However, this does not explain Paul’s reticence (until 26:6) to state that he now believes this hope for resurrection to be fulfilled in Jesus. Jesus is the divisive issue. Paul begins by

⁸⁴ Cf. *Ibid.* 7.

⁸⁵ However there is a hint of this Christological core in Acts 25:19.

⁸⁶ Cf. Wasserberg, *Aus Israels Mitte*, 85.

emphasising what he has in common with his many Jewish critics. “As a good missionary, he seeks a point of contact with his audience and from that point of contact attempts to lead them to understand the importance of Jesus”⁸⁷. This strategy is indicated by the way that the defence speech before King Agrippa gradually turns into a mission speech. By the end of the speech Paul is no longer talking about his call and his past faithfulness to that call. His past witness to Jesus merges into a present witness: “Until this day I stand bearing witness both to small and to great” (26:22). The missionary significance of this speech is underlined by the concluding dialogue with King Agrippa, where Paul appeals to Agrippa’s belief in the prophets and Agrippa recognises that Paul is trying to make him a Christian (26:27-28). Paul is appealing to others as well (26:29). His message is especially designed to appeal to Jews, for it is addressed to those who believe in the prophets and concerns the hope of Israel.

7.2.2.2.6.7 The Hope of Israel: a Tragic Story: The theme of the hope of Israel helps to convey the sense of the tragic irony in Israel’s present situation. In 26:7, Paul first emphasises the Jews’ intense hope in the promise and then says that he is now being accused by Jews concerning the same hope: “concerning this hope I am being accused by the Jews, O king” (26:7). “This exclamation, the climax of a long development through Paul’s defence speeches, reveals the tragic irony of Jewish rejection. The central focus of Jewish hope, the main object of earnest intercession, is rejected by Jews as they reject Paul and his message. The theme of Paul on trial for the hope of Israel highlights the tragic irony of the situation into which Paul’s Jewish opponents have blindly stumbled”⁸⁸. The very hope so eagerly sought is rejected when it appears. This is ironic; it is also tragic, for Israel is losing what rightly belongs to it. The same tragic irony is conveyed by the image of Paul in chains for the hope of Israel in 28:20. The messenger who proclaims the fulfilment of Israel’s hope should be honoured by Israel. Instead, Paul is bound in chains because of his faithfulness to Israel’s hope. This means suffering for Paul; it is an even greater tragedy for Israel.

It is for the hope of Israel (cf. 23:6; 24:15; 26:6f.) that Paul bears the chains. The preposition ἕνεκεν with Genitive is found only here in the Acts and it has the

⁸⁷ Tannehill, *The Rejection by Jews and Turning to Gentiles*, 137.

⁸⁸ Tannehill, “Israel in Luke-Acts: a Tragic Story”, in: *JBL* 104 (1985), 78.

meaning of “because of”, “for the sake of”. The other examples are found in Lk 9:24; 18:29; 21:12. Thus the conclusion of this short speech leads back to the question put at the beginning: why is Paul brought as a prisoner to Rome? It is made known to the Jews that it is because of the messianic hope of Israel that Paul bears his chains.

7.2.2.3 The Answer of the Jewish leaders of Rome (vv. 21-22):

7.2.2.3.1 Linguistic and Structural Observations: The response of the Jewish leaders is introduced with the words: οἱ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶπαν. Thus the conversing partners are introduced only through a pronoun. Since πρὸς αὐτὸν stands before the verb, may carry a certain accent⁸⁹. This speech also has two parts with the repetition of δὲ at the beginning of the second part. Each part is sub-divided by two independent sentences which are closely linked by particles. The first part is divided by οὔτε - οὔτε and the second by the particles δὲ and μὲν γὰρ. The three finite verbs of the first part are in aorist. The verbs of the second part are in present tense. The speakers (Ἡμεῖς.... ἐδεξάμεθα.... ἀξιούμεν...γνωστὸν ἡμῖν) and the one spoken to (περὶ σου περὶ σου.....παρὰ σοῦ..... ἃ φρονεῖς) stand out strongly.

As in Paul’s speech the personal pronoun Ἡμεῖς at the beginning of their response is striking. Only after this pronoun stands the particle οὔτε and the subject comes after this particle. In both lines after οὔτε the hypothetical means of communication, a letter or a brother, once in accusative and once in nominative, is named. Then follow the verbs. περὶ σοῦ occurs twice, once nearly at the beginning and once almost at the end.

Ἡμεῖς οὔτε γράμματα περὶ σοῦ ἐδεξάμεθα ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας
οὔτε παραγενόμενός τις τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἀπήγγειλεν ἢ ἐλάλησέν τι περὶ σοῦ πονηρόν

The word πονηρόν at the end of the sentence does not mean that the Jews of Rome had heard of Paul but did not hear anything unfavourable about him. Here we find an echo of Paul’s own words in v. 17b confessing to them that he did not do anything against (οὐδὲν ἐναντίον ποιήσας) the nation. Hence the Jews of Rome have not heard anything about Paul, neither in writing (γράμματα) nor through oral report, neither officially (ἀπήγγειλεν) nor privately (ἐλάλησέν).

⁸⁹ Cf. B. Weiss 311.

V. 22 gives us the second part of their answer. After the verb of request (ἄξιούμεν) stands the personal object (παρὰ σου) and the factual object (ἃ φρονεῖς). In the midst of the two objects stands the simple infinitive ἀκοῦσαι. But v. 22b has a rather complicated syntax. The subject of this ὅτι sentence at the end of the speech is anticipated. The preposition περι and the verbal expression γνωστὸν ἐστίν are put at the beginning, close to ἃ φρονεῖς and with a demonstrative pronoun ταύτης. This is to indicate Paul represents this kind of teaching. What type of meaning do the double particles μὲν γὰρ have? The participle μὲν alone usually emphasises the sentence or the word with which it stands, either conforming (indeed, certainly) or as concessive (but, in fact). It wants to indicate that what is said is only a part of it and it needs to be complemented. This meaning seems to fit our case here: The Jews already know something of this teaching, but there still remains place for further knowledge and clarifications, especially with reference to Paul's own opinion about it. If they had known all about this way then the preaching of Paul (v. 23b) would have been superfluous. The particle γὰρ has no special significance here. It is used here just like a δὲ. The active subject of the verb ἀντιλέγεται (spoken against) is not given. The adverb overall is a reference to Jews. It was inappropriate to put the word "Jews" on the lips of Roman Jews.

7.2.2.3.2 Analysis: Introducing a speech with the expression οἱ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶπον /εἶπαν (ὁ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶπεν) is a favourite of Luke. Such examples occur in 12:15 and in Luke 10:26 (for other wordings cf. Lk 3:13; 4:43; 5:33; 10:26; 13:23; 20:25; 23:22). In this verse εἶπαν is Hellenistic for εἶπον. They maintain that they have neither received letters from Judea which informed them about Paul nor did any visitor come who spoke to them anything bad about Paul either officially or in private⁹⁰. The verbs ἀπαγγέλλω and λαλέω have different nuances⁹¹. ἀπαγγέλλω refers to the official notification and λαλέω refers to private information. The word ποιηρόν means evil and it appears in the context of the beatitudes in Mt 5:11 and in Lk 6:45c, the sermon on the plain.

⁹⁰ This assumes that there was regular correspondences and personal contact between the Jews in Rome and the Sanhedrin in Jerusalem. Cf. J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem*, 64.

⁹¹ Cf. Loisy, *Actes*, 934.

In the second part (28:22) the Jews of Rome react to the last part of Paul's statement (28:20). "Their willingness to hear his opinion is a reaction to, and a consequence of, Paul's wish to see them, and his wish to tell them about Israel's hope"⁹². Although they do not have doubts about Paul they do have one reservation. He is much associated with a much talked about sect, which is seen negatively. The use of the word ἄρσεις is not per se negative⁹³. In Acts this word is used for a movement (5:17; 15:5; 24:5, 14; 26:5). Luke narrates that the Jews show interest in the views of Paul. They feel it is worth to give Paul an ear. The verb ἀξιόω in the phrase ἀξιολοῦμεν ... ἀκοῦσαι means "worth" or "worthy" (cf. Lk7:7) and the expression here has the meaning of "pleading". They know that he belongs to a sect (cf. 25:5, 14) which is controversial. The verb ἀντιλέγεται widens and confirms what Paul himself had been saying in 19a. Dupont indicates that both Paul's wish to see them in 28:20a and their willingness to listen in 28:22a are further explained in a clause, introduced by a γὰρ. He suggests that in these sub clauses the same issue is at stake⁹⁴. Paul calls it "the hope" of Israel" and the Jewish leaders of Rome call it "the sect which is much spoken against".

The answer of the Jews may not be historically true. „Angesichts der weltweiten Feindschaft der Juden gegen Paulus, die in nahezu allen Synagogen aufbrach und in Jerusalem/ Caesarea seinen Prozeß so belastete, ist es kaum denkbar, daß in Rom Paulus ein unbeschriebenes Blatt geblieben war“⁹⁵. The leaders of Jerusalem knew of his appeal to the Emperor and the relationship between the Jews of Rome and those of Jerusalem was very close. Barrett states: "if the Jewish authorities had in fact determined to destroy Paul, even if they thought it unlikely that local Jewish opinion could affect the proceedings in the Emperor's court, one would expect them to solicit any help that might possibly be available and put the Roman Jewish communities on their guard against a disruptive and perverting presence"⁹⁶. Luke means to bring the hearer nearer to the conclusion that only the new scheme of the Jews in Rome and the weakness of the officers of the Emperor played together, if Paul was not able to win his trial. Even this claim is doubtful in the face of the previous

⁹² B. J. Koet, *Five Studies on Interpretation of Scripture in Luke-Acts*, 124.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Dupont „Conclusion“, 468-9.

⁹⁵ Rolof, *Apg*, 372.

⁹⁶ Barrett, *Acts*, 1241.

conflict between the Jews and Christians in Rome. It is constructed by Luke in order to felicitate the next scene. As Barrett says, “the effect is to represent Paul not only a pioneer missionary but as the spokesman of Christianity to the Jews”⁹⁷.

7.2.3 The Second Meeting: (vv. 23-28)

7.2.3.1 The Unity of the Text: The subject is not named. V. 23a seems to pick up the subject of the preceding speech: the leaders of the Jews. They make an appointment with Paul for a new meeting. Logically this appointment should have taken place before the dismissal of the first gathering. It is only at the end of the main clause v. 23a that the subject (πλείονες - in great numbers) is determined. The transition from the first to the second gathering takes place rather smoothly, with the help of the aorist participle ταξάμενοι. The particle δὲ signals that something new is going to be reported: a new coming, with a statement of place and the subject determined with apposition. The narrative is silent with regard to how much time has passed between the two meetings.

Syntactically v. 23b is connected to v. 23a with the use of the relative pronoun οἷς. But v. 24, which is introduced with a καὶ, refers to the same subject of the main clause v. 23a, however now split in οἱ μὲν - οἱ δέ. The verbs of v. 24 are in imperfect and so indicate being simultaneous with the act of proclamation of v. 23a. A new element seems to appear only in v. 25a, which serves to introduce the main verb ἀπελύοντο. However this new happening is not fully independent from the preceding: ἀπελύοντο is an echo of ἦλθον in v. 23a: “they came” – “they went”. But the main verb in v. 23a is in aorist and that of v. 25a is in imperfect. Therefore we find in vv. 23-28 a unity in two similarly constructed parts, in which Jewish visitors are always the subject of the opening main clause and Paul is the subject of the relative clause which is dependent on the main verb:

| |
|---|
| v. 23-24 Ταξάμενοι δὲ ἦλθον..... οἷς ἐξετίθετο..... |
|---|

| |
|--|
| v. 25-28 ἀσύμφωνοι δὲ ὄντες ἀπελύοντο εἰπόντος τοῦ Παύλου. |
|--|

⁹⁷ Ibid.1242.

7.2.3.2 The Preaching of Paul (v. 23):

7.2.3.2.1 Structure and Language: v. 23 is made of two sentences, each having its own subject. These two sentences are tied together by a relative pronoun. Two corresponding time-indications frame the verse: “a day” and “from morning till evening”. The clause ἀπὸ πρωῒ ἕως ἑσπέρας, an antiquated usage without the article, lets the sentence come to a harmonious end. In spite of the combination of different narrative elements v. 23 forms one unified sentence.

V. 23a opens the event of the day that is to be reported: the speech of Paul. So it fulfils the same function as that of v. 17a. Of course one can see a few differences. In the first case it was Paul who occasioned the meeting whereas in the second case it was the Jews of Rome. In the first case those who had gathered together are the leaders of the Jews but in the second case it is the “great number”. In spite of the different terminology, ordering and sentence structure we find the similar narrative elements⁹⁸:

| v. 17a | v. 23a |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Ἐγένετο δὲ | |
| 1. μετὰ ἡμέρας τρεῖς | 2. Ταξάμενοι δὲ αὐτῷ |
| 2. συγκαλέσασθαι αὐτὸν | 1. ἡμέραν |
| 3. τοὺς ὄντας τῶν Ἰουδαίων πρώτους· | 4. ἦλθον |
| 4. συνελθόντων δὲ αὐτῶν | 5. πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ξενίαν |
| 5. (καθ’ ἑαυτὸν cf. 16b) | 3. πλείονες |
| 6. ἔλεγεν πρὸς αὐτοῦς | 6. οἷς ἐξετίθετο |

Paul is not mentioned by name but mentioned twice by pronouns. It is not certain whether τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ is related to the main verb ἐξετίθετο or to the participle διαμαρτυρόμενος which is dependent on the main verb. From the grammatical point of view both are possible. So we find here a syntactical ambiguity as in v. 20a. However from the rhythmical point of view the following seems to be the case: with a τε -solitarium, the second participle πείθων is closely connected to the first participle διαμαρτυρόμενος. But this second participle has its own object. The

⁹⁸ Cf. Hauser, *Strukturen*, 30.

object named by the first participle should also be drawn to the second participle. As it is shown beneath the first two have a regular parallelism⁹⁹. The two participle are followed by an object-statement. After that we have binarism: “from the Law of Moses and the prophets” followed by the polar phrase: “from morning till evening”:

οἷς ἐξετίθετο

1. διαμαρτυρόμενος τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ
2. πείθων τε αὐτοὺς περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ
3. ἀπὸ τε τοῦ νόμου Μωϋσέως καὶ τῶν προφητῶν
4. ἀπὸ πρωῒ ἕως ἑσπέρας.

7.2.3.2.2 Form: From the narrative point of view v. 23b is neither direct nor indirect speech. But it is a preaching summary¹⁰⁰. These preaching summaries are a distinct type of summary statements. They are marked by terms such as preaching, teaching, bearing witness, persuading. This terminology conveys a common message: “In the divinely willed events of Christ’s life, suffering, death and resurrection-exaltation, God’s Kingdom has dawned for the salvation of Jew and Gentile, and this message is to be taught and proclaimed to all nations”¹⁰¹. These preaching summaries presuppose the contents of the Jesus-kerygma speeches in Acts (2:14-36; 3:11-26; 4:8-12; 10:34-43; 13:16-41). The preaching summaries in the Gospel of Luke generally presuppose the contents of the opening sermon of Jesus in the synagogue of Nazareth (Lk 4:16-30). These speeches in Acts tell us what exactly Luke means by preaching Jesus, proving from Scripture that Jesus is the Christ, and proclaiming the Gospel. Similarly it is from the sermon of Paul in the synagogue of Pisidian Antioch (13:16-41) that Luke’s readers understand the summary statements of the preaching of Paul in the synagogue.

Preaching summaries give the narrative of Luke-Acts continuity and a general line of development¹⁰². There is a progression of proclamation and a continuity of witness beginning with Jesus (Lk 4:43-44; 8:1; 9:11; 20:1), continued by his disciples

⁹⁹ Cf. Ibid. 31.

¹⁰⁰ Different types of summaries are found in Lk-Acts: summaries on the growth and stability of the church, progress of the Word, growth and development of John the Baptist and Jesus.

¹⁰¹ C .B. Puskas, *Conclusion of Luke-Acts*, Conclusion of Luke-Acts: an investigation of the literary function and Theological Significance of Acts 28:16-31 (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Univ. Microfilms Internat., 1985) 56.

¹⁰² Cf. Ibid. 56.

(Lk 9:6; 10:8-11), carried on by the early church (Acts 5:42; 8:12) and brought to a culmination by Paul (9:27-29; 15:35; 17:2-3; 18:5; 19:8; 28:23, 30-31). The message of God's Reign in the deeds of Jesus is taught and proclaimed in Galilee and Judea (Lk 4:31, 44), Jerusalem (Lk 19:47.20:1; Acts 5:42; 9:26, 29), Samaria (Acts 8:4-5, 25), the coastal regions (8:40), Antioch (15:35), Asia Minor (13:49; 14:1; 19:8, 10), Greece (17:2-3; 18:5, 11) and Rome (28:23, 31-33). "While all preaching summaries make some contributions to the movement of the narrative¹⁰³, not all preaching summaries function as introductions or conclusions, dividing or connecting scenes, and summarising the contents of adjacent narratives"¹⁰⁴. Such is the difference between preaching summaries of Acts 28:30-31 and v. 23. Both passages contain the witnessing terminology of the preaching summaries and contribute to the development of the narrative, yet only vv. 30-31 concludes the scene with a general summary of Paul's activity in Rome¹⁰⁵.

7.2.3.2.3 Preaching and Witnessing in v. 23: These terms- πείθω, διαμαρτύρομαι, κηρύσσω, διδάσκω - are found in vv. 23 and 31. The objects of witness are τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, and περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, and the witnessing procedure is appealing to "the Law of Moses and the prophets

7.2.3.2.3.1 ἐκτίθημι: From the invitation in 28:22, it is clear that Paul's task is to explain or expound: ἐξέτιθετο. This verb means "to convey information by careful elaboration"¹⁰⁶. The imperfect is inceptive, for the argument will continue from morning till evening¹⁰⁷. According to J.W. Bowker, next to παρατίθημι, ἐκτίθημι is part of the exegetical vocabulary of the NT¹⁰⁸. The verb ἐκτίθημι also appears in 11:4 and 18:26. In 11:4 the circumcision party at Jerusalem accuses him for eating with the Gentiles. The narrator introduces the reply of Peter with the phrase: "But Peter began and explained (ἐξέτιθετο) to them in order".

¹⁰³ Such summaries are called "stops" or "progress reports". For the study of these summaries cf. Turner, "Chronology" *HDB* 1, 421, Cadbury, "Summaries", in: *Beginnings of Christianity* 5, 392-402 and *Making of Luke-Acts* 58-59; Dibelius, *Studies* 9-10, 127-128.

¹⁰⁴ Puskas, *Conclusion of Luke-Acts*, 57.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. *Ibid.* 58.

¹⁰⁶ Danker, *A Greek Lexicon of the New Testament*, 310.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 470.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. "Speeches in Acts: A Study in Proem and Yelammedenu Form", in: *NTS* 14 (1967-68) 96-111.

7.2.3.2.3.2 Testifying to the Kingdom of God: The verb διαμαρτύρομαι was used “generally to state something in such a way that the auditor is to be impressed with its seriousness”¹⁰⁹. In the context of an oath it meant “to make a solemn declaration about the truth of something”, “to testify”, “to bear witness”¹¹⁰. In the whole of the NT this verb appears only in Luke-Acts (once in the Gospel and 9 times in Acts). This participle is used here to indicate proclamation¹¹¹. This verb is found in 10:42; 18:5; 20:21; 23:11 and the noun μαρτύριον is found in 4:33. This verb is used by Luke to testify of Jesus Christ (10:42; 18:5; 20:21; 23:11), the Word of the Lord (8:25), the Gospel of the grace of God (20:24), and the Kingdom of God (28:23).

The Phrases “Kingdom of God” and “concerning Jesus” are here joined together as the theme of conversation. To the Jews of Rome Paul is testifying the Kingdom of God. On two occasions Paul is quoted as speaking of the Kingdom of God (Acts 14:22; 20:25), and on two occasions speaking of the Kingdom is said to constitute the content of Paul’s preaching (19:8; 28:31). These occasions are virtually all associated with Jewish audiences or believers¹¹². In many of his speeches Paul refers to the prophets and speaks of Jesus. But he is not recorded as devoting time to speaking of the Kingdom of God. According to Porter, “perhaps Paul would have moved on to proclaiming the Kingdom in those speeches where he was interrupted”¹¹³.

As in 28:31 here too the specific content of “Kingdom of God” is not quite clear. One needs to compare the use of this term here with its use in rest of Luke-Acts. The expression ὁ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ is frequently used in the context of summarising descriptions of the preaching of Jesus and his disciples (cf. Lk 4:43; 8:1; 9:2,11,60; 10:9; 16:16; Acts 8:12; 20:25; 28:31). The Kingdom of God as object seems interchangeable with other objects. For example in ch. 8 we notice various preaching verbs with several objects: “the Word” (8:4); “the Christ” (8:5); “about the Kingdom of God and the name of Jesus Christ” (8:12); “the word of the Lord” (8:25) and Jesus

¹⁰⁹ Danker, *A Greek Lexicon of the New Testament*, 233.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Ibid.

¹¹¹ Cf. E. Nellesen, *Zeugnis für Jesus und das Wort : Exegetische Untersuchungen zum lukanischen Zeugnisbegriff* (Köln : Hanstein, 1976) 242-243.

¹¹² Cf. Porter, *The Paul of Acts*, 162.

¹¹³ Ibid.

(8:35)¹¹⁴. According to Koet “the Kingdom of God” does not have a specific content, rather it is a general summary of the message which is brought”¹¹⁵. Its use in Acts has its basis in the Gospel of Luke¹¹⁶. Here in Acts 28:23, 31, too, “the Kingdom of God” is elaborated upon by referring to Jesus and thus to the Gospel.

7.2.3.2.3.3 Persuasion about Jesus: The verb *πέιθω* basically means “to cause to come to a particular point of view or course of action”¹¹⁷. From this follow the nuances like “to convince”, “to persuade”, “to appeal” and “to win over”. There is no Hebrew equivalent to this verb¹¹⁸. According to Johnson “the participle *πέιθων* is here translated as conative: he was trying to persuade, not necessarily successfully”¹¹⁹. This verb is used many times in the preaching summaries. Paul persuades (attempts to persuade) others: concerning the Kingdom of God (19:8), concerning Jesus (28:23), to remain in the grace of God (13:43), or to become Christians (26:28, cf. 18:4). In the following three verses in Acts the verb *πέιθω* seems to have the sense “to seek to win men”¹²⁰:

18:4 *and he argued in the synagogue every Sabbath, and persuaded Jews and Greeks;*
19:8 *and he entered the synagogue and for three months spoke boldly, arguing and pleading about the Kingdom of God;*

28:23 *when they had appointed a day for him, they came to him at his lodging in great numbers. And he expounded the matter to them from morning till evening, testifying to the Kingdom of God and trying to convince them about Jesus both from the Law of Moses and from the prophets.*

7.2.3.2.3.4 From the Law and the Prophets: Paul tries to convince his listeners “concerning Jesus” by appealing to their intellect with arguments from the Scriptures, “both from the Law of Moses and from the Prophets”. This expression with the same verb is also found in 13:43; 18:4 and 19:8. Commenting on these verses, O’Toole says “The whole of the Old Testament becomes fair territory for the discovery of proofs

¹¹⁴ Hauser, *Strukturen*, 113-4.

¹¹⁵ Koet, “Paul in Rome” in: *Five Studies on Interpretation of Scripture in Luke-Acts*, 126.

¹¹⁶ Cf. G. Dellings, „Das letzte Wort der Apostelgeschichte“, in: *NT 15* (1973) 193-204.

¹¹⁷ Danker, *A Greek Lexicon of the New Testament*, 791.

¹¹⁸ The typical Greek concepts of persuading and convincing are not found in Hebrew language.

¹¹⁹ Johnson, *Acts of the Apostles*, 470.

¹²⁰ Bultmann, Art. “*πέιθω*” in: *TDNT VI*, 2.

which show who Jesus really was”¹²¹. Paul uses the appropriate arguments for a Jewish public. His explanations deal with the Scriptures: the Law and the Prophets (cf. 17:2.11; 18:28). Luke appeals to Moses and the prophets with regard to Jesus Christ (28:23; 26:22, 23; Lk 24:27, 44-46) in support of Christianity (Acts 24:14; cf. Lk 16:29-31 repentance), and as confirmation of world missions (26:22-23; Lk 24:44-49). He refers to the prophets being fulfilled, in regard to the passion, death, and the resurrection of Jesus (3:18; 10:43; 13:27; 26:22-23; Lk 18:31-33; 24:26-27, 44-49), and concerning the Gentile mission (13:47; 26:22-23; 28:25-28; Lk 2:32). He also refers to the fulfilment of “Scripture concerning Jesus Christ (8:35; 17:2, 3; 18:28; Lk 22:37; 24:27, 44-49).

The duration of the conversation is expressed by the phrase from morning until evening. The illusion of a long speech is created with few words. On the other hand the peak of the happenings of the day is reserved for the direct speech in vv. 25b-28. Because the reader is not stopped, the climate of expectation for the peak is increased.

7.2.3.3 The Reaction to Paul’s Preaching (vv. 24-25a):

7.2.3.3.1 Structure and Language: A καὶ at the beginning of the sentence connects the reaction-narrative v. 24 closely to the previous sentence and gives the new sentence a simple consecutive meaning. Moreover, the first verb ἐπείθοντο, which is in passive or middle form, is tied directly to the last verb πείθων of v. 23b. Paul “tried to convince them....and some were convinced”¹²². The subject of this new sentence, which is materially identified with πλείονες, is here a split subject: οἱ μὲν - οἱ δε. However, immediately in the main verb of v.25a, the subject is once again regarded as one. In the first part of the verse the insertion of an instrumental object, τοῖς λεγομένοις, breaks this part of the verse into a strict antithetic parallelism:

| | |
|-----------------|-----------|
| οἱ μὲν | ἐπείθοντο |
| τοῖς λεγομένοις | |
| οἱ δε | ἠπίστουν |

This present participle λεγομένοις indicates that the accent lies on the content of Paul’s speech and not on his person. Conviction or refusal is caused on account of

¹²¹ R. F. O’Toole, *The Unity of Luke’s Theology: An Analysis of Luke-Acts* (Wilmington: Michael Glazier, 1984) 24.

¹²² Cf. Hauser, *Strukturen*, 32.

what is said and not on account of who said it¹²³. Accordingly the concern here is the message – in simple contrast to v. 22a where they wanted to hear what Paul thought with regard to the Christian “sect”. Here we find neither a sympathy to Paul’s destiny nor an enmity against him. On one hand we find here a gradual winning over and on the other an incomplete reaction.

V. 25 consists of three elements: a description of the behaviour of the hearers, an introduction to a speech and the speech itself. V. 25a contains two verbal expressions: an adverbial participle with nominal predicative (predicative noun) at the beginning and a main verb at the end. The note on their going away does not narrate a surprising new event. When it is the question of a gathering, one expects the narration of the dismissal of the gathering as well, especially if some thing noteworthy happens¹²⁴. This seems to be the case here: ἀπελύοντο in imperfect narrates here a durable happening, in which the last words of Paul are spoken. In this sense Fr. Blass is correct when he says it could almost mean: ἀπολυόμενον εἶπεν. Rackham translates it as: “They wilfully dismissed themselves, refusing to see the salvation of God...”¹²⁵.

7.2.3.3.2 Disagreement Among the Jewish Hearers: Johnson rightly states: “It is not clear whether the division among the Jewish leaders is one of faith versus unbelief or, as is perhaps more likely, an internal conflict generated by Paul’s claims, such as was created by his proclamation of the resurrection in 23:6-9”¹²⁶. In Acts the narrator often mentions the effect of the speeches on the hearers. Not infrequently do the speeches cause division among the Jewish Public (13:45-51; 14:4; 17:12-14; 19:9) as well as the Gentiles (17:32-34). In 14:4; 17:32 and here in 28:24 this division is indicated by οἱ μὲν - οἱ δε. Paul’s explanation is thus not without some success: a part of the public is convinced. They are persuaded by what Paul says and by the Scriptural arguments he uses. According to Koet “the question as to whether this positive attitude is to be understood as the conversion of all Jews or of individual Jews is beside the point. What is important is that a group of Jews react precisely as Paul wishes”¹²⁷. The negative reaction of the hearers is expressed by the verb ἀπιστέω

¹²³ Cf. Ibid.

¹²⁴ as for example Acts 13:42.

¹²⁵ Rackham, *Acts*, 505.

¹²⁶ Johnson, *Acts of the Apostles*, 471.

¹²⁷ Koet, “Paul in Rome”, note 33 on p.126.

which is a *hapaxlegomenon* in Acts (cf. Lk 24:11,41). Hauser makes a distinction here between „eine bloß theoretische Zuneigung“ and “Glaube im vollen Sinn“. Accordingly he describes the positive reaction of the Jews as “verschwommen und mehrdeutig”¹²⁸.

In many cases the occasion for the speech occurs in a setting where there is division or opposition. Hence the division among the Roman Jews provide an occasion for Paul’s apologetic speech on the Gentile mission (28:25b-28). As in Pisidian Antioch, this situation provides an occasion for Paul to address the unbelief of the Jews and make his defence for the Gentile mission (13:46-47; 28:25b-28). In Rome it was the division of belief/unbelief among the Jews that prompted Paul’s harsh words upon them (vv.26-27). The disagreement and departure of the Jews (25a) only confirmed Paul’s statements. Despite the accounts of large numbers of Jewish believers in Jerusalem (2:41, 47; 4:4; 6:7; 15:5; 21:20) Paul generally encountered division and opposition in his work among the Jews of the Diaspora (13:45, 50; 14:2, 4, 19; 17:5, 13; 18:5-6, 12; 19:8-9).

7.2.3.3.3 When Did the Jews Depart?: It is difficult to decide whether “disagreeing” is the reason (in this case the participle represents a causal clause) or concomitant (the participle then represents a modal clause: while/ in doing so) or only temporary coincidence (representing a temporal clause: “while they”, “as they”) of “departing”. In itself ἀπελύοντο does not express «separating» of hostile parties on account of a conflict but probably only a simple “going away”. Hauser states: “In consideration on the following Genitive absolute in v. 25b, which actually expresses the main happening, we can freely translate: *As they disagreeably broke up among themselves, Paul spoke still a final word*¹²⁹”.

But the use of tense does not allow such a translation. The aorist participle in the phrase εἰπόντος τοῦ Παύλου ῥῆμα ἐν functions as a circumstantial participle of time and probably indicates action which precedes the activity of the main verb ἀπελύοντο (“they began leaving”): “and since they were in disagreement (over Paul’s “one statement”) they began leaving, after Paul made this one statement...”. It does

¹²⁸ Hauser, *Strukturen*, 64-66, Dupont, „Conclusion“ 477 also lessens the positive reaction of the Jews of Rome.

¹²⁹ Ibid. 33.

not appear that Jews departed before or during Paul's speech since Luke never has Paul addressing no audience. In almost all cases there is a conclusion to Luke's speeches with a response from a given audience (2:37; 4:13; 7:54; 10:44; 13:42, 48; 17:32; 19:28, 41; 20:36; 21:26; 26:30-32; 28:21)¹³⁰.

The following parallels to Acts 28:25 indicate that the action of the participle precedes the action of the main verb:

Acts 5:10: And after they carried her out (ἐξεπέγκαντες aorist participle) they buried her (ἐθαψαν aorist). The action of carrying Sapphira out needs to precede the action of burying her.

Acts 13:51: And after they shook off (ἐκτιναζόμενοι aorist participle) the dust from their feet against them (in Pisidian Antioch) they came (ἦλθον aorist) to Iconium. It is not possible that Paul and Barnabas carry out these two actions simultaneously. Shaking off the dust at Pisidian Antioch must precede the act of coming to Iconium.

Acts 16:24: After he received (λαβών aorist participle) this order, he put (ἐβαλεν aorist) them into the inner prison. Naturally the order should come first and then comes the action of putting them into the inner prison.

Hence on the basis of syntax and parallel constructions in Acts we could argue that v. 25 says: "they began leaving (ἀπελύοντο), after (Paul) said (εἰπόντος)...". This would give v. 25a the typical function of a conclusion to a Lucan speech, however displaced in the text: "and since they were in disagreement with one another, they left". So v. 25a follows the comment Paul made at 28 (reference to the salvation of Gentiles). This is in keeping with the strong reaction of the Jews of Jerusalem to Paul's statements on the Gentile mission (22:21, 22) and even stronger reaction of the Jews at Nazareth to Jesus' announcement of God's favour upon certain Gentiles (Lk 4:25-29). Puskas believes that "Luke has probably displaced v. 25a for a dramatic effect, to let Paul have the last word on the matter"¹³¹. This speech of Paul apparently has no conclusion.

7.2.3.4 The Final Declaration by Paul: The negative reaction from the part of the Roman Jews impels Paul to recite a citation from the Prophet Isaiah. Paul believes

¹³⁰ Cf. Puskas, *Conclusion of Luke-Acts*, 61.

¹³¹ Ibid. 62.

that what Isaiah had prophesied with regard to the stubbornness of Jews is now being fulfilled in the negative response of the Roman Jews. The quotation which Luke puts in the mouth of Paul is Isaiah 6:9-10. It is taken from the LXX version. Let us first look at the original Hebrew text of Isaiah 6:9-10, its translation in the LXX tradition and its use and interpretation by the early church for the unbelief of the Jews.

7.2.3.4.1 Isaiah 6: the Hebrew Text: Ch. 6 of Isaiah deals with the call of the prophet¹³². At a vision in the temple the prophet receives his call (6:9-10) and with it he is told that his message will be without success. Isaiah is given a tough task: he has “to make fat the heart” and to prepare the people for judgement of Yahweh (6:10). The hardship of the people of Israel will last until their land is desolate and wasted (6:11b-12). The people are like a stock of terebinth or oak. This could be a symbol of indestructible vitality¹³³. The reader is confronted with the question: what is the purpose of Isaiah’s call? The prophet has already been warned that his message will be fruitless. In fact he is told to make the heart of the people fat and so prepare them for the judgement of Yahweh. Their opportunity to repent is past. However, elsewhere in the text we get the impression that repentance is still possible¹³⁴.

7.2.3.4.2. Textual Differences Between the Hebrew Text and LXX: 1) In the LXX translation of Is 6:9, two future indicatives are used (ἀκούσετε, “you shall hear”; βλέψετε, “you shall see”), rather than imperatives. In 6:10, the two forms of the Hiphil/imp/masc/sing הַכִּבֵּד (make heavy) and הִשָּׁע (look away from/shut), are translated by the LXX as aorist indicatives: βαρέως ἤκουσαν (“have heard with difficulty”) and ἐκάμυσαν (their eyes “have closed”). ii) In 6:9, the two forms of the qal/fut/2nd per/masc/sing אַל-תִּבְיָנוּ (you shall not understand) and אַל-תִּרְעוּ (“you shall not perceive”), are translated in the LXX as aorist subjunctives, οὐ μὴ συνήτε (“you shall never understand”) and οὐ μὴ ἴδητε (“you shall never perceive”). iii) In 6:10, the Hiphil/imp/masc/ind/pass/ הַשִּׁבֵן (“make fate”) is translated in the LXX as an aor/ind/pass ἐπαχύνθη (“it has grown dull”). iv) A γὰρ is inserted between ἐπαχύνθη and ἡ καρδία in the LXX. v) The “heart of the people”, being the object in the MT, is changed to a subject in the syntax of the LXX translation. vi). In the LXX translation

¹³² Cf. O. H. Steck, „Bemerkungen zu Jesaja 6“, in: *BZ* 16 (1972) 188-206.

¹³³ Cf. H. Wildberger, *Jesaja*, 258.

¹³⁴ Cf. for example Is 10:21, 22; 19:22; 35:10).

the negative intention of the people is expressed with the μήποτε-conjunction in combination with the aorist. vii) The LXX translates the last part of 6:10 as “and I shall heal them” (καὶ ἰάσομαι αὐτούς) rather than “and be healed”. This would underline the new glimpses of hope introduced in the LXX¹³⁵.

What are the consequences of these changes? i) The LXX stresses that it is the fault of the people themselves that they are not able to hear and see. ii) It tones down the severe picture of God which is found in the Hebrew text. iii) Because the people *themselves* have hardened their hearts that the unfortunate result of their blindness follows¹³⁶. Therefore in the LXX there still remains the possibility for the people to repent. “Although the Lord is willing, He is not able to heal the people because they do not want to repent”¹³⁷.

7.2.3.4.3 The Textual Differences Between LXX and Acts 28:26-27¹³⁸:

| Acts | LXX |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Πορεύθητι πρὸς τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον | πορεύθητι |
| καὶ εἶπόν, | καὶ εἶπόν τῷ Λαῷ τούτῳ |
| Ἄκοῃ | ἄκοῃ |
| ἀκούσετε καὶ | ἀκούσετε και |
| οὐ μὴ συνῆτε | οὐ μὴ συνῆτε |
| καὶ βλέποντες | καὶ βλέποντες |
| βλέψετε καὶ | βλέψετε καὶ |
| οὐ μὴ ἴδητε· | οὐ μὴ ἴδητε |
| ἐπαχύνθη | ἐπαχύνθη |
| γὰρ ἡ καρδία | γὰρ ἡ καρδία |
| τοῦ λαοῦ | τοῦ λαου |
| τούτου, και | τούτου, και |
| τοῖς ὡσὶν | τοῖς ὡσὶν |
| βαρέως | αὐτῶν βαρέως |

¹³⁵ Cf. Gert Jacobus Steyn, *Septuagint Quotations in the Context of the Petrine and Pauline Speeches of the Acta Apostolorum* (Kampen : Kok Pharos, 1995) 223-4.

¹³⁶ Cf. B.J. Koet, “Paul in Rome”, 130.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ Cf. Steyn, *Septuagint Quotations*, 221.

| | |
|---------------|---------------|
| ἤκουσαν, και | ἤκουσαν και |
| τούς | τούς |
| ὀφθαλμούς | ὀφθαλμούς |
| αὐτῶν | αὐτῶν |
| ἐκάμμυσαν | ἐκάμμυσαν |
| μήποτε ἴδωσιν | μήποτε ἴδωσιν |
| τοῖς | τοῖς |
| ὀφθαλμοῖς και | ὀφθαλμοῖς και |
| τοῖς ὡσὶν | τοῖς ὡσὶν |
| ἀκούσωσιν και | ἀκούσωσιν και |
| τῇ καρδίᾳ | τῇ καρδίᾳ |
| συνῶσιν και | συνῶσιν και |
| ἐπιστρέψωσιν | ἐπιστρέψωσιν |
| καὶ ἰάσομαι | καὶ ἰάσομαι |
| αὐτούς. | αὐτούς |

The above table shows that the quotation in Acts 28: 26-27 agrees almost exactly with the one found in the LXX. There are only two differences. i) There is an omission of αὐτῶν after ὡσὶν in Acts 28:27. Such an omission is found also in the parallel passage of Mt 13:15. Did Matthew and Luke make use of the same textual tradition? ii) The LXX order καὶ εἶπον τῷ Λαῷ τούτῳ is changed in Acts 28:27 to πρὸς τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον καὶ εἶπόν¹³⁹. According to Steyn this change in word order seems to be a feature often found in Luke-Acts¹⁴⁰. Whether this was a stylistic feature of the source which Luke has used or a stylistic feature of Luke himself is not clear. However Steyn prefers the latter on the basis of the lack of text- critical evidence to support the former¹⁴¹.

7.2.3.4.4 Textual Variation of Acts 28:26-27: In some manuscripts (⊗* gig) there is ἐβαρύνθη instead of ἐπαχύνθη. On the contrary one variant of the last line καὶ ἰάσομαι αὐτούς (even though compared with ἰάσομαι witnessed weakly [E 69 pm]) seems to earn more attention, as it seems to be grammatically more correct. Otherwise all the

¹³⁹ The minuscule 393 and 534 (which are not so important) of the LXX and the version of Athanasius have the same order as found in Acts 28:26. It is possible that these manuscripts are dependent on Acts. Cf. T. Holz, *Untersuchungen*, 36.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. Steyn, *Septuagint Quotations*, 225.

¹⁴¹ Cf. *Ibid.*

verbs after μήποτε would have been in aorist conjunctive. This adaptation may have been due to the modification of a primitive ἰάσομαι. If we recognise ἰάσομαι as authentic, then there remains the question of the logical relationship to the four preceding verbs (v.27b). One could see it as an independent sentence and translate: “In spite of it I will heal it”. But this meaning is found neither in the quotation nor in the context of our narrative. We need to look for another grammatical understanding, assuming that μήποτε is to be understood in the sense of a final clause and not as “if not perhaps”. The καὶ before ἰάσομαι is a consecutive καὶ, which draws the future to itself: “... and I heal it”¹⁴².

7.2.3.4.5 Isaiah 6:9-10 in the NT Tradition: Apart from the introductory formula at the beginning the quotation in Acts 28 bears the same form as in Mt 13:14-15. A shorter form appears also in Mk 4:12, Lk 8:10; Jn 12:40 and Rom 11:8. In Mk 4:12 there is only an allusion and not an explicit quotation. Moreover the allusion to Isaiah in Mk extends only to Is 6:9 whereas Luke 8:10 and John 12:40 include also Is 6:10¹⁴³.

The versions of Mt, Mk and Lk are closer to the reading of the LXX, but Jn is closer to the MT. This quotation played a very important role in the early Christian tradition. Luke may have borrowed this quotation either from Mark or from Pauline material. The quotation in Acts 28 is closer both in length and in wording to the one found in Mt 13 than the one found in Luke 8. From where then did Luke take this quotation? Did he take it from the LXX or from somewhere else?¹⁴⁴ According to Gnilka the quotation in Acts 28 seems to be nearer to the Targum than to the known MT and LXX versions¹⁴⁵. According to Steyn, “Luke may have encountered the quotation in the tradition, have checked it himself in the scroll, and extended it to its current length”¹⁴⁶. We have seen that the quotation in Acts 28 is closer to Matthew than to Mark and Luke¹⁴⁷. Perhaps there were two variations of the same tradition in

¹⁴² Cf. Hauser, *Strukturen*, 37.

¹⁴³ References to Is 6:9ff. also found in Jn 9:39; 2 Cor 3:14; 4:4 and Eph 4:18. Cf. C.H. Dodd, *Scriptures*, 36-39. Outside the NT the quotation is found in Justin’s dialogue 12:2, 33:1 and 69:4.

¹⁴⁴ According to A. Weiser, „Das Jesaja – Zitat wird er freilich nicht nur aus der LXX, sondern auch aus sonstigen unchristlichen Gebrauch aufgenommen haben“ (*Apg II*, 679).

¹⁴⁵ Cf. J. Gnilka, *Die Verstockung Israels: Isaias 6,9-10 in der Theologie der Synoptiker* (München: Kösel, 1961) 14.

¹⁴⁶ Steyn, *Septuagint Quotations*, 220.

¹⁴⁷ The temptation narrative in the Synoptics is a similar case. Mt and Lk have used the same longer tradition, as against the short version as found in Mk. Cf. Steyn, *Septuagint quotations*, 227.

circulation: one version like that found in the Gospel of Mark, which does not resemble an explicit quotation. Luke has used this in his Gospel. The second version resembled a long explicit quotation which Luke (Acts 28) and Matthew (13:11-5) used¹⁴⁸.

Mk 4 has this quotation in the context of the parable of the sower: “And when Jesus was alone, those who were about him with the twelve asked him concerning the parables. And he said to them, “To you have been given the secret of the Kingdom of God, but for those outside everything is parables” (Mk 4:10-11). At this point he adds the passage from Is 6:9-10 but does not make an explicit indication that he is quoting Isaiah. Luke has taken over this and also in the context of the same parable (Lk 8:9-10). Jesus says to the disciples that “it has been given to them to know the secrets of the Kingdom of God; but for others they are in parables”. Luke, too, does not make it explicit that he is quoting from Is 6. According to Johnson, “It is characteristic of Luke that he should have only one brief allusion to it in the Gospel story which concerned only the first rejection of the prophet (Lk 8:10), and save its full citation until the end of Acts, when every effort has been made to “visit the people” again through the proclamation of the risen prophet Jesus”¹⁴⁹.

Matthew too uses the citation from Is 6 in the context of the parable of the sower. But there are some differences in the way he uses it. In Matthew there is an explicit reference to Isaiah, the quotation follows, and this quotation is considerably longer than the parallel passages in Mark and Luke. In all the three Synoptic Gospels and also in Acts 28, the Isaiah quotation is used in reference to the “Kingdom of God”. This would indicate that in the early Christian period there was a “well established tradition linking the Isaiah quotation with the theme of the Kingdom of God”¹⁵⁰.

However, in Jn 12:37-41 the Isaiah quotation is used without any reference to the Kingdom of God. It appears in the context of the continued unbelief of the people in spite of the many signs that Jesus worked among them. John considers the unbelief

¹⁴⁸ According to Dietrich Rusam, Acts 28:26-27 is from the Q source. Cf. *Das Alte Testament bei Lukas* (Berlin [u.a.] : Gruyter, 2003) 436.

¹⁴⁹ Johnson, *Acts of the Apostles*, 471.

¹⁵⁰ Steyn, *Septuagint Quotations*, 227.

as the fulfilment of prophecy - “that the word spoken by the prophet Isaiah might be fulfilled”. There is also a difference between the Synoptic and Pauline understanding of this quotation (cf. Rom 11:7-8). Paul declares that Israel “failed to obtain what it sought. The elect obtain it, but the rest were hardened, as it is written...” (Rom 11:7-8). Paul combines some phrases from Is 29:10; 6:9 and Dt.29:4 to form “a single but conflated quotation”¹⁵¹: "God gave them a spirit of stupor, eyes that should not see and ears that should not hear, down to this very day" (Rom 11:8).

7.2.3.4.6 Analysis of Acts 28:25b-28

7.2.3.4.6.1 The Introduction to the Quotation: Bovon observes that scholars on the research on Acts 28:25-28 have concentrated only on the quotation itself but not on the introduction to the quotation and the art of quoting¹⁵². He believes that as exegetes we must pay attention not only to what is quoted but also to how it is quoted and to the *fact* that it is quoted¹⁵³. In Acts 28:25b-28 we have two quotations: a quotation from Isaiah is found inside a quotation from Paul. Bovon sees quoting as a dual action. Taking a text from its original context and placing it in a new one. One quotes because one finds the quoted passage appropriate, impressive or even incorrect¹⁵⁴.

To whom does Paul direct these provocative words of Isaiah? Paul’s listeners resemble the listeners of Isaiah with regard to their incapacity to listen and to understand. So the quotation of Paul is directed to the Jews who do not believe (28:24b). Naturally it is not appropriate to use these harsh words to those Jews who are already persuaded by Paul’s Scriptural arguments. Their hearts are not hardened. We can see a similar pattern elsewhere in Acts. Paul convinces some of the Jews (13:43; 18:4; cf. 14:1; 17: 4, 12), but there follows some opposition (13:45; 18:6; cf. 14:2, 4-5; 17:5, 13; 19:9) and Paul rebukes those opposing Jews (13: 46-47; 18:6).

7.2.3.4.6.1.1 One Statement (ῥῆμα ἓν): Luke introduces the quotation from Paul with the words “after Paul had made one statement” (εἰπόντος τοῦ Παύλου ῥῆμα ἓν). Luke designates the prophetic word that Paul is going to quote as ῥῆμα ἓν. Whenever Luke

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² Cf. Francois Bovon, „Schon hat der Heilige Geist durch den Propheten Jesaja zu euren Vätern gesprochen“ (Act 28:25), in: ZNW75 (1984), 226.

¹⁵³ Cf. Ibid 228.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. Ibid.

uses ῥῆμα it is mostly to be understood as the word of Scripture or a divinely inspired deed, and not just a human word¹⁵⁵.

Why do we have this cardinal number after the substantive? As we know Luke likes to put the unstressed cardinal number after¹⁵⁶. The ἓν which is put after the substantive corresponds to our indefinite article. That is to say it is no more really a numeral. This cannot be maintained with certainty in our context. Luke does it here probably for the purpose of emphasis. He wants his reader to understand the following speech of Paul as a quintessence of the Rome-narrative or of the entire Acts of the Apostles. The translation “the one word” or “this one saying” keeps the question on the function of the narrative open. The word ῥῆμα with or without the numerical, characterises this short speech as a concise speech.

7.2.3.4.6.1.2 Καλῶς: Lucan Paul identifies himself with the Scripture by putting the adverb Καλῶς before the quotation¹⁵⁷. Paul quotes Isaiah because he thinks that this was well said (Καλῶς¹⁵⁸) by the prophet. The adverb “most often designates the suitability or appropriateness of an action or state of affairs”¹⁵⁹. Particularly with the verbs of speaking and hearing Καλῶς denotes correctness¹⁶⁰. The adverb in this context does not just mean “already”, but it means rather “fitting” or “correct”. It expresses agreement and in fact an emphatic agreement¹⁶¹.

Wasserberg relates the use of the adverb Καλῶς to a polemic background such as found in Mk 7:6a¹⁶². Jesus criticises the Pharisees and the scribes for their wrong understanding of the traditions of the elders. They are concerned with the rituals of external purity and forget the Law of inner purity: “And the Pharisees and the Scribes asked him, “Why do your disciples not live according to the tradition of the elders, but eat with hands defiled?” And he said to them, “Well (Καλῶς) did Isaiah prophesy of you hypocrites, as it is written, “These people honour me with their lips, but their

¹⁵⁵ W. Radl Art. “ῥῆματα” in: *TWNT* II, 505-507.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. J. Jeremias, *Tradition und Redaktion in Lukas 15*, p.175 A.17.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. G. Wasserberg, *Aus Israels Mitte*, 99.

¹⁵⁸ This adverb appears 37 times in the NT. Many of the occurrences are in the Gospel of Mark (7 times).

¹⁵⁹ J. Wanke, Art. “Καλῶς” in: *EDNT* II, 247.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ Wasserberg, *Aus Israels Mitte*, 99.

¹⁶² Cf. Ibid. 95.

heart is far from me...". There is certain amount of similarity between the use of Isaiah here in Mark and in Acts 28:25b-27.

The chief issue in both is the relationship with the Gentiles. Mk 7-8 describes largely the mission of Jesus in the Gentile territory. Mk 7:24-30 narrates the healing of the Syrophenician woman; 7:31-36 the healing of the deaf and dumb man from the region of Tyre; 8:1-10 feeding the multitude in a Gentile territory. The controversy with regard to the tradition of the elders in Mk 7:1-13 is like an introduction or a curtain opening for the mission of Jesus to the Gentiles. Jesus makes an emphatic statement in Mk 7:18-19: "And he said to them, "Then are you also without understanding? Do you not see that whatever goes into a man from outside cannot defile him, since it enters, not his heart but his stomach, and so passes on? Then the narrator adds "Thus he declared all foods clean". The understanding of this statement, in the context of Mark 7-8, is that Jesus declares the Gentiles clean and thus breaks the barrier between the Jews and the Gentiles. In Acts 28:25b-27 Paul uses the quotation from Isaiah in the context of Jewish rejection and Gentile acceptance of the Christian message. Hence in both Mark and Acts the adverb *Καλῶς*, used in the introduction of the quotation, has a polemic sense.

7.2.3.4.6.1.3 The Holy Spirit (τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον) is introduced as the source of the quotation. This is not something new. Jewish and Christian traditions at the time of Luke recognised the inspiration of Scriptural word. Luke points out not so much the human mediator but the divine source of the truth¹⁶³. In Acts, besides 28:25, only in two other places the Holy Spirit is referred as the origin of the Scriptures: at 1:16 (the first Scriptural quotation in Acts) and 4:25 (the only Scriptural quotation in the mouth of the whole community)¹⁶⁴. It is striking that the first and the last Scriptural word in Acts not only explicitly referred as spoken by the Holy Spirit, but they both contain negative statements. In Acts 1:16 Peter declares that the destiny of Judas, the traitor, as the fulfilment of Scripture: *Brethren, the Scripture had to be fulfilled, which the Holy Spirit spoke beforehand by the mouth of David, concerning Judas who was guide to those who arrested Jesus*. The word of the Scripture that here referred to is Ps 68:26 and Ps 108:8. Hence Peter provides here the biblical background for the

¹⁶³ Cf. Bovon, „Schon hat der Heilige Geist“, 231.

¹⁶⁴ In Acts 3:21 it is God who inspires the prophets.

deed of Judas. On formal grounds the prophetic word in Acts 28:26ff., unlike Acts 1:16, cannot be understood as now directly fulfilled word¹⁶⁵. It is rather to be understood analogically. Rusam finds here a reference and a flash back to the reproach of Stephen, who blamed the Jews because they have always resisted the Holy Spirit” (7:51)¹⁶⁶.

7.2.3.4.6.1.4 To Your Fathers (πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ὑμῶν): Luke uses the term οἱ πατέρες to indicate the ancestors of the Jewish people (cf. Acts 7:11, 12, 15; 15:10). The expression “our fathers” is usually used to indicate the fathers as receivers of God’s promise (Lk 1:5, 72; Acts 7:38, 44, 45; 13:17; 26:6), whereas the phrase “your fathers” usually means those obdurate in the past (Lk 11:47, 48; Acts 7:51, 52)¹⁶⁷. So we find two trends in the history of Israel. The positive one is modelled upon the promise to the fathers and the negative one is modelled upon their hardness of heart. Is 6:9-10 gives us the negative trend. The very fact that Paul has quoted from the prophet Isaiah does show that he and his fellow Jews have a common background¹⁶⁸. But by the use of the expression “your fathers” Paul immediately keeps a certain distance from his fellow Jews¹⁶⁹. The listeners of Paul prove themselves as the spiritual heirs of their fathers just as Stephen says in 7:51: *As your fathers did, so do you*¹⁷⁰. The quotation has been directed to the fathers, while the message is especially for Paul’s audience. This is introduced by the emphatic phrase “Be known to you” (28:28)¹⁷¹.

7.2.3.4.6.2 The Structure of Acts 28: 26-27: After the introductory verse Πορεύθητι... we find symmetrically arranged double lines which we designate as A. In each line the first verb is strengthened by verbal substantive or participle; and the second line is furnished with an identical emphatic denial. B (v. 27) stands out by a beautiful parallel structure: before and after μήποτε the physical organs eyes – ears - heart as

¹⁶⁵ Cf. Wasserberg, *Israels Mitte*, 100.

¹⁶⁶ Dietrich Rusam, *Das Alte Testament bei Lukas*, 435.

¹⁶⁷ Cf. Ibid. 436: „Die Bezeichnung schafft also nicht nur Distanz zwischen Paulus und seinen Zuhörern, sondern behaftet diese mit den Taten „Ihrer“ Väter“.

¹⁶⁸ Compare the expression ἔθνους μου in 19b

¹⁶⁹ Cf. Koet, *Paul in Rome*, 133.

¹⁷⁰ Cf. Wasserberg, *Israels Mitte*, 100.

¹⁷¹ Cf. V. Stolle, *Der Zeuge als Angeklagter: Untersuchungen zum Paulus Bild des Lukas* (BWANT, sechste Folge 2; Stuttgart 1973) 85-86. He classifies the Isaiah 6:9-10 in Acts 28 as an „Analogiehinweis“ and not as prophecy.

well as the corresponding verbs see – hear - understand (and their opposite) are mentioned. That is why C - the “turning to” (of Israel) and “healing” (through God) at the end of v. 27- cannot be included in this parallel structure. We can illustrate it with the help of the following table.

A The Fact: Israel’s inability to accept the message:

| | | |
|---------------|----------|------------------|
| Ἄκοῆ | ἀκούσετε | καὶ οὐ μὴ συνῆτε |
| καὶ βλέποντες | βλέψετε | καὶ οὐ μὴ ἴδητε· |

B The reason: their hardness of heart:

| | |
|-------|--|
| Heart | ἐπαχύνθη γὰρ ἡ καρδία τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου |
| Ears | καὶ τοῖς ὠσὶν βαρέως ἤκουσαν |
| Eyes | καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν ἐκάμυσαν· μήποτε |
| Eyes | ἴδωσιν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς |
| Ears | καὶ τοῖς ὠσὶν ἀκούσωσιν |
| Heart | καὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ συνῶσιν |

C The practical consequence:

| |
|---------------------------------------|
| καὶ ἐπιστρέψωσιν, καὶ ἰάσομαι αὐτούς. |
|---------------------------------------|

The verb ἀκούειν occurs here three times and is more or less evenly distributed. It is the only verb of the quotation which is picked up again in v.28 – in the application to the Gentiles. In fact it is put in an emphatic place at the end of conclusion of the address. The Jews of Rome had already used this verb in v. 22a. They wanted to *hear* what Paul’s views were with regard to the Christian “sect”. So ἀκούειν is a key word in this quotation and has a very special significance.

We can observe a special verbal relationship between this part of Paul’s address and his first speech to the Jews of Rome (28:17-20). The first speech mentions “people”: οὐδὲν ἐναντίον ποιήσας τῷ Λαῷ. In the second the expression ὁ λαὸς οὗτος is found twice. In the first speech there is a reference to τοῖς πατράοις and in the second speech to πατέρες. At the end the first speech we find the expression ἐλπίς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ, and in the second speech too there is at the end - although with

negative signs and without words resemblance - the eschatological healing of Israel: καὶ ἰάσομαι αὐτούς. The word “Israel” comes only in these two parts of the Rome-narrative and in fact each time in Paul’s address; the Jews of Rome do not mention this word.

7.2.3.4.6.3 Interpretation

7.2.3.4.6.3.1 The Fact- Israel’s Inability to Accept the Message: v. 26b consists of two independent sentences that have a similar grammatical structure. Each sentence is introduced by a concessive parataxis (indeed...but). The first sentence begins with Ἄκοῦ ἰακούσατε. The verbal substantive strengthens the verb. This usage comes from the Hebrew infinitive absolute. The verb ἰακούσατε as well as the following verb βλέψετε have no objects. However the expression καὶ ἰάσομαι αὐτούς at the end does indicate that these verbs are concerned with the message of salvation. A negation follows immediately: καὶ οὐ μὴ συνῆτε. Hearing is placed as a counterpart to understanding; the external acoustic perception to internal processing. The natural function should have led them to understanding. But the normal process is here blocked.

The next sentence καὶ βλέποντες βλέψετε καὶ οὐ μὴ ἴδητε expresses the same, but this time with “seeing”. It forms a binary with “hearing”. The main verb βλέψετε is here strengthened by a participle form. The second part is formulated by the verb ἴδητε which does bring in a difficulty¹⁷². It seems to be a play with two lexical meanings of the same word. In other places the same word is used in a similar construction ἵνα βλέποντες μὴ βλέπωσιν (Lk 8:10; cf. Mt 13:13; Mk 8:18; Jer 5:21; Ez 12:21). Vulgate translates this part of the verse as *videntes videbitis et non parciptis*.

Can we take these two verbs - seeing and hearing - as imperatives or as future? We need to consider the Lucan context. With the “Today” of the time of Jesus and of the church, “this salvation of God” (28:28; cf. Lk 2:30; 3:6) has come first of all to Israel and also to all people. Israel has seen this “Time of salvation” and has heard the message of the fulfilment of salvation. But they have not understood it and they would not like to understand. The fulfilment occurred “in your ears” (Lk 4:21) but

¹⁷² Cf. Hauser, *Strukturen*, 70.

they have not recognised the salvation that was offered to them. It remained hidden from their eyes. This is because they have been hard-hearted from the time of their fathers (7:51).

Consideration of such a context would make us prefer a “future” translation¹⁷³: *You shall indeed hear but never understand, and you shall indeed see but never perceive*. This part of the citation from Isaiah is then an actual prophecy of an event which is now fulfilled in the rejection of the Christian proclamation. In “You” are the sons of those to whom the prophet had spoken are addressed. If we were to translate the sentences as imperatives then it would have applied only to the “fathers”. And then the citation of the text from Paul would only be an analogous testimony. Moreover taking the verbs as imperatives makes little sense because it is stated immediately after (for the time of the prophet) that the eyes and ears are closed. A translation into future would avoid such an absurdity because the prophetic future is distinguished from empirical past and present¹⁷⁴.

7.2.3.4.6.3.2 The Reason- Their Hardness of Heart (28:27a): The prophet goes to give a reason why the people, in the messianic future, although here and see, do not accept the salvation. In the first two lines of this sentence the organs of perception are named and then the natural function of these organs is denied. The verbs are in aorist. In so far as the prophet speaks of the ways of behaviour which is constantly verified in the past and in the present, one could understand these LXX aorists as present perfect. Who is made responsible for the closing of the organs of perception? According to the 3 line (*and their eyes they have closed*) these are Israelites themselves. According to the first line (*For this people's heart has grown dull*) too, the genitive subject of the passive construction should in fact be the active subject: i.e. the people¹⁷⁵.

The second line has some difficulty. Καὶ τοῖς ὠσὶν βαρέως ἤκουσαν is found only in Jer. 6:10 in LXX. In the NT it occurs only in our present context (Mt 13:15; Acts 28:27). In classical Greek we find these occurrences in Xen.An.2,1,9, and has the nuance of “hearing unwillingly”¹⁷⁶. If we translate it as “they have been deaf”,

¹⁷³ Cf. Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. Ibid. 71.

¹⁷⁵ Cf. Ibid. 71.

¹⁷⁶ Cf. Num 11:4.

then it minimises the human responsibility. However the second part of the verse makes it very clear that the fault lies on the people. Already the μήποτε with its nuance of subjective fear “lest they should” points out to Israel’s wish to be hard-hearted. We need to pay special attention to v.27b which speaks of “hearing” once again: τοῖς ὠσὶν βαρέως ἤκουσαν.....μήποτε.....ἴδωσιν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ τοῖς ὠσὶν ἀκούσωσιν. Only when we translate the second half as “they have closed their ears” and bring out the responsibility of the people for their incapacity to hear, then only we can continue logically the second part: “lest they...hear with their ears”. Symmachus translates this verse in this way: ο λαὸς οὗτος καὶ τὰ ὦτα ἐβαρυνε καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐμυσε. The expression τὰ ὦτα βαρύνειν “in order not to hear” does appear elsewhere in the LXX (cf. Is 33:15b; 59:1; Zech 7:11). A material gesture of “not willing to hear” is said of Jews in Acts 7:57. The verb καμμύω means literally to close the eyes, but can be used figuratively for a deliberate mental blindness¹⁷⁷. This image is used also in Isaiah 29:10 and 33:15.

In spite of the diverse grammatical constructions v.27a asserts three times the self-willed closing of the organs of perception, as a repeated deed and a lasting situation¹⁷⁸. Israel keeps heart, eyes and ears closed. The three organs which are put out of work cover all the senses, as they are generally specified in the Bible. “Seeing and hearing”, as well as “eyes and ears” (Mt8:18; Rom 11:8; 1Cor 2:9; 1Pet 3:12) are the binary expressions for sensual perception. In contrary to that touch, taste and feeling are only sporadic as senses, in relation to revelation.

In the NT καρδία is not regarded, as in the Greek understanding, as an organ in the physiological sense and the location of mental and spiritual feeling. Rather it refers to “the inner person, the seat of understanding, knowledge and will, and takes on as well the meaning of conscience”¹⁷⁹. In his preaching of the Kingdom of God Jesus addresses the heart of mankind: the word of God is sown in the heart (Lk 8:12, 15). The decision for or against faith occurs in the heart (Lk 24:25). In the heart originates believing or hard-heartedness. Here rules Satan (5:3) or God (26:18). The

¹⁷⁷ Cf. Philo, *On Dreams* 1:164.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. Hauser, *Strukturen*, 72.

¹⁷⁹ A. Sand, Art. “καρδία” in: *EDNT* II, 250.

revelation brings to light the *διαλογισμοί* (Lk 2:35; cf. 3:15; 5:22; 9:47; 24:38) of heart. Faith and deeds are assigned to it (Lk 8:12; 24:25; Acts 2:37; 11:23; 15:9).

Just like the “heart”, the “eyes“ (Lk 19:42; 24:16,31; Acts 26:18) and the “ears” (Acts 7:51; 16:14) too could be regarded as the organs of understanding, believing as well as unbelieving. This type of synonymy is also found in our present text (27a and b). Each line, whether it concerns heart, ears or eyes, refers to the whole understanding process. The “hearing” and “seeing” are differentiated in v.27 from v.26b. There it was the distinction between sense-perception (which does take place) and the interior understanding (which does not take place); but here the eyes, ears and heart (with verbs) refer to the whole understanding process.

In three parallel sentences God (as well as the prophet) asserts the total closing of Israel with regard to the message of salvation, in the present as well as in the past. The accent lies on the hardness of the heart, i.e. of the organ of inner perception. The statement of this self-blamed hardness is the reason for Israel’s behaviour with regard to the coming events of salvation (v. 26b). Israel did indeed come to “see” and “hear” the definitive revelation of salvation. But due to her constant hardening of heart it did not understand. *παχύνο* literally means “make fat”¹⁸⁰ but metaphorically it means arrogant, dull or unresponsive.

7.2.3.4.6.3.3 The Practical Consequence: The number of verbs, which have Israelites as the subject are increased to one more: *καὶ ἐπιστρέψωσιν*. This verb is followed by a new one which has God as its unexpressed subject: *καὶ ἰάσομαι αὐτούς*. The verb *ἐπιστρέφειν* is used here in an intransitive sense. It means here a continuation of “seeing, hearing and understanding” and a practical turning to him who can bestow salvation and who gives repentance: i.e. turning away from a life of sin and turning to the one who is the author of salvation. These last two verbs do not themselves belong to the process of reception of the message of salvation. They belong to the practical consequences which result from these. Israel shrinks from this and closes the door for God to offer salvation. So in v. 27b the rejection of Israel is still more emphasised - and from two sides: Israel blocks the saving initiative from God out of full awareness

¹⁸⁰ Cf. Plutarch, *The Eating of Flesh* 1:6: “...eating of flesh... makes us spiritually coarse and gross...”, Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius*, 1:8: “...flesh diet... made the mind gross”.

and willingly. The last reason lies in the detesting at the practical consequences, of repenting.

The verb ἐπιστρέφω is a favoured word of Luke¹⁸¹. The verb is used mostly in an intransitive sense. In a moral sense it designates primarily the fulfilment of religious conversion¹⁸². It has this sense also in the LXX. It has the same meaning as that of μετάνοια. But in Lucan material ἐπιστρέφω predominates over μετάνοια.

The message of the angel to Zachary in Lk 1:16b is positive: the Baptist will *turn* many of the Israelites to the Lord their God. In Acts the apostolic preaching invites a response of repentance and prepares the way for the Jews first (3:19, 26; 9:35) and then for the Gentiles (11:21; 14:15; 15:3, 19; 26:18-20). The juxtaposition of ἐπιστρέφω and μετάνοια (3:19; 26:18-20) expresses in a twofold way that anyone who has changed his outlook on the old content of faith must still turn to God who in Jesus Christ brings about salvation¹⁸³.

ἰάομαι is used as an alternative to the more usual θεραπεύω in the sense of make well with no difference of meaning¹⁸⁴. But only ἰάομαι is used in the figurative sense for the saving intervention of God in association with OT texts in Mt 13:15; Jn 12:40 and Acts 28:27. The general conception that sickens is the consequence of sin lies behind the figurative usage¹⁸⁵. In Luke-Acts, healing is correlated to the proclamation of God's rule and the restoration of the people (Lk 5:7; 6:18-19; 9:2,11; 14:4; Acts 3:1-10; 9:34; 10:38).

7.2.3.4.6.4 Conclusion: Let us look at the main content of the citation from the prophet Isaiah. The prophet is commissioned by God to prophesy: "You shall indeed here...see... but will not understand". The people of Israel, at the time of revelation, will come to the external perception but not to the acceptance in faith. The reason for this does not lie in God but in the constant closing of their eyes, ears and heart in the past as well as in the present. The people have been resisting to turn to the giver of

¹⁸¹ In its 36 occurrences ἐπιστρέφω appears 7 times in Luke and 11 times in Acts.

¹⁸² Cf. S. Legasse, Art. "ἐπιστρέφω" in: *EDNT* II, 40.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ Cf. R. Leivestad, Art. "ἰάομαι" in: *EDNT* II, 170.

¹⁸⁵ Cf. Ibid.

salvation¹⁸⁶. The citation is not so much concerned with the punishment from God. The state of being not saved itself could be seen as a punishment. The future event of seeing but not understanding, and hearing but not recognising are presented as the natural consequence of the behaviour of Israel, in accordance with the wisdom-schema of action-result connection. But there is no strict causal connection in this regard. The sovereignty of the saving initiatives of God remains. This is a connection which is confirmed so often in the experience. That is why the headings as “fate” or “predestination” or “family tragedy” are here out of place. Only so much is said: in the decisive moment when the salvation was realised in a visible and audible way the hard-heartedness of Israel came to effect (Lk 2:34f.). It is hard-heartedness, as a genotype of their fathers, ratified again and again by the sons.

The speaker Paul could pronounce these words of the prophets for two reasons: first, he himself had the same experience of the prophet Isaiah with Israel; secondly, he himself witnessed the fulfilment of the part of the prophetic words which said (v. 26b): *you shall indeed hear but will not understand*. He is the witness of the hard-heartedness of Israel to whom he had proclaimed the Good News of salvation. Because this citation in the mouth of Paul is partly a fulfilment-quotation, partly it is an authorised statement from the Scripture, of Israel’s stubborn-situation, there is a special introduction to this citation: “The Holy Spirit was right in saying to your fathers through the prophet Isaiah”.

7.2.3.4.6.5 The Salvation of Gentiles (v. 28): As we have seen earlier v. 28 is closely related to the citation from Isaiah. The formula γνωστόν οὖν ἔστω ὑμῖν has come already three times in the mouth of preachers in the narrative of Acts (2:14; 4:10; 13:38). It always comes when the preacher has something very important to tell the hearers. The content of the announcement is given in a ὅτι clause, in which the aorist passive verb (ἀπεστάλη) stands in between the dative object of person (τοῖς ἔθνεσιν) and the subject of the action (τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ). “The Gentiles” as receivers, at the beginning of the clause, are emphasised. They are separated from ὑμῖν only by the ὅτι. This change of persons “you – the Gentiles” strikes as opposition. The next clause “they will listen” speaks still only of these Gentiles and not of Jews.

¹⁸⁶ Hauser, *Strukturen*, 74.

From the context the verb ἀπεστάλη can be considered as a divine passive: the “salvation of *God*” is sent; and “God” is also who “heals” (v.27b). Is τὸ σωτήριον alluding to some famous Scripture text or to Luke 3:6 (Isaiah 40:5b LXX)? In Luke-Acts τὸ σωτήριον occurs only here and in Lk 2:30; 3:6, leaning on Isaiah 40:5. But this seems to be overstrained, if it should function as a reference to these texts that lie in the distance past. The solution must be found in the nearer context. The salvation of God is what this people have rejected. “The salvation of God” has also been the object of the conversation of the whole day (v. 23b).

Now let us move on to the last part of v. 28. αὐτοὶ καὶ ἀκούσονται. At the beginning stands αὐτοὶ which is used as an emphatic personal pronoun. A καὶ that follows does not simply make the sentence melodious but strengthens the pronoun as well as the verb that comes after and gives them an adversative sense¹⁸⁷: “they, in contrary to you, will surely here”. The verb, which is placed right at the end and in future middle, takes up the verb which was thrice named in the text of Isaiah, but no more for Israel, but for Gentiles who are newly named as the receivers of salvation. With simple means here at the end of the final declaration a weighty contrast is built. In order to appreciate the weight of these lines we need to be aware of another dimension: the OT ways of speech is revived in this text, to show us that the salvation of God for the Gentiles corresponds to the Scripture as prophecy, i.e. it corresponds to the will of God. Three texts are mentioned which are concerned with the salvation of God as well as the Gentiles (especially “all flesh”, “the ends of the earth”):

Isaiah 40:5: καὶ ὀφθήσεται ἡ δόξα κυρίου

καὶ ὕψεται πᾶσα σὰρξ τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ

Ps 66:3: τοῦ γινῶναι ἐν τῇ γῆ τὴν ὁδὸν σου ἐν πᾶσιν ἔθνεσιν τὸ σωτήριόν σου

Ps 97:3b εἶδοσαν πάντα τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν

7.2.3.4.6.6 V. 28 in Relation to v. 22: The Jews of Rome *wish* to hear and the Gentiles *do hear*. Verse 28 stands in strong contrast to v.22 within this Rome-narrative. The external form indicates a special syntactic structure. Moreover we find in both verses

¹⁸⁷ Beginning IV 348: “is not a conjunction, but emphasises the καὶ and the ἀκούσονται”; cf. Zerwick, *An Analysis of the Greek NT*, Rome 1974, 463-465

some identical vocabulary. We can show the relationship between these two verses with the help of following concentric structure¹⁸⁸:

| | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| A | ἀξιοῦμεν δὲ παρὰ σοῦ ἀκοῦσαι ἢ φρονεῖς, |
| B | περὶ μὲν γὰρ τῆς αἰρέσεως ταύτης |
| C a | γνωστὸν ἡμῖν ἐστίν |
| b | ὅτι πανταχοῦ ἀντιλέγεται. |
| C ¹ a ¹ | γνωστὸν οὖν ἔστω ὑμῖν |
| b ¹ | ὅτι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἀπεστάλη |
| B ¹ | τοῦτο τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ· |
| A ¹ | αὐτοὶ καὶ ἀκούσονται. |

Although these two verses stand in some distance in the text, they provide an example of an address and a reply: The Jews of Rome want to hear in v. 23 and Paul gives a definite answer to them in v. 28. They want to “hear” but in reality they do not hear and it is the Gentiles who will “hear” (A-A¹). The Jews of Rome desire to know the content of the message as *views* of teaching. But for Paul it is the “salvation of God” (B-B¹). To their “knowing” (desire to know) Paul answers with another “knowing” (Ca- C¹a¹). To the content of this “knowing” (Cb-C¹b¹), “everywhere” (=the world of the Jews) corresponds to “the Gentiles (the ecumenical movement of the nations) and the action of the Jews (opposing) corresponds to the action of God (sending). Both the times the verbs are in passive and the active subject is not named.

7.2.3.4.6.7 A Textual Variant V. 29: The witnesses of the Western text tradition and in Byzantine text we find, with some variations- the following verse:

καὶ ταῦτα αὐτοῦ εἰπόντος ἀπήλθον ἀπέρχομαι οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι,
πολλὴν ἔχοντες ἐν ἑαυτοῖς συζήτησιν

From the narrative point of view this verse seems to take up again the situation of v. 25a: the disagreement and departure of the Jews. However, because of this verse the last declaration of Paul loses its sharpness and finality. Because the Jews seems to be quarrelling as before, unimpressed by Paul’s last words. It is possible that the writer

¹⁸⁸ Hauser, *Strukturen*, 41.

of this verse wanted to solve a grammatical difficulty of v.25. One could then understand and translate, that the last word gave rise to a disputation. The German translation (Einheitsübersetzung) is noteworthy: „Ohne sich einig geworden zu sein, brachen sie auf, nachdem Paulus noch das eine Wort gesagt hatte: Treffend....Und als er das gesagt hatte, gingen die Juden weg und stritten noch lange miteinander“.

7.2.3.4.6.8 The Jewish Rejection: The final declaration of Paul has given rise to many questions and many opinions. Does Luke (Paul) mean to say that Jewish rejection is final and definitive? Or does what Paul spoke apply only to the Roman Jews? Does Luke express here a disappointment from Paul's part as he had hoped to convert the Jews as a nation? Then there are questions that concern the Gentile mission. Is Gentile mission dependent on and the consequence of Jewish rejection? Many scholars have reflected on this issue and have come up with various opinions. I shall consider here the opinions of a few scholars who, in my view, have made important contribution to this issue.

7.2.3.4.6.8.1 Haenchen: For him the final scene in Acts (28:17-31) is the culmination of the story of Luke-Acts. This scene follows the same pattern which Luke has used throughout his work. Paul repeats for the third time the solemn announcement of directing the Gospel to the Gentiles. “The conclusion of the entire book agrees internally with the proceeding description of the Pauline mission. The last chapter also is thus completely integrated into the total work in that it bases the justification of the Gentile mission on the refusal of the Jews”¹⁸⁹. Haenchen compares this concluding scene of Acts to the opening sermon of Jesus in the synagogue of Nazareth, and makes a bold statement on the rejection of Jews: “For Luke the Jews are written off. Acts 28:28 is not only a very effective conclusion of the book but also the expression of a conviction which already resounds in the Lucan account of the first sermon of Jesus of Nazareth (Lk 4:16-30)”¹⁹⁰. Haenchen's strong views on the rejection of Jews seem to reflect the situation in which Luke-Acts was written rather than the time of Paul. Commenting on Haenchen's ideas on Jewish rejection, Tyson says, “Haenchen insists that Luke is writing for the people of his own day, even constructing whole scenes with the intention to provide his readers with an

¹⁸⁹ Haenchen, *Acts*, 730.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.* 128.

understanding of their own situation. But in so constructing his commentary, Haenchen has shown us a great deal about Luke's understanding of the Judaism of his day, even if he has not given us much information about the time of the apostles"¹⁹¹.

7.2.3.4.6.8.2 Conzelmann: He does not differ much from Haenchen. For him the statement of Paul in Acts 28:28 is final: "In contrast to Paul (Romans 9-11), Luke does not look beyond the present hardening to a future conversion of Israel. Rather, the time of Gentile church has now broken in. This church has taken possession of the inheritance of Israel. The schema is completed. This third declaration about turning away from Jews and turning towards the Gentiles is final. It is not "by chance" and it cannot be explained psychologically, but rather is shown from the Scripture to be God's plan"¹⁹². Acts 28:28 is the final turning of Paul from the Jews towards the Gentiles. Conzelmann does not agree that this text implies any continued hope for the conversion of the Jewish people. "The picture of Judaism divided within itself is presented here for the last time. Luke no longer counts on the success of the Christian mission with the Jews. In οἱ ἐπίθοντο, "some were convinced", the emphasis is not that, nevertheless, some were converted (cf. 23:9). The scene has been constructed with the express purpose of conveying the impression that the situation with the Jews was hopeless"¹⁹³.

7.2.3.4.6.8.3 Jacob Jervell: According to him Luke uses the term "Israel" in its meaning as "the people of God" strictly and solely for Jews. The function of Jesus in the Gospel of Luke was to begin the process of dividing the Jewish people into the repentant and the obdurate. The repentant Jews remain as part of the people of God, as Israel, but the obdurate Jews have excluded themselves from the body by their refusal to repent. This division of the people is in fulfilment of Scripture, as shown by the quotation of Deut 18:19 in Acts 3:23. It is the Jewish Christians who now constitute the people of God. The non-Christian Jews are simply called "Jews"¹⁹⁴.

Jervell points out to the great success of the Jewish mission in Acts 2:41; 4:4; 5:14; 6:1,7; 9:42; 12:24; 13:43; 14:1; 17:10ff.; 19:20; 21:20. He believes that these reports

¹⁹¹ Joseph B. Tyson, *Luke, Judaism and the Scholars* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1999) 75.

¹⁹² Conzelmann, *Acts*, 227.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.* 227.

¹⁹⁴ J. Jervell, *Luke and the People of God* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1972) 41-74.

are from Luke himself and he has given them for a specific function: “One usually understands the situation to imply that only when the Jews have rejected the Gospel is the way opened to Gentiles. It is more correct to say that only when Israel has accepted the Gospel can the way to Gentiles be opened”¹⁹⁵. According to him Luke does not use the term Israel in connection with the Gentile church.

He agrees that Luke describes a divinely led mission to the Gentiles. But this Gentile mission is in line with the basic maxims found in the Scripture. The inclusion of Gentiles as an associate people along with the repentant Jews is well within Jewish expectation. In his later articles Jervell argues that Acts does not narrate a mission to “pure” Gentiles, but only to “God-fearing” Gentiles¹⁹⁶. He conceives of three groups of Gentiles: proselytes, God-fearers and pure Gentiles. The pure Gentiles never had an association with the synagogue. Luke never describes a successful mission to pure Gentiles, but only to proselytes and God-fearing Gentiles. The mission of Paul and Barnabas in Lystra could be regarded as a mission to pure Gentiles. However, this mission does not end in any conversions and Jervell concludes that “such idolaters do not belong to the church”¹⁹⁷. Similarly in Athens (17:16-34), there are only two named converts and, according to Jervell, these are God-fearers (17:34). When Paul announces that hereafter he is going to Gentiles (13:46; 18:6), this does not mean that he has given up the mission to Jews; nor does it signify a mission to “pure” Gentiles. It only means that Paul is going to preach to God-fearers. It is only after 28:28 that a mission to pure Gentiles is envisioned, although not described. Even the mission to the Samaritans is seen differently by Jervell. Samaritans are the “lost sheep of the house of Israel” and Luke understands them as Jews. The mission to the Samaritans is not a transition to a mission among “pure” Gentiles, but a part of the mission to Jews. The inclusion of the Samaritans is necessary to bring about a restored Israel¹⁹⁸.

According to Jervell, the concluding scene of Acts (28:17-31) goes very well with Luke’s earlier treatment of Paul as a missionary to Jews. Only by speaking to Jews in Rome is Paul able to complete his missionary work. Jervell sharply criticises

¹⁹⁵ Ibid. 55.

¹⁹⁶ Cf. Jervell, “The Church of Jews and God-fearers”, in: *Luke-Acts and the Jewish People: Eight Critical Perspectives*, (ed.) Joseph B. Tyson, 11-20.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid. 18.

¹⁹⁸ Cf. Jervell, *Luke and the People of God*, 125.

the commentators who try to weaken the meaning of ἐπεΐθοντο in 28:24. He asserts that it has the same meaning here as it has elsewhere in Acts, namely that they believed: “Thus a portion of Roman Jews has been selected as believing and repentant. The point here is no more that of a total rejection than elsewhere in Acts”¹⁹⁹. Paul’s closing words in Acts mean to signify to the reader that the mission to Jews has come to an end. The quotation from Isaiah here does not mean “that now the time of Gentile Christianity has broken in...But the time of unrepentant Israel is past”²⁰⁰. The previous judgements against unbelieving Jews (Acts 7:51-53; 13:46; 18:6) had geographical limitations. “But now the judgement is valid for the whole of unrepentant Judaism. All Jews throughout the world have heard the Gospel. Now it is directed to Rome and the West, and with that the fate of universal Judaism is sealed. So we arrive at the turning point of history. The mission to Jews has ended, the commission of Acts 1:8 fulfilled. For 1:8 is intended to be an answer to the question about the future of Israel. A future conversion of Israel, as in Romans 11, is excluded”²⁰¹.

A summary of the criticism against Jervell’s position is given by Tyson²⁰². “Although Jervell is right to call attention to the often-overlooked acceptance by Jews in Acts 14:1b and other passages, it is difficult to agree with him that Jewish acceptance is the main point of these narratives. Jewish rejection (Acts 14:2-5) is at least equally important here as well as in other narratives (cf. Acts 13:45; 17:13)”²⁰³. Jewish rejection is an important factor in the narrative of Acts. Practically in all the passages that deal with Paul’s mission, Luke narrates Jewish opposition to the Gospel. “Jervell’s failure to treat seriously that component of Israel that rejected the Christian message and opposed the missionaries provides an unbalanced view of Luke-Acts”²⁰⁴.

7.2.3.4.6.8.4 Gerhard Lohfink: He too holds the view that Luke-Acts provides largely a positive image of Judaism²⁰⁵. He is in agreement with Jervell on the view that Luke describes the gathering of Israel. He stresses the Lucan concept of the church as continuous with Israel. According to Lohfink the Jewish people are treated more

¹⁹⁹ *Apg.*, 626.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 627.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 628.

²⁰² Cf. *Luke, Judaism and the Scholars*, 122-9.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, 107.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁵ Cf. Gerhard Lohfink, *Die Sammlung Israels: Eine Untersuchung zur Lucanischen Ekklesiologie*.

positively in Luke- Acts until Acts 5:42. He names this period as “jerusalemer Frühling” (Jerusalem springtime). The story of Stephen signals a drastic change. With the martyrdom of Stephen begins persecution, scattering, and the spread of the Christian message. Lohfink explains the reason for this change: “In the time of the first apostolic preaching, the true Israel is collected out of the Jewish people! And that Israel that still persists in rejecting Jesus loses any claim to the true people of God – it becomes Judaism”²⁰⁶. He believes that Luke was writing at a time when the separation of the community from Judaism was clear and that Luke signalled this separation by his use of language. “When Judaism is still spoken of as a matter of salvation history, the term is generally Ἰσραήλ and not Ἰουδαῖοι”²⁰⁷. He observes that the term Ἰουδαῖοι predominates in the later part of Acts. There are differences between Lohfink and Jervell in perception of the historical context of Luke-Acts. But both agree that the Gentile mission can occur because the true Israel has been gathered not because of Jewish rejection.

7.2.3.4.6.8.5 Jack T. Sanders: According to him the Jewish leaders of Luke-Acts, not including the Pharisees, are consistently portrayed as enemies of Jesus and the church. He observes that both the Gospel and the Acts begin with scenes that have positive images of Jerusalem and the Jewish people. However, according to Sanders, this positive picture serves as a way for Luke to make two important points: “one, that Christianity has not broken with the ancient Israelite religion, and that, rather, a direct line of continuity runs from Moses and the Prophets to the church; and, two, that it is not Christianity that has rejected Judaism, but Judaism that has rejected Christianity”²⁰⁸.

Does Luke condemn the Jewish people as a whole, or only that part of the Jewish people who rejects the Gospel? Sanders sees the problem differently. The so-called confusion, for him is not because of different sources, but in the difference between speech and narrative in Luke-Acts. The narrative portions of Luke-Acts show distinctions among the Jewish people; some are repentant and accept the

²⁰⁶ Ibid. 55. „In der Zeit der ersten apostolischen Predigt sammelte sich aus dem jüdischen Volk das wahre Israel. Und jenes Israel, das dann noch in der Ablehnung Jesu beharrte, verlor sein Anrecht, das wahre Gottes Volk zu sein- es wurde zu Judentum“. For similar views cf. Conzelmann, *Mitte der Zeit*, 135 and Gnllka, *Versteckung Israels*, 143f.

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

²⁰⁸ Jack T. Sanders, *The Jews in Luke-Acts*, 33; for a similar view cf. Franklin, *Christ the Lord*, 89.

Christian message, while others are obstinate and reject it. But in the speeches these distinctions exist no longer and all the Jews are condemned²⁰⁹. This process begins with the sermon of Jesus in the Jewish synagogue of Nazareth. “As the Gospel approaches its climax, the Lucan Jesus begins increasingly to use parables to voice the condemnation of the Jewish people”²¹⁰. Sanders cites the parable of the banquet (Lk 14:16-24), the rich man and Lazarus (Lk 16:19-31), the parable of the pounds (Lk 19:11-27), and the parable of the wicked tenants (Lk 20: 9-19). The process of condemnation continues in Acts with the accusation that the Jewish people killed the prophets and Jesus. “When Jews in Paul’s Diaspora mission reject the Gospel they fall under the same condemnation that is pronounced against those in Jerusalem (13:27) who actually carried out the deed”²¹¹. He observes that even in the first speech of Peter in Acts 2 all the Jews are condemned: “the point must be made again, even at the risk of a charge of repetitiousness: it is not the priestly leaders, nor Jerusalemites, nor even Judahites or Palestinian Jews alone whom Peter accuses of “doing away with” Jesus: it is a representative group of Jews from all over the world”²¹². Sanders maintains that the speeches of Peter, Stephen and Paul contain the condemnation of the Jewish people as a whole: “Peter, Stephen and Paul present in Luke-Acts, in what they say on the subject, an entirely, completely, wholly, uniformly consistent attitude towards the Jewish people as a whole. That attitude is that the Jews are and always have been wilfully ignorant of the purposes and plans of God expressed in their familiar Scriptures, that they always have rejected and will reject God’s offer of salvation, that they executed Jesus and persecute and hinder those who try to advance the Gospel, and that they get one chance at salvation, which they will of course reject, bringing God’s wrath down upon them, and quite deservedly so”²¹³.

Sanders gives particular attention to the close of Acts. He observes that Luke’s narrative of Paul in Rome takes essentially the same form as the earlier ones, except that Luke is careful to avoid saying that some of the Roman Jews believed. He will

²⁰⁹ Sanders maintains that the differences between speech and narrative in Luke-Acts are not to be explained by reference to a source theory but that both are the work of a single mind. Cf. *The Jews in Luke-Acts*, 227.

²¹⁰ Ibid. 58.

²¹¹ Ibid. 53.

²¹² Ibid. 234.

²¹³ Ibid. 63; cf. Egelkraut, *Jesus’ Mission to Jerusalem*, (Theological Seminary, Diss.; Frankfurt: Lang., 1976) 213.

say only that some were persuaded (28:24). According to Sanders, Luke has used the verb elsewhere to suggest something short of conversion (Acts 13:43): “Luke does not have Paul say here that he will never any more seek to convert Jews, and he does not say it himself editorially; and in this fact some modern authors find hope. These interpreters see that the same themes are present in this concluding speech as in Paul’s earlier statements of turning to the Gentiles, in the episodes in Antioch and in Corinth, and they prefer to think of Luke as having created an alternating pattern of rejection and mission, a circle of going repeatedly to the Jews. But the book of Acts is here at an end, and so is the cycle. Jervell has seen this plainly, and it is regrettable that others who would like to ally themselves to his position have not been so clear-sighted”²¹⁴.

Sanders and Jervell are in complete agreement that Luke allowed no room for a continuing mission to Jews after the end of Acts. So both agree with Haenchen that Luke has written off the Jews²¹⁵. For both, “Jews” mean those who have remained unrepentant and have rejected the preaching of the apostles and Paul. Both agree with regard to Luke’s view on the link between Christianity and Israel. Sanders has not emphasised this in the way that Jervell has done. However his comments on the Infancy Narratives in Luke 1-2 make this point clear: “In every way possible Luke informs us that Christianity did not seek an exodus out of Judaism but was rather squeezed out by the Jews. The Infancy Narratives play their part in that pattern, for they show how totally immersed the Christian beginnings were in good Jewish piety”²¹⁶. The beginning of Acts is similar to the beginning of Luke and one function of this motif is to show “that Christianity has not broken with the ancient Israelite religion, and that, rather, a direct line of continuity runs from Moses and the prophets to the church”²¹⁷. Hence both Jervell and Sanders would agree that the Lucan church stands in continuity with the religion of ancient Israel.

Sanders denies that Israel was simply divided by the ministry of Jesus and the apostles. He does not see Jesus as “gathering Israel”. And, without question, he perceives the darker aspects of Luke’s portrayal of Jews. As Tyson puts it, “Some of

²¹⁴ Ibid. 298-9.

²¹⁵ But Jervell objects strongly to such a harsh language used by Haenchen.

²¹⁶ Sanders, *Jews in Luke-Acts*, 161.

²¹⁷ Ibid. 33; cf. also A. J. Mattil, “The Jesus-Paul Parallelism and the Purpose of Luke-Acts: H.H.Evans Considered”, in: *Nov.T* 17 (1975), 15-46.

the difference is to be laid to Jervell's failure to give sufficient consideration to what he termed the unbelieving part of Israel and by Sander's concentration on this element. Sanders's darker picture results partly from his considerations about the roles of the Jewish leaders and the people partly from his assumption about the Lucan context. Two matters are fundamental to Sander's project. One is the distinction he draws between speech and narrative; the other is his description of the Pharisees"²¹⁸.

7.2.3.4.6.8.6 Robert L.Brawley: He is in deep opposition to the views expressed by Sanders. In the introduction to his book on Jews in Luke-Acts, he states his position: "I am adding my voice to a growing chorus of scholars who are protesting the notion that Luke depicts the triumph of Gentile Christianity at the expense of Jews, and who are formulating a construct of Luke's thought in relation to his life and environment where inner Jewish questions are still viable"²¹⁹. His basic argument is that Luke does not portray a Gentile Christianity which is opposed to Judaism. His distinctive contributions are: i) Acts tells the story of Paul rather than the story of the Gentile mission; ii) Pharisees are treated positively and with respect in Luke-Acts; and iii) The end of Acts does not announce the rejection of the Jews.

He agrees with Charles Talbert and understands that one of the major purposes of Acts is to identify the legitimate exponents of the Jesus movement after the time of the founder. Paul is one of the authoritative successors of Jesus, but he is not to be understood as a symbol of Christianity or of the movement of the Gentiles. The second half of the Acts is the story of Paul and not the story of the Gentile mission. Luke narrates a number of missions. But his interest is in the story of Paul: "he knows of Philip's mission to the Samaritans, to the Ethiopian Eunuch, and to Phoenicia. He is aware of the evangelisation of Phoenicia, Cyprus, Antioch, and Damascus by those who were scattered from Jerusalem by persecution. He summarises the mission of Barnabas and Mark after the former separates from Paul. He mentions the work of Apollos at Ephesus and Corinth. Luke alludes to Christians in Rome who greeted Paul

²¹⁸ Tyson, *Luke, Judaism and the Scholars*, 119-20.

²¹⁹ Robert Brawley, *Luke-Acts and the Jews: Conflict, Apology, and Conciliation (SBLMS 33; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987)* 3.

on his arrival there. But the story of the extension of Christianity does not occupy centre stage for Luke. Rather he places Paul in the limelight”²²⁰.

According to Brawley, Luke does not stress the Gentile mission at the expense of the Jews. His contention that the latter half of Acts is a biography of Paul rather than an account of the Gentile mission is intended to support this claim. Jews are not definitively rejected by Paul. Against Jervell, he acknowledges that Paul turns to the Gentiles as a result of Jewish unbelief: “Against Jervell, in Acts Jewish antagonism is connected casually with the reorientation of mission. But against the standard theory of reciprocal rejection, it is connected with the Gentile mission only when Paul is involved”²²¹. So the turning away from the Jews and to Gentiles is a personal decision of Paul. But this decision is in accordance with the will of God.

Brawley acknowledges that, at the end of his second meeting with the Jewish leaders in Rome, Paul announces his intention to go to the Gentiles and that this is due to the negative response of some of the Roman Jews. However, for Brawley, Paul’s words in Acts 28:28 do not include a specific anathema of Jews. He draws his attention to the word “all” in 28:30: “If “all” is consistent within its context, it would include Jews, both the curious and believers. At any rate, Paul’s preaching no longer rouses Jewish opposition in Rome. Is Paul at peace because Luke has written off the Jews, or because Luke wishes to leave the impression that Paul’s mission among the Gentiles has been adequately explained? Since the second half of Acts concentrates on Paul and his mission in the Diaspora, including a mission among the Gentiles, and since the last quarter of Acts focuses on an defence of Paul, is not the second possibility the only viable one?”²²².

According to Tyson, “Brawley’s contention that Luke is less interested in the Gentile mission than in Paul himself functions more as an assumption than a conclusion. Little compelling evidence is offered for it, and a rigid separation between a concern for the Christian mission and a concern to the one who, in Acts, is its chief spokesperson is not convincing....The task of determining the meaning of the three announcements about turning to Gentiles (Acts 13:46-47; 18:6; 28:28) is not made

²²⁰ Ibid. 39.

²²¹ Ibid. 71.

²²² Ibid. 143-4.

less difficult by reading Acts as a biography of Paul”²²³. His interpretation of the word “all” is not well-founded. Brawley himself makes a point of saying that this word is often to be understood as an exaggeration. Just a few pages earlier he writes, “As I have shown, Luke frequently uses *πᾶσ* not in a strictly literal sense, but to a large number”²²⁴.

7.2.3.4.6.8.7 Robert C. Tannehill: He interprets the story of Israel in Luke-Acts as a tragedy. It begins with a number of expressions of great hope, angelic announcements, and prophetic hymns and speaks of “the establishment of a messianic Kingdom for Israel and the fulfilment of God’s saving purpose, embracing both Jews and Gentiles”²²⁵. But the story takes a tragic turn. The projected hope is not realised as the Messiah is rejected and put to death. The hopes for the restoration of a Kingdom for Israel, expressed in the Infancy Narratives of Luke 1-2, are, according to Tannehill, meant to be taken seriously. He contrasts the beginning and the end of Luke-Acts: “The story that begins by proclaiming that ‘all flesh will see the salvation of God’ ends on a tragic note. All flesh has not seen God’s salvation. More than the fate of the Roman Jews is at stake. God’s promise in Scripture, which the narrator presented to us as a key to understanding God’s purpose in history, has not been fulfilled. Here is a theological problem that the narrator does not solve, for the narrative ends with an unresolved tension between promise and reality”²²⁶.

For Tannehill, the harsh words of the Isaiah quotation on the lips of Paul at the close of Acts are nevertheless appropriate. Paul’s preaching on this day was a special opportunity to speak to the Jewish community of Rome. Jews are now departing without accepting Paul’s witness. The presence of disagreement among the Jews is enough to show that Paul has not achieved what he sought. “He was seeking a communal decision, recognition by the Jewish community as a whole that Jesus is the fulfilment of the Jewish hope. The presence of significant opposition shows that this is not going to happen”²²⁷.

²²³ Tyson, *Luke, Judaism and Scholars*, 125.

²²⁴ Brawley, *Luke-Acts and the Jews: Conflict*, 139.

²²⁵ Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts: A Literary Interpretation*, 1. p.8.

²²⁶ *Ibid.* 40-41.

²²⁷ Tannehill, “The Rejection by Jews and Turning to Gentiles”, in: *SBL 1986 Seminar Papers*, 138.

Tannehill remarks: “Acts ends on a tragic, not a triumphant note”²²⁸. The function of these concluding words about the Gentiles is not to justify the Gentile mission. This has been done long ago. But these concluding words are meant to jar the Roman Jews by the contrast between their deafness and the Gentile’s readiness to hear. This is a message to the Roman Jews (Let it be known to you). It says “they will hear” but you will not. This ironic reversal is strengthened by noting that Paul’s announcement is a striking shift from his earlier announcement in the Antioch synagogue. There he proclaimed, “To us the word of this salvation has been sent out (13:26). But to Jews who are deaf and blind he says, “To the Gentiles has been sent this salvation of God; they will hear”. According to Tannehill the scene of rejection of the Jews and turning to the Gentiles at the close of Acts is unlike the other two such scenes at Antioch and Corinth: “In previous scenes the announcement of turning to the Gentiles did not exclude renewed Jewish mission in other cities. Nothing prevents us from understanding the announcement in 28:28 as applying to Rome, leaving open the possibility of preaching to Jews elsewhere. Yet such an announcement at the end of a narrative carries extra weight. Just because the narrative ends, the narrator grants the final situation a certain permanence”²²⁹.

However, the story of Jewish rejection is not totally tragic. There is a glimpse of hope. Tannehill warns that “after the preceding contrast between Jews and Gentiles, the reference in 28:30 to Paul welcoming “all” those coming to him should not be dismissed as an idle remark. According to 28:24, some of the Jews Paul had addressed were being persuaded by his message. This provides a motivation for some of them coming to talk to him later”²³⁰. Acts 28:30 makes clear that any Jews or Gentiles who did come were welcomed by Paul. He continued to preach to them and teach. His preaching and teaching focuses on “the reign of God” and “the things concerning the Lord Jesus Messiah”. Tannehill observes that these are the themes of Paul’s preaching to the Roman Jews in 28:23 and he suggests that Jews are at least included in his audience at v. 30.

7.2.3.4.6.8.8 Conclusion: Let me make a brief critical evaluation of what has been suggested and pass my own judgement on this matter. First of all, the words of Paul at

²²⁸ Ibid. 139.

²²⁹ Tannehill, “The Rejection by Jews and Turning to Gentiles”, 136.

²³⁰ Ibid. 140.

the close of Acts cannot be taken as a definitive rejection of Jews. Such an interpretation goes against the very purpose of Luke-Acts which is the universal salvation. Anyone who reads the whole narrative of Luke-Acts will be slow to agree with Haenchen who said “For Luke Jews are written off”. The narrator makes such a great effort to emphasise the theme of universal salvation. How could the universal salvation be valid if the Jews are written off? On the other hand, Jervell goes to the other extreme of neglecting the issue of Jewish rejection. He exaggerates the success of Jewish mission. One cannot deny the fact the Luke is strongly voicing the theme of Jewish rejection. Jervell’s view that there is no pure-Gentile mission in Acts and his words “such idolaters do not belong to the church” is not well founded.

Hauser has argued that Acts 28:28 does not use a judgement terminology. The language used here is unlike the language used in the narrative of Elymas in Acts 13:11 and the prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem in Lk 19:42-44²³¹. In these two cases there is the presence of a judgement language and what has been prophesied by Paul and Jesus comes to be realised. The arguments of Hauser seem to be convincing. Even if Luke were to use the language of judgement I would be slow to believe that it would amount to a total rejection of Jews. The prophetic judgements, however strong they may be, by their very nature contain a ray of hope. The very purpose of a prophetic judgement is to induce a change of heart and conversion. In fact only when the prophetic voice ceases, the people realise that God has abandoned them and regard their situation as hopeless²³². We have already observed that though Isaiah speaks of Jewish rejection in ch. 6 of his book, in the rest of the book there are a lot of allusions to God’s compassion for his people and their salvation. The book of Jonah provides us a good example of a prophetic judgement which is not realised in the end. The judgement Jonah passes on the people of Nineveh seems to be final and definitive: *Only forty days more and Nineveh will be overthrown* (Jonah 3:4). But when the people of Nineveh repent, fast and put on sackcloth God changes his mind.

²³¹ Cf. Hauser, *Strukturen*, 77-8. He pays attention to the use of οὐν in this verse. This particle is used in speeches not to make a new declaration but to make explicit and authoritative that which has been already said before. He brings the examples of the occurrences of οὐν with the verb γινώσκω in 2:36a and the adjective γνωστός in 13:18 and in 28:28. So for him what is declared in 28:28 is not something new but what has been already told in 28:26f.

²³² cf. Psalm 74:9: ‘We do not see our signs; there is no longer any prophet, and there is none among us who knows how long’.

The narrative says: *God saw their efforts to renounce their evil ways. And God relented about the disaster which he had threatened to bring upon them, and did not bring it* (Jonah 3:10). We could understand the harsh words from Isaiah, used by Paul, in a similar way.

How are we to understand the implication of Paul's harsh words? We could see them in different ways. Probably they explain the situation of the church at the time of Luke. The Jewish mission was becoming more and more unsuccessful at the time of Luke. The church was predominantly a Gentile church. Luke understands that the Jews have lost their privilege of being the chosen people. He has maintained in the narrative that, according to divine plan, the Gospel needs to be preached first to the Jews and then to Gentiles. The apostles and specially Paul has carried out this divine plan. Their Jewish mission met with some success in Jerusalem in the early stages. But gradually they found lack of response among the Jews especially in the Diaspora. Paul's final address to the Jewish leaders in Rome is a last attempt to address the Jews as a nation as a whole and as a chosen people. As a nation they have rejected the Gospel. In that way their rejection is definitive. From now onwards the Gospel will not be preached to them as a nation. At the same time they are welcomed as individuals. I would see the expression *πάντας* in v. 30 as including both Jews and Gentiles. Moreover, the expression "Kingdom of God" as the object of Paul's preaching and teaching in Rome does suggest that the Jews, too, are included among those who came to Paul. The emphasis in this final encounter is on the universal mission, rather than on Jewish rejection.

We need to understand these words of Paul in the light of the parable of the sower in the Synoptic tradition. We have noted that the Isaiah quotation is used in the context of this parable in the Synoptic tradition. The point of this quotation is not the rejection of the word but its efficacy and power of it on those who accept it. The fact that the seeds that fall on the good soil produce a hundred-fold fruit is an indication that the word of God will have tremendous effect in those who hear it with openness and a proper disposition. The parable contains a note of hope and success. The word of the Lord will always find some good soil. In spite all obstacles and blocks, the word will grow and increase. No power on earth can prevent its efficacy. The point of Paul's words is not so much the Jewish rejection but the acceptance of the word by

the Gentiles. It is the universal reception of the Word that Luke is trying to tell us about. At the close of Acts, Paul continuing to preach the Gospel “free” and “unhindered” is an indication that the mission will go on and the word of God will triumph.

7:2.4 The Free Preaching in Rome vv. 30-31

7.2.4.1 Structure and Language: Syntactically both the last verses form one single sentence with two co-ordinating main verbs (ἐμμένω and ἀποδέχομαι) and two participles (κηρύσσω and διδάσκω) which are subordinated to the second main verb (ἀποδέχομαι). Paul is the subject of all these verbs, but he is not mentioned by name. Only the first verb, with the statement of duration of stay, is in aorist. We look back to the two ears as a completed time. After that there is a change in tense. The second verb is in imperfect and the participles (including πάντα τοὺς εἰσπορευομένους) are in present tense, because the reality that is described here is lasting the whole period.

The sentence is structured in a classical Lucan style: the four verbs are at the beginning of the series of the sentence, which they rule, and have the same construction in accusative. The first verb has a time-indication, the second has persons, and the last two have the objects of thing which are determined closely by a genitive construction. After the first and the second verbs there follows, after the accusative, another place-designation: ἐν ἰδίῳ μισθώματι, πρὸς αὐτόν. At the end of the sentence we find two designations of circumstances, relatively independent, which probably belong to the two participles κηρύσσω and διδάσκω. We could divide the sentence in a five lines structure. It is evident that that line 1 and 2 and then line 3 and 4 are among them have a parallel structure:

| | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| Ἐνέμεινεν δέ | διετίαν ὅλην | ἐν ἰδίῳ μισθώματι |
| καὶ ἀπεδέχετο | πάντας τοὺς εἰσπορευομένους | πρὸς αὐτόν, |
| κηρύσσω | τὴν βασιλείαν | τοῦ θεοῦ |
| καὶ διδάσκω | τὰ περὶ | τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ |
| μετὰ πάσης παρρησίας ἀκωλύτως. | | |

The first four lines have a similar form as far as the syntax is concerned, and they are built symmetrically. The 5th line draws special attention: here the adverbial-

designations, separated from the last verb by a long object-designation, are moved to the end, and pick up the weight of the sentence²³³. The artistically arranged sentence gives us a direction for understanding the meaning of the sentence: the emphasis is not on identity, number or the behaviour of the visitors (no personal names are reminded of the visitors who are mentioned only once) and not also on the physical state of Paul, but on the content and way and the circumstances of the preaching of Paul in Rome.

7.2.4.2 Vv. 30-31 in Relation to V. 23: These two verses make no direct reference to the preceding narrative on the two meetings. No word is recorded here on the concluding declaration of Paul. It is not told who these visitors are. But when we look back further in the narrative we find that v. 30 has some common elements with v. 23a: report on visitors who come to Paul, time and place designations and a word about the visitors themselves (they came to him in great numbers). There is a still greater similarity between v. 23b and v. 31 in so far as the verbs of preaching and the content of preaching are structured syntactically. In fact the content of preaching is repeated almost in similar words. What is striking is the difference of the situation-designation at the end of these preaching summaries. In the following sentence we shall number the comparative elements, in the order they occur in v. 23²³⁴:

Ταξάμενοι δὲ αὐτῶ

Ἐνέμεινεν δὲ

| | |
|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. ἡμέραν | 1. διετίαν ὅλην |
| 2. ἦλθον | 4. ἐν ἰδίῳ μισθώματι καὶ ἀπεδέχετο |
| 3. πρὸς αὐτὸν | 5. πάντα |
| 4. εἰς τὴν ξενίαν | 2. τοὺς εἰσπορευομένους |
| 5. πλείονες οἷς ἐξετίθετο | 3. πρὸς αὐτόν, |
| 6. διαμαρτυρόμενος | 6. κηρύσσων |
| 7. τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ | 7. τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ |
| 8. πείθων τε αὐτοὺς | 8. καὶ διδάσκων |

²³³ For placing the adverb at the end of the sentence in Luke cf. D. P. Davies, *The Position of Adverbs in Luke*, specially p.114.

²³⁴ Cf. Hauser, *Strukturen*, 45-46.

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|---|--|
| 9.περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἀπὸ τε τοῦ νόμου Μωϋσέως καὶ τῶν προφητῶν, ἀπὸ πρωῒ ἕως ἑσπέρας. | 9. τὰ περὶ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μετὰ πάσης παρρησίας ἀκωλύτως. |
|---|--|

This similarity of the two preaching summaries, which follow closely one another, is unique in the Acts of the Apostles. When one may understand the descriptions of the reactions of the hearers in vv. 24-25a as leading to the last declaration of Paul, then both the summaries form an inclusion to the last word of Paul in vv. 25b-28. The transition from one preaching-situation to another also shows the differences. The last words of Paul then have to be seen as an agent that brings out the change. The external structure of the text shows again the centrality of the last declaration of Paul.

7.2.4.3 Paul's Ministry in Rome: The conclusion of Acts is only thirty one Greek words in length. But its relative brevity does not prevent Luke from leaving his readers with a striking closing image of Paul as a steadfast witness to Jesus²³⁵. V.30 describes the material conditions of Paul's evangelising activity in Rome: "And he lived there two whole years at his own expense, and welcomed all who came to him". This verse gives us three items of information: the period of Paul's preaching activity in Rome, the place and, finally, the recipients of his ministry.

The period of his activity is *διετίαν ὅλην*. We need to see this statement from the context. *ὅλος* is placed after *διετίαν* and serves to emphasise the substantive. Most of the time Luke places the adjective before the substantive²³⁶. Very rarely it is placed after the substantive (cf. Lk 9:25; 11:36; Acts 11:26; 21:30; 28:30). He does not use an article to the adjective when he uses it as a place designation (cf. Acts 9:42; 21:31). *ὅλος* expresses the wholeness and fullness of the thing that is mentioned, and here it concerns the statements of time: the whole night, one whole year, two full years.

The combination *διετίαν ὅλην* appears first of all in the statement in Acts 11:26. They spent *a* whole year but not *the* whole year, as if this length was known from the preceding text. In 28:30 it must be translated correspondingly: "two full

²³⁵ Cf. Cassidy, *Society and Politics in the Acts of the Apostles*, 130.

²³⁶ 12 times in the Gospel and 16 times in Acts

years”, and not as the JB says “the whole of two years”, as if it deals with a period which is known to the reader. There is no legal concept here. This latter piece of information takes on an additional significance when one of Luke’s earlier references to such an interval of time is recalled. For Luke has previously reported in 24:27 that Paul’s imprisonment under Felix lasted for two years. And when the two years of Paul’s time as a prisoner in Rome are added to the two years of his earlier imprisonment, it becomes clear that Paul was in Roman custody for more than four years of his life²³⁷. Reference to a “two year period” in parallel accounts (Philo, *Against Flaccus* 128; Pliny the Younger, *Letters* 10:56) or even longer periods (Josephus, *Life* 13) do not support the suggestion that Luke was referring to a period of time that would elapse and – absent an appearance by the Jewish plaintiffs – result in Paul’s release”²³⁸.

Paul continued under the guard of a soldier, restricted to his quarters, and in some way chained. As a consequence of this confinement, Paul was prevented from the type of “free” ministry that he had conducted in other cities when he preached in the synagogues and public places. The area in which Paul was confined was not a cell in a prison but rather some type of private lodging that he himself presumably arranged for. Paul was allowed to invite visitors to his quarters and to speak with them at some length. Nevertheless he remained chained and under guard during these meetings.

Over the course of Acts, Paul’s ministry has been directed to three principal groups: i) those already Christian, ii) Jewish groups, and iii) Gentile groups. Luke seemingly intends to encompass members of all three of these groups in stating that Paul welcomed “all” who came to him. In its plainest meaning “all” has connotations of universality and seems to preclude any interpretation that Jews were not welcome at Paul’s lodging²³⁹. The fact that the other features contained in Luke’s closing lines all indicate continuity with what has preceded, is an additional ground for holding that Luke here understands the continuation of Paul’s ministry to receptive Jews as well as to members of the other two groups.

²³⁷ Cf. Cassidy, *Society and Politics in the Acts of the Apostles*, 131.

²³⁸ Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 473.

²³⁹ Cassidy, *Society and Politics in the Acts of the Apostles*, 132.

7.2.4.3.1 Preaching (the Kingdom of God): The verb κηρύσσειν occurs 9 times in the Gospel of Luke and 8 times in the Acts (Mk 14; Mt 9; Jn 0). Here in Acts 28:31 it refers to the act of proclaiming the Kingdom of God (Lk 8:1; 9:2; Acts 20:15). Otherwise it appears once with the content of preaching, 4 times with Jesus Christ as the object (Acts 9:20; 8:5; 10:42; 19:13). So the phrase “Kingdom of God” is here almost parallel to “concerning Jesus Christ”. Jesus Christ and the Kingdom of God are the content of the proclamation.

The subjects of this verb are mainly Jesus (Lk 4:18, 19, 44) and Paul (Acts 9:20; 19:13; 20:25; 28:31)²⁴⁰. Often it is shown that these preachers are sent to proclaim, that they act in obedience to a divine command (Lk 4:18, 43; 9:2; Acts 22:21; 26:17). Jesus shares this mission with his apostles (Lk 10:16). So the herald is the messenger of a higher personality, God or Jesus. He appears with authority and in due solemnity. He proclaims the event of salvation. Those who are called to preach cannot just react indifferently. This public proclamation is the first to those who have not yet heard of salvation (Lk 12:3). The proclamation is accompanied by signs and wonders (Lk 9:2; Acts 8:5f.; 19:11f.).

In Luke-Acts κηρύσσειν and εὐαγγελίζεσθαι are substitutable (Lk 3:3,18; 4:43f.; 9:2,6: both have the same object in Lk 8:1). In two places the verb κηρύσσειν goes with διαμαρτύρασθαι (Acts 10:42; 20:24f.) and only in Acts 28:31 it goes along with διδάσκειν. To understand the meaning of κηρύσσειν in Lucan context we need to go back to Lk 3-4 where this verb is used 4 times. It is used first by John the Baptist at the Jordan (Lk 3:39) and last by Paul at the close of Acts. At the Jordan, the Baptist had proclaimed the salvation of God (Lk 3:6), and here, at the end of Acts, Paul proclaims the Kingdom of God and the Lordship of Jesus as this salvation.

7.2.4.3.3 Teaching About the Lord Jesus Christ: The verb διδάσκειν means “to tell some one what to do”, “to instruct”, “to provide instruction in a formal or informal setting”²⁴¹. The Gospels bear witness to the fact that διδάσκειν was one of the most

²⁴⁰ Besides them we have the man healed (Lk 8:39), Philip (Acts 8:5), the Jewish teachers (Acts 15:21), John the Baptist (Lk 3:3; Acts 10:37) and the apostles (Lk 9:2; Acts 10:42).

²⁴¹ Danker, *A Greek Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, 241.

prominent functions of Jesus in his public ministry²⁴². ”Thus in Mt 4:23, in a comprehensive reference to his wandering ministry in Galilee, we first read that he taught in the synagogues, and only then do we read that he proclaimed the glad tidings of the βασιλεία and healed the sick”²⁴³. Jesus usually taught in the synagogues (Mt 9:35; 12:9ff.; 13:54 and par.) or in the temple of Jerusalem (Mk 12:35; Lk 21:37; Mt 26:55).

The form in which he taught is that of a Jewish teacher of the period (cf. Lk 4:16ff.). The matter of his teaching too is within the framework of later Judaism. It is based on the Law and the Prophets. However “he is against estimation of the Law merely for its own sake... The whole teaching of Jesus is with a view to the ordering of life with reference to God and one’s neighbour (Mt 22:37ff. and par.). Thus his teaching constantly appeals to the will, calling for a practical decision either for the will of God or against it”²⁴⁴. Like the Rabbis and Pharisees, for Jesus the Scripture is the revelation of the will of God. On the other hand, for him the Law and Prophets are a confirmation of his own relationship to the Father. “Thus the gap between Jesus and the Rabbis in respect of the subject of teaching is to be found, not in the matter itself, but in his own person, i.e. in the fact of his self-awareness as the Son”²⁴⁵. This is the reason why the teaching of Jesus was unlike that of others and cause astonishment among his hearers (Mt 7:28; 13:53 and par.). For early Christianity the teaching of Jesus was absolute because “with every word he brought his hearers into direct confrontation with the will of God as it is revealed in his Word and as it is constantly revealed in history”²⁴⁶.

Of the 95 occurrences of διδάσκειν in the NT roughly two-thirds are in the Gospels and first part of Acts. This verb appears 17 times in the Gospel of Luke and 16 times in the Acts. The content of teaching in Luke is prayer (Lk 11:11), the way of the Lord (Lk 20:21), the need of circumcision (Acts 15:1), the rejection of Moses (accusation against Paul: 21:21, 28). The author states three times the whole content

²⁴² In non-biblical usage διδάσκειν has an intellectual element. For example a strongly intellectualised use is found in Epictetus, *Diss.*, III, 5, 7. Διδάσκειν is for him an essential mark of the philosopher. Philo has the similar usage. But this is not so with regard to the teaching of Jesus.

²⁴³ Rengstorf, Art. “διδάσκω” in: *TDNT* II, 138.

²⁴⁴ Ibid 139-40.

²⁴⁵ Ibid. 140.

²⁴⁶ Ibid. 140-41.

of the preaching as the object (Acts 28:31; 18:11 (the word of God) and 18:25 (concerning Jesus)). In Acts 4:18 and 5:28 the apostles are forbidden to teach in the name of Jesus. 16 times Jesus is the subject of this verb and 7 times it is Paul (twice with Barnabas); 4 times the twelve, twice Peter and John and once the Holy Spirit, people of Judea, Apollo and John the Baptist. It is also striking that in the trial of Jesus (Lk 23:5) and Paul (Acts 21:21,28) that this verb διδάσκειν is used by their enemies, of course as false accusation. In Acts διδάσκειν appears first in the mouth of Jesus (1:3) and lastly in the mouth of Paul (28:31). Jesus taught about the Kingdom of God and Paul taught concerning the Lord Jesus. The place of teaching is everywhere: the synagogue (Lk 4:15; 6:6; 13:10; Acts 18:25f.), in the temple (Lk 19:47; 21:37; Acts 4:2; 5:21, 25, 42), in houses (Acts 5:42; 20:20), in the open (Acts 20:20), in cities and villages (Lk 13:22), in the whole of Judea (Lk 23:5); in the entire Jewish Diaspora (Acts 21:21)).

Therefore διδάσκειν has a wide unspecified meaning in Acts 28:31. There is no such a clear distinction here between preaching (κηρύσσειν) and catechises (διδάσκειν). Διδάσκειν is also accompanied by other verbs such as εὐηγγελίζεσθαι (Lk 20:1; Acts 5:42; 15:35), ἀναγγέλλειν (Acts 20:20), φθέγγεσθαι (Acts 4:18), διαμαρτύρεσθαι (Acts 20:20f.), λαλέειν (Acts 18:25), καταγγέλλειν (Acts 4:2). It is true that these verbs differ in their basic meaning. But this difference is not found in Acts 28:31. These two preaching verbs in Acts 28:31 emphasise the event of preaching, its importance and its fullness²⁴⁷.

In Acts the διδάσκειν of disciples is in the name of Jesus (Acts 4:18; cf. 5:28). It is accompanied by the proclamation of the resurrection of Jesus (4:2; cf. 5:42). The Scriptures provided them the starting point and background to their teaching. The teaching of the early church culminates in the call to repentance. In the kerygma about Jesus there was the offer of the forgiveness of sins (5:31; 20:21).

The Scripture was used to prove that Jesus was the promised Messiah (18:25; 28:31). In 28:31 διδάσκειν is expressly mentioned with κηρύσσω τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, with which it is combined to give a comprehensive definition of Paul's

²⁴⁷ Cf. Hauser, *Strukturen*, 139-140.

preaching in Rome. “Here again one cannot assume that it denotes the impartation of facts; it rather presents these facts in such a way that the only possibility is to accept them or to be betrayed into opposition to Scripture”²⁴⁸. In 18:11 the narrator says that Paul taught (διδάσκειν) the λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ. Here and as well as in 20:20 λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ need not be taken as the word of NT proclamation of salvation in general, but as the proclamation of salvation on the basis of and in the light of Scripture²⁴⁹.

After “teaching” the Western Text adds, “that this is Christ Jesus, son of God, through whom the whole world will begin to be judged”. The secondary character of the addition seems clear. In the final scene, Luke portrays Paul as continuing the characteristic work of Jesus and the other apostles²⁵⁰.

Paul continued preaching of the Kingdom of God and teaching about the Lord Jesus Christ. There is a certain fullness with respect to the ministry that is signified by such a description. In many respects Paul’s entire previous course could be encompassed under the headings of preaching the Kingdom of God and teaching about the Lord Jesus Christ. By indicating that such was Paul’s ministry in Rome, Luke signifies that Paul was remaining faithful to the fullness of the mission that he had been entrusted with by Jesus²⁵¹. Then the reference to teaching on behalf of the Lord Jesus Christ and the fact that Paul’s teaching took place in Rome, the very home of Festus “Lord” is also highly significant. This juxtaposition of Paul teaching about the Lord in the central precincts of the Emperor can prove somewhat startling. Luke does not portray Paul embarking upon some new activity here. Rather what Luke is showing is that Paul continued with his previous teaching without unduly deferring to his new location at the heart of the empire. Paul had taught concerning the Lord Jesus in the earlier stages of his ministry. Previously he had done this in the eastern Roman provinces; now he does in the capital city itself.

²⁴⁸ Ibid. 146.

²⁴⁹ Cf. Ibid.

²⁵⁰ Cf. Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 473.

²⁵¹ Cf. Cassidy, *Society and Politics in the Acts of the Apostles*, 132.

7.2.4.4 The Characteristics of Paul's Preaching:

7.2.4.4.1 μετὰ πάσης παρρησίας: Luke describes the preaching activity of Paul in Rome with two adverbs. *παρρησίας* occurs 5 times in the Acts²⁵². It has different lexical meanings: public, freedom of speech, openness, without fear, confidence. But in the context of Acts it does mean clarity of exposition of freedom and openness of the speech.

The meaning of this verb in Acts 28:31 is important for the interpretation of the close of Acts. If we take in the sense of “with all freedom” then it gets a political nuance. The Romans grant the prisoner (and the Christianity he represents) the freedom of speech. If we take it as “with all openness” then it could mean the soldiers were not protecting him but preventing his flight. van Unlik maintains that in Acts 28 the main theme is Paul's relationship to Judaism and so *παρρησίας* needs to be taken in the context of a synagogue preaching²⁵³. Hauser is correct in noting that van Unlik neglects the immediate context of 28:30: The stubborn Jews have definitively gone away²⁵⁴. According to Schlier, *παρρησίας* in Acts contains the three motifs of public, candid and forceful speech²⁵⁵. Haenchen agrees with this understanding and adds “in our passage (Acts 28:31) the emphasis is upon the first two”²⁵⁶. He translates this phrase as “trotz allen Freimuts nicht gehindert”²⁵⁷ (inspite of all openness not hindered). Hence Paul is not threatened by visitors or by the Roman officials. We need to look at the use of this adverb in the rest of Acts. The other preaching verbs do not have this adverb.

7.2.4.4.1.1 παρρησίας in Acts 4:1-30: In his speech in Solomon's portico Peter declares that their deed was not from their own power and piety (ἰδίᾳ δυνάμει ἢ εὐσεβείᾳ) (Acts 3:12). When the Sanhedrin questions them by what power and by what name they acted (Ἐν ποίᾳ δυνάμει ἢ ἐν ποίῳ ὀνόματι ἐποιήσατε τοῦτο ὑμεῖς) (4:7) Peter, filled with the Holy Spirit, answers: “in the name of Jesus (4:10). The narrator says: “Now when they saw the *boldness* (*παρρησίαν*) of Peter and John, and perceived that they were uneducated, common men, they wondered; and they

²⁵² Once in Mark, 9 times in John and 8 times in Pauline epistles.

²⁵³ W. C. van Unnik, “The Christian Freedom of Speech in the NT”, in: *BJRyIL* 44 (1961), 480.

²⁵⁴ Hauser, *Strukturen*, 141.

²⁵⁵ H. Schlier, *ThWb* V, 880f.

²⁵⁶ Haenchen, *Acts*, 726 n.5.

²⁵⁷ Haenchen, „Judentum und Christentum in der Apostelgeschichte“, in: *ZNW* 54 (1963), 185.

recognised that they had been with Jesus” (4:13). The apostles are forbidden to speak anymore “in the name of Jesus” (4:17f.). However, Peter and John answer them: “for we cannot but speak of what we have seen and heard” (οὐ δυνάμεθα γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἄ εἶδαμεν καὶ ἠκούσαμεν μὴ λαλεῖν) (4:20). When they are released they join the faithful in solemn prayer which is concluded with the sentence: “And now, Lord, look upon their threats, and grant to thy servants to speak thy word *with all boldness* (μετὰ παρρησίας πάσης λαλεῖν τὸν λόγον σου), while thou stretchest out thy hand to heal, and signs and wonders are performed through the name of thy holy servant Jesus” (4:29-30). Their prayer is heard and “they were all filled with the Holy Spirit and spoke the word of God *with boldness*” (μετὰ παρρησίας) (4:31). After two verses (4:33) Luke narrates: “and with great power (δυνάμει μεγάλη) the apostles gave testimony to the resurrection of the Lord Jesus...”. What is said in 4:31 with the use μετὰ παρρησίας is expressed in v.33 with the words δυνάμει μεγάλη . We could almost say that in this context παρρησίας means the great power of the Holy Spirit.

The comparison between 4:29 and 28:31 prompts Cassidy to give a political nuance to παρρησίας in the last verse of Acts: “Not only do the same three Greek words appear both in 4:29 and 28:31 but the contexts in which they appear are also quite similar. In both instances the phrases indicate a response to a situation in which political authorities are, to varying degree, attempting to intimidate or hinder the disciples of Jesus from preaching publicly in his name”²⁵⁸. According to Cassidy the situation of Paul at the end of Acts is similar to that of Peter and John in ch.4 and the quality that was greatly in need to face this situation was παρρησίας: “While Luke does not explicitly state that Paul was under “threats” in the way that the disciples in Jerusalem had felt themselves to be, has he not actually painted Paul’s situation as a Roman prisoner in comparable and even stronger terms? Like Peter and John, Paul experienced arrest at the hands of the ruling authorities. Like Peter and John, he was brought before their tribunals and interrogated. And like Peter and John’s situation at the time of the community’s prayer, there are ominous elements, evidenced by his guard and his chain, present in Paul’s situation”²⁵⁹. Of course, these parallels are not exact. Paul’s circumstances are clearly those in which the quality of boldness is indeed greatly in need. Luke ascribes this quality to Paul in full measure.

²⁵⁸ Cassidy, *Society and Politics in the Acts of the Apostles*,133.

²⁵⁹ Ibid. 134.

7.2.4.4.1.2 παρρησίας as the Power of God: According to 1:8 the apostles are to receive power (δύναμις) in order to bear witness to Jesus. The Spirit enables them to speak with παρρησίας (2:4,11) which comes from God (4:24, 29; Lk 24:49) and in the name of Jesus (cf. 4:30). Stephen too is given δύναμις and χάρις (6:8), σοφία and πνεύμα (6:3,10). The source of this is not just the Holy Spirit. The context suggests that it is God and Jesus. This charisma gives the apostles the strength to withstand every threat and persecution. Their preaching comes from God. Paul too is given such a power from God to preach and bear witness to Jesus. His act of preaching is frequently described with the verb παρρησιάζομαι which has the same meaning “to speak boldly”:

13:46 *And Paul and Barnabas spoke out boldly (παρρησιασάμενοι), saying,*

9:27 *But Barnabas took him, and brought him to the apostles, and declared to them how on the road he had seen the Lord, who spoke to him, and how at Damascus he had preached boldly in the name of Jesus (ἐπαρρησιάσατο ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Ἰησοῦ).*

19:8 *And he entered the synagogue and for three months spoke boldly (ἐπαρρησιάζετο), arguing and pleading about the Kingdom of God;*

Paul’s preaching is powerful and penetrating (9:22); he speaks openly without the fear of death (14:20; 19:30; 20:20; 21:13f.). At the face of resistance and threat Paul’s boldness to preach the Word is greater (9:20, 22; 14:2f.). His word is supported by the Holy Spirit and from the Lord Jesus (13:4, 9). Paul preaches in the name of Jesus (9:27, 28) and for the Lord (14:3). Signs and wonders accompany his preaching, which is the proof that the Lord is with him (14:3). In difficult moments the Lord promises Paul His presence and protection with the words: “Do not fear but speak...for I am with you” (18:9; cf. 23:11). Through the Spirit and the Lord Jesus, it is in fact God himself who grants Paul his help (26:22). Luke ascribes such a divine assistance to the preaching of Paul in 28:31. Paul shares in the power of the word of God. Paul’s words are open, daring and powerful. Those who hear him are overwhelmed and convinced because he proclaims in the name of Jesus; i.e. in Jesus’ authority and in the power of his name (14:34).

Why does such an expression – “with all boldness”- come at the end of the book of Acts? The immediate context does not seem to call for this expression. The only proper answer is: this word-order marks, just as the expressions of the “power” and

the “growth” of the word, the closing of a stage, of course, the closing of the entire Luke-Acts. For the last time in Luke-Acts the proclamation has been presented in its conquering power. It is an echo of the promise made in 1:8. The Acts does not end in the stillness of a fulfilled programme, but in the assurance, that the proclamation goes further in the power of God.

7.2.4.4.2 ἀκωλύτως: This is the only place this adverb occurs in the NT. Commenting on this adverb in Acts 28:31 Mealand says: “In Acts 28:31 the primary and strongest element in the force of ἀκωλύτως is that of the unhindered exercise of religious liberty by one who had been accused of a criminal offence, and had made some kind of appeal, and was now being permitted to proclaim his message openly without hindrance”²⁶⁰. This adverb has various meanings: freedom in trade, i.e. the unlimited availability of a thing according to sale contract, unhindered movement of a liberated slave according to the certificate of freedom²⁶¹. According to Josephus this word is used to describe the freedom to practice the ancestral religion²⁶² as well as for carrying out tasks without interruption²⁶³. The adjective and verb appear in four places in Josephus (*Ant.* 16,166.169; 16,41; 19,290). It refers to the unhindered practice of the religious duties by the Jews. The obstructions which are removed could be external obstacles which are caused by human beings as well as inner obstacles. The adverb can state specially the freedom of a person for a particular deed.

According to Delling, ἀκωλύτως here refers to the encounter between the Christian faith and the Roman officials²⁶⁴. Luke seems to be declaring here the official judgements, according to which Christianity is set free. What Luke has done is something like what Josephus did, to defend the right to practise a religion freely²⁶⁵. Haenchen and BS Easton have expressed this idea with a key word “religio Licita”, of course without reference to Josephus. According to these authors Luke intended that the Christianity should be granted the same privileges which Judaism enjoyed in the Roman state. Loisy held the same opinion that it was the main purpose of Luke to

²⁶⁰ D. L. Mealand, “Acts 28:30-31 and its Hellenistic Greek Vocabulary”, in: *NTS* 36 (1990), 590.

²⁶¹ Cf. *Ibid.*

²⁶² Cf. Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, 16:41.

²⁶³ Cf. Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, 12:104.

²⁶⁴ Cf. Gerhard Delling, „Das letzte Wort der Apostelgeschichte“, in: *Novum Testamentum* 15 (1977), 193-203.

²⁶⁵ Cf. *ibid* 204.

present Christianity before the Roman officials as an inner-Judaic affair. Hence, for these authors, Acts 28:30-31 is not an abrupt ending but a triumphant note. It is something like Paul's time in the prison in Caesarea where Felix had given him liberty to be visited and cared for. Cassidy, too, agrees with this: "to interpret ἀκωλύτως to mean that the Roman officials were not hindering Paul requires that Luke, in his final word, asked his readers to minimise the significance of Paul's status as a Roman prisoner. According to such an interpretation Luke closed his account by asking his readers to understand that, although Roman officials kept Paul under guard and in chains for two years and prevented him from preaching publicly during this period, they were favourably disposed toward him and were not hindering him. Such an interpretation requires an extremely high level of disjointedness and clumsiness in Luke's imaging of Paul and his surroundings"²⁶⁶. The expression "unhindered" thus shows the tolerance from the part of Rome at that time towards Christian message. It is Luke's passionate desire that Rome should continue this policy²⁶⁷.

Is the use of this word ἀκωλύτως to influence the Roman officials? Does this word have an apologetic sense? The immediate context does not seem to support this understanding. In the closing of Acts no Roman officials are mentioned, other than in 24:23. The personal lodging of Paul emerges in the expression: ἐν ιδίῳ μισθώματι. 28:16-17a speaks of a private lodging, free access to the visitors than the concession from the Roman officials to the prisoner. The immediate context is provided by the Jewish encounter. The proclamation of the word was accompanied by Jewish opposition, from their false accusation and rejection. From these Paul is now freed and he can preach unhindered. Moreover, Luke wants to show the radiance of Paul's message, as it is carried out against the contrary movement of Jews and Gentiles and often also from Christians, because it comes from God²⁶⁸.

The proclamation of the word does need human concessions. Jews were granted such concessions by the Romans. When Luke says Paul preached "without hindrance" he is in fact making a theological statement. The source of this unhindered proclamation is not the Roman tolerance over Christians, but the providence of God

²⁶⁶ Cassidy, *Society and Politics in the Acts of the Apostles*, 135.

²⁶⁷ Cf. Haenchen, *Acts*, 726; a similar view is held by Delling, „Das letzte Wort der Apostelgeschichte“, 193-204.

²⁶⁸ Cf. Schneider, *Apg II*, 421.

who prepares the way for proclamation and assists in its victory²⁶⁹. Cassidy brings out the nuance of this statement correctly: “However, (ἀκωλύτως) used as the final word of Acts, it seems highly probable that Luke intended it to underscore the boldness which he attributed to Paul in the preceding phrase. It would be important to understand the word “unhindered” as describing the resoluteness with which Paul continued his preaching and teaching and as indicating that his status as a prisoner and his chains did not have the effect of intimidating, deterring, or hindering him from this witness”²⁷⁰

7.2.4.5 The Abrupt Ending of Acts: Luke-Acts comes to an end with the presentation of Paul’s ministry in Rome (28:30-31). The curtain falls without having mentioned anything about Paul’s trial before Caesar and the further destiny of Paul. Scholars have proposed various reasons for such an abrupt ending of Acts. Historical criticism looks for a material cause for this premature conclusion. It may be lack of papyrus or Luke may have come to the end of his documentation. Cadbury thinks that Luke found no more details in his sources²⁷¹. According to the Canon of Muratori, the author limited himself in Acts to things that were done in his presence and so omits the passion of Peter and Paul’s journey from Rome to Spain. Barrett assumes that Luke had nothing more to say as Paul lived out the rest of his life in oblivion²⁷². Roloff and Walaskay believe that it was the inner conflict and jealousy within the Christian community that led to Luke’s abrupt ending and his silence with regard to the death of Paul²⁷³. All these scholars have one thing in common: they attribute an unintentional cause to the abrupt ending of Luke-Acts.

Theological criticism considers the end of Acts as the result of a theological strategy. The programmatic summary at 1:8 states the command of the Risen Lord

²⁶⁹ Cf. Hauser, *Strukturen*, 147.

²⁷⁰ Cassidy, *Society and Politics in the Acts of the Apostles*, 134.

²⁷¹ Cf. Cadbury, *Making of Luke-Acts*, 321.

²⁷² Cf. Barrett, *End of Acts*, 550.

²⁷³ 1 Clement 5:2ff. mentions that Paul and Peter were put to death in Rome on account of jealousy and greed. This information corresponds to the comment of Paul in his letter to Philippians (1:15ff.) which was presumably written during his imprisonment in Rome. Paul here speaks of the conflicting behaviour of the local Christian community towards him. Luke may be deliberately not mentioning these facts with the intention of not wanting to open the old wounds of his community. Moreover Luke does not want to impair, at the end of his work, the harmonious image of his church which he has programmatically painted as free from all conflicts. Cf. Roloff, P.W. Walaskay, *And So We Came to Rome*, 18-22.

was to be his witnesses to the end of the earth. Acts is concerned with the proclamation of the Word. It is not the biography of Peter and Paul. Its focus is on the expansion of Christian mission. Luke intends to conclude his work as the word of God reaches Rome and the command of the Risen Lord in Acts 1:8 is carried out. But this view has certain difficulty as Rome was not the end of the earth and Christianity had reached Rome before Paul's arrival there. Marguerat raises an important question: "If Luke had wanted to make the figure of witness disappear behind the advance of the mission, why is there such a focalisation on the person of Paul?"²⁷⁴ Certainly Luke is interested in depicting the figure of Paul as an exemplary missionary to the Gentiles. For some scholars, Luke was basically an apologist and thus avoided narrating the death of Paul so as not to displease the Romans. According to Haenchen, it would have been prejudicial to the image of Rome to conclude the narrative with Paul's execution on the order of the Emperor²⁷⁵. In our first chapter we have observed that this apologetic theory is not very popular today.

A better solution to the abrupt ending of Acts is to be found by the literary critics. In his *Homilies on Acts* John Chrysostom makes the following comment: "The author brings his narrative to this point, and leaves the hearer thirsty so that he fills up the lack by himself through reflection. The outsiders do the same; for knowing everything wills the spirit to sleep and enfeebles it. But he does this, and does not tell what follows, deeming it superfluous for those who read the Scripture, and learn from it what it is appropriate to add to the account. In fact you may consider that what follows is absolutely identical with what precedes" (*Homily on Acts 15*). For John Chrysostom the ending of Acts is intentional and part of Luke's literary strategy. Such a literary style is found in non-Christian literature. The purpose of this is to activate the reader's reflection and ask him to fill the gap by extrapolation from the preceding narrative.

7.2.4.5.1 Abrupt Conclusions in Ancient Greek Literature: The example for the so called "narrative suspension" is found in the ending of some works of ancient Greek literature. The two works of Homer, Iliad and the Odyssey, are good examples. In ancient times Homer was the source and inspiration of all culture and literature. The

²⁷⁴ Daniel Marguerat, *The First Christian Historian*, 208.

²⁷⁵ Cf. Haenchen, *Acts of the Apostles*, 731-2.

Iliad closes with Achilles giving Hector's corpse back to Priam and with the funeral laments of the Trojans²⁷⁶; the Odyssey ends with Ulysses triumphing over the revolt in Ithaca and his return home²⁷⁷. The reader is left under the impact of the prediction, made several times, of the death of Achilles and the fall of Troy. But the fulfilment of these predictions is not narrated in the conclusion. In the Odyssey, Tiresias predicts that Ulysses will have to leave Ithaca again on a new journey²⁷⁸. But the conclusion does not narrate this either.

Such a literary pattern is seen also in ancient historiography. In his treatise on "How to Write History", Lucian of Samastota defends the idea that "one should touch lightly on the facts that lack interest or value, and dwell on those of importance; nevertheless, there are many which one can pass over in silence" (56). The writings of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, especially his "On Thucydides" and his "Letter to Pompeius" can be cited as examples²⁷⁹. Marguerat points out that "the identification of a rhetoric of silence in poetry, theatre, Hellenistic novel and historiography leads to the conclusion that it existed as a literary convention"²⁸⁰. Such a convention can also be seen in the Bible²⁸¹. For example the second Book of Maccabees ends with the success of Judas, rather than with his defeat and death. Most probably Luke was following this pattern. Marguerat sums up the reason and effect of such a method: i) the rhetorical device takes the form of narrative suspension whereby the author, by failing to bring certain narrative data to their resolution, prevents the closure of the narrative world for the reader; ii) the closure must be achieved by the reader himself, who, in order to satisfy the need for completion, is tempted to finish the story in consonance with its plot; iii) the narrative, even without closure, may end up with a scene of declaration that functions as a metaphor or a synecdoche and implies the unwritten outcome of the narrative²⁸².

²⁷⁶ Homer, *Iliad* 22.405-515.

²⁷⁷ Homer, *Odyssey*, 23.248-96.

²⁷⁸ Cf. Homer, *Odyssey*, 11.119-37.

²⁷⁹ Cf. Daniel Marguerat, *The First Christian Historian*, 213-15.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.* 215.

²⁸¹ Cadbury argues "other histories are divided into books sometimes just before rather than just after a principal figure is disposed of. A modern writer would probably in each case divide between the four books of Samuel-kings rather differently than was done, so that the lament of David over Saul (2 Sam 1), the death of David (1 Kings ii) and the assumption of Elijah (2 Kings ii) would stand at the close of a volume rather than near the beginning". H. J. Cadbury, *Making of Luke-Acts*, 323.

²⁸² Cf. Marguerat, *The First Christian Historian*, 215-16.

7.2.4.5.2 Rhetoric Silence in Acts: Luke has prepared the reader to expect the trial of Paul before the Emperor in Rome (acts 23:11; 25:11; 26:32; 27:23). But when the moment is approaching Luke devotes a lot of time to narrate the voyage (27:1-28:15). Marguerat believes that the narrative of “the voyage to Rome has a delaying effect, which must have a specific function with regard to the reader’s expectation”²⁸³. The rescue from the sea is like a metaphor of salvation. The last two chapters of Acts are organised according to a two-part scheme: the first part (27:1-28:10) is devoted to the Gentiles. Its counterpart (28:11-31) is devoted to the mission to the Jews. The narrative conclusion of 27:44 (“And so it was that all escaped to land”) must be read in this perspective: “the rescue of the passengers of the ship prefigures the salvation of all the nations of the earth, which is already anticipated by the quasi-Eucharistic meal over which Paul presides aboard ship”²⁸⁴. Paul has an important role to play in this rescue from the shipwreck. It has been revealed to him by an angel that the rescue of “all” from shipwreck is a favour granted to him. Paul is thus the mediator of salvation for the entire company of 276 people. The reader knows that Paul is innocent with regard to the charges brought against him by his fellow Jews (18:14-15; 20:26; 23:3,9; 24:12-13; 25:18,25; 26:31-2). But on the narrative plane, Paul needs to be declared innocent before the Gentiles. Thus the divine rescue in ch. 27 brings out the intervention of God who is the Lord of the sea, in favour of Paul. It is divine providence that certifies that Paul is not guilty. G.B. Miles and G. Trompf have come up with several examples from Greek literature which indicate that the rescue from the sea was a classic motif of divine protection of the just²⁸⁵. These authors conclude that Luke does not need to narrate the appearance of Paul before a human court while he has been already declared innocent by divine intervention²⁸⁶. His innocence is further testified by his deliverance from the snake-bite and the healings through his hands in Malta.

The encounter with the Jewish leaders of Rome (28:17-28) seems to have a trial set up. However the roles here are reversed. Paul pleads his innocence and confesses his faithfulness to Judaism. At the second encounter, however, the issue is not Paul’s innocence rather the culpability of the Jews before the Christian message. The hearers

²⁸³ Ibid. 216.

²⁸⁴ Ibid. 217.

²⁸⁵ Cf. G. B. Miles and G. Trompf, “Luke and Antiphon: The Theology of Acts 27-28 in the Light of Pagan Beliefs about Divine Retribution, Pollution, and Shipwreck”, in: *HTHR* 69 (1976) 259-67.

²⁸⁶ Cf. Ibid. 265.

of Paul are divided in their response to his Gospel. Paul closes his conversation with the Jews of Rome with the words of judgement from the prophet Isaiah. Luke presents before us a scene of complete reversal. The Jews who accused Paul are now themselves being judged. A harsh prophetic judgement falls on them. Marguerat sums up this “reversal scene” as follows: “The image of the apostle arriving in Rome as a distinguished visitor, welcomed by a Christian delegation (28:15), settled into the liberal status of the *custodia militaris* (28:16,30), receiving crowds of people at home (28:17,23,30) - this glowing image is not designed to spare the imperial justice, but rather to effect an exchange of roles. The prisoner reaches the capital and stays there with the authority of one who will not be judged, but will deliver a judgement. The function of the sequence in Acts 27:1-28:16 is to prepare for this reversal. But this happens in a paradox. The bearer of the word is in chains 28:16b)”²⁸⁷.

This is the reason for the silence regarding Paul’s trial: The reader is aware of the fact that Paul has been killed by the Roman authorities. Luke, through the effect of judicial reversal and rhetoric of silence, intends to emphasise and reinterpret this fact that is fresh in his readers’ memory: the execution of Paul in Rome at the close of his trial. This subtle game with the memory of the reader is signalled by reference to the limited length of Paul’s stay in Rome (v. 30 διετία) whose result the reader does not need to be told. But Luke depends on this memory in order to invert the roles. It is not the apostle to the Gentiles, but the chosen people in Rome who are judged. Thus the rhetoric of silence leads the reader to conclude the narrative in accordance with the plot. In addition to it Luke has already presented certain means to his reader to guide him in the task of concluding the narrative. At least three times in the narrative the death of Paul is announced (20:35.38; 21:11).

It is important for the author of Acts to preserve the image of Paul preaching at the end of Acts. By means of this remembrance and this activity the world of the narration and the world of the reader are, in his view, linked together. Paul’s activity in Rome is chronologically limited: “He lived there two whole years”. The aorist ἐνέμεινεν and the temporal indication διετίαν ὅλην signal a period that is over, beyond which readers should use their own information and other narrative data. The summary has the biographical goal of closing the activity of the hero of Acts. At the

²⁸⁷ Marguerat, *The First Christian Historian*, 219-20.

same time, the picture has a paradigmatic purpose. The syntactic construction, an imperfect indicative (ἀπεδέχετο –v. 30b) followed by a chain of participles (κηρύσσων, διδάσκων -v. 31), create an effect of duration and exemplariness. This construction is often found in the summaries of Acts (2:42, 45-47; 5:16; 8:3; 12:25; 15:35; 18:11; 19:8-10), which describe the ideal and permanent state of the Christian community and its mission. The unlimited openness of the evangelisation of Paul is attested by the fact that Paul received all who came. The word recapitulates Paul’s three audiences: Jews, Gentiles and Christians.

Luke presents Paul as the ideal pastor and a model for the persecuted Christian. In the imperial capital, Christianity, like Paul, will now find its home. At the centre of the empire, where the Roman power resides, Paul preaches the power of God’s rule. Thus in the final summary the narrative world rejoins the readers’ world. There was no question of ending with a celebration of the past, however glorious. The final image of Paul the evangelist, as Luke takes his leave, requires reconstituting in the life of readers. The summary of 1:8 remains open to be fulfilled.

7.2.4.5.3 In Comparison With the Ending of Mark: J. Magness makes a strong case that Mark 16:8 is the original ending of the Gospel. Magness cites many parallels from ancient times, secular as well as Scriptural, which have an abrupt ending. It is an intentional abruptness, and ending that, while it may not make sense, can be made sense of, which is precisely our task as readers. She maintains that the ending of Mark is suspended and not absent: “the suspended ending causes the reader to act on the ending. Our contention has been that readers would have been forced to fill in the suspended ending”²⁸⁸. The open ending of Mark impels the reader to go back to the Gospel, returning to the beginning of the text and reading again.: “Thus the awkward ending at Mk 16:8 coupled with the ambiguous allusion to Galilee in 6:7, signals the reader to return to the beginning of the Gospel, to begin reading all over again”²⁸⁹.

“Paul, for all his heroism, for all the focus upon him in Acts 13-28, is not the central character of Luke-Acts; Jesus is. At some point, in some way, Luke needs to return the reader’s attention to his central character. Just as Mark returns his readers to

²⁸⁸ J. L. Magness, *Sense and Absence*, 123.

²⁸⁹ R. M. Fowler, *Let the Reader Understand: Reader-response Criticism and the Gospel of Mark* (Minneapolis : Fortress Press, 1991) 262.

Jesus' passion, teaching, and miracles by refusing to recount his resurrection, so Luke chooses to turn attention back to Jesus by refusing to recount Paul's execution. Paul's absent martyrdom may, at one level, turn the reader to Stephen (Acts 7), but finally it will return the reader to the passion of Jesus. And as the absent ending of Mark's Gospel sends the reader back to the beginning of his text, so the absent ending of Acts sends the reader back to the beginning that is, to the beginning of the Gospel of Luke"²⁹⁰.

²⁹⁰ Wm.F.Brosend, II, "The Means of Absent ends", in: *History, Literature, and society in the Book of Acts*, Ben Witherington, III (ed.), 361.

Chapter Eight

Acts 27-28: Mission and Compassion

8.1 Introduction: Our study of the voyage-narrative has brought to light two important observations: the absence of preaching Jesus Christ throughout the voyage narrative and the emphasis on kindness and mutual help between Paul and the pagans. One is surprised to note that Paul who has been up to now a passionate preacher of the Gospel speaks nothing of Jesus and his Gospel throughout the voyage. Not once in the whole of the voyage narrative the name of Jesus is mentioned. Certainly Paul did have occasions on which he could have proclaimed the Gospel. When he was telling to his companions about his angelic vision, Paul could have used Christ-language. Before he encouraged them to eat the meal of salvation, Paul could have introduced the pagans to the event of the Last Supper and the ministry and passion of Jesus. On the island of Malta Paul heals by prayer and by laying the hands on the sick. This healing action of Paul does remind the reader of the healing activity of Jesus, and particularly the healing of Peter's mother-in-Law. Even here Paul has abstained from proclaiming directly the message of Jesus. Certainly Paul has not changed his loyalty to Jesus and his Gospel. When he comes to Rome he will continue to proclaim to the Jews the Gospel concerning Jesus Christ. Jervell has pointed out that Acts does not give us an account of the mission to pure Gentiles. According to him "such idolaters" do not belong to the Kingdom¹. Paul's preaching is oriented towards the Gentile God-fearers who were associated with the Jewish Synagogue. Is that the reason why Paul has not proclaimed the Gospel of Christ to the "pure" pagans on the ship and on the island of Malta?

On the other hand, the voyage-narrative has emphatically pointed out the friendly relationship between Paul and the centurion. A lot of emphasis has been laid on the mutual help and co-operation between the Christians and the pagans. Cassidy is

¹ Cf. Jervell, "The Church of Jews and God-fearers", in: *Luke-Acts and the Jewish People: Eight Critical Perspectives*, ed. Joseph B. Tyson (Mineapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1988), 18.

one among others who thinks that this cordial relationship between the Christians and the pagans on the ship is related to the very purpose of Luke-Acts. Luke is addressing the Christians living in the Gentile-dominated world. It is important for them to live with the Gentiles in a cordial and kind co-existence.

In these two concluding chapters of Acts we can trace a few guidelines for inter-religious dialogue. How should Christians relate themselves to pagans? Should the pagans be regarded as people who remained outside God's salvation? Do they need to be converted to Christianity? Luke does not provide us with clear answers to such questions. But these two chapters do give us some clues and hints on how Christians should regard pagans and in what way they need to encounter them. Of course the whole narrative of Luke-Acts is in some sense "dialoguing" of the Christian message with the Greek world. In his narrative, Luke has made use of Greek concepts and literary forms in order to enter into dialogue with Greek culture and religion. In Acts 17 Paul is in dialogue with the philosophers of Athens. But the purpose of that dialogue was to lead his hearers to accept the Christian message. Such does not seem to be the case in Acts 27-28. In this narrative, Luke is trying to present to us a new and different attitude and approach with regard to the Gentiles. One gets the impression that in this narrative the pagans are allowed to be pagans, that they are saved as pagans. The universal mission which has been so emphatically narrated in Luke-Acts is now given a new perspective. Luke seems to tell us that there are times and seasons in which Christians do not need to directly proclaim the Christian message to the people of other religions. All that is required of them at those moments and in those contexts is that the Gospel is lived: that compassion is recognised, accepted and given. The author brings out the Gospel values of kindness and hospitality prevalent among the pagans. The voyage-narrative introduces us to a dialogue between Paul and the Gentiles on the level of compassion, co-operation and hospitality. We cannot strictly call it an Inter-religious dialogue. It is not a dialogue between two religions. However, Paul's interaction with the Gentiles

does give us some useful insights on how Christians should interact with the people of other religions.

8.2 Dialogue at the Level of Human Compassion: As we have observed in our study there is no evangelization in the voyage-narrative. However the core of the Gospel - “Be merciful as your heavenly Father is merciful” (Lk 6:36) - is present throughout the voyage narrative. And this is what binds this voyage-narrative emphatically to the rest of Luke-Acts. The ministry of compassion is narrated here in a different context. In the voyage-narrative (Acts 27:1-28:10), Paul is no longer interacting with the Jews or Christians, but with the pagans on the ship and on the island of Malta. He is no longer a free man but a prisoner. Paul is not presented in this narrative as the sole benefactor. He is both a receiver and giver, just as the pagans on the ship and on the island. The narrative brings out very strikingly the goodness and the Gospel values found among the pagans. In this interaction between the Christian Paul and the pagans, the goodness in the pagans is made to spring forth and is recognized. The stormy sea and the threat of death enable Paul and the pagans to show kindness to one another, to cooperate and work together for saving the lives of all. We shall look at this kind behavior between Paul and the pagans in the context of the theme of compassion in the rest of Luke-Acts. The Gospel of Luke considers the mission of Jesus as revealing and realizing the compassion of his Father. In the last two chapters of Acts both Christians and the pagans bear witness to the compassion of God revealed in the ministry of Jesus.

8.2.1 Divine Generosity as the Source of the Mission: In the midst of the storm Paul is told by the angel not to be afraid because God has graciously given to him all those who are sailing with him (27:24). This verb *χαρίζομαι* occurs 23 times in the NT. The LXX uses this verb with the meaning “to give” or “grant”. In 2 Macc 3:33, for example, it carries the meaning “to grant”: *since through him the Lord has granted you your life*. Jesus grants the power of sight in Luke 7:21, just as, according to Hellenistic authors, “deliverance” is granted. Gal

3:18 uses the verb in the sense of “showing of favor” from the part of the person who grants an inheritance: *For if the inheritance is by the Law, it is no longer by promise; but God gave (κεχάρισται) it to Abraham by a promise.* In Luke 7:41-43 χαρίζομαι is concerned with the legal process of remission of guilt: *When they (two debtors) could not pay, he cancelled (ἐχαρίσατο) the debts for both of them.* Lk 7:47f. also focuses on forgiveness of sins, even if the verb does not occur there.

Thus the narrator points out God’s graciousness as the source of universal salvation. This theme runs through Luke-Acts. Jesus has come into this world to reveal and to realize God’s compassion to humankind. His mission is nothing other than to communicate this divine generosity. Let us examine some of the important passages of the Gospel where the author brings out the compassion and generosity of the Father as the source of the mission of Jesus.

8.2.1.1 The Infancy Narratives: The salvation of humankind through the ministry, death and resurrection of Jesus, has been attributed to the mercy of the Father. He is the author of salvation. This is clearly illustrated in the two canticles in the Infancy Narratives: Magnificat and Benedictus. At the greeting of Elizabeth, Mary sings of the greatness of God because “His *mercy* (ἔλεος) is on those who fear him, from generation to generation” (Lk1:50). The word ἔλεος is repeated in v. 54. God “has helped his servant Israel, in remembrance of his *mercy* (ἔλεος)”. Mary sings God’s praise in the name of all redeemed humanity. „Die ihr, der demütigen Magd Gottes widerfahrene besondere Gnade, den Messias Gottes zu gebären, gilt als beispielhaft für die Barmherzigkeit Gottes, die allen zugesagt wird, die Gott fürchten, ihn als Gott ehren“².

The mercy of God which Mary has experienced and which she proclaims in her Magnificat has a wider dimension. It goes beyond the confines of the Jewish nation. Klauck has correctly pointed out that the expression τοῖς φοβουμένοις

² Walter Schmithals, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas*, Zürcher Bibelkommentare, (Zürich: theologischer Verlag, 1980), 31.

αὐτόν in Lk 1:50 would spontaneously remind the reader of the pagan centurion Cornelius in Acts 10:2³. In this narrative, God’s mercy is extended to a Gentile because Cornelius “and all his family were devout and God-fearing” (Acts 10:2). In Magnificat, the expression εἰς γενεὰς καὶ γενεὰς (“from generation to generation”) is given in plural. In the OT we do not find an exact word for word parallel to this expression. Klauck assumes, „Könnte es sich nicht so verhalten, daß der Plural ‘auf Geschlechter und Geschlechter hin’ anstelle des Singulars und anstelle der bloßen Zeitangabe die Geschlechterfolge über das Volk Israel hinaus öffnen und nachgeborene Generationen außerhalb Israels in das erbarmende Handeln Gottes einziehen will?“ Klauck supports his argument by referring to the theme of “status reversal” in Magnificat: *He has scattered those who are proud in their inmost thoughts; he has put down the mighty from their thrones, and exalted those of low degree; he has filled the hungry with good things, and the rich he has sent empty away* (Lk 1:51b-53). This ‘status reversal’ theme is realized in the narrative of Luke-Acts. The salvation of God which has been largely rejected by the chosen People and accepted by the Gentiles is yet another example of how the words of Magnificat – status reversal - have come true in Acts⁴. God’s mercy extends to all because, as Peter says, *Truly I perceive that God shows no partiality, but in every nation any one who fears him and does what is right is acceptable to him* (Acts 10: 34-35).

At the birth of John the Baptist “the neighbors and the kinsfolk heard that the Lord had shown great mercy (ἐλεος) to her (Elizabeth)”. The repetition of the word in such a quick succession indicates that Luke wants to ascribe the birth of Jesus and his mission of salvation to the great ἐλεος of the Father. The noun ἐλεος and the verb ἐλεεῖν attested from the time of Homer, speak of the emotion experienced in the presence of an affliction that has come upon another and the action resulting from this emotion⁵. The LXX uses it to translate the Hebrew concept of *hesed* which signifies the gracious and creative faithfulness of God.

³ Hans-Josef Klauck, „Gottesfürchtige im Magnificat?“, in: *NTS* 43 (1997), 134.

⁴ Cf. *Ibid.* 136.

⁵ Cf. F. Staudinger, Art. “ἐλεος” in: *EDNT* 1, 430.

According to Luke “the promised mercy (*hesed*) of God, which in the OT experienced in Israel’s salvation history, reaches its fullness in the gracious self-revelation of God among the insignificant and the poor in the incarnation of his Son”⁶.

Zechariah blesses the Lord, God of Israel because he has visited (ἐπεσκέψατο) his people and redeemed them. The verb ἐπισκέπτομαι which has 11 occurrences in the NT, appears 3 times in Luke and 4 times in Acts. In the NT this verb has various meanings: i) visit, with the related meaning of care for someone (6 times); ii) to seek out or look out (for) (2 times); and iii) with God as subject, graciously visit (3 times in Lucan special material)⁷. Ἐπισκέπτομαι refers to God’s gracious visitation only in Luke, of which two occurrences are in the hymn of Zechariah (Lk 1:68, 78). In the introduction of the song of praise there is a reference to the gracious visitation of the people in the salvation history of the past in order to prepare way for redemption. The conclusion (v. 78) promises God’s visitation for the dawning time of fulfillment: διὰ σπλάγχνα ἐλέους θεοῦ ἡμῶν, ἐν οἷς ἐπισκέπεται ἡμᾶς ἀνατολή ἐξ ὕψους, (because of the faithful love of God in which the rising sun has come from on high to visit us {NJB}; through the tender mercy of our God, when the day shall down upon us from on high {RSV}). Placing the noun σπλάγχνον besides ἔλεος in this verse brings out very powerfully Luke’s intention of attributing the salvation of humanity to the compassion of the Father. The verb σπλαγχνίζομαι occurs three times in the Gospel of Luke:

Luke 7:13 And when the Lord saw her, he had compassion on her and said to her, "Do not weep."

Luke 10:33 But a Samaritan, as he journeyed, came to where he was; and when he saw him, he had compassion,

⁶ Ibid. 431.

⁷ Cf. J. Rhode, Art. “ἐπισκέπτομαι” in: *EDNT* 2, 34.

Luke 15:20 And he arose and came to his father. But while he was yet at a distance, his father saw him and had compassion, and ran and embraced him and kissed him.

The verbs σπλαγχνίζομαι and ἐπισκέπτομαι appear again in the context of the raising of the widow's son at Nain. The response of the people at such a wonder understands this raising as the fulfillment of the prediction in the Benedictus: *God has graciously visited his people* (Lk 7:16). "The Greek verb σπλαγχνίζομαι used in all these texts is derived from the noun σπλάγγνον, which means intestines, bowels, entrails or heart, that is to say, the inward parts from which strong emotions seem to arise. The Greek verb therefore means a movement or impulse that wells up from one's very entrails, a gut reaction⁸.

8.2.1.2 Jesus' Understanding of his Mission: The baptism-experience of Jesus marks the beginning of the mission of Jesus: *Now when all the people were baptised, and when Jesus also had been baptised and was praying, the heaven was opened, and the Holy Spirit descended upon him in bodily form, as a dove, and a voice came from heaven, "Thou art my beloved Son; with thee I am well pleased"* (Σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν σοὶ εὐδόκησα) (Lk 3:21-22). Jesus is here "anointed" with the Spirit in view of his messianic role (Is 61:1). But the heavenly address suggests a status beyond that of the Messiah of conventional expectation. "As in the case of Gabriel's description at the annunciation (Lk 1:35) and the response of the boy Jesus in the temple (Lk 2:49), there are overtones of a unique filial relationship to God. Jesus is Israel's Messiah. But the messianic mission for which he is now empowered will principally consist in drawing human beings into the filial relationship with God that he enjoys as "Beloved Son" (cf. 10:21-24). To experience the Spirit is to know one is at home within the family of God"⁹.

⁸ Cf. Albert Nolan, *Jesus Christ before Christianity* (Third Edition; London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1992) 35.

⁹ Brendan Byrne, *The Hospitality of God* (Collegeville, Minn., 2000) 41.

This is a prayer-experience of Jesus. It is an experience of God's unsurpassable love. In his human consciousness Jesus is totally overpowered with the compassion of the Father. This experience is like a powerful bomb that explodes in his compassion for others. He understands his mission as a call to compassion. His mission - his works, teaching and his passion and death - is only to communicate to humanity what he has experienced at his baptism.

He understands his mission as a fulfillment of the prophecy of Isaiah. In the synagogue of Nazareth he inaugurates his ministry with the words from the prophet Isaiah: *The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he has anointed me to preach good news to the poor. He has sent me to proclaim release (ἀφῆσις) to the captives and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty (ἐν ἀφέσει) those who are oppressed, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord* (Luke 4:18-19). In the first line Jesus is once again introduced as one who carries and one who brings the Holy Spirit. The second line underlines that he is sent by God to bring the Good News of salvation. The three following lines characterise the "Good News" as the message of forgiveness and liberty¹⁰.

From the moment of his empowerment with the Spirit (Lk 3:22), Jesus can say, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me", and apply to the ministry he is about to launch the "programme" composed by the prophet Isaiah centuries before. The content of the sermon lies in the phrases of the text outlining various ways in which Jesus will bring salvation. It is the Good News proclaimed to the poor. Omitting the phrase about binding up the broken-hearted, the text as quoted by Luke jumps immediately to the idea of liberation: to proclaim release (ἀφῆσις) to captives. In his canticle Zechariah had spoken of "knowledge of salvation" coming to God's people in the release of their sins (Lk 1:77). In fulfillment of this John had proclaimed a "baptism of repentance for the release (ἀφῆσις) of sin (Lk 3:3). The ministry of Jesus will have much to do with freeing people from the captivity of sin. Sin is not so much a situation of guilt that has to

¹⁰ Cf. W. Schmithals, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas* (Zürcher Bibelkommentare; Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1980) 62.

be forgiven as a plight from which one needs to be set free. The phrase “to let the oppressed go free” is not found in Is 61:1-2. It is taken from Is 58 where the prophet is complaining about Israel’s readiness to be scrupulous about the ritual requirements of fasting while neglecting the duties of social justice. Thus the ministry of Jesus will fulfill the programme of social justice which God required of Israel. The word ἄφεσις occurs often in connection with two related customs enshrined in Israel’s Torah. According to Deut 15:1-18, in the Seventh or Sabbatical Year the land had to lie fallow and there had to be remission of all debts and release from the bonds of slavery. Leviticus prescribed that Israel celebrate the Fiftieth or Jubilee year as a “year of release” in which along with release from slavery, land alienated through hardship from a clan or family had to return to its original owners. Is 61:1-2 seems to allude to these customs.

The liberation that Jesus brings is the freedom from the bond of sin. “But spiritual “release” is, in Luke’s perspective, a beachhead and pledge of a liberation that will encompass the totality of human life, including the socio-economic structures of society”. Such a vision has already appeared in Mary’s Magnificat (Lk 1:46-55). It is powerfully restated in the Beatitudes (Lk 6:20-23).

The final element of the Lucan text (Lk 4:19) quotes in full the phrase about proclaiming “a year of acceptance” but omits altogether the threatening final proclamation of a “day of vengeance of our God”. Luke deliberately omits this passage although the idea of judgement and retribution is found in the preaching of John and of Jesus. Luke wants to emphasize that the ministry that Jesus is now inaugurating is not about vengeance but “acceptance”. “The ‘acceptable year of the Lord’ is the season of God’s “hospitality” to the human race, which it is Jesus’ mission to proclaim and enact. It is a time when people are simply accepted, not judged. True, it is a summons to conversion - an urgent and insistent summons to a deep and transforming conversion. But before

conversion there is acceptance, welcome, a hand held out to the afflicted, the trapped and the bound”¹¹.

8.2.1.3 Jesus’ Teaching on Compassion: Comparison between Luke 10 and Acts 27-28: Throughout his Gospel, Luke describes Jesus as the man of compassion. Both by his deeds as well as by his teaching Jesus reveals to the world the compassion of the Father. As we have seen compassion lies at the heart of God’s plan of universal salvation (cf. Luke 1:78-79). Different episodes in Luke-Acts are tied together with this basic theme of compassion and salvation. And each episode helps to move this main theme forward. Hence particular episode or a discourse in Luke-Acts sheds light on another and is helpful to understand another episode in the narrative. Is there any episode or a narrative in Luke-Acts that is particularly related to Acts 27-28? Our study has shown that there are several of them: speeches as well as narratives. However, among all these, chapter 10 of the Gospel of Luke is related to Acts 27-28 in a very particular way. Both these share common themes and certain amount of common vocabulary. We shall be able to understand the dialogue of compassion in Acts 27-28 better when we relate it to ch.10 of Luke’s Gospel and study it in the light of it. Lk 10 consists of a mission discourse, woes to the unrepentant cities, return of the seventy, prayer of thanksgiving, the parable of the good Samaritan and the visit of Jesus to Martha and Mary. The parable of the good Samaritan receives an emphatic place in this chapter. By means of this parable Luke brings out very vividly the teaching of Jesus on compassion. Let us first briefly look at some of these episodes.

8.2.1.3.1 Mission Discourse (Lk 10:1-12): Luke introduces this chapter with the statement: *After this, the Lord appointed¹² seventy others, and sent them on ahead of him, two by two, into every town and place where he himself was about*

¹¹ Brendan Byrne, *The Hospitality of God*, 50.

¹² The verb ἀναδείκνυμι has been used by the Hellenistic Historians (e.g. Polybius and Josephus) in the technical sense of “to authorise”, “to appoint to an office”. In the LXX it is used generally of the appointment of a king or a governor. However in 1 Esdras 2:3 this verb is used of God’s appointment of Cyrus as king of the world, and in 8:23 of the judges who would know the Law of God. Its use here in Luke 10 may be an indication that Luke saw these seventy as office bearers and rulers in the church. Cf. C.F. Evans, *St. Luke*, 444.

to come. Only Luke has this second account of Jesus' sending out of disciples. It appears to be an elaboration of Lk 9:1-6, with the basic story amplified by a number of loosely related sayings¹³. These emissaries are not given a specific destination of their own. They are to be a group of advance-teams travelling ahead of Jesus.

Many see it as the foundation of the Gentile mission, since seventy (or seventy-two in LXX) is the number of the Gentile nations (Gen 10:2-20)¹⁴. The instruction that the missionaries are to eat whatever is put in front of them (Lk 10:7-8) might support such a reading, for concern about food Laws was a big issue among Jewish Christians in the early years when the church began to include large numbers from the Gentiles¹⁵. Some manuscripts note the number of missionaries as seventy-two, and if it were the original reading, it would not function as easily as a number symbolic of the Gentiles. Moreover, the missionaries are not sent out of Israel, but rather to the same places where Jesus himself intended to go. Evans thinks that neither the content nor the context would suggest here a Gentile mission: "Luke appears to be describing here not a symbolic prefiguration but a mission as actual as that of the Twelve to Israel, and in the plan of Luke-Acts the Gentile mission must wait until after the Lord's resurrection, even then is connected primarily with the twelve"¹⁶.

I would rather agree with Ringe who states, "Perhaps it is Luke's attempt to look even beyond Jerusalem to a time when the mission - Jesus as proclaimed in the Gospel - would encompass the whole known universe"¹⁷. Plummer voices the same opinion with the help of a reference from the Talmud. "So far as we can tell, the seventy were sent out about the time of the feast of Tabernacles. The

¹³ Sharon H. Ringe, *Luke* (Louisville: Westminster: John Knox Pr., 1995) 152.

¹⁴ It was held that the Gentile nations numbered seventy (Jubilees 44: 34) on the basis of the list in Gen 10 and the statement in Deut 32:8 that the nations were fixed by God according to the number of the children of Israel (i.e. the seventy persons who went into Egypt). There was also a belief that the angel guardians of the nations (Dan 10:13, 20f.) were seventy in number (Testament of Naphtali, 8:4ff.).

¹⁵ Cf. Ringe, *Luke*, 152.

¹⁶ Cf. C. F. Evans, *St. Luke* (London : SCM Press, 1990) 445.

¹⁷ Ringe, *Luke*, 152.

number of bullocks offered during the feast was seventy in all, decreasing from thirteen on the first day to seven on the last: and, according to the Talmud, “There were seventy bullocks to correspond to the number of the seventy nations of the world”. It was about this time that Jesus had declared, “other sheep I have, which are not of this fold: them also I must lead, and they shall hear my voice (Jn 10:16). The connection of the mission of the seventy with this thought cannot be regarded as unlikely”¹⁸.

One more thing is striking: there is a significant omission of any such command as *go not into any way of the Gentiles, and enter not into the city of the Samaritans: but go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel* (Mt 10:5, 6). And in Perea, which was to be the scene of their labour, the proportion of the Gentiles would be larger than in the districts to the west of the Jordan.

The instructions to the seventy are similar to those already given to the twelve: lightness of equipment, reliance upon hospitality (Lk 10:4-7). The mission discourse itself is centred round the word “hospitality” or generous service. The missionaries are commanded not to carry purse, bag and sandals. They are supposed to enjoy the hospitality offered to them by those who receive them. They must eat and drink what they provide. From their part they are to heal the sick¹⁹ and proclaim the Kingdom of God. In the persons and message of the missionaries the Rule of God has come so close that the hearers should be able to recognise it²⁰. They are not to dilly dally on the road, presumably in idle chatter (Lk 10:4). The households and villages that receive them are blessed (Lk 10:6, 8-9). Those that do not are simply to be abandoned (Lk 10:6, 10-11). In exchange of their missionary labour, they are to be provided for as members of

¹⁸ A. Plummer, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to S. Luke* (Edinburgh: Clark, 1975) 269.

¹⁹ ἀσθενής is the most general word and it is used only here in the Gospel of Luke and twice in Acts (4:9; 5:15ff.). Jesus does not speak of exorcisms in this discourse, which is the only thing reported in v. 17, when the seventy return after the mission.

²⁰ Cf. Evans, *St. Luke*, 449.

those households (Lk 10:5-7). They are neither to shop around for the best living arrangements (Lk 10:7b) nor to adapt their message to the warmth of the hospitality. On the contrary, the message is always to be the same: “The Kingdom of God has come near to you” (Lk 10:9, 11).

If they are rejected they in turn will pronounce God’s judgement on those who reject them. However, there is a far greater premonition of hostility and rejection²¹. The seventy who were chosen to go before Jesus will be vulnerable like lambs in the midst of wolves²² (Lk 10:3). “This image is also present in Judaic writings. The book of the Psalms of Solomon 8:23 reads, “God was proven right in his condemnation of the nations of the earth, and the devout of God are like innocent lambs among them”. In the same book 8:30 reads, “Do not neglect us, our God, lest the Gentiles devour us as if there is no redeemer”. Lambs are a figure for God’s people. The world is sometimes hostile to them, but that does not mean that the disciples have a right to withdraw²³. Like Jesus they, too, will experience hospitality and inhospitality, acceptance and rejection. When rejected they are to remember that Sodom will fare better at the judgement than those towns that are inhospitable to them (Lk 10:13). This allusion leads to a series of woes pronounced upon Galilean cities that did not respond to the message conversion from Jesus.

8.2.1.3.2 The Woes (Lk 10:13-16): The instructions to the twelve are followed by Jesus’ woes to the unrepentant cities. The cities of Chorazin and Bethsaida have not received the message of Jesus. They will have to face harsh judgement for their lack of repentance. Tyre and Sidon, the pagan cities, will be more favourable to God. If Jesus were to perform his miracles in these Gentile cities they would have responded positively to his message. These woes end with the words: *he who hears you hears me, and he who rejects you rejects me, and he who rejects me rejects him who sent me*. The mission is ultimately theo-centric. Jesus has received it from the Father and he hands it down to his disciples.

²¹ Cf. Byrne, *The Hospitality of God*, 95.

²² In Acts 20:29 the term “wolves” probably refers to Christian false teachers.

²³ Darell Bock, *Luke*, 188.

Naturally those who reject the message of the disciples reject Jesus and ultimately they reject the Father himself. This narrative prepares the Christian missionaries for the rejection that will inevitably be their lot as emissaries of the Kingdom. It is all part of Luke's wider theme of seeking to incorporate the rejection of Jesus in Jerusalem and the subsequent rejection of the Christian Gospel by most of Israel within the wider saving plan of God.

8.2.1.3.3 The Return of the Seventy (Lk 10:17-20): The narrative of the return of the seventy highlights the ultimate triumph of the Gospel. It foretells the defeat of Satan who is the enemy of the Gospel. *The seventy returned with joy, saying, "Lord, even the demons are subject to us in your name"* (Lk 10:17). The demons, as members of the Kingdom of evil organised under Satan, were the most powerful opponents of the Kingdom of God that they were to proclaim (cf. Lk 11:14-23). This may be the force of καὶ (even). It may also express the disciples' surprise at their powers exercised for the first time. The verb ὑποτάσσω appears only in Lk 10:20 and in 2:51. Besides these occurrences it is not found elsewhere in Luke-Acts. This verb which means "to bring under control" or "subject" is taken from Ps 8:6, which was used in the early church for the subordination of the hostile heavenly powers to the risen and exalted Christ²⁴.

Jesus says: *I saw Satan fall like lightning from heaven*²⁵. This sets the exorcisms of individual demons by Jesus or by his disciples in his name within the apocalyptic drama of the fall of Satan. The exorcisms of Jesus, and now of the disciples, are evidence that Satan's rule on earth is already over.

Jesus assures the disciples that he has given them authority to tread upon serpents and scorpions, and over all the powers of the enemy and nothing shall hurt them. Satan's fall and the image of the disciple's authority to tread on snakes and scorpions without being harmed (Ps. 91:13), together announce the

²⁴ Cf. Evans, *St. Luke*, 454.

²⁵ Cf. Isaiah 14:12: the fall of Babylon as the day star from heaven.

defeat of the powers of evil by the ministry of the seventy. The real ground for rejoicing is not the power but life: their names are written in heaven (Lk 10:20). Their authority is never something they own or for which they can take credit. Instead, like Jesus' own authority, it points beyond them to God as the source of all authority, and indeed of life itself.

Then follows the thanksgiving prayer of Jesus. He thanks the Father for his gracious will in revealing this Gospel message not to the wise and understanding but to the babes.

8.2.1.3.4 The Parable of the Good Samaritan (Lk 10:25-37): The two following episodes, the parable of the good Samaritan and the visit of Jesus to the house of Martha and Mary (Lk 10:38-42), are often considered and studied as separate units from the preceding section on the mission discourse. However, in my view, Luke has placed these two episodes deliberately after the discourse on the mission to the seventy. They illustrate what the Lord has spoken in the mission discourse. The mission of Jesus is in continuity with the OT. He has come not to destroy the Law but to fulfil it. The mission of Jesus is, in accordance with the OT Scriptures, oriented towards leading everyone to love God and one's neighbour. The first and the only commandment is the goal and the core of the mission. Jesus has come to bring eternal life and the question of the Lawyer corresponds to this: "What must I do to inherit²⁶ eternal life?" To put it simply, the final goal and destination of the mission of Jesus and his followers is to bring eternal life to all by leading them to love God and their fellow human beings, with all their heart and soul. The parable of the good Samaritan is an illustration of this. It teaches that love has to surpass every boundary that is created by human beings, by religion and culture. On the other hand, the narrative of the visit of Jesus to the house of Martha and Mary brings out the other aspect of the first commandment: undivided attention to God; listening to the word of God.

²⁶ The verb κληρονομέω is Deuteronomic and it refers to inheriting the land (cf. Deut 6:4).

Hence these two episodes, in some way, are a further illustration and qualification of the mission discourse that is given in the first half of Luke 10.

In Mt 22:34-40 and Mk 12:28-31 Jesus answers a question about the first or the greatest commandment in the Law by citing Deuteronomy 6:5 and Leviticus 19:18. In Luke it is the Lawyer that cites these verses. The two commandments to love God with one's whole being, and to love one's neighbour as oneself, represent the heart of the Jewish Law. In Luke it is the Jewish legal expert who combines these two commandments into one. Hence Luke himself did not understand Jesus to be the source of that affirmation. Rather, he drew it from his Jewish background. The following story is told of a famous Rabbi who lived around the time of Jesus. A Gentile challenged the Rabbi that if he could recite the Torah while standing on one foot, the Gentile would convert to Judaism. The Rabbi stood on one foot and said, "You shall love the Lord your god with all your heart, and with all your mind, and with all your strength; and you shall love your neighbour as yourself. That is the whole Law. The rest is commentary". The Rabbi then put his foot down, and his challenger was converted.

The Lawyer, having answered rightly, was seeking a definition of neighbour that would set clear limits on who was to be loved as he loved himself. Does the term include only the people within a specific geographical area? The question fits not only the personal concern of someone trying to live a righteous life, but also the context of Luke's church with its expanding ethnic and geographical boundaries.

Jesus answers him by narrating the parable of the Good Samaritan. The Samaritan in the parable, unlike the other two, approaches, sees, and is moved with pity (Lk 10:33). The story stretches out in a carefully detailed account of the Samaritan's action – everything from first aid through long-term convalescence. Compassion and mercy are the only clues given to how the parable really responds to the Lawyer's follow-up question, "Who is my

neighbour?” The neighbour is someone with whom one feels empathy and identifies as another human being. No one can simply have a neighbour; one must also be a neighbour. Neighbouring is a two-way street. According to Halakah, the neighbour was every fellow-countryman, but not a non-Israelite. Thus to make a direct answer to the question “who is my neighbour?” we might have expected a story in which the Lord taught that a Samaritan should be helped rather than one which showed him as helping. This may well point to the story being here in a context chosen by Luke rather than its original one; “but the lack of connection may easily be exaggerated: a double answer is given: “Your neighbour is anyone in need of your help” and “strangers are more neighbourly than strict Jews”²⁷.

The details serve rather to give dramatic expression to the shape of the parable. The abrupt speed of those who ignore the man is followed by a slowing in pace as the hearer/observer is forced to acknowledge who in fact was neighbour. There is a subtle irony perhaps in the Lawyer’s failure even then to name him as “the Samaritan” but only the more banal *the one who showed him kindness*. That answer implies: to be a neighbour is to show kindness. Jesus’ response that he should *go and do as he did*, reaffirms that point. Yet this hides the awkwardness of the parable in its context: the Lawyer wants to know who is the neighbour whom he should love, and we expect the answer to be, “even a Samaritan if in need”; instead it is the victim who is in need and the Samaritan who “loves”, treating him as neighbour. We are reminded of the Samaritan leper who alone returns to give thanks for his healing (Lk 17:11-19), another Lucan special which may hint at the future reception of the Gospel by the Samaritans (Acts 8:4-25). This may confirm the suggestion that the parable was originally independent; yet in its present context it does allow for a double shock not explicitly brought out by Luke: it is one thing to learn that the command to love encompasses anyone who is in need, even the outsider or enemy; it is far more

²⁷ A.R.C. Leaney, *The Gospel according to Luke*, 182-3.

disturbing to have to acknowledge that the enemy or outsider may be more quick to show love than those who are certainly fellow-insiders²⁸.

The moral of the parable: Jesus not only forces the Lawyer to answer his own question, but shows that it has been asked from the wrong point of view. For the question, “Who is my neighbour” is substituted, “To whom am I neighbour? Whose claims on my neighbourly help do I recognise”? All the three were by proximity neighbours to the wounded man, and his claim was greater on the priest and Levite; but only the alien recognised any claim. The verb *γεγονέναι* is very significant, and implies recognition: became neighbour, proved neighbour²⁹.

8.4.1.3.5 Comparison between Acts 27-28 and Lk 10: Themes and certain vocabulary tie Luke 10 to Acts 27-28. We have noted several times that in the voyage-narrative the themes of hospitality and generosity are dominant. The incident of Paul not being affected by the poisonous viper relates this chapter to Luke 10. The words of Jesus are fulfilled in Paul. Then the ministry in Rome has the theme of acceptance and rejection. This is a dominant theme in Luke 10. The Jews of Rome will face divine judgement spoken to the cities of Chorazin and Bethsaida. By rejecting Paul they have rejected Jesus and the Father himself. Sidon and Tyre, the Gentile cities receive the favourable judgement of God. Similarly in Acts 28 the Gentiles are preferred to the Roman Jews. This salvation will be sent to them and they will hear. We can explain the relationship between Acts 27-28 and Luke 10 with the help of following tables:

1. God as the Source of the Mission

Revelation to Jesus (Lk 10:21)

| |
|---|
| In that same hour he rejoiced in the Holy Spirit and said, "I thank thee, Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast hidden these things from the wise and understanding and revealed them to babes; yea, Father, for such was thy gracious will. |
|---|

²⁸ Judith Lieu, *The Gospel of Luke*, 87.

²⁹ Plummer, *St. Luke*, 289.

Revelation to Paul (Acts 27:24b)

God has granted you all those who sail with you.'

2. Hardship and Challenges of the Mission and Dependence on God

Instructions (Lk 10:3-4)

Go your way; behold, I send you out as lambs in the midst of wolves. Carry no purse, no bag, no sandals; and salute no one on the road.

Realization in Paul (Acts 27:1-44)

Difficulties of voyage, storm, lack of appetite, loss of hope, shipwreck, attempt to kill the prisoners, snake bite

3. Proclamation of the Kingdom of God

(Lk 10:9b)

and say to them, “*The Kingdom of God* has come near to you.”

(Acts 23b, 30-31)

And he expounded the matter to them from morning till evening, testifying to *the Kingdom of God* and trying to convince them about Jesus both from the Law of Moses and from the prophets.
And he lived there two whole years at his own expense, and welcomed all who came to him, preaching *the Kingdom of God* and teaching about the Lord Jesus Christ quite openly and unhindered.

4. The Core of the Mission: Compassion-to be a Good Samaritan.

| | |
|---|---|
| The parable of the good Samaritan (Lk 10:25-37) | Julius shows Paul kindness (Acts 27:3). The Christians of Sidon offered Paul hospitality (Acts 27:3). Paul intervenes: to warn ahead of the dangerous storm (Acts 27:9-19), to comfort (Acts 27:21-26), |
|---|---|

| | |
|--|--|
| | <p>to encourage the voyagers to have the meal of salvation (Acts 27:33-35), to warn the centurion about the plan of the sailors to abandon the ship (Acts 27:31).</p> <p>The centurion intervenes to Save Paul (Acts 27:43)</p> <p>The kindness from the natives of Malta (Acts 28:2, 7, 10).</p> <p>Paul heals the sick on the island (Acts 28:8-9)</p> <p>Christians on the way to Rome sho kindness to Paul (Acts 28:14-15)</p> |
|--|--|

5. Hospitality

Instruction (Lk 10:5-7)

Whatever house you enter, first say, 'Peace be to this house!' And if a son of peace is there, your peace shall rest upon him; but if not, it shall return to you. And *remain in the same house, eating and drinking what they provide*, for the labourer deserves his wages; do not go from house to house.

Jesus' Life-experience (Lk 10:38-40a)

Now as they went on their way, he entered a village; and a woman named Martha *received him* into her house. And she had a sister called Mary, who sat at the Lord's feet and listened to his teaching. But Martha was distracted with much serving;

Paul's experience in the voyage narrative (Acts 28:2, 7, 10)

The natives showed us *unusual kindness*. Since it had begun to rain and was cold, they kindled a fire and welcomed all of us around it. Now in the neighbourhood of that place were lands belonging to the

leading man of the island, named Publius, who *received us and entertained us hospitably* for three days.

They *bestowed many honours on us*, and when we were about to sail, they put on board all the provisions we needed.

6. The Mission of Healing

Instruction (Lk 10:8-9a)

Whenever you enter a town and they receive you, eat what is set before you; *heal the sick* in it.

Healings at Malta (Acts 28:8-9)

It happened that the father of Publius lay sick with fever and dysentery; and Paul visited him and prayed, and putting his hands on him *healed* him. And when this had taken place, the rest of the people on the island who had diseases also came and *were cured*.

7. The Reception of the Gospel: Seeing and Hearing:

Words of Jesus to his disciples (Lk 10:16, 23-24)

"He who *hears* you *hears* me, and he who rejects you rejects me, and he who rejects me rejects him who sent me."

Then turning to the disciples he said privately, "Blessed are the eyes which *see* what you *see*! For I tell you that many prophets and kings desired to see what you *see*, and did not *see* it, and to *hear* what you *hear*, and did not *hear* it."

Words of Jesus to Martha (Lk 10:39, 41-42)

And she had a sister called Mary, who sat at the Lord's feet and *listened* to his teaching.

But the Lord answered her, "Martha, Martha, you are anxious and troubled about many things; one thing is needful. Mary has chosen the good portion, which shall not be taken away from her."

Words of Paul to the Jews in Rome (Acts 28:26-7)

'Go to this people and say, You shall indeed *hear* but never understand, and you shall indeed *see* but never perceive. For this people's heart has grown dull, and their ears are *heavy of hearing*, and their eyes they have closed; lest they should perceive with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and turn for me to heal them.'

8. Gentiles Favored against Jews

Declaration from Jesus (Lk 10:12-14)

I tell you, it shall be more tolerable on that day for Sodom than for that town. "Woe to you, Chorazin! Woe to you, Bethsaida! For if the mighty works done in you had been done in *Tyre and Sidon*, they *would have repented* long ago, sitting in sackcloth and ashes. But it shall be more tolerable in the judgement for Tyre and Sidon than for you.

Declaration from Paul (Acts 28:28)

Let it be known to you then that *this salvation of God has been sent to the Gentiles; they will listen.*"

9. Triumph of the Gospel

Prophesy by Jesus (Lk 10:18-19)

And he said to them, "I saw Satan fall like lightning from heaven. Behold, I have given you authority to tread upon serpents and scorpions and over all the power of the enemy; and nothing shall hurt you.

Realisation in Paul (Acts 27:34; 28:3-6)

At the storm: "Not a hair of your head will perish"
At Malta: Paul gathered a pile of brushwood and, as he put it on the fire, a viper, driven out by the heat, fastened itself on his hand.
But Paul shook the snake off into the fire and suffered no ill effects.

The people expected him to swell up or suddenly fall dead, but after waiting a long time and seeing nothing unusual happen to him, they changed their minds and said he was a god.

8.2.2 The Dialogue of Compassion in Acts 27-28:

8.2.2.1 Kindness and Friendship on the Ship: The parable of the Good Samaritan has demonstrated powerfully the teaching of Jesus on compassion. What is shocking in this narrative is that kindness is shown by a Samaritan to a Jew in need. The priest and the Levite are not sensitive to this wounded man lying on the road. In the voyage-narrative the encounter between Paul and the pagans is at the level of kindness. The narrative begins with the comment that the centurion *treated Paul kindly, and gave him leave to go to his friends and be cared for* (27:3). Paul is a prisoner and therefore such a leave to go and meet his friends was probably not permissible. Thus we find here a pagan who goes beyond the legal restrictions in order to show kindness to Paul. It is remarkable that Luke points out the kindness of the pagan centurion before he has first pointed out Paul's kindness to him. Like the Samaritan in the parable it is the stranger who is first to be sensitive to the needs of the others. This is the beginning of a friendship between the Paul and the Roman centurion. This friendship is very important for the movement of the narrative and for the final rescue of all. During the narrative this friendship is tested.

Paul responds to this kindness first of all when he warns the centurion of the dangers involved if they were to continue the voyage from Fair Havens (27:9-10). It is both his experience in voyaging and his prophetic vision that makes Paul to foresee the danger for the ship as well as for their lives. But the centurion ignores Paul's intervention and prefers to follow the opinion of experts, and resolves to continue the voyage with the hope of reaching Phoenix and spend the winter there. Paul's warning comes soon to realization when the tempest strikes down and the ship is on the verge of breaking. All hope of their being saved is abandoned *when neither sun nor stars appeared for many days*

(27:20). Once again Paul comes forward to give them hope. He narrates to them the angelic vision that has guaranteed the salvation of all. Paul is portrayed here as the one who brings hope to those who have abandoned all hope. This hope is built on a solid foundation. It is based on God who desires to save everyone in the ship so that Paul can appear before Caesar. Paul is portrayed here like the Prophet Isaiah who had the mission of comforting Israel in Exile (cf. Is 40:1). The character of Paul here is in conformity with what we read about him in his letters. This comforting mission is taken a step further when Paul exhorts them to eat the meal of salvation. He refers to God's providence when he says to them, *not a hair is to perish from the head of any of you* (27:34b). The kindness shown by Paul to his fellow-voyagers is deeply rooted in his faith in God, the Savior, and in Jesus.

Earlier in the narrative when the sailors try to abandon the ship, Paul intervened and told the centurion: *Unless these men stay in the ship, you cannot be saved* (27:31). Paul knew how important it was that the sailors remain in the ship and work for the safety of all at the moment of shipwreck. The centurion listens to Paul and prevents the sailors from escaping. The soldiers cut away the ropes of the dinghy and let it go. The centurion is loyal to Paul and reciprocates his kindness when he, with the intention of saving Paul, prevents the soldiers from killing the prisoners. Thus the friendship between Paul and the centurion contributes to the deliverance of Paul from death, and finally to the rescue of all.

The narrator describes so many actions from the soldiers, sailors and the rest of the voyagers. The voyage-Narrative is all about helping one another and working together for the safety of all. Everyone has to contribute to the rescue of all and no selfish interest can be placed before the common interest. It is their kindness to one another that brings them safely to the shore. In a parabolic way it is compassion and love to one another that will bring everyone to eternal life. We are back to the question asked by the Lawyer: "What must I do to inherit eternal life?" (Lk 10:25). And the answer that Jesus gave was to do what the

good Samaritan did (cf. Lk 10:37). The voyage-narrative is thus a parable of the good Samaritan in action.

8.2.2.2 Kindness of the Christians on the Way: In this narrative we have three references to the help given by the Christians to Paul. The Christians at Sidon care for Paul (27:3); when Paul and his companions come to Puteoli, the Christians invite them to stay with them for seven days (28:14); and finally the Christians at Rome come to meet Paul (28:15). Luke does not give us details with regard to these meetings between Paul and the Christians on the way to Rome. They are mentioned passingly. The help they rendered to Paul is that of the ordinary Christian practice of offering hospitality to a traveller. Such accounts are found in many places in Luke-Acts. But the welcoming and kind behavior of the Christians to Paul has a special significance here. He is now a prisoner and on his way to his trial before the Emperor. His mission has brought him into conflict with the Jewish authorities who desire his death. And in the last two cases the Christians meet him after his frightening experience in the sea. Luke tells us specifically that such a kind treatment from the Christians encouraged Paul: *On seeing them Paul thanked God and took courage* (28:15b). The form of help given by Christians to Paul is not just taking care of the material needs of a needy traveller. Their company strengthens his soul and thus prepares him for his trial and his further mission to the Jews in Rome.

8.2.2.3 Hospitality of the Islanders: The narrative begins with the words: *The natives showed us unusual kindness* (οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν φιλανθρωπίαν). Luke uses the word “unusual” because this is not what is expected from the barbarians. They had neither the high ideals of Greek culture nor the Hebrew Bible. Their kindness takes the form of meeting the basic needs of the survivors of the shipwreck: a fire to warm them up and the food to eat. Then the chief of the island, Publius, received them and entertained them hospitably (φιλοφρόνως ἐξένησεν) for three days. And finally, as they were leaving, they presented Paul and his companions with many gifts and put on board whatever they needed. Let

us consider this hospitable behaviour of the natives of Malta in the light of hospitality in the Bible in general.

8.2.2.3.1 Hospitality in the OT: “From the point of view of the anthropology of the cultures of the Mediterranean, hospitality is a social process by means of which the status of someone who is an outsider is changed from stranger to guest”³⁰. The process has three stages: the evaluation and testing of the stranger to see whether incorporation as a guest is possible without much threat to the purity lines of the group; the incorporation of the stranger as a guest under the patronage of a host and in accordance with a culture-specific code for both host and guest; the departure of the guest as a stranger now transformed into either a friend, if honour has been satisfied, or an enemy, if honour has been infringed³¹. In the first century Mediterranean world, hospitality was a public duty toward strangers where the honour of the community was at stake and reciprocity was more likely to be communal rather than individual. It was considered as a sacred duty. “Hospitality was offered with the feeling that one might be entertaining ‘angels unawares’”³². The story of the hospitality of Abraham and Sarah to the three men by the oaks of Mamre (Gen 18) is a classical example. The revelation of the Risen Lord to the two disciples at the meal at Emmaus is a NT example (Lk 24:28-35).

Hospitality was a basic concern in the Jewish tradition. The OT provides the examples of Abraham and Sarah, Lot, Rebekah, Rahab and Job for exemplary hospitality. In the story of Abraham, the host himself extends the invitation (Gen 18:3), provides water for their feet (v. 4), and rest under a tree (v. 5) and prepares the festive meal (v. 7f.), summoning Sarah to bake fresh cakes upon the hearth. On the other hand, the people of Sodom (Gen 19) and those of Gibeah (Judg 19) are known for their lack of hospitality. Hospitality toward the stranger or the resident alien is a duty that takes precedence over the obligation of neighbourliness. This obligation is given in the Torah about 24 times. The faith

³⁰ S. C. Barton, Art. “Hospitality” in: *Dictionary of the Later New Testament & its Developments*, 501.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² Harper’s Bible Dictionary, 270.

and experience of Israel played an important role in Israel's understanding of the need to show hospitality³³. For much of their early history, the Israelites had been strangers in foreign lands. God told the people to remember this fact and to treat all strangers with love and respect: "You shall not wrong a stranger or oppress him, for you were strangers in the land of Egypt" (Ex 22:21; cf. Lev 19:33-34). Beyond simple obedience to God, showing hospitality might lead to a blessing from God (1 Kgs 17:1-24; 2 Kgs 4:8-37) for one might actually be entertaining God (Gen 18:1-15). On the other hand, to refuse to show hospitality or to abuse the stranger not only disobeyed God but also could set into motion a chain of events leading to curse and destruction for Israel (Judg 19:22-20:48)³⁴. In Jewish eschatology we find the image of God as a bountiful host entertaining Israel (Am 9:13-15) and the nations (Is 25:6-8) at the end times.

8.4.2.3.2 Hospitality in the NT: "Symbolically Jesus came as an alien figure to "tabernacle" in a world that did not recognise or receive him (Jn 1:10-14). He continues after his resurrection to offer himself as guest (Rev 3:20)"³⁵. Jesus extended hospitality to hungry multitudes (Mk 8:1-9 and par.) and accepted it from a ruler of the Pharisees (Lk 14:1-11); from the family at Bethany (Mt 21:17; Jn 12:2); from the repentant Zacchaeus at Jericho (Lk 19:5-10); and from the bewildered hosts at Emmaus (Lk 24:29-31). In his teachings Jesus uses many metaphors of meals and exuberant hospitality. When Jesus sent his disciples out two by two, they also depended upon hospitality (Lk 10:4-11). The hospitable act of the communal meal possesses great symbolic significance. In the ancient world, to share food with someone was to share life. Such a gesture of intimacy created a bond of fellowship. Hence, God's meal with the elders of Israel (Ex 24:1-11), Jesus' meals with tax collectors and sinners (Lk 11:37; 15:1; 19:5-6), the Lord's Supper (Mk 14:17-26), Jesus, post-resurrection meals (Lk 24:30-31, 40-43; Jn 21:12-13; cf. Acts 1:4; cf. Acts 10:41), Peter's meal with Gentiles (Acts 10:48-11:3) and the common meal of the early Christians (Acts 2:42-47)

³³ Robert C. Dunston, Art. "Hospitality" in: *Mercer Dictionary of the Bible*, 393.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Cf. Rodney K. Duke, Art. "Hospitality" in: *Evangelical Dictionary of Biblical Theology*, 360.

communicated a powerful message of intimacy and unity³⁶. Paul regarded hospitality as an important Christian virtue. The practice of hospitality builds up unity. He exhorts his fellow-believers to “contribute to the needs of the saints (and) practice hospitality (Rom 12:13). As an itinerant apostle, Paul not only worked to support himself but also depended upon the hospitality of others (cf. 1Cor 9:4-14; Acts 21:4, 7, 16-17).

For Paul hospitality is a fundamental expression of the Gospel, a response to God’s hospitality to mankind in providing Christ as the paschal lamb (1Cor 5:7) and an outworking of what it means to be members of the one Body of Christ, sharing Christ’s eschatological table by eating bread which is his body, and drinking wine which is his blood (1Cor 1:17-34). That is why Paul demanded a hospitality that united the fellowship across the lines both of social status and purity, and why he refused to compromise lest the Gospel of unity in Christ be brought into disrepute (Gal 2:11-14). It is also why he demanded the refusal of hospitality from those who ate and drank at the “table of demons”, for this would have been to acknowledge the authority of a host other than the Risen Lord (1Cor 10:14-22). Instead of sharing hospitality in the temple precincts, the primary locus of Christian hospitality was the meeting together of the believers in members’ houses. This explains the prominence Paul accords to various heads of households, both men and women, who served as patrons of the fellowship-meetings in their houses (cf. Rom 16).

The apostles, and especially Paul, receive hospitality on their missionary journeys. Among the converted householders who show hospitality are Cornelius, Lydia and the Philippian jailer. The summary description of the primitive Christian community of Jerusalem is an example of hospitality. *The believers had all things in common; they broke bread in their homes... with glad and generous hearts* (Acts 2:44-47; cf. 4:32-37). Jesus’ hospitality to the socially marginalized is reflected in the care of the apostolic churches for the poor and the sick. The welcome Jesus gives to the Gentiles becomes the mission to all

³⁶ Ibid. 360.

nations; and the formulation of new rules for table-fellowship makes possible the integration of Gentile converts with converts from Judaism (Acts 15:1-29). The boundary-crossing hospitality expresses Luke's belief that with Pentecost a new age of salvation has dawned and a new people of God is being brought into being to share in the messianic banquet. Such hospitality, as narrated, has a moral thrust as well. It is a reminder that true conversion requires both detachment from household ties and material concerns generally and a generosity that overflows into acts of mercy to the poor, the needy and the stranger. Moreover, Luke may want to encourage his readers to continue the practice of inclusive-hospitality begun a generation earlier, as a way of contributing to the maintenance of church unity and Christian witness in his own day. He may be encouraging his readers to show hospitality to itinerant missionaries.

At Malta, the barbarians are the first to show hospitality to Paul and the fellow survivors of the shipwreck. They are hospitable without any self-gain. Hospitality is for them almost an instinct. Paul responds to their hospitality by healing the sick on the island. In the mission discourse Jesus instructed to the disciples: *Whenever you enter a town and they receive you, eat what is set before you; heal the sick in it and say to them, 'The Kingdom of God has come near to you'* (Lk 10:8-9). These words have been almost literally fulfilled on the island of Malta. Paul, the disciple of Jesus, has entered the island of Malta, not by his own will but by divine providence, and the islanders have received him. He enjoys their hospitality and then heals the sick on the island. Luke does not tell us that Paul proclaimed to the islanders that the Kingdom of God had come near to them. But the act of healing itself was in some way effecting the Kingdom of God on the island. The narrative clearly says that Paul healed by prayer and laying his hands on the sick. Although Paul does not directly proclaim Christ to the pagans of the island he has brought into effect the Kingdom of God by healing.

8.3 Conclusion: The voyage-narrative provides us with a kind of paradigm for dialogue between Christians and the people of other faiths. We have seen that this dialogue takes place on the level of human compassion. In fact in this narrative not much is spoken about religion. The Christians and the pagans interact with each other for the common good of all. It is a kind of dialogue that is oriented towards human welfare and liberation. In *Redemptoris Missio*, Pope John Paul II writes: “Dialogue will be especially important in establishing a sure basis for peace and warding off the dread spectre of those wars of religion which have so often bloodied human history”³⁷. Aloysius Pieris has pointed out that inter-religious dialogue cannot remain imprisoned in ivory towers of religious talks and religious experience alone, but must flow into human liberation. Referring to the Asian context he says, “In the context of massive poverty and the religiosity of the masses, the Asian church must find a new way of being of being church in Asia by a symbiosis of a two-fold praxis: liberation praxis and a praxis of inter-religious dialogue”³⁸. Dialogue has to be based on compassion. Focusing the energies and imagination of diverse religious traditions would allow for a dialogue based on compassion and care. Progress would be evaluated not by the belief-system of a particular religion but by the poor themselves. Knitter calls this the “hermeneutical privilege of the poor”. “In the actual process of dialogue, what decides whether a particular symbol or belief or practice does not promote liberation and welfare is not simply how strong a religion has claimed that it does, but what the poor and the oppressed think of it - how much they find that it frees them or promotes their welfare”³⁹.

Knitter ,too, insists, Inter-religious dialogue must flow into dialogue with the suffering: the religious other and the suffering other are the two partners with whom the church must carry on its mission of dialogue: as Christians “we can and must open our minds and our hearts to the many religious others and the

³⁷ *Redemptoris Missio*, no.56.

³⁸ Aloysius Pieris, “Towards an Asian Theology of Liberation: Some Religio-cultural guidelines”, in: V. Fabella (ed), *Asia’s Struggle for Full Humanity*, New York: Orbis Books, 75-95.

³⁹ Paul F. Knitter, “Interreligious Dialogue: What? Why? How?”, in: *Death or Dialogue: From the age of Monologue to the age of dialogue*, 35.

many suffering others who dwell and toil upon this earth'⁴⁰. As I have pointed out earlier Acts 27-28 does not deal with an Inter-religious dialogue in the strict sense. However, it does present to us a dialogue on the level of human compassion between Christians and pagans. This dialogue of Compassion and co-operation is important for the salvation of all.

In the voyage-narrative the Christians are not presented only as donors. They are also receivers. They do not have a monopoly over kindness and Gospel values. These are present also among the pagans who have not heard of Jesus. To her amazement as a twenty-year-old student in Banares, India, Harvard University Professor Diana Eck recalls when she became aware for the first time that “Christians did not have a corner on love, wisdom and justice. Christians were not the only ones nourished by their faiths to work to change the world”⁴¹. Yet Eck believes it is precisely her faith experience of God, Christ and the Spirit that enabled her to acknowledge God’s presence in a Hindu temple and in the lives of Hindus: “I would even say that it is Christ who enables Christians – in fact, challenges us - to recognise God especially where we don’t expect to do so and where it is not easy to do so”⁴².

⁴⁰ Paul Knitter, *One Earth many Religions: Multifaith Dialogue and Global Responsibility* (New York: Orbis Books) 18.

⁴¹ Diana Eck, *Encountering God: a spiritual Journey from Bozeman to Banares* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1993) 16.

⁴² *Ibid.* 79.

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