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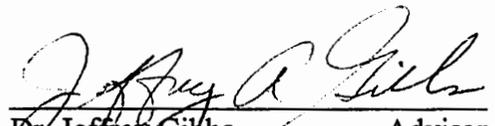
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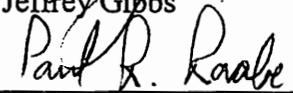
**THE GENTILE MISSION
IN OLD TESTAMENT CITATIONS IN ACTS:
TEXT, HERMENEUTIC, AND PURPOSE**

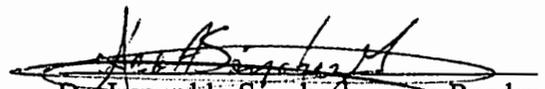
A Dissertation Presented to the Faculty of
Concordia Seminary, St. Louis,
Department of Exegetical Theology
in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

By
James A. Meek
November 2005

Approved by


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ABSTRACT

Meek, James A. "The Gentile Mission in Old Testament Citations in Acts: Text, Hermeneutic, and Purpose." Ph.D. diss., Concordia Seminary, 2005, 341 pp.

Study of the Old Testament in Luke-Acts has focused on the role of the Old Testament in development of Luke's Christology. Explicit citations and summary statements of Old Testament teaching, however, support five main themes: the death and resurrection of Christ, eschatological blessings, judgment, rejection of the gospel by many Jews, and the inclusion of all who believe in Jesus (including Gentiles). The question "Who are the people of God?" is posed both by the rejection of the gospel by many Jews and the surprising acceptance of it by many Gentiles. The role of the Old Testament in developing Luke's ecclesiology has received little attention.

The present study examines four explicit Old Testament citations in Acts. Two are applied directly to the Gentile mission: Acts 13:47 (Isa 49:6); Acts 15:16–18 (Amos 9:11–12). Two others anticipate it: Acts 2:16–21 (Joel 3:1–5); Acts 3:25 (Gen 22:18).

The study focuses on questions of text, hermeneutic, and purpose.

1. The form of the text cited is generally closer to the OG than to the MT, but the argument does not depend on distinctive readings of the OG.
2. Citations are interpreted consistently with their original meaning, but are extended or transformed by a Christological hermeneutic. The variety of texts cited and prophetic themes invoked demonstrate the importance of the Old Testament in Luke's understanding of Christ.
3. Luke appeals to the Old Testament as "proof from prophecy." These appeals offer a window into concerns of Luke and his readers. The citations of Isa 49:6 and Amos 9:11–12 at the center of the book indicate the importance of the Gentile mission. By these citations, Luke demonstrates that an intentional mission to Gentiles was not merely the result of the rejection of the gospel by many Jews, but had always been the plan of God and has now been

commanded as the necessary consequence of the accomplished work of the Messiah, Jesus. This proof, confirmed in the narrative by God's evident blessing on that mission, provides the audience with confidence that Gentile believers in Jesus are full members of God's covenant people by faith, without circumcision and the obligations of the law of Moses.

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I am grateful to the President, faculty, and staff of Covenant Theological Seminary, where it was my pleasure to serve for thirteen years as an administrator and instructor. Covenant's then Dean (and current President), Dr. Bryan Chapell, encouraged me to undertake doctoral studies and extended financial support. I am also indebted to former colleagues on Covenant's faculty for periodic counsel and frequent encouragement.

I am thankful for the marvelous resources made available to me by the Buswell Library at Covenant Theological Seminary (especially its inestimable Director Jim Pakala and patient Associate Librarian Denise Pakala), Concordia Seminary Library, Duke Divinity School Library, the Barbour Library at Pittsburgh Theological Seminary, and the Library of Trinity Episcopal School for Ministry (especially its gracious director, John Doncevic).

I owe a special debt to Ken and Mary Brown and their family, for assistance during the final phases of this project. I am also indebted to Angela Fenwick for providing a quiet place to work near its conclusion.

Finally, I owe the greatest debt to my family, my wife Esther and daughters Starr, Stacey, and Stephanie, who so often suffered from my distraction and preoccupation with my studies.

Thank you so much for persevering so long with me. I love each of you very much.

CHAPTER 1

THE OLD TESTAMENT IN LUKE-ACTS

1.1 The Old Testament and Gentile Mission

The importance of the Old Testament in Luke-Acts has long been recognized. There is less consensus about the exact nature of its use in Luke-Acts. In an influential 1953 essay, Paul Schubert argued that “proof-from-prophecy theology is Luke’s central theological idea throughout the two-volume work,”¹ specifically the proof “that Jesus is the Christ.”² Although Schubert’s thesis was not new (he acknowledged his debt to Henry Cadbury’s *The Making of Luke-Acts*³), his article has become the point of departure for a considerable discussion about the use of the Old Testament in Luke-Acts. A substantial body of literature has arisen concerning the purpose of and hermeneutic involved in Luke’s use of the Old Testament.⁴

Unless otherwise noted, citations of the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament are from *BHS*, of the Old Greek or Septuagint from Rahlfs’ edition, of the Greek New Testament from NA²⁷, of the Vulgate from *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Versionem* (Bonifatio Fischer, et. al., eds. 4th ed. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994) and of the English Bible from the RSV. Chapter and verse references are from the English; the occasionally divergent numbering of the MT and the OG are noted when relevant. Citations from the apocrypha and pseudepigrapha are from Charlesworth, *OTP*. Abbreviations of standard scholarly works follow Patrick H. Alexander et al., *The SBL Handbook of Style: For Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical, and Early Christian Studies* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1999).

¹ Paul Schubert, “The Structure and Significance of Luke 24,” in *Neutestamentlichen Studien für Rudolf Bultmann* (ed. Walther Eltester; BZNW 21; Berlin: Alfred Töpelmann, 1954), 176, cf. 178.

² Schubert, “Structure and Significance,” 173.

³ Henry J. Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts* (2d ed.; London: SPCK, 1958).

⁴ See the literature cited in Darrell L. Bock, *Proclamation from Prophecy and Pattern: Lucan Old Testament Christology* (JSNTSup 12; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1987), 13–26; Gert J. Steyn, *Septuagint Quotations in the Context of the Petrine and Pauline Speeches of the Acta Apostolorum* (CBET 12; Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1995), 1–21.

The most substantial contributions to this discussion have focused on the Christological use of the Old Testament in Luke-Acts.⁵ While this is, as Darrell Bock has noted, “the key area of Luke’s OT usage as acknowledged by all,”⁶ Christology is not the only topic to which the Old Testament is applied in Luke-Acts. Note, for example, Luke 24:46–49a.

καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὅτι οὕτως γέγραπται
παθεῖν τὸν χριστὸν καὶ ἀναστῆναι ἐκ
νεκρῶν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ κηρυχθῆναι
ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ μετάνοιαν εἰς
ἅφεςιν ἁμαρτιῶν εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη.
ἀρχάμενοι ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ ὑμεῖς
μάρτυρες τούτων. καὶ [ἰδοῦ] ἐγὼ
ἀποστέλλω τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ πατρὸς
μου ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς.

and he said to them, “Thus it is written, that the Christ should suffer and on the third day rise from the dead, and that repentance and forgiveness of sins should be preached in his name to all nations, beginning from Jerusalem. You are witnesses of these things. And behold, I send the promise of my Father upon you.”

Schubert notes that in this text,

The kerygma includes the proclamation . . . of repentance and the forgiveness of sins in his name . . . which is to go to all the nations . . . that the ‘apostles’ are to be witnesses of these things . . . and the coming of the Holy Spirit.⁷

The kerygma that Jesus found in the writings of Moses and all the prophets included more than Christology (his suffering, death, and resurrection). It also included the resulting proclamation of repentance and forgiveness to the nations, the appointment of the apostolic witnesses to Christ and his work, and the empowering gift of the promised Spirit.⁸ While these things are intimately related (Christ is the basis for and subject of the proclamation to the nations through the Spirit-empowered apostolic witness), Luke appeals to the Old Testament for more than Christology proper. The summary of Old Testament expectation in Acts 26:22b–23 echoes that in Luke

⁵ The two most substantial studies are those by Bock, *Proclamation*; Martin Rese, *Alttestamentliche Motive in der Christologie des Lukas* (SNT 1; Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1969).

⁶ Bock, *Proclamation*, 47.

⁷ Schubert, “Structure and Significance,” 177. Yet Schubert himself seems to understand “proof from prophecy” primarily in terms of demonstration “that Jesus is the Christ.” (173)

⁸ For a defense of the view that 24:48–49 may be included in what “is written,” see below, section 2.1.1.

24:44–49, joining Christ’s suffering and resurrection with proclamation of “light both to the people and to the Gentiles.”

οὐδὲν ἐκτὸς λέγων ὧν τε οἱ προφῆται
ἐλάλησαν μελλόντων γίνεσθαι καὶ
Μωϋσῆς. εἰ παθητὸς ὁ χριστός, εἰ
πρῶτος ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν φῶς
μέλλει καταγγέλλειν τῷ τε λαῷ καὶ
τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.

saying nothing but what the prophets and
Moses said would come to pass: that the
Christ must suffer, and that, by being the first
to rise from the dead, he would proclaim light
both to the people and to the Gentiles.

One of the few scholars to note this broader use of the Old Testament in Luke-Acts has observed that “in addition to the significant events concerning Jesus and the early church, there are two other things that Luke thinks the Scripture has prophesied, and they go together. These two things are the rejection of the gospel by many Jews and its acceptance by the Gentiles.”⁹ This last aspect of Luke’s use of the Old Testament, to support the inclusion of the Gentiles and the Gentile mission, has been largely omitted from major studies of the Old Testament in Luke-Acts.

Jacob Jervell, for example, has summarized Luke’s understanding of the center of the scriptures, based on seven summary statements, as “first of all . . . the suffering and death of Messiah . . . In the second place, . . . the exaltation of this very suffering Messiah.”¹⁰ Passages related to the Gentile mission are noted, but only in a list of “other phenomena in the gospel and even in the history of the church,” along with the death of Judas, the opposition of the civil authorities, etc.¹¹ In light of Jervell’s interest in the people of God in Luke-Acts, it is surprising

⁹ Jack T. Sanders, “The Prophetic Use of the Scriptures in Luke-Acts,” in *Early Jewish and Christian Exegesis: Studies in Memory of William Brownlee* (ed. Craig A. Evans and William F. Stinespring; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 194.

¹⁰ Jacob Jervell, “The Center of Scripture in Luke,” in *The Unknown Paul: Essays on Luke-Acts and Early Christian History* (trans. Roy A. Harrisville; Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1984), 122–37. The same argument, in some places in almost identical language, is also found in Jacob Jervell, *The Theology of the Acts of the Apostles* (New Testament Theology; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 61–82. The seven summary statements are: Acts 3:18; 10:43; 17:3; 18:28; 26:22–23; Luke 24:26, 46 (to these could be added Luke 1:68–75; Acts 3:21, 24; 13:27; 24:15; 28:23). The quotation is from Jervell, “Center,” 135–36; *Theology of Acts*, 73–74.

¹¹ Jervell, “Center,” 136; *Theology of Acts*, 73.

that Old Testament citations related to the Gentile mission fall only under the category of “other phenomena.” The programmatic position occupied by summary statements such as those in Luke 24 and Acts 26, the application of the various citations,¹² and the evident importance of the Gentiles and the Gentile mission in Acts,¹³ require that more attention be paid to the way in which the mission is legitimated by the Old Testament.

In his important study of *The Gentiles and the Gentile Mission in Luke-Acts*, Stephen G. Wilson has focused attention on the Gentile mission as a key theme in Luke-Acts. In addition, he recognizes the important role played by the Old Testament in Luke’s portrayal of that mission.

The proof-from-prophecy theme is one of the most widespread phenomena in Luke’s version of the Gentile mission. Throughout the Gospel and Acts quotations from (Lk. 3:6; Acts 2:17, 3:25, 13:47, 15:17) and allusions to (Lk. 2:32, 4:25–27, 24:46; Acts 1:8, 2:39, 10:34, 15:14, 26:17, 28:26f) the Old Testament are used to prophesy, explain and justify the proclamation to the Gentiles.

The Gentile mission was not a novel element in the teaching of Jesus, nor did it occur simply as a result of the obduracy of the chosen people; its roots went back far deeper—to the eternal will of God. Of all the various methods Luke uses to justify the turning to the Gentiles, this appeal to the Old Testament and, by implication, to the eternal will of God, is the most profound and fundamental.¹⁴

However, Wilson gives little attention to understanding precisely how Luke uses the Old Testament in relation to the Gentiles or the Gentile mission.

In a promisingly titled article, “The Gentile Mission and the Authority of Scripture in Luke-Acts,” Joseph Tyson recognizes the central role played by scripture in Luke-Acts.

¹² For the summary statements, see section 2.1 and Appendix 1. For the explicit citations, see section 2.2 and Appendix 2.

¹³ “The central concern of much of Acts is the mission to the Gentiles.” John T. Squires, *The Plan of God in Luke-Acts* (SNTSMS 76; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 188.

¹⁴ Stephen G. Wilson, *The Gentiles and the Gentile Mission in Luke-Acts* (SNTSMS 23; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 243, 244. Wilson’s list of texts follows that advanced previously by Nils A. Dahl, “The Story of Abraham in Luke-Acts,” in *Studies in Luke-Acts* (ed. Leander E. Keck and J. Louis Martyn; Nashville: Abingdon, 1966; repr., Mifflintown, Penn.: Siglar Press, 1999), 157, n. 50.

Clearly, one of the most significant themes is that of the Gentile mission. One might, indeed, say that this theme dominates the narrative, as Luke attempts to show how the early Christians fulfilled the command of Jesus recorded in Acts 1.8. In studying this theme, we notice that one of the things that Luke felt compelled to do in his writings was to legitimate the Gentile mission.¹⁵

Tyson examines Luke's use of the Old Testament in Luke 4:16–30; Acts 8:26–40; 13:44–47; 15:13–21; 28:23–28; 10:1–11:18. His analysis is limited by his interest in exploring the claim of Jervell¹⁶ that “Luke treats scripture as authoritative.”¹⁷ As a result, his analysis focuses on *whether* scripture is seen as authoritative in these texts (“yes” in all except the last), but does not explore *how* Luke uses scripture to legitimate the Gentile mission.

Several scholars have recently commented on the importance of the “missiological” or “ecclesiological” role played by the Old Testament in Luke-Acts and its relation to Christology, although none has specifically explored the way(s) in which Luke uses scripture in relation to the Gentiles and the Gentile mission. John T. Carroll has argued:

A “christological” function of scripture is foundational in Acts. Scripture disclosed that the Messiah would suffer and be raised from death, and in Jesus these prophecies have been fulfilled. Yet this is only Luke's starting point, the basis for an “ecclesiological” use of scripture which proves to be the overriding interest in Acts. In Jesus, God's Messiah, Israel receives the salvation promised in scripture, and that salvation encompasses gentiles as well. That is, Acts appeals to scripture in order to legitimate the gentile mission.

The Christological use of scripture in Acts

stands in service of an even more crucial theological concern within the narrative, one that has to do with the question, Who are the people of God?¹⁸

¹⁵ Joseph B. Tyson, “The Gentile Mission and the Authority of Scripture in Luke-Acts,” *NTS* 33 (1987): 621.

¹⁶ Jervell, “Center,” 122–37.

¹⁷ Tyson, “Gentile Mission,” 619.

¹⁸ John T. Carroll, “The Uses of Scripture in Luke-Acts,” in *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers, 1990* (ed. David J. Lull; *SBLSP*; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 513–14. Carroll devotes almost one-third of his article to the Gentile mission, but since the article is brief, that provides only five pages on this topic.

Similarly, Nils Dahl had earlier noted how Luke adduced prophecies to demonstrate that:

Salvation of the Gentiles was from the beginning envisaged by God and included as part of his promises to Israel. . . . The “proof-from-prophecy” has a double function: to prove the legitimacy of Gentile mission and Gentile churches, and to prove that Jesus is the Anointed One of whom the prophets spoke.¹⁹

Likewise, J. Dupont had argued that, although when the Old Testament is cited in Acts,

Its purpose is always to show that the sufferings Jesus endured and his subsequent resurrection were the object of prophecies that pointed to the Messiah, and that, consequently, Jesus really is the Messiah predicted. . . . there is also a secondary theme, based mainly on texts from the Book of Consolation of Israel, which is frequently encountered in the speeches in Acts: the demonstration that the salvation the Messiah brings was intended for all peoples, and that, consequently, pagan nations would be its beneficiaries.²⁰

Dupont even finds this to be the reason for Luke’s second volume:

The Gentile mission is willed by God, and it realizes the prophetic promises that the Messiah would bring salvation to the pagan nations; thus it is part and parcel of the program assigned to the Christ by the Scriptures. That is the reason why Luke decided to add the story of the apostolic missions to his narrative about Jesus, for without those missions the work of salvation described in the messianic prophecies would not be complete.²¹

Darrell Bock has also sought to link Christology and mission in Luke-Acts.

Christology is not unrelated to mission. Jesus is Lord of all, so the message can go to all (Acts 10:36–43). Mission has two expected elements: Gentile inclusion and Israelite hardening and rejection. . . .

The conclusion one draws from this vast array of textual data is that Luke was defending salvation in Jesus, particularly as it is extended to the Gentiles. . . . The attention paid to Paul in Acts only makes sense in the light of a concern to justify Gentile mission. The same can be said for the role Peter has in taking the gospel to Cornelius.²²

¹⁹ Dahl, “Abraham,” 151.

²⁰ Jacques Dupont, “Apologetic Use of the Old Testament in the Speeches of Acts,” in *The Salvation of the Gentiles: Essays on the Acts of the Apostles* (trans. John R. Keating; New York: Paulist, 1979), 156.

²¹ Jacques Dupont, “The Salvation of the Gentiles and the Theological Significance of the Book of Acts,” in *The Salvation of the Gentiles: Essays on the Acts of the Apostles* (trans. John R. Keating; New York: Paulist, 1979), 13.

²² Darrell L. Bock, “The Use of the Old Testament in Luke-Acts: Christology and Mission,” in *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers, 1990* (ed. Edward J. Lull; SBLSP; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 509–10.

Further, in the conclusion to his major study of “Lucan Old Testament Christology,”²³ Bock indicates that he had hoped to explore this relationship in that work, but was unable to do so.

Nevertheless we believe that enough material has been brought forward . . . to open a possible fruitful field for further research. It is the relationship between Luke’s use of the OT for christology and Luke’s use of the OT for Gentile mission.²⁴

Most recently, David Pao has noted limitations of influential studies, including those by Cadbury, Schubert, Rese, and Bock. Key among these limitations, Pao finds that:

Their strong emphasis on Christological uses of scriptural citations tends to overshadow concerns for the ecclesiological function of the “evocation” of scriptural traditions in the Lukan writings. While the significance of the question of the nature and identity of the early Christian community is clearly present throughout the narrative of Acts, many works that deal with the use of Scripture in Luke and Acts demonstrate an overly narrow preoccupation with christological issues. . . . *A study focusing on the ecclesiological function of scriptural citations in the Lukan writings still needs to be written.*²⁵

Pao himself attempts to partially remedy this concern, but his focus on *Acts and the Isaianic New Exodus* prevents him from a full consideration of the ecclesiological or missiological citations.²⁶

1.2 The Use of the Old Testament in Luke-Acts

The discussion in the literature focuses in three areas, text, hermeneutic, and purpose.²⁷

These will only be sketched out here, but will receive greater attention in the body of the study.

²³ The subtitle of Bock’s published dissertation.

²⁴ Bock, *Proclamation*, 278.

²⁵ David W. Pao, *Acts and the Isaianic New Exodus* (WUNT 2/130; Tübingen: Mohr, 2000; repr., Grand Rapids: Baker, 2002), 7–8. Emphasis added.

²⁶ Sabine van den Eynde has concluded that “apart from a theological function, namely that God keeps his former promises in view of his salvation for Israel and the world, there is a christological and ecclesiological aim. The main point of Luke’s use of the Old Testament is the proclamation of Jesus. The hope of Israel and the messianic expectations have now come to fruition and climax in the life, suffering, death, and resurrection of Jesus, who is portrayed as ‘the prophet like Moses’, the Servant, the Davidic Messiah, the Lord. The ecclesiological aim can be discovered in two essential items: the Gentile mission and the rejection by Israel.” Sabine van den Eynde, “Children of the Promise: On the ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ-Promise to Abraham in Lk 1,72 and Acts 3,25,” in *The Unity of Luke-Acts* (ed. J. Verheyden; BETL 142; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1999), 479.

1.2.1 Text

*Do Old Testament citations in Luke-Acts appear to come from a Hebrew or Greek original? If from Hebrew, does the text appear to conform to the MT or does it reflect another tradition? If it is from the Greek, is there evidence of a divergent Hebrew textual tradition that may explain the Greek form of the text? Finally, if the form of the citation appears to depend on the Greek, does it appear that the distinctive features of the Greek form of the cited text prompted the citation, or would a translation of the Hebrew appear to have served as well?*²⁸

It is generally agreed that Luke cites the Old Testament from the OG, and from the A text in particular, except when he quotes from memory or takes his Old Testament text from another source.²⁹ Dupont, for example, comments that “in general it should be observed that the whole argumentation of the speeches in Acts is based on the Septuagint text.”³⁰

We have observed several passages in which the whole weight of the argument depends on readings proper to the Greek version, and in which the Hebrew text would offer no support to the argument at all. . . . And there are cases in which the text as we have it makes much better sense if we presume that the speaker has the Greek version of an Old Testament passage in his mind.³¹

²⁷ These questions have been raised by a number of scholars. In particular see Bock, *Proclamation*, 47–53; Charles A. Kimball, *Jesus' Exposition of the Old Testament in Luke's Gospel* (JSNTSup 94; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994). Bock and Kimball also raise questions of historicity: whether the events recorded are genuine historical occurrences or were invented and/or creatively reported in light of Old Testament prophecy by the author or the church; and whether texts were cited by speakers as described in the narrative or are entirely the author's creations. This study is concerned with the text as we have it and will give little attention to these questions.

²⁸ This question admittedly begins to draw on the interpretation of the cited text. It is included here, however, because it is relevant to the question of the form of the text cited.

²⁹ William Kemp Lowther Clarke, “The Use of the Septuagint in Acts,” in *The Beginnings of Christianity, Part I: The Acts of the Apostles* (ed. Frederick J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake; 5 vols.; London: Macmillan, 1920–1933; repr., Grand Rapids: Baker, 1979), 2:66–105; Traugott Holtz, *Untersuchungen über die alttestamentlichen Zitate bei Lukas* (TUGAL 104; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1968). For the view that Luke's sources included traditions besides the OG, see Max Wilcox, “The Old Testament in Acts 1–15,” *ABR* 4 (1956): 1–41.

³⁰ Dupont, “Apologetic,” 139.

³¹ Dupont, “Apologetic,” 153. As examples of the former, Dupont specifically mentions the Amos quotation in Acts 15 and the quotation of Psalm 16:10 in Acts 2 and 14.

Darrell Bock has argued that there are actually two questions involved. First, does the form of the citation appear to be derived from the Greek or the Hebrew? Second, “if Luke uses a Greek text, is the conceptual form of the argument limited to the Greek text?”³² In other words, we must distinguish the form of the text cited and the argument made from it. Bock contends (*contra* e.g., Dupont and others) that the conceptual form of the argument in no case depends on distinctive OG readings.³³ (If the argument appears to require the OG, this fact becomes part of the evidence used to determine whether the MT or the OG is the basis of the citation.)

1.2.2 Hermeneutic

How has Luke used the Old Testament text? Is the use congruent with the cited text in its Old Testament context? In what ways is the text changed, expanded, or transformed in order to function in its New Testament context? How does the argument develop from the text? Is the argument dependent on distinctive readings from either the Greek or Hebrew manuscript traditions? Is the hermeneutic reflective only of first-century assumptions, or does it represent an exegetically valid approach that exegetes may or should seek to emulate today?

Many scholars view the New Testament’s use of the Old as similar to that of first-century Judaism. In both rabbinic and sectarian interpretation, context often seems to be of little importance, meanings can be found in wordplay or linguistic ambiguities, and texts may be linked merely on the basis of catchwords. Early Christian interpreters are often said to show equally little interest in either context or in the original meaning of the text.³⁴ In his study of the

³² Bock, *Proclamation*, 48.

³³ Bock, *Proclamation*, 270.

³⁴ This vast literature cannot even be summarized here, but see Jan W. Doeve, *Jewish Hermeneutics in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1953); Edward Earle Ellis, “Biblical Interpretation in the New Testament Church,” in *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient*

Old Testament in the speeches in Acts, for example, Dupont finds that “the scriptural interpretation practiced in the speeches betrays no interest in the original meaning of the Hebrew text”³⁵ and, in at least one case, “distorts the original meaning.”³⁶ In the New Testament, also, Dupont finds wordplay (puns) and texts linked by catchwords.³⁷ Wilson finds that “it is not certain how far Luke considered the exact meaning of either verse, except insofar as they both contained a clear universalistic reference.”³⁸ Jervell claims that “obviously, one cannot expect too much logic in the use of Old Testament quotations in New Testament writings.”³⁹ Such judgments do not reflect a favorable estimate of Luke’s Old Testament hermeneutic and suggest that it is not one that responsible exegetes could or should attempt to follow today.⁴⁰

1.2.3 Purpose

How does the citation function rhetorically in its New Testament context? What is Luke’s purpose in citing the Old Testament? What does he hope to achieve? How is his purpose realized? Reversing the question, what do the citations tell us about the purpose of Luke’s work?

Judaism and Early Christianity (ed. Martin Jan Mulder; CRINT 2.1; Assen/Mastricht: Van Gorcum, 1988), 691–725; Michael Fishbane, “Use, Authority and Interpretation of Mikra at Qumran,” in *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (ed. Martin Jan Mulder; CRINT 2.1; Assen/Mastricht: Van Gorcum, 1988), 339–77; Richard N. Longenecker, *Biblical Exegesis in the Apostolic Period* (2d ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999).

³⁵ Dupont, “Apologetic,” 154.

³⁶ Dupont, “Apologetic,” 133.

³⁷ “Playing upon the various possible meanings of an ambiguous term was a popular and legitimate procedure in early Christian interpretation.” Dupont, “Apologetic,” 144.

³⁸ Wilson, *Gentile Mission*, 229.

³⁹ Jacob Jervell, “The Divided People of God: The Restoration of Israel and the Salvation of the Gentiles,” in *Luke and the People of God: A New Look at Luke-Acts* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1972), 52.

⁴⁰ For a similar judgment on the New Testament as a whole, see Longenecker, *Biblical Exegesis*, 219–20.

The discussion of Luke's purpose in using the Old Testament revolves around the concept of "proof from prophecy."⁴¹ The starting point in the discussion remains Schubert's, "The Structure and Significance of Luke 24." Schubert argues that the use of the Old Testament in Luke 24 should be understood as "proof from prophecy," specifically "that Jesus is the Christ."⁴²

It is apparent that for Luke Jesus' own predications of his suffering, death and resurrection, continuing, confirming and elaborating Scriptural prophecies, are regarded as the decisive proof that Jesus is the Christ, and that God has raised him from the dead.⁴³

Not only is "Luke's proof-from-prophecy theology . . . the heart of his concern in chapter 24," "it is the structural and material element which produces the literary and the theological unity and climax of the gospel." In fact, "proof-from-prophecy theology is Luke's central theological idea throughout the two-volume work."⁴⁴ Schubert argues primarily from Luke 24, particularly the Emmaus account and 24:44–49, but finds this idea anticipated at key points in Luke 1–9: Old Testament echoes in the birth narratives (1–2); Jesus' first sermon in the synagogue at Nazareth (4:14–32, citing Isa 61); Jesus' answer to John the Baptist (7:18–23, alluding to Isa 61; 29; 35); the transfiguration account, with the preceding passion prediction and subsequent exorcism (9:18–44); and the prominence of Jerusalem as the place of literary and theological climax to the gospel. The concluding chapter of the second volume, Acts 28 is "a deliberate and close parallel, structurally, formally and materially (proof-from-prophecy scheme) to Luke 24:1–53."⁴⁵

⁴¹ For more on the discussion of "proof from prophecy" in Luke-Acts, see Bock, *Proclamation*, 27–37.

⁴² Schubert, "Structure and Significance," 173. "The proof-from-prophecy theology of Luke-Acts is but the hard rational core of what we should more adequately call Luke's theology of history." (173, n. 20)

⁴³ Schubert, "Structure and Significance," 174.

⁴⁴ Schubert, "Structure and Significance," 176, cp. 178.

⁴⁵ Schubert, "Structure and Significance," 185.

Although Schubert's essay is cited most often, others have advanced similar views. Henry Cadbury had earlier proposed a similar understanding of prophecy and fulfillment in Luke-Acts. Although Cadbury does not use the expression "proof from prophecy," his influential *The Making of Luke-Acts* speaks of an "apologetic motive" in Luke's use of scripture.

In Luke the Scripture serves a more apologetic motive, being applied to that which is hard to understand, like the general proposition that Christ must suffer, rather than to the specific details. There is a necessity about the course which Luke's story takes, a "must," to use Luke's own favorite auxiliary, rather than a mere predictive "shall."⁴⁶

Hans Conzelmann, whose *Die Mitte der Zeit* appeared the same year as Schubert's article, speaks of "evidence of promise and fulfillment" and "proof from Scripture" that "points to Christ."⁴⁷

Nils Dahl, in the *Festschrift* to Paul Schubert, speaks both of "prophecy and fulfillment" and "proof-from-prophecy."⁴⁸ More recently Luke Timothy Johnson has written that "'proof from prophecy' is an important weapon in Luke's apologetic armory" and that

Luke extends and refines the argument from prophecy. He extends it by including not only the life, death and resurrection of the Messiah, but the development of the messianic community as well: Scripture interprets stages in the church's life and growth.⁴⁹

Others, however, have been less enthusiastic about the designation "proof from prophecy."

Charles Talbert has proposed a number of qualifications. First, not all citations from or allusions to the Old Testament can be seen as promise and fulfillment. Second, not all prophecies in Luke-Acts come from the Old Testament (some come from Jesus, angels, contemporary prophets, etc.). Third, one's understanding of the purpose of promise-fulfillment must be understood in

⁴⁶ Cadbury, *Making of Luke-Acts*, 304.

⁴⁷ Hans Conzelmann, *Theology of St. Luke* (trans. Geoffrey Buswell; New York: Harper & Row, 1961), 157.

⁴⁸ Dahl, "Abraham," 147, 150, 151.

⁴⁹ Luke Timothy Johnson, *Septuagintal Midrash in the Speeches of Acts* (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 2002), 11–12.

light of Luke's cultural context. These are helpful distinctions, but can be seen more as clarifications than objections.⁵⁰ Although Talbert questions Schubert's claim that "proof-from-prophecy theology is Luke's central theological idea throughout the two-volume work," he concedes, "there can be no doubt that the theme of prophecy-fulfillment is a major one in Luke-Acts, it is certainly not the only one.

There can be no doubt that the theme of prophecy-fulfillment is a major one in Luke-Acts, it is certainly not the only one. It is doubtful, moreover, that it is *the* major one under which all else can be subsumed.⁵¹

In his study of the Christological use of the Old Testament in Luke-Acts, Martin Rese argues that few quotations and allusions display the "linear" temporal relation that "proof from prophecy" would seem to require. He therefore questions Cadbury's "apologetic motive" and casts doubt on Schubert's understanding of "proof from prophecy."⁵²

Robert F. O'Toole likewise expresses concern with "proof from prophecy." O'Toole "contends that Luke's main theological theme is that God who brought salvation to his people in the Old Testament continues to do this, especially through Jesus Christ." He believes that "proof from prophecy" and "promise-fulfillment" call too much attention to the use of scripture compared to other "ways of portraying God's saving action among his people." They wrongly

⁵⁰ Charles H. Talbert, "Promise and Fulfillment in Lucan Theology," in *Luke-Acts: New Perspectives from the Society of Biblical Literature Seminar* (ed. Charles H. Talbert; New York: Crossroad, 1984), 93–101. Although Talbert seems to view these as serious objections, we should note that it is indeed the case that some citations and allusions refer to provisions of the law, or highlight similarities between God's dealings in the past and present. (See the similar analysis in chapter 2 of the present study.) Further, Schubert had already called attention to the presence of prophecies by characters in the New Testament narrative and incorporated it into his understanding of "proof from prophecy."

⁵¹ Talbert, "Promise and Fulfillment," 101.

⁵² Rese, *Alttestamentliche Motive*, 210. A full evaluation of Rese's work is beyond the scope of this study. For a substantial interaction with Rese's views, see Bock, *Proclamation*.

suggest an historical “break” between ancient Israel and the Christian movement, when in fact “Christianity just continues the Old Testament.”⁵³

Darrell Bock has undertaken a thorough study of the “key passages in which Luke uses the OT to develop Christology” (including quotations, allusions, and, to a lesser extent, ideas). Bock concludes that Schubert’s characterization of Luke’s use of the Old Testament must be modified in two ways: first, Luke is “not primarily . . . a defensive apologetic,” but “the direct proclamation of Jesus;” second, “Luke sees the Scripture fulfilled in Jesus in terms of the fulfillment of OT prophecy and in terms of the reintroduction and fulfillment of the OT patterns that point to the presence of God’s saving work”—hence the title of Bock’s book: *Proclamation from Prophecy and Pattern*. At the same time, *contra* Reese, Bock demonstrates that the promise and fulfillment motif plays a prominent role in the development of Luke’s Christology.⁵⁴

While many of these concerns may be seen as refinements in rather than objections to “proof from prophecy,” they require reevaluation of Schubert’s claim that “proof from prophecy” is at the heart of Luke’s use of the Old Testament.

There are also other issues related to Luke’s purpose in citing the Old Testament. As we will see below (section 1.3) an appeal to scripture is an appeal to authority. Such an appeal is a rhetorical strategy that, together with other rhetorical strategies, gives insight into the author’s purpose. We can therefore consider not only the author’s purpose in citing the Old Testament, but also what this citing of the Old Testament tells us about the overall purpose of the work.

⁵³ Robert F. O’Toole, *The Unity of Luke’s Theology: An Analysis of Luke-Acts* (GNS 9; Wilmington, Del.: Michael Glazier, 1984), 17.

⁵⁴ Bock, *Proclamation*, 274–77. “Proof” can refer to a positive demonstration as well as to a defensive response. Bock may wrongly assume that Schubert thought primarily in terms of defense. The two are not as far apart as Bock suggests and Bock’s discomfort with “proof” is unnecessary.

1.3 The Rhetorical Use of Old Testament Quotations

In a series of articles,⁵⁵ Christopher D. Stanley has argued for the importance of examining the rhetoric of biblical quotations in the New Testament, since “the decision to introduce a direct quotation into a piece of discourse is a rhetorical act.”⁵⁶ Although his work has been limited to study of biblical quotations by Paul, his approach is relevant to the study of biblical quotations elsewhere in the New Testament.

A rhetorical analysis of Paul’s biblical quotations will examine how quotations “work” within the surface structure of his letters, not how Paul himself read and understood the biblical text. The focus will be on the way the quotations advance (or fail to advance) Paul’s rhetorical aims in a given passage. . . . Attention will be given to the affective and poetic as well as the intellectual aspects of such an encounter with the holy Scriptures of Israel.⁵⁷

Stanley’s work is important in several ways. First, rhetorical analysis calls attention to the way in which the Old Testament is actually used in the New Testament.

Recent studies of biblical quotations in early Judaism and Christianity have focused rather one-sidedly on the interpretive process that lies behind the present text. In the process, the rhetorical dimension of the quotation process has been overlooked. Quotations are typically embedded into an argumentative discourse in which the author’s prior interpretive activity is largely hidden from view. While there is much to be gained from studying early Jewish and Christian hermeneutical techniques, this should not be confused with an investigation of how the Bible was actually *used* in early Jewish and Christian literature.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Christopher D. Stanley, “Biblical Quotations as Rhetorical Devices in Paul’s Letter to the Galatians,” in *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers, 1998 Part Two (SBLSP; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998)*, 700–30; “‘Pearls Before Swine’: Did Paul’s Audiences Understand His Biblical Quotations?,” *NovT* 41 (1999): 124–144; “The Rhetoric of Quotations: An Essay on Method,” in *Early Christian Interpretation of the Scriptures of Israel* (ed. Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders; JSNTSup 148; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 44–58. I am indebted to Professor Stanley for sharing with me portions of the pre-publication manuscript of *Arguing With Scripture: The Rhetoric of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2004).

⁵⁶ Stanley, “Rhetoric,” 57.

⁵⁷ Stanley, “Quotations,” 702–3.

⁵⁸ Stanley, “Rhetoric,” 58.

In other words, we must distinguish between the way in which the New Testament author may have come to understand an Old Testament text from the way he uses the text in his own writing.

For this reason, we should pay particular attention to explicit quotations.

Since most scholars have been concerned with the way Paul understood and interpreted the biblical text, they have typically defined “quotation” as broadly as possible, to include any series of words that reproduces with some measure of accuracy the wording of a particular passage of Scripture. In this “author-centered” approach, quotations need not be marked for audience recognition—the focus is on what the author was doing with the biblical text, not whether the audience was aware of the author’s activity. The identification of allusions and “echoes” is important in this approach, since these indirect references offer additional evidence of the author’s interpretive activity.

When the question is framed in terms of audience understanding, on the other hand, the definition of “quotation” must be drawn more narrowly. The only quotations that Paul’s first-century audience would have definitely recognized are those that are marked as such within the text. These include (a) those introduced by an explicit quotation formula (“as it is written, etc.—the bulk of the texts); (b) those accompanied by a clear interpretive gloss (e.g., 1 Cor. 15:27); and (c) those that stand in demonstrable syntactical tension with their present Pauline surroundings (e.g., Rom. 9:7 10:18; Gal. 2:12).⁵⁹

Quotations serve a variety of rhetorical purposes. The first is to persuade the audience.

What makes such a situation rhetorical is the perception by a speaker/author that (a) things are not as they should be, and (b) language can be used to induce an audience to bring about a change in the situation. By addressing a group of people in terms meant to win their adherence, the speaker/author hopes to induce the audience to think or act in such a way as to eliminate the rhetorical urgency that provoked the address.⁶⁰

A quotation is most often an “argument from authority” that “is typically used to anticipate and/or close off debate.” The effectiveness of such an appeal “will depend in large part on the

⁵⁹ Stanley, “Pearls,” 131–32. Stanley may be too pessimistic about the ability to recognize quotations without clear textual markers. Some texts may have been widely known in the church and thus recognizable without explicit textual markers, as “let there be light,” “God is love,” and “do not judge” are recognized as biblical today, even by those who know little about the Bible. Nevertheless, Stanley’s overall point is sound.

⁶⁰ Stanley, “Quotations,” 707.

audience's perception of the authority and/or credibility of the original source . . ."⁶¹ For the early Christian community, an appeal to scripture would be the highest appeal of all.

From Paul's quotations we can see that he, like other Jews, believed that quoting the words of Scripture should close off all debate on a subject. His appeals to the authoritative text reveal his conviction that the words of Israel's God carry a force that transcends all human argumentation.⁶²

In addition, quotations "create a sense of communion between speaker and audience"⁶³ and so "increase the likelihood of a favorable response to the speaker's message."⁶⁴

Second, quotations enhance the authority of the speaker. When an audience shared the speaker's conviction of the divine origin of the scriptures, "the quotation showed the God of Israel standing firmly on the side of the speaker." The speaker's knowledge of and ability to interpret the scriptures would also prompt respect. "The fact that Paul could quote and interpret such a holy text would have reinforced his status in the eyes of those to whom his letters were directed, thus enhancing the success of his rhetoric."⁶⁵

Even though an appeal to scripture might seem sufficient to clinch an argument, quotation is usually not Paul's only means of argument.

Even in passages where quotations play a key role, Paul rarely grounds his argument on the authority of Scripture alone. His usual practice is to embed his quotations in a series of carefully structured arguments that he believes will speak to the needs and capacities of his audience. Some of these arguments are framed around specific biblical passages, but more often Paul simply follows the normal canons of rhetorical speech, appealing to Scripture as one element in a broader argument.⁶⁶

⁶¹ Stanley, "Quotations," 703.

⁶² Stanley, "Quotations," 714.

⁶³ Stanley, "Quotations," 704.

⁶⁴ Stanley, "Rhetoric," 56.

⁶⁵ Stanley, "Quotations," 722-23.

⁶⁶ Stanley, "Quotations," 714-15.

Stanley notes that “the use of multiple lines of argumentation is a standard recommendation of rhetoricians as far back as Aristotle.”⁶⁷ From the argument as a whole (employing both quotations and other rhetorical strategies), we can discern the author’s rhetorical purposes.⁶⁸

Stanley has also attempted to characterize the attitude toward and understanding of the Bible among the original readers/hearers of the New Testament. The frequent quotations suggest that the New Testament authors expected their audience to hold the Old Testament in high regard. At the same time, Stanley believes that limited access to biblical scrolls⁶⁹ and low rates of literacy⁷⁰ meant that few in the audience would have had the ability to recognize the background and context of many biblical quotations, or the opportunity to identify and examine the original text of biblical quotations.⁷¹ Fewer still would have possessed sufficient biblical knowledge to recognize more subtle scriptural allusions or “echoes.”⁷² This is not, however, necessarily an impediment to understanding Paul’s argument.

⁶⁷ Stanley, “Pearls,” 140, n. 35.

⁶⁸ Stanley, “Quotations,” 724.

⁶⁹ Private ownership of biblical scrolls would have been rare and Christians would have had limited access to synagogues scrolls once tensions developed with official Judaism. Stanley, “Quotations,” 717–19; “Pearls,” 127.

⁷⁰ Stanley cites data indicating literacy rates of perhaps 10–20%. Stanley, “Quotations,” 719; “Pearls,” 129. *OCD*, s.v. “literacy,” estimates literacy rates of at most 20–30%, but notes that this varied over time, location, gender, and social class. Slaves were generally less literate, but “much reading and writing was done by slaves, especially in Rome.” Where much of the church was drawn from the lower classes (e.g., 1 Cor 1:26–29; 2 Cor 8:2; Gal 2:10), literacy in the church may have been quite low, but “the ancient habit of reading aloud meant that written texts could often be shared the more easily by others.” Regardless of the exact percentage, literacy in the ancient world was clearly lower than in contemporary industrialized societies. Stanley’s larger point is unaffected.

⁷¹ Stanley, “Pearls,” 133–36, 138.

⁷² Stanley, “Pearls,” 131–33, 139. This is not to say that the audience was completely biblically illiterate. “The Christian gospel was accompanied by biblical prooftexts from its earliest days, and Christian moral instruction was likewise grounded in part on biblical injunctions. Certain biblical passages (e.g., the Ten Commandments) and stories about important biblical figures (Abraham, Moses, Elijah, David) were no doubt passed on orally in every Christian congregation. The same was probably true for texts that could assist the members in defending their faith before a hostile world. But this is a far cry from the kind of biblical knowledge that would be required to grasp the significance of the many quotations that Paul offers, for example, in Romans 9–11, especially when the letter was being read aloud before a gathered congregation.” Stanley, “Quotations,” 721.

In most of Paul's quotations, however, the rhetorical point is clear enough that no knowledge of the original context is required to make sense of the text. In other cases Paul refers briefly to a biblical character or story in order to make a point, but the reader need only know the broad parameters of the biblical story to grasp what Paul is saying.⁷³

As a result, the audience's understanding of the text cited would often be shaped more "by the broader rhetorical context in which the quotation was embedded" than the original context.⁷⁴

Stanley's work is important for a number of reasons. First, Stanley helpfully highlights the important distinction between the way the Old Testament may have shaped an author's beliefs and the way that author uses the Old Testament to instruct and persuade his audience, i.e., the author's rhetorical purpose. Second, Stanley underscores the point that quotations are one of the tools that authors use to accomplish their rhetorical purposes. By analyzing the use of quotations and other rhetorical devices, we can gain insight into the author's purpose. We should therefore expect to find explicit quotations and other rhetorical strategies concurring with and supporting one another. Third, the use of quotations reveals something about the author's expectations of his readers. Analysis of the use of quotations can help shape our understanding of the intended audience of a work. Finally, Stanley has wisely warned us against assuming that the audience would have been able to recognize subtle biblical allusions and recall their contexts.⁷⁵ There is therefore considerable value in focusing study on explicit quotations as key indicators of the author's rhetorical purpose.

⁷³ Stanley, "Pearls," 139.

⁷⁴ Stanley, "Quotations," 720. See also Stanley, "Rhetoric," 53.

⁷⁵ This is not to deny the presence of allusions, the light they shed on author's thinking, or the way in which they lend authority to someone able to make them. It is rather to note the presence of Gentiles with little biblical background in the audiences of many New Testament writings, and to assert that an author sensitive to his audience would make the most important appeals to scripture ones that would be readily recognized and understood. For the use of allusions in Jewish interpretation, see Martin Hengel and Daniel P. Bailey, "The Effective History of Isaiah 53 in the Pre-Christian Period," in *The Suffering Servant: Isaiah 53 in Jewish and Christian Sources* (ed. Bernd Janowski and Peter Stuhlmacher; trans. Daniel P. Bailey; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 80.

1.4 Goals, Methodology, and Assumptions

1.4.1 Goals

The present study seeks to contribute to the understanding of the Old Testament in Luke-Acts (and, more broadly, in the New Testament) by focusing attention on the neglected area of Luke's use of the Old Testament in relation to the Gentiles and the Gentile mission. By doing so, we can expect to shed fresh light on the text of the Old Testament cited by Luke, his Old Testament hermeneutic, and his purpose in citing the Old Testament. The hermeneutical issues are of particular importance, for, as C. H. Dodd has argued, the source of the distinctive approach to the Old Testament that we find in the New is none other than Jesus himself.⁷⁶ Many who follow him as "teacher and lord" (John 13:13) will seek to follow his approach as their own.

Such a study will also contribute to our understanding of other issues. It will contribute generally to the ongoing discussion about the purpose of Luke-Acts⁷⁷ and will have implications for wider questions about the relationship between the testaments, Old Testament hermeneutics, the doctrine of the church and its mission, and the relation of Israel and the church.

1.4.2 Methodology

This study will focus on explicit Old Testament citations.⁷⁸ The Old Testament has clearly influenced the New in a variety of ways: linguistic influence (or imitation), explicit quotation, and implicit influence (e.g., allusion, reference, motifs).⁷⁹ Recent studies have increasingly

⁷⁶ Charles H. Dodd, *According to the Scriptures* (London: Fontana Books, 1952), 110.

⁷⁷ See the helpful summary of positions in Ian Howard Marshall, *The Acts of the Apostles: An Introduction and Commentary* (TNTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980), 17–22.

⁷⁸ The methods by which explicit citations are identified and specific texts chosen are outlined in chapter 2.

⁷⁹ Steyn, *Septuagint Quotations*, 2. Larkin divides the latter category into allusions and use of Old Testament ideas. William J. Larkin, "Toward a Holistic Description of Luke's Use of the Old Testament: A Method Described and Illustrated from Luke 23:33–38, 44–49," in *Evangelical Theological Society Papers* (Portland: Theological Research Exchange Network, 1987), 1.

attended to scriptural allusions and intertextual “echoes.”⁸⁰ Such studies can provide insight into the ways scripture may have shaped the author’s thought and presentation, but explicit statements and quotations claim a degree of priority. Although an author may not expect his readers to recognize subtle allusions, audiences will certainly recognize explicit quotations. Explicit citations are part of an author’s conscious rhetorical strategy.⁸¹ The present study will therefore focus on explicit citations. We will not only increase our understanding of the author’s explicit use of the Old Testament, but also develop a framework by which we may evaluate proposed allusions or intertextual references.

The need to examine Old Testament citations related to the Gentiles and the Gentile mission has been outlined above. The most significant recent contributions to the study of the Old Testament in Luke-Acts (Rese and Bock) focus on role of the Old Testament in the development of Luke’s Christology. They address “the problem [of the Old Testament in Luke-Acts] from the perspective of only one aspect of the Lukan theology.”⁸² To understand more fully the role of the Old Testament in Luke-Acts, we must bring other Old Testament citations into this discussion. We noted Pao’s observation that “a study focusing on the ecclesiological function of scriptural citations in the Lukan writings still needs to be written.”⁸³ Because of the central place occupied by the Gentile mission in the ecclesiology of Luke-Acts, an examination of related Old Testament citations will constitute a major step toward meeting this need.

⁸⁰ An influential figure in the discussion has been Richard B. Hayes, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989). In Luke-Acts, see Rebecca Denova, *The Things Accomplished Among Us: Prophetic Tradition and the Structural Pattern of Luke-Acts* (JSNTSup 141; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997); David P. Moessner, *Lord of the Banquet: The Literary and Theological Significance of the Lukan Travel Narrative* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989); Pao, *Acts*.

⁸¹ For more on quotations as part of the author’s rhetorical strategy, see, e.g., Stanley, “Rhetoric.”

⁸² Steyn, *Septuagint Quotations*, 3.

⁸³ Pao, *Acts*, 7–8.

Specifically, this study will examine four explicit citations from the Old Testament in the book of Acts that appear to be related to the Gentile mission.⁸⁴

<i>NT Reference</i>	<i>Reference to Gentiles</i>	<i>OT Citation</i>
Acts 2:16–21	All flesh . . . everyone who calls on the name of the Lord	Joel 2:23–32
Acts 3:25	All the families of the earth will be blessed	Genesis 22:18
Acts 13:47	A light to the nations	Isaiah 49:6
Acts 15:16–17	All the Gentiles called by my name	Amos 9:11–12

Each of these is plainly marked as an explicit citation by the use of an introductory formula.

Two, Acts 13:47 and Acts 15:16–18, explicitly function in the narrative to legitimate the Gentile mission. In the other two, Acts 2:16–21 and Acts 3: 25, the Gentile mission has not yet begun or become an issue in the life of the church, but it is anticipated by these citations.⁸⁵ These four texts have been identified through a careful examination of the topics to which the Old Testament is explicitly applied in Luke-Acts, both in the statements that summarize Luke’s understanding of Old Testament (without explicit citations) and in the explicit citations.

These four texts come from four Old Testament books, evoke four major prophetic themes, and occur in speeches by the three most important characters in Acts.⁸⁶

<i>NT Reference</i>	<i>OT Citation</i>	<i>OT Theme</i>	<i>Speaker</i>	<i>Reference to Gentiles</i>
Acts 2:16–21	Joel 2:28–32	Spirit	Peter	All flesh . . . everyone who calls
Acts 3:25	Genesis 22:18	Abraham’s seed	Peter	All the families of the earth
Acts 13:47	Isaiah 49:6	Isaianic servant	Paul	A light to the nations
Acts 15:16–17	Amos 9:11–12	Davidic kingdom	James	All the Gentiles called by my name

⁸⁴ These texts were identified by the analysis outlined in chapter 2. A fifth text, Luke 3:6 (Isa 40:5) was also identified, but limiting the present work to the four citations in Acts seemed to make a more focused and coherent study. (Luke 3:6 will be treated briefly in the discussion of the expression “all flesh” in Acts 2:16–21.) The same five texts have also been identified by Dahl, “Abraham,” 157, n. 50; Wilson, *Gentile Mission*, 243.

⁸⁵ We are not therefore dependent on D in Acts 1:2 for any hint of the Gentile mission before Acts 10 as Epp claims. Eldon Jay Epp, *The Theological Tendency of Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis in Acts* (SNTSMS 3; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), 66. See also the brief discussion of Acts 1:8 (section 3.3.3.3. below).

⁸⁶ Three of these speeches “are strongly Davidic-Messianic” and they are given by “three of the most *theologically* [emphasis his] important characters in Acts.” Mark L. Strauss, *The Davidic Messiah in Luke-Acts: The Promise and Its Fulfillment in Lukan Eschatology* (JSNTSup 110; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 192.

This variety indicates the breadth of Old Testament support that Luke (and the speakers) found for their views. The centrality of the themes and speakers underscores the issue's importance.

Once these Old Testament citations have been identified, each text will be studied in detail.

- Examination of the Old Testament text cited, including text-critical issues (in both the MT and OG), and the meaning of the cited text in its original context.
- Examination of the New Testament citation, including text-critical issues, the New Testament context in which the citation appears, and the interpretation of the citation in its New Testament context.
- In the light of the above, an examination of the form of the text cited, the hermeneutic employed in the interpretation of the text and its application in its new context, and the purpose of the citation, i.e., the way(s) in which the citation functions in the New Testament context. (Because text, hermeneutic, and purpose are interrelated they will not be discussed in separately, but conclusions will be summarized at appropriate points in the discussion.)

Two of the texts, Acts 13:47 and Acts 15:16–18, receive more detailed study. There are three reasons: first, these texts play a distinctive role in explicitly legitimating the Gentile mission in the narrative of Acts; second, there are complex issues involved in the interpretation of these two texts; and, third, these texts have received less attention in recent studies on the Old Testament in Luke-Acts.⁸⁷ Even though the citations in Acts 2:16–21 and 3:25 have received considerable attention because of their connection to Christological themes, it is necessary to

⁸⁷ Neither of these texts, for example, are examined in Bock's major study, which ends with Acts 13:43. Bock, *Proclamation*. The reason is that neither has been viewed as a Christological text.

examine them in this context, in order to see clearly the way in which Old Testament citations are employed to legitimate the Gentile mission in Luke-Acts.⁸⁸

1.4.3 Principles, Assumptions, Limitations

To accomplish the purposes of this study, a number of principles, assumptions, and limitations have been adopted.

This study focuses on the existing text of the book of Acts, and particularly on the way in which selected Old Testament citations function within that text. It will not attempt to identify sources or traditional material lying behind the text, nor will it examine the way(s) in which the author may have used such sources or traditional material.⁸⁹ This approach is motivated by the conviction that, whatever sources may have been employed, the text as we have it is the text that we must seek to understand. For those who view the final form of the text as the authoritative canon of the church, it is particularly important that this form of the text be understood.

This study makes several assumptions. It assumes the unity and common authorship of Luke-Acts, a position widely accepted by scholars.⁹⁰ For the sake of convenience, the author of this two-volume work will be referred to as “Luke.”⁹¹ The fundamental historicity of the account

⁸⁸ The issue is not whether Gentiles participate in the eschatological salvation. That is evident in many Old Testament texts and in the teaching of Jesus. Cf. Joachim Jeremias, *Jesus' Promise to the Nations* (trans. S. H. Hooke; SBT 24; Naperville, Ill.: Allenson, 1958). The issue is the way in which they are included in this salvation.

⁸⁹ The absence of parallel accounts makes it more difficult to identify sources in Acts in any case.

⁹⁰ See, e.g., Frederick F. Bruce, *The Book of the Acts* (rev. ed.; NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988); Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel according to Luke* (2 vols.; AB 28–28A; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1981–1985); Donald Guthrie, *New Testament Introduction* (3d rev. ed.; Downers Grove, Ill.: Inter-Varsity, 1970); Werner Georg Kummel, *Introduction to the New Testament* (trans. Howard Clark Kee; Nashville: Abingdon, 1975); Ben Witherington, III, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998).

⁹¹ The present study does not depend on the identification of this author. A strong case can be made, however, for the identification of “the beloved physician,” as the author of the third gospel and Acts. Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 35–39.

given in Acts is assumed, i.e., that the book gives a reliable account of the events it records,⁹² including the accounts of speeches as “at least faithful epitomes, giving the gist of the arguments used,”⁹³ despite those who see the speeches as mostly or entirely compositions by Luke.⁹⁴

This study will not explore in detail the theme of rejection of the gospel by many Jews, although this has been related to the Gentile mission both historically and theologically.⁹⁵ Haenchen, for example, has argued that “for Luke, the Jews are ‘written off’” and “the Jewish people . . . has forfeited salvation” and, as a result, the effort to reach the Jews has ended and “now the mission goes only to the Gentiles.”⁹⁶ This view has come under increased attack, as “a growing chorus of scholars . . . are protesting the notion that Luke depicts the triumph of gentile Christianity at the expense of Jews.”⁹⁷ Jacob Jervell has argued that “‘Israel first and after that

⁹² See the defense of Luke as historian in Ian Howard Marshall, *Luke: Historian and Theologian* (3d ed.; Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity, 1988).

⁹³ Frederick F. Bruce, *The Speeches in the Acts of the Apostles* (London: Tyndale Press, 1942), 27. See also Conrad Gempf, “Public Speaking and Published Accounts,” in *The Book of Acts in Its Ancient Literary Setting* (ed. Bruce W. Winter and Andrew D. Clarke; vol. 1 of *the Book of Acts in Its First Century Setting*, ed. Bruce W. Winter; Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 1993), 259–303; W. Ward Gasque, “The Speeches of Acts: Dibelius Reconsidered,” in *New Dimensions in New Testament Study* (ed. Richard N. Longenecker and Merrill C. Tenney; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1974).

⁹⁴ Cadbury found the speeches “devoid of historical basis in genuine tradition.” Henry J. Cadbury, “The Speeches in Acts,” in *The Beginnings of Christianity: Part I The Acts of the Apostles* (ed. Frederick J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake; 5 vols.; London: Macmillan, 1920–1933; repr., Grand Rapids: Baker, 1979), 5:426. So also, Cadbury, *Making of Luke-Acts*, 184–193. Similarly, Dibelius found that “All of the preaching . . . has Luke as its author. . . . The author did not feel himself obliged to be loyal to what he had heard or the text that had come into his possession.” Martin Dibelius, *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1956), 183–184. E. Schweizer finds that “the speeches are basically *compositions by the author of Acts*” [emphasis his]. Eduard Schweizer, “Concerning the Speeches in Acts,” in *Studies in Luke-Acts* (ed. Leander E. Keck and James Louis Martyn; Nashville: Abingdon, 1966; repr., Mifflintown, Penn.: Siglar Press, 1999), 208.

⁹⁵ See, e.g., Acts 13:36; 18:6; 28:28. Sanders believes Acts 4:11 also connects the rejection of the gospel by Jews with the Gentile mission, arguing that the establishment of the cornerstone ensures that the building goes on, but with other builders (compare Luke 20:16–17). Sanders, “Prophetic Use,” 195–97.

⁹⁶ Ernst Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary* (trans. R. McL. Williams; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1971), 128, 129. In a similar vein, Jack T. Sanders can speak of Christ as “the cornerstone [the reference is to Ps 118:22] not of a ‘renewed Israel,’ of ‘the redeemed within Israel,’ but of the church, which is Gentile.” Or, more bluntly: “The Jews are out and the Gentiles are in.” Sanders, “Prophetic Use,” 196, 197.

⁹⁷ Robert L. Brawley, *Luke-Acts and the Jews* (SBLMS 33; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 3.

the Gentiles' is . . . not to be understood as an unsuccessful proclamation to Jews, which thereby compelled the proclamation to Gentiles so that the Gentiles form a substitute for the lost people of God."⁹⁸ In fact, not all Jews rejected the gospel. In every text in which "the Jews" oppose the gospel, there are also Jews who have believed. Thus "the schema that sees the rejection of the gospel by the Jews as providing the impetus for the Gentile mission is not supported by a reading of Luke-Acts as a whole."⁹⁹ Rather "the salvation of the Gentiles and Israel are inseparable."¹⁰⁰

This is an important and sensitive area. Jewish scholars are understandably troubled by the idea of the "replacement" or "supersession" of Israel by a (predominantly) Gentile church as the true heir of the scriptures and "heritage of Israel,"¹⁰¹ even if the church began among the many Jews who accepted the message about Jesus.¹⁰² Christian scholars are at the same time eager to claim the Old Testament as part of the heritage of the church. These questions are as old as the book of Acts, and their sensitivity has not been diminished by the long history of anti-Semitism that has been sometimes (spuriously) been based by some on the answers given to these questions. Nevertheless, Luke's use of the Old Testament in relation to rejection of the gospel by

⁹⁸ Jervell, "Divided People," 53, 44–49.

⁹⁹ Earl Richard, "The Divine Purpose: The Jews and the Gentile Mission (Acts 15)," in *Luke-Acts: New Perspectives from the Society of Biblical Literature Seminar* (ed. Charles H. Talbert; New York: Crossroad, 1984), 197. "The partial rejection on the part of the Jews does not provide the basis for preaching to Gentiles because preaching to Gentiles was already contained in the missionary command of God." Jervell, "Divided People," 61. (The argument is based on the citation of Isa 49:6 in Acts 13:47. See below, chapter 3.) Similarly, "salvation of Gentiles was from the beginning envisaged by God and included as part of his promises to Israel. Luke does not claim that the church has replaced Israel as the people of God." Dahl, "Abraham," 151.

¹⁰⁰ Johannes Munck, *Paul and the Salvation of Mankind* (trans. Frank Clarke; London: SCM, 1959), 44.

¹⁰¹ This latter expression is prompted by the recent volume, David P. Moessner, ed., *Jesus and the Heritage of Israel: Luke's Narrative Claim upon Israel's Legacy* (Harrisburg, Penn.: Trinity Press International, 1999).

¹⁰² This study will speak of "rejection by (many) Jews" to indicate that many Jews (and official Judaism) rejected the message about Jesus, while seeking to avoid the impression that all Jews did so. The expression "the Jews" appears in quotation marks, both to signify that this is the language Luke uses to characterize Jewish adversaries and to serve as a reminder that "the Jews" does not mean all Jews.

“the Jews” is a distinct topic, and will not be examined in detail in this study, except where this issue arises explicitly in discussion of the four citations.

CHAPTER 2

SCRIPTURE SUMMARIES AND OLD TESTAMENT CITATIONS

This chapter will seek to survey the full range of explicit appeal to the Old Testament in Luke-Acts. First, it will examine 14 statements in which Luke summarizes Old Testament teachings without citing a particular text.¹ These have seldom been brought into the discussion of the use of the Old Testament in Luke-Acts. Second, it will look at explicit Old Testament citations in Luke-Acts. More than half of these are cited as prophecies. It will become apparent that the major themes in the prophetic citations correspond closely to the major emphases in the summary statements. Both summary statements and explicit citations focus on the suffering, death and resurrection of Christ; the attendant eschatological blessings; the rejection of Christ by “the Jews;” the coming judgment; and the proclamation of the gospel to the nations. This twofold witness to Luke’s understanding of the Old Testament will shed light on Luke’s purpose in writing, as well as his understanding of the Old Testament and its fulfillment in Christ.

2.1 Scripture Summaries

One of the distinctives of the use of the Old Testament in Luke-Acts is the 14 statements that summarize aspects of the Old Testament expectation that have now been fulfilled (or are yet to be fulfilled) in Christ.² These statements use language commonly employed in citation

¹ The full text of these summaries is found in Appendix 1.

² Jacob Jervell has noted that these summaries are distinctive of Luke’s approach to the Old Testament. He can find only a few similar statements elsewhere in the New Testament (Matt 22:40; 26:56; John 1:45; 5:39, 46; 20:9; Rom 1:2–3; 3:21; 16:26; 1 Cor 15:3–4; Heb 1:1).

formulas (e.g., γράφω, γράφη, προφήτης, νόμος, or πληρώω), but do not cite particular Old Testament texts. We will refer to these 14 texts as “scripture summaries.”³

2.1.1 Luke 24

Of particular importance are the two scripture summaries in Luke 24. Schubert’s argument for the importance of Luke 24 for understanding of Luke-Acts has already been noted. In particular, Schubert notes the emphasis on fulfilled prophecy in the three events that are related in this chapter. First, in vv. 5–9, angels remind the women at the tomb of words of Jesus had spoken before his death.⁴ Second, in vv. 25–27, two travelers on the road to Emmaus receive a lesson from Jesus on the interpretation of the Old Testament and its application to himself.⁵

καὶ αὐτὸς εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς· ὦ ἀνόητοι καὶ βραδεῖς τῇ καρδίᾳ τοῦ πιστεῦν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν οἷς ἐλάλησαν οἱ προφῆται· οὐχὶ ταῦτα ἔδει παθεῖν τὸν χριστὸν καὶ εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ; καὶ ἀρχάμενος ἀπὸ Μωϋσέως καὶ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν προφητῶν διερμήνευσεν αὐτοῖς ἐν πάσαις ταῖς γραφαῖς τὰ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ.

And he said to them, “O foolish men, and slow of heart to believe all that the prophets have spoken! Was it not necessary that the Christ should suffer these things and enter into his glory?” And beginning with Moses and all the prophets, he interpreted to them in all the scriptures the things concerning himself.

“All the prophets” “beginning with Moses” had spoken, just as Jesus had, about his suffering and glory. The comprehensive nature of the Old Testament witness to Christ in this text is striking. Not only is it necessary τοῦ πιστεῦν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν οἷς ἐλάλησαν οἱ προφῆται (“to believe

³ Joseph Fitzmyer calls these “global references” and lists seven in Acts: 3:18, 24; 10:43; 17:3; 18:28; 24:14-15; 26:22-23. The present study counts Acts 3:18–26 as a single summary and adds Acts 7:52; 13:27; 28:23 as well as Luke 1:68-75; 18:31-33; 21:20–24; 24:25-27; 24:44-49. I cannot find that Fitzmyer has attempted to identify similar texts in Luke. Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Acts of the Apostles* (AB 31; New York: Doubleday, 1998), 91. Darrell Bock has referred to them as “summary citations,” and lists five: Luke 24:26, 44-47; Acts 3:22-23; 17:2-3; 26:22-23. Darrell L. Bock, “Scripture and the Realization of God’s Promises,” in *Witness to the Gospel* (ed. Ian Howard Marshall and David Peterson; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 42. Jacob Jervell calls them “summary references” and lists nine: Acts 3:18, 24; 10:43; 17:3; 18:28; 24:14; 26:23; Luke 14:26, 46. Jervell, “Center,” 123.

⁴ Because this prophecy comes from Jesus rather than the Old Testament, it will receive no further attention.

⁵ In each of these citations, *bold italic* type indicates the content of the Old Testament teaching, while underlined text indicates the general reference to the Old Testament.

all that the prophets have spoken”), but to see throughout the Old Testament, ἀπὸ Μωϋσέως καὶ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν προφητῶν (“from Moses and all the prophets”) τὰ περὶ ἐαυτοῦ (“the things concerning [Jesus]”). It seems that we are not meant merely to identify a few isolated predictions of Christ here and there in the Old Testament, but to find Christ anticipated (in various ways) in ἐν πάσαις ταῖς γραφαῖς (“in all the scriptures”). This stimulating lesson in Old Testament interpretation prompted an enthusiastic response (v. 32).

καὶ εἶπαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους· οὐχὶ ἡ καρδία ἡμῶν καιομένη ἦν [ἐν ἡμῖν] ὡς ἐλάλει ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ, ὡς διήνοιγεν ἡμῖν τὰς γραφάς;

They said to each other, “Did not our hearts burn within us while he talked to us on the road, while he opened to us the scriptures?”

Third, vv. 44–49 record Jesus’ final and fullest summary interpretation of the Old Testament.⁶

Εἶπεν δὲ πρὸς αὐτούς· οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι μου οὓς ἐλάλησα πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔτι ὧν σὺν ὑμῖν, ὅτι δεῖ πληρωθῆναι πάντα τὰ γεγραμμένα ἐν τῷ νόμῳ Μωϋσέως καὶ τοῖς προφήταις καὶ ψαλμοῖς περὶ ἐμοῦ. τότε διήνοιξεν αὐτῶν τὸν νοῦν τοῦ συνιέναι τὰς γραφάς· καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὅτι οὕτως γεγραπται παθεῖν τὸν χριστὸν καὶ ἀναστῆναι ἐκ νεκρῶν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ κηρυχθῆναι ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ μετάνοιαν εἰς ἅφεςιν ἁμαρτιῶν εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, ἀρχάμενοι ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ ὑμεῖς μάρτυρες τούτων. καὶ [ἰδοὺ] ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ πατρὸς μου ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς· ὑμεῖς δὲ καθίσατε ἐν τῇ πόλει ἕως οὗ ἐνδύσησθε ἐξ ὕψους δύναμιν.

Then he said to them, “These are my words which I spoke to you, while I was still with you, that everything written about me in the law of Moses and the prophets and the psalms must be fulfilled.” Then he opened their minds to understand the scriptures, and said to them, “Thus it is written, that the Christ should suffer and on the third day rise from the dead, and that repentance and [lit. unto] forgiveness of sins should be preached in his name to all nations, beginning from Jerusalem. You are witnesses of these things. And behold, I send the promise of my Father upon you; but stay in the city, until you are clothed with power from on high.”

Again, these words leave the clear impression that there are many things in the Old Testament that must be fulfilled in Jesus (πάντα τὰ γεγραμμένα, “everything written”). In addition to Jesus’ suffering, death, and resurrection, we are to find more written about Christ and his

⁶ The central importance of this summary has also been noted by Carroll Stuhlmueller and Donald Senior, *The Biblical Foundations for Mission* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1983).

ministry ἐν τῷ νόμῳ Μωϋσέως καὶ τοῖς προφήταις καὶ ψαλμοῖ (“in the law of Moses, the prophets, and the psalms”). As noted previously, Schubert summarizes:

The kerygma includes the proclamation . . . of repentance and the forgiveness of sins in his name . . . which is to go to all the nations . . . that the ‘apostles’ are to be witnesses of these things . . . and the coming of the Holy Spirit.⁷

This scripture summary thus moves beyond Christology proper to include implications or results of Jesus’ suffering, death, and resurrection, i.e., the proclamation of repentance and forgiveness “to all the nations,” led by the testimony of the apostles and empowered by the Holy Spirit.⁸

Similar summary statements are found in 12 other passages in Luke-Acts. After surveying the language used to refer to the Old Testament, we will summarize their teaching.

2.1.2 References to the Old Testament

The scripture summaries refer to the Old Testament in a variety of ways.

Luke 1:68–75	ἐλάλησεν διὰ στόματος τῶν ἁγίων ἀπ’ αἰῶνος προφητῶν αὐτοῦ . . . ἔλεος μετὰ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν . . . διαθήκης ἁγίας αὐτοῦ, ὄρκον ὃν ὤμοσεν πρὸς Ἀβραάμ τὸν πατέρα ἡμῶν	he spoke by the mouth of his holy prophets from of old . . . the mercy promised to our fathers . . . his holy covenant, the oath which he swore to our father Abraham.
Luke 18:31–33	πάντα τὰ γεγραμμένα διὰ τῶν	everything that is written of the

⁷ Schubert, “Structure and Significance,” 177.

⁸ Most commentators conclude the summary of “what is written” with the proclamation to “all nations” (or possibly with ἀρχόμενον ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλήμ, if we follow the RSV and a substantial number of manuscripts reading ἀρχόμενον in place of ἀρχόμενοι.) Thus J. Dupont believes that in 24:46–47 Luke “reduces the teaching of the messianic prophecies to three points,” the suffering of Christ, his resurrection on the third day, and the proclamation to the nations—omitting the apostolic witness and promise of the Spirit from the prophetic summary. Dupont, “Salvation,” 17. Admittedly, verses 48 and 49 are admittedly not grammatically a part of “thus it is written.” However, the Spirit-empowered apostolic witness is the means by which the message of repentance and forgiveness are to be preached to the nations. Luke finds the gift of the Spirit promised by the prophet Joel (Acts 2:16–21). Dennis Johnson has argued that this witness, the Spirit, and “the ends of the earth) are three themes from the Isaianic servant songs woven together in the “programmatic” Acts 1:8. Dennis E. Johnson, *The Message of Acts in the History of Redemption* (Phillipsburg, N.J.: P&R Publishing, 1997), 34–36. It may thus be argued that the universal witness and the Spirit belong to a complex of themes that Luke found prophesied in the Old Testament and that their presence in this summary of “what is written” is not accidental. The apostolic witness to Christ’s sufferings and resurrection in fact becomes part of the kerygma (Acts 2:32; 3:15; 5:32; 10:39, 41; 13:31; cp. 22:15; 26:16.) Thus, “all the elements of verses 46–48 fall under the spell of the lead, ‘thus it is written’: the death and resurrection of Jesus, the worldwide proclamation of conversion and forgiveness, the gift of the Spirit to the witnessing community,” Stuhlmüller and Senior, *Biblical Foundations*, 257.

Luke 21:20–24	προφητῶν τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου αὐταῖ εἰσιν τοῦ πλησθῆναι πάντα τὰ γεγραμμένα	Son of man by the prophets to fulfill all that is written
Luke 24:25–27	πᾶσιν οἷς ἐλάλησαν οἱ προφήται . . . ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ Μωϋσέως καὶ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν προφητῶν . . . ἐν πάσαις ταῖς γραφαῖς τὰ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ	all that the prophets have spoken . . . beginning with Moses and all the prophets . . . in all the scriptures the things concerning himself.
Luke 24:44–49	δεῖ πληρωθῆναι πάντα τὰ γεγραμμένα ἐν τῷ νόμῳ Μωϋσέως καὶ τοῖς προφήταις καὶ ψαλμοῖς περὶ ἑμοῦ . . . οὕτως γέγραπται γέγραπται	everything written about me in the law of Moses and the prophets and the psalms must be fulfilled . . . Thus it is written
Acts 3:18–26	ὁ δὲ θεός, ᾧ προκατήγγειλεν διὰ στόματος πάντων τῶν προφητῶν . . . ἐπλήρωσεν οὕτως . . . πάντων ᾧ ἐλάλησεν ὁ θεὸς διὰ στόματος τῶν ἁγίων ἀπ’ αἰῶνος αὐτοῦ προφητῶν . . . πάντες δὲ οἱ προφήται ἀπὸ Σαμουὴλ καὶ τῶν καθεξῆς ὅσοι ἐλάλησαν	what God foretold by the mouth of all the prophets . . . he thus fulfilled . . . all that God spoke by the mouth of his holy prophets from of old . . . all the prophets who have spoken, from Samuel and those who came afterwards
Acts 7:52	τῶν προφητῶν . . . τοὺς προκαταγγείλαντας	the utterances of the prophets . . . who announced beforehand
Acts 10:43	πάντες οἱ προφήται μαρτυροῦσιν	all the prophets bear witness
Acts 13:27–29	τὰς φωνὰς τῶν προφητῶν τὰς κατὰ πᾶν σάββατον ἀναγινωσκομένας . . . ἐπλήρωσαν πάντα τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένα.	the utterances of the prophets which are read every sabbath . . . fulfilled . . . all that was written of him
Acts 17:2–3	τῶν γραφῶν	the scriptures
Acts 18:28	τῶν γραφῶν	the scriptures
Acts 24:14–15	πᾶσι τοῖς κατὰ τὸν νόμον καὶ τοῖς ἐν τοῖς προφήταις γεγραμμένοις	everything laid down by the law or written in the prophets
Acts 26:22–23	οὐδὲν ἐκτὸς λέγων ᾧν τε οἱ προφήται ἐλάλησαν μελλόντων γίνεσθαι καὶ Μωϋσῆς	what the prophets and Moses said would come to pass
Acts 28:23	ἀπὸ τε τοῦ νόμου Μωϋσέως καὶ τῶν προφητῶν	both from the law of Moses and from the prophets

We can summarize these expressions in the following table.

<i>Expression</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>References</i>
the prophets (written or spoken)	12	Luke 18:31–33; 24:25–27; 24:44–49; Acts 3:18–26 (3x); 7:52; 10:43; 13:27–29; 24:14–15; 26:22–23; 28:23
the scriptures	4	Luke 1:68–75; 24:25–27; Acts 17:2–3; 18:28
(everything that is) written	3	Luke 21:20–24; 24:44–49; Acts 13:27–29

Moses / the law (of Moses)	5	Luke 24:25–27; 24:44–49; Acts 24:14–15; 26:22–23; 28:23
the Psalms	1	Luke 24:44–49
Samuel	1	Acts 3:18–26
those who announced beforehand	1	Acts 7:52
the mercy promised to our fathers	1	Luke 1:68–75
His holy covenant	1	Luke 1:68–75
the oath which he swore to our father Abraham	1	Luke 1:68–75

“The prophets” is the most prevalent way of referring to the Old Testament here. Only three summaries do not mention the prophets (Luke 21:24; Acts 17:2–3; Acts 18:28). Nine refer to “the scriptures” or “what is written,” including the three that do not mention “the prophets,” so that at least either “the prophets” or “the scriptures”/“what is written” appears in each of the summaries. “Moses” or “the law of Moses” occurs in five texts. Surprisingly, although there are 13 explicit citations from eight Psalms in Luke-Acts, the Psalms are mentioned only once in the summaries. Several other expressions appear only once, especially those from Luke 1:68–75. All of the scripture summaries in Acts appear in speeches to or descriptions of encounters with Jews, who would be expected to know and respect the Old Testament; none appear in addresses to unbelieving Gentiles, who might be less likely to find such an appeal persuasive.⁹

2.1.3 The Content of the Scripture Summaries

We can identify five main themes in the scripture summaries: the suffering, death, resurrection, and exaltation of the Messiah; the coming of eschatological blessings; God’s judgment; the rejection of Christ by many Jews; the offer of forgiveness to all (Jew or Gentile) who believe in Jesus.

⁹ This observation is not meant to depreciate the importance of the Old Testament among Gentile believers. Luke (usually understood to be a Gentile) cites the Old Testament over 70 times in his two-volume work addressed to Theophilus, another Gentile. Nevertheless, the Old Testament is not cited in speeches addressed to “true pagans,” Gentiles who did not have previous contact with the Scriptures of Israel. See Acts 14:14–18; 17:22–31. Paul’s reference to the law and the prophets in 24:14 is not an appeal to authority (as 26:22, 27 appears to be) but part of Paul’s strategy of presenting himself as an orthodox Jew guilty only of an intramural disagreement.

Like Luke 24:25–27, several scripture summaries focus on the suffering and death of *the Messiah*. Luke 18:31–33 records Jesus’ third passion prediction. Luke alone (of the synoptic authors) explicitly notes that Jesus’ passion must happen so that *τελεσθήσεται πάντα τὰ γεγραμμένα διὰ τῶν προφητῶν τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* (“everything that is written of the Son of man by the prophets will be accomplished”).¹⁰

Παραλαβὼν δὲ τοὺς δώδεκα εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς· ἰδοὺ ἀναβαίνομεν εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ, καὶ τελεσθήσεται πάντα τὰ γεγραμμένα διὰ τῶν προφητῶν τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου *παραδοθήσεται γὰρ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν καὶ ἐμπαιχθήσεται καὶ ὑβρισθήσεται καὶ ἐμπτυσθήσεται καὶ μαστιγώσαντες ἀποκτενοῦσιν αὐτόν, καὶ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ ἀναστήσεται.*

And taking the twelve, he said to them, “Behold, we are going up to Jerusalem, and everything that is written of the Son of man by the prophets will be accomplished. *For he will be delivered to the Gentiles, and will be mocked and shamefully treated and spit upon; they will scourge him and kill him, and on the third day he will rise.*”

What specifically will be fulfilled is that Jesus will be handed over to the Gentiles, that he will be ridiculed, abused, and killed, and that on the third day he will return to life. The same ideas find expression in Paul’s sermon at Thessalonica (Acts 17:2–3).

κατὰ δὲ τὸ εἰωθὸς τῷ Παύλῳ εἰσῆλθεν πρὸς αὐτούς καὶ ἐπὶ σάββατα τρία διελέξατο αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν, διανοίγων καὶ παρατιθέμενος ὅτι *τὸν χριστὸν ἔδει παθεῖν καὶ ἀναστῆναι ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ χριστός [ὁ] Ἰησοῦς* ὃν ἐγὼ καταγγέλλω ὑμῖν.

And Paul went in, as was his custom, and for three weeks he argued with them from the scriptures, explaining and proving that *it was necessary for the Christ to suffer and to rise from the dead*, and saying, “*This Jesus, whom I proclaim to you, is the Christ.*”

By demonstrating that “the scriptures” made it “necessary for the Christ to suffer and to rise from the dead,” Paul sought to bring his hearers to the conclusion that Jesus is the awaited Christ.

Other texts also indicate that the Old Testament anticipated Christ’s passion. In Acts 26:23, *παθητὸς ὁ χριστός . . . ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν* (“Christ must suffer, and . . . rise from the

¹⁰ Cp. Matt 20:17–19; Mark 10:32–34, although the reference to the “Son of man” may itself be construed as a reference to the Old Testament. See the bibliography provided in George Eldon Ladd, *A Theology of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974), 145–46. The other two passion predictions are found in Luke 9:22 (|| Matt 16:21; Mark 8:31) and 9:44 (|| Matt 17:22–23; Mark 9:31).

dead”) is among the things ὧν τε οἱ προφηταὶ ἐλάλησαν μελλόντων γίνεσθαι καὶ Μωϋσῆς (“what the prophets and Moses said would come to pass”). In Acts 3:18–24, Peter announces that ὁ δὲ θεός, ὃ προκατήγγειλεν διὰ στόματος πάντων τῶν προφητῶν (“what God foretold by the mouth of all the prophets,” 3:18, cp. 3:21) . . . ἀπὸ Σαμουὴλ καὶ τῶν καθεξῆς ὅσοι ἐλάλησαν (“from Samuel and those who came afterwards,” 3:24) was παθεῖν τὸν χριστὸν αὐτοῦ (“that his Christ should suffer,” 3:18). Acts 13:27–29 states that the τὰς φωνὰς τῶν προφητῶν indicated that the Christ would be condemned and killed:

οἱ γὰρ κατοικοῦντες ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες αὐτῶν τοῦτον ἀγνοήσαντες καὶ τὰς φωνὰς τῶν προφητῶν τὰς κατὰ πᾶν σάββατον ἀναγινωσκομένας κρίναντες ἐπλήρωσαν καὶ μηδεμίαν αἰτίαν θανάτου εὐρόντες ἤτήσαντο Πιλάτον ἀναιρεθῆναι αὐτόν. ὡς δὲ ἐτέλεσαν πάντα τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένα, καθελόντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου ἔθηκαν εἰς μνημεῖον.

For those who live in Jerusalem and their rulers, because they did not recognize him nor understand the utterances of the prophets which are read every sabbath, fulfilled these by *condemning him*. Though they could charge him with nothing deserving death, yet they asked Pilate to *have him killed*. And when they had fulfilled all that was written of him, they took him down from the tree, and laid him in a tomb.

Other scripture summaries indicate that the Old Testament points to the Messiah’s identity and demonstrate that Jesus is the awaited Messiah. We noted above that Paul, in Acts 17:2–3, draws the explicit conclusion that οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ χριστὸς ὁ Ἰησοῦς (“This Jesus . . . is the Christ”). Similarly, Acts 18:28 summarizes Apollos’ message as demonstrating εἶναι τὸν χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν (“that the Christ was Jesus”).

εὐτόνως γὰρ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις διακατηλέγετο δημοσίᾳ ἐπιδεικνὺς διὰ τῶν γραφῶν εἶναι τὸν χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν.

for he [Apollos] powerfully confuted the Jews in public, showing by the scriptures that *the Christ was Jesus*.

In Acts 3:25–26, Peter adds a quotation from Genesis to the summary of 3:18–24 to establish that Jesus is the long-awaited prophet and “seed” of Abraham, who will establish πάντων ὧν ἐλάλησεν ὁ θεὸς διὰ στόματος τῶν ἁγίων ἀπ’ αἰῶνος αὐτοῦ προφητῶν (“all that God

spoke by the mouth of his holy prophets from of old, 3:21”) and bring καιροὶ ἀναψύξεως ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ κυρίου (“times of refreshing from the Lord,” 3:19).

ὁ δὲ θεός, ἃ προκατήγγειλεν διὰ στόματος πάντων τῶν προφητῶν παθεῖν τὸν χριστὸν αὐτοῦ, ἐπλήρωσεν οὕτως. μετανοήσατε οὖν καὶ ἐπιστρέψατε εἰς τὸ ἐξαλειφθῆναι ὑμῶν τὰς ἀμαρτίας, ὅπως ἂν ἔλθωσιν καιροὶ ἀναψύξεως ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ἀποστείλῃ τὸν προκεχειρισμένον ὑμῖν χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, ὃν δεῖ οὐρανὸν μὲν δεξασθαι ἄχρι χρόνων ἀποκαταστάσεως πάντων ὧν ἐλάλησεν ὁ θεὸς διὰ στόματος τῶν ἁγίων ἀπ’ αἰῶνος αὐτοῦ προφητῶν. Μωϋσῆς μὲν εἶπεν ὅτι προφήτην ὑμῖν ἀναστήσει κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὑμῶν ὡς ἐμέ· αὐτοῦ ἀκούσεσθε κατὰ πάντα ὅσα ἂν λαλήσῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς. ἔσται δὲ πᾶσα ψυχὴ ἣτις ἐὰν μὴ ἀκούσῃ τοῦ προφήτου ἐκείνου ἐξολεθρευθήσεται ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ. καὶ πάντες δὲ οἱ προφῆται ἀπὸ Σαμουὴλ καὶ τῶν καθεξῆς ὅσοι ἐλάλησαν καὶ κατήγγειλαν τὰς ἡμέρας ταύτας. ὑμεῖς ἐστε οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ τῆς διαθήκης ἧς διέθετο ὁ θεὸς πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ὑμῶν λέγων πρὸς Ἀβραάμ· καὶ ἐν τῷ σπέρματί σου [ἐν]εὐλογηθήσονται πᾶσαι αἱ πατριαὶ τῆς γῆς. ὑμῖν πρῶτον ἀναστήσας ὁ θεὸς τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτὸν εὐλογοῦντα ὑμᾶς ἐν τῷ ἀποστρέφειν ἕκαστον ἀπὸ τῶν πονηριῶν ὑμῶν.

But what God foretold by the mouth of all the prophets, that his *Christ should suffer, he thus fulfilled.* Repent therefore, and turn again, that your sins may be blotted out, that times of refreshing may come from the presence of the Lord, and that he may send the Christ appointed for you, Jesus, whom heaven must receive until the time for establishing all that God spoke by the mouth of his holy prophets from of old. Moses said, ‘*The Lord God will raise up for you a prophet from your brethren as he raised me up. You shall listen to him in whatever he tells you. And it shall be that every soul that does not listen to that prophet shall be destroyed from the people.*’ And all the prophets who have spoken, from Samuel and those who came afterwards, also proclaimed *these days.* 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 families of the earth 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 7:52 describes the prophets as τοὺς προκαταγγείλαντας (“those who announced beforehand”) . . . τῆς ἐλεύσεως τοῦ δικαίου (“the coming of the Righteous One”).

τίνα τῶν προφητῶν οὐκ ἐδίωξαν οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν; καὶ ἀπέκτειναν τοὺς προκαταγγείλαντας περὶ τῆς ἐλεύσεως τοῦ δικαίου, οὗ νῦν ὑμεῖς προδόται καὶ φονεῖς ἐγένεσθε,

Which of the prophets did not your fathers persecute? And they killed those who announced beforehand the coming of the Righteous One, whom you have now betrayed and murdered

In Acts 28:23, Paul in Rome is διαμαρτυρόμενος τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ (“testifying about the kingdom of God”) and seeking to “convince them” περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ (“about Jesus”).

Ταξάμενοι δὲ αὐτῷ ἡμέραν ἦλθον πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ξενίαν πλείονες οἷς ἐξετίθετο διαμαρτυρόμενος τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, πείθων τε αὐτοὺς περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἀπὸ τε τοῦ νόμου Μωϋσέως καὶ τῶν προφητῶν ἀπὸ πρωῒ ἕως ἑσπέρας.

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.

Other scripture summaries describe the *blessings of the Messianic age*. Zechariah's prayer in Luke 1:68–75, one of the less precise but certainly more exuberant of the scripture summaries, celebrates God's redemption of his people using a variety of terms from the Old Testament: visited, redeemed, salvation, mercy, deliverance, service.

Εὐλογητὸς κύριος ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ, ὅτι ἐπεσκέψατο καὶ ἐποίησεν λύτρωσιν τῷ λαῷ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἤγειρεν κέρασ σωτηρίας ἡμῖν ἐν οἴκῳ Δαυὶδ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ, καθὼς ἐλάλησεν διὰ στόματος τῶν ἁγίων ἀπ' αἰῶνος προφητῶν αὐτοῦ, σωτηρίαν ἐξ ἐχθρῶν ἡμῶν καὶ ἐκ χειρὸς πάντων τῶν μισούντων ἡμᾶς, ποιῆσαι ἔλεος μετὰ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν καὶ μνησθῆναι διαθήκης ἁγίας αὐτοῦ, ὄρκον ὃν ὤμοσεν πρὸς Ἀβραάμ τὸν πατέρα ἡμῶν, τοῦ δοῦναι ἡμῖν ἀφόβως ἐκ χειρὸς ἐχθρῶν ῥυσθέντας λατρεύειν αὐτῷ ἐν ὁσιότητι καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ πάσαις ταῖς ἡμέραις ἡμῶν.

“Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, for *he has visited and redeemed his people, and has raised up a horn of salvation for us in the house of his servant David, as he spoke by the mouth of his holy prophets from of old, that we should be saved from our enemies, and from the hand of all who hate us; to perform the mercy promised to our fathers, and to remember his holy covenant, the oath which he swore to our father Abraham, to grant us that we, being delivered from the hand of our enemies, might serve him without fear, in holiness and righteousness before him all the days of our life.*

Acts 28: 23 (cited above) indicates that Paul was διαμαρτυρόμενος τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ (“testifying to the [realization of the] kingdom of God”). Acts 3:24 refers broadly to “these days,” which in context include the suffering and ascension of Christ, the long-awaited prophet like Moses, and the seed of Abraham, who will bring times of refreshing from the Lord (καιροὶ ἀναψύξεως ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ κυρίου).

Among these blessings is the hope of the resurrection (Acts 24:14–15).

ὁμολογῶ δὲ τοῦτό σοι ὅτι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἣν λέγουσιν αἵρεσιν, οὕτως λατρεύω τῷ πατρίῳ θεῷ πιστεύων πάντα τοῖς κατὰ τὸν νόμον καὶ τοῖς ἐν

But this I admit to you, that according to the Way, which they call a sect, I worship the God of our fathers, believing everything laid down by the law or written in the prophets.

τοῖς προφήταις γεγραμμένοις, ἐλπίδα ἔχων εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἦν καὶ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι προσδέχονται, ἀνάστασιν μέλλειν ἔσεσθαι δικαίων τε καὶ ἀδίκων.

down by the law or written in the prophets, having a *hope in God* which these themselves accept, that *there will be a resurrection of both the just and the unjust*.

This same blessing is suggested by Acts 26:22–23, when Paul refers to Christ as “being the first to rise from the dead” (εἰ πρῶτος ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν), implying that others will follow.

This is “nothing but what the prophets and Moses said would come to pass” (οὐδὲν ἐκτὸς λέγων ὧν τε οἱ προφῆται ἐλάλησαν μελλόντων γίνεσθαι καὶ Μωϋσῆς).

There is also an indication of impending *judgment* (Luke 21:20–24). This distress and desolation will come “to fulfill all that is written” (τοῦ πλησθῆναι πάντα τὰ γεγραμμένα).

“Ὅταν δὲ ἴδητε *κυκλουμένην ὑπὸ στρατοπέδων Ἱερουσαλήμ*, τότε γινώτε ὅτι ἤγγικεν ἡ ἐρήμωσις αὐτῆς. τότε οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ φευγέτωσαν εἰς τὰ ὄρη καὶ οἱ ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῆς ἐκχωρείτωσαν καὶ οἱ ἐν ταῖς χώραις μὴ εἰσερχέσθωσαν εἰς αὐτήν, ὅτι *ἡμέραι ἐκδικήσεως αὐταὶ εἰσιν τοῦ πλησθῆναι πάντα τὰ γεγραμμένα*. οὐαὶ ταῖς ἐν γαστρὶ ἐχούσαις καὶ ταῖς θηλαζούσαις ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις· *ἔσται γὰρ ἀνάγκη μεγάλη ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ὀργὴ τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ, καὶ πεσοῦνται στόματι μαχαίρης καὶ αἰχμαλωτισθήσονται εἰς τὰ ἔθνη πάντα, καὶ Ἱερουσαλήμ ἔσται πατουμένη ὑπὸ ἐθνῶν, ἄχρι οὗ πληρωθῶσιν καιροὶ ἐθνῶν*.

But when you see *Jerusalem surrounded by armies*, then know that *its desolation has come near*. Then let those who are in Judea flee to the mountains, and let those who are inside the city depart, and let not those who are out in the country enter it; for these are *days of vengeance, to fulfill all that is written*. Alas for those who are with child and for those who give suck in those days! For *great distress shall be upon the earth and wrath upon this people; they will fall by the edge of the sword, and be led captive among all nations; and Jerusalem will be trodden down by the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles are fulfilled*.

The same summaries that speak of the sufferings of Christ and the judgment to come also highlight the *rejection* of Jesus, particularly by those who are Jews. “Behold, we are going up to Jerusalem . . . he will be delivered to the Gentiles” (Luke 18:31–33; cp. Acts 13:27–29). The judgment coming on Jerusalem (Luke 21:20–24) is (in light of 19:37–44) the result of the city’s spiritual blindness and refusal to acknowledge Jesus. Stephen charged that the present generation had merely followed in the footsteps of their fathers who had killed the prophets (Acts 7:52).

Nevertheless, *forgiveness of sins* is offered through the name of Jesus. Acts 10:43 focuses specifically on this gift, asserting that πάντες οἱ προφῆται (“all the prophets”) testify to this.

<p>τούτω πάντες οἱ προφῆται μαρτυροῦσιν ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν λαβεῖν διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ πάντα τὸν πιστεύοντα εἰς αὐτόν.</p>	<p>To him <u>all the prophets bear witness that every one who believes in him receives forgiveness of sins through his name.</u></p>
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Luke 24:44–49 also made forgiveness (with a call to repentance) the central feature of the proclamation to the nations. The apostolic witness(es) is/are to begin in Jerusalem.¹¹ Acts 3:18–26 underscores the initial priority of the mission to Jews, asserting that ὑμῖν πρῶτον God has sent the risen Christ, although that mission would eventually include all nations (24:47, κηρυχθῆναι . . . εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη). Acts 26:22–23 indicates that Christ, by virtue of his resurrection [and by means of his apostles and church] φῶς μέλλει καταγγέλλειν τῷ τε λαῷ καὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν (“proclaim light both to the people [the Jews¹²] and to the Gentiles”).

<p>ἐπικουρίας οὖν τυχῶν τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄχρι τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης ἔστηκα μαρτυρόμενος μικρῷ τε καὶ μεγάλῳ οὐδὲν ἐκτὸς λέγων ὧν τε οἱ προφῆται ἐλάλησαν μελλόντων γίνεσθαι καὶ Μωϋσῆς, εἰ παθητὸς ὁ χριστός, εἰ πρῶτος ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν φῶς μέλλει καταγγέλλειν τῷ τε λαῷ καὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.</p>	<p>To this day I have had the help that comes from God, and so I stand here testifying both to small and great, saying nothing but <u>what the prophets and Moses said would come to pass: that the Christ must suffer, and that, by being the first to rise from the dead, he would proclaim light both to the people and to the Gentiles.</u></p>
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Although Jews are included in the proclamation of Acts 26:22–23 (τῷ λαῷ) and in that of Luke 24:44–49 (πάντα τὰ ἔθνη and ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ), the emphasis is on the universality of the proclamation, to *all* nations.

¹¹ The textual variant (ἀρξάμενοι versus ἀρξάμενον) does not make a substantial difference. Whether it is the proclamation or the witnesses that are to begin at Jerusalem, Jerusalem remains the starting point and is the first to receive the proclamation. Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 1584; Leon Morris, *The Gospel according to St. Luke: An Introduction and Commentary* (TNTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974), 343.

¹² Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 761–62; Haenchen, *Acts*, 687; Luke Timothy Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles* (SP 5; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1992), 438.

We can now summarize. The chief theme in these summaries is “that the Christ should suffer . . . and die” (Luke 18:33; 24:26, 46; Acts 3:18; 17:3, 27; 26:23), that he should “rise from the dead on the third day” (Luke 18:33; 24:46; Acts 17:3; 26:23), and “enter his glory” (Luke 24:26). More generally, the Old Testament promised “the coming of the Righteous One” (Acts 7:52) and that “Jesus is the Christ” (Acts 17:3; 18:28; 28:23). Still more generally, the Old Testament foresaw “these days” (Acts 3:24) and “the kingdom of God” (Acts 28:23). It also warned of judgment to come: “Jerusalem surrounded by enemies,” “great distress upon the earth,” and Jews “led captive among the nations” (Luke 21:20–24). Those Jews who have rejected Jesus are particularly in danger of this judgment. At the same time, there is reason for hope that God will soon “redeem his people” and “deliver them from . . . [their] enemies” so that they “might serve him without fear, in holiness and righteousness” (Luke 1:68–75) and “hope in God . . . that there will be a resurrection of both the just and the unjust” (Acts 24:15). This hope is based on the assurance, to which “all the prophets bear witness that everyone who believes in him receives forgiveness through his name” (Acts 10:43). For that reason, “repentance and forgiveness of sins should be preached in his name to all nations” (Luke 24: 47).

We can summarize five key main themes in the scripture summaries.

<i>Old Testament Expectation in the Scripture Summaries</i>
The suffering, death, resurrection, and exaltation of Christ
The eschatological blessings
The coming judgment
The rejection of Christ by many Jews
The offer of forgiveness all (Jew or Gentile) in the name of Jesus

2.2 Old Testament Citations

We may now compare the emphases in the scripture summaries with the explicit citations from the Old Testament in Luke-Acts.

This step is imperative, because, according to Dupont, if Luke defines the Christian meaning of the OT in ch. 24 of his Gospel, he does not indicate which biblical texts are most apt for this Christological demonstration. It is the citations in Acts which fulfill the program announced in ch. 24.¹³

2.2.1 Identification of Old Testament Citations

Identifying Old Testament citations is an inexact science. There is little consensus on which texts include explicit citations and which should be regarded as paraphrases or allusions.¹⁴ Although sharing a common text, the two standard editions of the Greek New Testament differ in their treatment of Old Testament citations. In Luke, NA²⁷ marks 33 passages as quotations, ten of which are not shared with UBS⁴, while UBS⁴ lists 25 texts as quotations, two of which are not shared with NA²⁷. In Acts, NA²⁷ marks 36 passages as quotations, three of which are not shared with UBS⁴, while UBS⁴ lists 40 texts as quotations, seven of which are not shared with NA²⁷.¹⁵ Neither text agrees with Bratcher's survey of Old Testament quotations, which was also prepared under the direction of the United Bible Societies.¹⁶ Other studies of citations evidence a similar disparity.¹⁷ The citation lists of NA and UBS are larger than those of some other studies. There is no scholarly consensus list of Old Testament citations in Luke-Acts on which to rely.

¹³ Francois Bovon, *Luke the Theologian: Thirty-Three Years of Research (1950-1983)* (trans. Ken McKinney; Allison Park, Penn.: Pickwick Publications, 1987), 85.

¹⁴ This three-fold categorization of citations, paraphrases, and allusions is employed by Robert G. Bratcher, *Old Testament Quotations in the New Testament* (3d rev. ed.; Helps for Translators 3; London: United Bible Societies, 1987). For a more detailed scheme, see Franklin Johnson, *The Quotations of the New Testament from the Old Considered in the Light of General Literature* (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1896).

¹⁵ It appears that texts judged to be quotations in only one of these editions are listed as allusions in the other, although I have not made a thorough study of this.

¹⁶ Bratcher, *Quotations*.

¹⁷ Charles K. Barrett, "Luke/Acts," in *It Is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture* (ed. Donald A. Carson and Hugh G. M. Williamson; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 231-44; Holtz, *Untersuchungen*; Johnson, *Quotations*; Longenecker, *Biblical Exegesis*, 57-59; Helmer Ringgren, "Luke's Use of the Old Testament," *HTR* 79 (1986): 227-35; Crawford Howard Toy, *Quotations in the New Testament* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons,

One could limit citations to those are introduced by an introductory formula (e.g., “it is written,” “God says,” “the prophet says”). This would yield a more limited list of citations than is generally accepted. Even so, difficulties would remain, such as the proposed citation of Isaiah 45:21 at the conclusion of the explicitly introduced Amos citation in Acts 15:18.

The development of a consistent rationale for identifying citations and the detailed application of such a methodology to Luke-Acts would be a study in itself. However, it is possible to gain some idea of the use of Old Testament citations by analyzing data compiled according to the criteria just outlined: citations identified in either NA²⁷ or UBS⁴ (the two agree over 80% of the time) and the narrower list of citations prefaced by introductory formulas. Both lists of citations display similar patterns in the usage of Old Testament. (A complete table of all of the passages indicated as Old Testament citations in either NA²⁷ or UBS⁴ is found in Appendix 2. The table also indicates those citations introduced by an introductory formula.)

2.2.2 Introductory Formulas in Luke-Acts

Luke employs a considerable variety of introductory formulas before Old Testament citations. A total of 40 introductory formulas introduce 48 citations.¹⁸

<i>Expression</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>References</i>
it is written	6	Luke 4:4, 8, 10–11; 19:46; Acts 15:15–17; 23:5
in the law [of the Lord]	2	Luke 2:23; 10:26–27
in the words/book of the prophets/Isaiah	3	Luke 3:4–6; 4:17–19; Acts 7:42–43
in the Psalm/in . . . Psalm	2	Acts 1:20; 13:33
whom/what it is written	2	Luke 7:27; 20:17
Moses wrote	1	Luke 20:28
scripture	2	Luke 22:37; Acts 8:22–23
it is said/was spoken	1	Luke 4:12

1884); David McCalman Turpie, *The New Testament View of the Old: A Contribution to Biblical Introduction and Exegesis* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1872).

¹⁸ Several formulas introduce two, or even three, separate citations. A full list is found in Appendix 3.

in the law of the Lord	1	Luke 2:24
by the prophet Joel/in the prophets	2	Acts 2:16–21; 13:40–41
says/said		
Moses says/said	2	Luke 20:37 (“calls”); Acts 3:22
David says/said	5	Luke 20:42–43; Acts 2:25–28, 31 [“foresaw and spoke”], 34–35; 4:25–26 [“by the Holy Spirit”]
the prophet says/said	1	Acts 7:49–50 [Isaiah]
God/the Lord/Holy Spirit says/said	6	Acts 3:25; 7:33; 13:22 [“testified and said”], 34, 35 [“in another psalm”]; 28:25–27
God commanded us	1	Acts 13:47
the commandments	1	Luke 18:20
the voice of the Lord came	1	Acts 7:31–32
this is . . .	1	Acts 4:11

This terminology is similar to that found in the scripture summaries, although there are no generalized expressions here such as “the law and the prophets.” The “written” character of Old Testament revelation is emphasized (18 times), as well as the language of speech (18 times). Speakers include Moses, David, “the prophet” (i.e., Isaiah), and God himself. The terminology indicates the authority ascribed to scripture. The expression in Acts 13:47 (“God has commanded us”) is distinctive in its particular and contemporary application.

2.2.3 Uses of Old Testament Citations in Luke-Acts

Both sets of texts (those with introductory formulas and those identified from NA²⁷ and UBS⁴) show that Old Testament citations are employed in a variety of ways.¹⁹ An analysis of these citations suggests that we may identify five main categories of citation: legal, historical, doctrinal, other, and prophetic (Christological, soteriological, judgment, and universal).²⁰

First, there are *legal* references, which cite the requirements of the Old Testament law.

¹⁹ All of the Old Testament citations in Acts occur in speeches with the exception of Act 8:32–33, the text being read by the Ethiopian eunuch. Clarke, “Use,” 2:93. None occur as comments by the narrator, in marked contrast to, e.g., Matthew. Cf. Matt 1:22–23; 2: 25, 17–18; 3:3; 8:17; 12:17–21; 13:35; 21:5; 27:9–10.

²⁰ The categories were derived from a study of the citations themselves. Although some judgment is involved, the overall pattern will not differ greatly if others assign particular texts to other categories.

And to offer a sacrifice according to what is said in the law of the Lord, “a pair of turtledoves, or two young pigeons.” [Luke 2:24; citing Leviticus 12:8]

He said to him, “What is written in the law? How do you read?” And he answered, “You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your strength, and with all your mind; and your neighbor as yourself.” [Luke 10:26–27; citing Deut 6:5; Lev 19:18]

In addition to legal references, there are *historical* references (primarily in Acts 7). These citations refer to events from Israel’s past. They come predominantly from the Pentateuch, since most refer to foundational events of Israel’s history, such as the covenant with Abraham and the exodus from Egypt. A few refer to the establishment of the kingdom or later subsequent events.²¹

[God] said to him, “Depart from your land and from your kindred and go into the land which I will show you.” [Acts 7:3; citing Gen 12:1]

And when he had removed him, he raised up David to be their king; of whom he testified and said, “I have found in David the son of Jesse a man after my heart, who will do all my will.” [Acts 13:22; citing Ps 89:20; 1 Sam 13:14]

A few references are *doctrinal* statements about the nature and attributes of God.

But that the dead are raised, even Moses showed, in the passage about the bush, where he calls the Lord the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob. [Luke 20:37; citing Exod 3:6]

We also are men, of like nature with you, and bring you good news, that you should turn from these vain things to a living God who made the heaven and the earth and the sea and all that is in them. [Acts 14:15; citing Exod 20:11; Ps 146:6]

Two or three texts must be classified as *other* (Luke 4:10–11; 9:54; and possibly 13:19).

By far the largest group of texts (over half) may be designated *prophetic*. These citations are drawn primarily from the prophets and the book of Psalms (but some from the Torah) and are applied to events which have been fulfilled in Luke’s narrative or which are yet to be fulfilled in the future. It is these texts that are most often in view in discussions of the “Old Testament in

²¹ Although Stephen’s summary of Old Testament history may itself be prophetic, there is no indication in the speech that the citations themselves are to be understood prophetically.

Luke-Acts.” Within this large group we can identify five particular themes or emphases. Some citations appear to evoke more than one of these themes. As noted above, a considerable number of Old Testament citations are related to *Christology*.

Being therefore a prophet, and knowing that God had sworn with an oath to him that he would set one of his descendants upon his throne, he foresaw and spoke of the resurrection of the Christ, that he was not abandoned to Hades, nor did his flesh see corruption. [Acts 2:30–31; citing Pss 132:11; 16:10]

And there was given to him the book of the prophet Isaiah. He opened the book and found the place where it was written, “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 to the captives and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty those who are oppressed, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord.” [Luke 4:17–19; citing Isa 61:1–2]

This latter text also has a *soteriological* component, speaking not only of Christ as the Spirit-anointed preacher, but also more generally about the salvation that he will inaugurate.

But this is what was spoken by the prophet Joel: “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 it shall be that whoever calls on the name of the Lord shall be saved.” [Acts 2:16–21; citing Joel 2:28–32]

Luke also cites Old Testament passages to warn of and teach about the coming *judgment*, particularly on unbelief and *rejection* of Christ by many Jews.

[Jesus] said, “To you it has been given to know the secrets of the kingdom of God; but for others they are in parables, so that seeing they may not see, and hearing they may not understand . . .” [Luke 8:10; citing Isa 6:9]

Beware, therefore, lest there come upon you what is said in the prophets: “Behold, you scoffers, and wonder, and perish; for I do a deed in your days, a deed you will never believe, if one declares it to you.” [Acts 13:40–41; citing Hab 1:5]

Several citations speak of the *universal* spread of the gospel to include all nations (i.e., Gentiles).

As it is written in the book of the words of Isaiah the prophet, “The voice of one crying in the wilderness: Prepare the way of the Lord, make his paths straight. Every valley shall be filled, and every mountain and hill shall be brought low, and the

crooked shall be made straight, and the rough ways shall be made smooth; and all flesh shall see the salvation of God.” [Luke 3:4–6; citing Isa 40:3–5]

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 families of the earth be blessed.” [Acts 3:25; citing Gen 22:18]

2.2.4 Analysis of Old Testament Citations

The following table indicates the overall distribution of texts by source.

Citations by Source	All Citations				Citations with Introductory Formulas			
	Luke	Acts	Total	Percent	Luke	Acts	Total	Percent
Pentateuch	13	20	33	42%	11	8	19	40%
History ²²	1	2	3	4%	0	1	1	2%
Latter Prophets	11	10	21	27%	5	10	14	31%
Psalms	10	11	21	27%	3	10	13	27%
Total	35	43	78		19	29	48	

Both sets of citations present a similar picture. Luke draws most citations from the Pentateuch, the latter prophets, and the Psalms. The historical narratives play a negligible role. Explicit citations are less numerous in Luke than in Acts, particularly in light of Luke’s greater length. Citations with introductory formulas are less numerous in Luke than in Acts.

The table below summarizes the uses of Old Testament citations in Luke-Acts.

Citations by Use	All Citations				Citations with Introductory Formulas			
	Luke	Acts	Total	Percent	Luke	Acts	Total	Percent
Legal	11	1	12	15%	9	1	10	21%
Historical	0	17	17	22%	0	7	7	15%
Doctrinal	1	3	4	5%	1	0	1	2%
Other	3	0	3	4%	1	0	1	2%
Prophetic	20	22	42	54%	8	21	29	60%
Total	35	43	78		19	29	48	

The majority of Old Testament citations are employed prophetically, applied either to events fulfilled within Luke’s narrative or events still in the future. Historical citations appear primarily

²² This category includes the former prophets and the narrative books included among the writings (Joshua–Esther in the English Bible).

in Stephen’s speech where most lack introductory formulas.²³ Legal citations predominate in the gospel, most with introductory formulas, as the context would seem to require.

A final table summarizes the uses of prophetic citations.

Prophetic Citations	All Citations				Citations with Introductory Formulas			
	Luke	Acts	Total	Percent	Luke	Acts	Total	Percent
Christological	10	10	20	48%	4	9	13	45%
Soteriological	5	4	9	21%	4	4	8	28%
Judgment	7	7	14	33%	2	7	9	31%
Rejection	4	5	9	21%	0	5	5	17%
Universal	1	4	5	12%	1	4	5	15%

(Because some texts may fit more than one category, percentages total more than 100%.) A statistical analysis does not necessarily indicate which themes are more important. Certain citations may play a more central role and be “weighted” more than others, although the numbers seem to support the assertion that Christology is primary. Both sets of citations present a similar and clear pattern. Luke most frequently cites the Old Testament to explain the suffering, death, and resurrection of Jesus, in order to demonstrate that he is the expected Christ. Luke also cites the Old Testament to describe generally the awaited salvation of God, to warn of judgment (particularly on Jews who, as prophesied, reject the message about Jesus), and to underscore the universal mission of the church, as the gospel is preached not only to Jews, but also to Gentiles.

2.3 Analysis

Luke’s scripture summaries and Old Testament reveal a common understanding of the Old Testament as “what is written” and “what was spoken by the prophets,” as well as in content.

<i>Old Testament Expectation in the Scripture Summaries</i>	<i>Old Testament Citations</i>
The suffering, death, resurrection, and exaltation of Christ	Christological
The eschatological blessings	Soteriological
The coming judgment	Judgment

²³ Many of these appear to be “cited” only to relate the story, rather than as part of an appeal to authority. The only other historical citations are the two which appear in Acts 13:22, citing Ps 89:20; 1 Sam 13:14.

The rejection of Christ by many Jews	Rejection
The offer of forgiveness to all (Jew or Gentile) in the name of Jesus	Universal

The prophetic significance of the Old Testament in Luke-Acts is therefore found in these five themes: Christology, soteriology, judgment, rejection, and the universal offer of the gospel.²⁴

Why these five themes? Luke is not writing a theology of the Old Testament, but is writing with a particular need (or needs) in mind.

It is at this point that the work of Christopher D. Stanley (cited earlier) is helpful. Stanley has argued that biblical quotations must be subjected to rhetorical analysis, because “the decision to introduce a direct quotation into a piece of discourse is a rhetorical act.”²⁵ Every writing is prompted by some “rhetorical urgency.”²⁶ The use of quotations reveals something of the author’s rhetorical purposes²⁷ and expectations of the work’s intended readers.²⁸

In the preface to his gospel, Luke indicates his intention to write for Theophilus ἀκριβῶς καθεξῆς, an “orderly account,” with the goal ἵνα ἐπιγνῶς περὶ ὧν κατηχήθης λόγων τὴν ἀσφάλειαν (“that you may know the truth concerning the things of which you have been informed”). Theophilus is characterized as informed about certain things (presumably the essential elements of the life, death, and resurrection of Christ, and perhaps key events in the

²⁴ Cp. the analysis of Amsler, who finds four points in the proclamation of Acts attested by Old Testament citations: the coming of the promised prophet-king, the necessity of the suffering and death of Jesus, his resurrection and ascension, and the proclamation of salvation to all men along with the hardening of Israel. Samuel Amsler, *L'Ancien Testament dans l'Eglise: Essai d'herméneutique chrétienne* (Neuchatel: Delachaux & Niestlé, 1960), 71.

²⁵ Stanley, “Rhetoric,” 57.

²⁶ Stanley, “Quotations,” 707.

²⁷ Stanley, “Quotations,” 724.

²⁸ Stanley, “Rhetoric,” 26-58.

history of the early church), but lacking “certainty”²⁹ about these things. The account is καθ’ἑξῆς, used also in Acts 11:4 to describe Peter’s explanation of his behavior at Cornelius’ house, an account designed to persuade his critics of its appropriateness.³⁰ Luke-Acts, then, is intended as a persuasive document, to bring Theophilus to certainty about those things of the Christian faith about which he has already been informed.³¹

Authors quote for a variety of reasons. One may simply illustrate a point using another’s words.³² More often a quotation is an “argument from authority” that “is typically used to anticipate and/or close off debate.” The effectiveness of such an appeal “will depend in large part on the audience’s perception of the authority and/or credibility of the original source . . .”³³ For the early Christian community, an appeal to scripture was an appeal to the highest authority.

The Old Testament citations and summaries thus provide a clue about the things of which Theophilus (and Luke’s other readers) needed assurance or that were in dispute in Theophilus’ circles.³⁴ It appears that Theophilus was in need of assurance about the person and work of Jesus. We know from elsewhere in the New Testament that the crucifixion of Jesus in particular was a

²⁹ RSV’s rendering “truth” is inadequate. See BDAG, s.v. ἀσφάλεια. “The word conveys the antithesis to unreliable gossip, rumour and doubt.” In Acts “τό ἀσφαλές counterbalances and compensates for all kinds of conflicting statements and doubts as that which alone is completely dependable.” In Luke 1:1–4 the author “wants to remove doubt about the exactitude of τῶν πεπληροφορημένων, Christ’s work of salvation and bring to Theophilus and his other readers, *the complete certainty*.” Willem C. van Unnik, “Remarks on the Purpose of Luke’s Historical Writing (Luke 1–4),” in *Sparsa Collecta: The Collected Essays of W. C. van Unnik, Part One: Evangelia, Paulina, Acta* (NovTSup 29; Leiden: Brill, 1973), 14.

³⁰ Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 299.

³¹ Robert Maddox, *The Purpose of Luke-Acts* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1982), 22, 182–87.

³² Stanley, “Rhetoric,” 45–46.

³³ Stanley, “Quotations,” 703.

³⁴ “The plot of a work can often be illuminated by considering the major conflict or conflicts within it.” Robert C. Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts: A Literary Interpretation* (2 vols.; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986–1990), 2:34. The citations in a work are a clue to conflicts present in the author’s and/or recipients’ surroundings and may therefore illuminate the author’s concerns and objectives.

stumbling block to belief (1 Cor 1:23), that his resurrection was denied (Matt 28:12–15) and his Messiahship disputed (Matt 26:63–66).³⁵ The condemnation and execution of Christ by the Romans was an obstacle to Jews, as well as an embarrassment to Gentiles.³⁶ Half of the Old Testament citations and almost all of the scripture summaries in Luke-Acts focus on the suffering, death, and resurrection of Christ as the fulfillment of prophecy and the plan of God for the salvation of his people. The more generally soteriological texts also support the claim that Jesus is the Christ, by noting the blessings of the Messianic reign that attend his coming.

It also appears that Theophilus was in need of certainty about the church's mission to Gentiles. If Theophilus were himself a Gentile, the question would have been of considerable personal significance. Acts indicates that the Gentile mission was a matter of controversy: Jews who did not believe in Jesus listened calmly to Paul's account of his conversion until he claimed that God had sent him to preach good news to the Gentiles (Acts 22:21-24); Jews who did believe in Jesus had misgivings as well (Acts 10-11; 15:1-35). Such concerns may have made Gentile believers wonder if they in fact did belong to God's people.³⁷ The Old Testament citations and summaries that speak of the inclusion of Gentiles in God's plan would encourage those who have believed in Jesus that they have indeed been accepted by God. Darrell Bock has argued that Luke's use of the Old Testament

is designed to calm any doubts that may have existed in the church either about Jesus' position in the plan of God, or his offering of God's salvation to all men, especially the direct offer of salvation to the Gentiles.³⁸

³⁵ "The first objections to the faith were concerned with the suffering and death of Jesus." Barnabas Lindars, *New Testament Apologetic* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1961), 284.

³⁶ Frederick F. Bruce, *The Defense of the Gospel in the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977), 18, 32, 54-55.

³⁷ Maddox, *Purpose*, 183-84.

³⁸ Bock, *Proclamation*, 279.

The citations related to the rejection of Jesus by many Jews and the consequent judgment are varied. Those that speak of judgment are reminders of a future day and support the call for repentance.³⁹ The failure of many Jews to welcome Jesus as their Messiah was a matter of concern (Rom 9–11). In Luke-Acts, citations related to Jewish unbelief (e.g., Luke 8:10; Acts 3:23; 13:40-41; 28:25-27) occur most often in conjunction with an announcement of the Gentile mission. This does not mean that rejection of Jesus by “the Jews” is the cause of the Gentile mission, as some have suggested—“occasion” would be a more accurate designation.

We should also recognize what is *not* included in the explicit citations. Note again:

Thus it is written, that the Christ should suffer and on the third day rise from the dead, and that repentance and forgiveness of sins should be preached in his name to all nations, beginning from Jerusalem. You are witnesses of these things. And behold, I send the promise of my Father upon you; but stay in the city, until you are clothed with power from on high. (Luke 24:46-49)

As we have seen, the suffering and resurrection of Christ is a frequent theme in the citations, as is the proclamation to the nations. The content of the proclamation (repentance and forgiveness), however, is not supported by Old Testament citation. Although Schubert suggested that the apostolic witness and the gift of the Spirit are part of what “is written,” the former is supported by no Old Testament citation and the latter by only one.⁴⁰ Then again, these things did not appear to have been topics of dispute. That God forgives sins was not in question, but that he would do so for Gentiles, without circumcision and obedience to the whole law, was something else.

Stanley notes that, even though an appeal to scripture might be sufficient to clinch an argument, Paul seldom argues by citation alone.⁴¹ “The use of multiple lines of argumentation is

³⁹ The prophesy of judgment on Judas in Acts 1:20 is an exception.

⁴⁰ Acts 2:16-21 (Joel 2:28-32) supports the latter. Isa 43:10; 55:4 could support the former, but was not cited.

⁴¹ Stanley, “Quotations,” 714-15.

a standard recommendation of rhetoricians as far back as Aristotle.”⁴² In Luke-Acts we find the points made in the citations also “argued” through the narrative. The risen Jesus meets with his unbelieving disciples, persuades them of his resurrection (Luke 24:31, 36–52) “by many proofs” (Acts 1:3), and ascends bodily into heaven in the sight of the eleven (Acts 1:9–11). The narrative demonstrates God’s acceptance of the Gentiles through the accounts of Philip’s preaching in Samaria (8:4-17), the conversion of the Ethiopian eunuch (8:26-39), the commissioning of Paul for the Gentile mission by divine revelation (9:15; 22:21; 26:17-18), the events at Cornelius’ house (10:1-11:18), the reception of the gospel by “Greeks” (11:21-26), and the Spirit-directed decision of the council of Jerusalem (15:1-35). Luke thus brings two lines of argument to bear, his narrative record of “the things which have been accomplished among us” (Luke 1:1) and the divinely inspired prophecies of those events in the Old Testament. These two lines of reasoning together give Theophilus certainty about the things of which he has been informed.

2.4 Conclusion

A careful study reveals that the prophetic significance of the Old Testament in Luke-Acts is found in five central themes: the suffering, death, resurrection, and exaltation of the Messiah; eschatological blessing; the coming judgment; the rejection of Christ by many Jews; and the offer of forgiveness to all (Jew or Gentile) in the name of Jesus.

Considered as rhetorical devices, Luke’s Old Testament citations and summaries offer insight into his purpose. He brings the authority of the Old Testament to bear in order to bring Theophilus certainty concerning the things about which he has been instructed: that, Jesus is indeed the Messiah and that God has ordained the proclamation of the gospel to the Gentiles.

⁴² Stanley, “Pearls,” 140, n. 35.

This does not lead to a new conclusion about the purpose of Luke-Acts,⁴³ but it does bring new evidence to bear on the question.

We began by noting that recent discussions of the Old Testament in Luke-Acts have focused almost entirely on Christology. This chapter has argued that there are other themes and emphases in appeals to the Old Testament in Luke-Acts: the blessings of the Messianic reign, the coming judgment, the rejection of Christ by many Jews, and the Gentile mission. It is essential that these themes and texts also be brought into the continuing discussion about the Old Testament in Luke-Acts. It is to the four texts that refer to the Gentile mission that we now turn.

⁴³ See, e.g., Marshall, *Acts*, 19–22; Strauss, *Davidic Messiah*, 344–49.

CHAPTER 3

LIGHT TO THE NATIONS (ACTS 13:47; ISAIAH 49:6)

3.1 Introduction

The citation of Isa 49:6 in Acts 13:47 represents a major turning point in the narrative.¹ The leading character in the first 12 chapters has been Peter. The gospel has been preached primarily in Jerusalem, Judea, and Samaria—to Jews or to Gentiles somehow connected with Judaism (Samaritans in chapter 8 and the pious Cornelius, ἀνὴρ δίκαιος καὶ φοβούμενος τὸν θεόν, in 10–11). Certain disciples, who had been “scattered because of the persecution that arose over Stephen” (8:4), began preaching to “Greeks”² in Antioch, and the apostles recognized this development by sending Barnabas (11:19–26). In the narrative of Acts, however, there has been no concerted or intentional program of preaching to Gentiles and seemingly no preaching to Gentiles not previously connected to Judaism.³ All this is about to change.⁴ From chapter 13 to the end of the book, Paul becomes the primary character and, although the gospel continues to be

¹ Johnson, *Acts*, 225.

² Ἑλληνιστής is found only in the New Testament at Acts 6:21; 9:29; 11:20. Later, the more common Ἕλληνας appears in 14:1; 16:1, 3; 17:4; 18:4; 19:10, 17; 21:28; cf. Ἕλληνας in 17:12. The term may simply indicate one who speaks Greek (BDAG, s.v. Ἑλληνιστής; H. Bietenhard, “Greek,” *NIDNTT* 2:124–27), or someone (e.g., a Jew) who lived like a Greek (H. Windisch, “Ἕλληνας, κτλ.,” *TDNT*, 2:504–17). The term here refers to “pagan sympathizers of Judaism . . . in the synagogues in Antioch.” Eckhard J. Schnabel, *Early Christian Mission* (2 vols.; Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity, 2004), 786–87. Acts 15 indicates that those involved were Gentiles, not merely Greek-speakers: the issue in 15:1 is circumcision, not language or culture; James’ concern is for “Gentiles” (15:19).

³ Chris Wright argues that the apostles inferred from Jesus’ identification of himself with the Isaianic servant that the salvation of Gentiles would follow the restoration of Israel, but the rejection of their message by so many Jews (including those in positions of authority) seemed to put the Gentile mission on hold until Israel was restored by its embrace of the gospel. “But then God surprised them” with the conversion of Cornelius and the events that followed. Chris Wright, *Knowing Jesus through the Old Testament* (London: HarperCollins, 1992), 163–70.

⁴ David Pao speaks here of “the first sustained effort carried out by Christian missionaries to bring the gospel to the various regions beyond the Land of Israel.” Pao, *Acts*, 98.

preached with some success to Jews, they are commonly portrayed as rejecting the message, while the Gentiles to whom Paul now preaches welcome it.

The transition begins with a time of worship and fasting in which “the Holy Spirit said, ‘Set apart for me Barnabas and Saul for the work to which I have called them’” (13:2). This was done with prayer, further fasting, and the laying on of hands (13:3). The text does not at this point explicitly identify what that work is, but this will presumably become evident as the narrative unfolds.⁵ There have already been anticipations. God had told Ananias that Paul “is a chosen instrument of mine to carry my name before the Gentiles and kings and the sons of Israel” (9:15),⁶ but thus far in the narrative, Luke has reported only that Paul has preached to “the sons of Israel.”⁷ Barnabas had been sent by the apostles to Antioch in response to the report that some had “preached the Lord Jesus” to “Greeks” (11:20–21). After Barnabas’ arrival, and apparently under the influence of his preaching, “a large company was added to the Lord” (11:24).⁸ Barnabas then brought Saul to Antioch to assist in the ministry. Barnabas and Saul have by this time already spent at least one year (11:26) “teaching” in Antioch, presumably continuing the earlier evangelistic ministry. Thus, both Paul’s call and the ministry he shared with Barnabas suggest that “the work” to which they are called will include preaching to Gentiles.

In the subsequent narrative, that is what they do. Although they preach in synagogues to Jews (13:5, 14, 34; 14:1) and “you that fear God” (13:16), they typically meet with opposition

⁵ Note signs of divine guidance at points during Paul’s ministry, e.g., 13:4, 9; 16:6; 19:21.

⁶ The Gentile mission also figures prominently in Paul’s accounts of his call in 22:21; 26:17–18.

⁷ In Damascus (9:20) and Jerusalem (9:28–29). There is some evidence of Paul’s earlier preaching to Gentiles in Arabia (Gal 1:17), explaining why he had been in danger there (2 Cor 11:32–33). Bruce, *Acts*, 191–92. This is not, however, explicit in the text.

⁸ The text does not indicate how many Gentiles (or Jews) were included in this “company, but Gal 2:9 seems to indicate that Barnabas as well as Paul had had a ministry to Gentiles. Bruce, *Acts*, 267; Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 495.

from Jews (13:45, 50–51; 14:2, 5), while receiving a more favorable response from Gentiles (13:12, 43, 48; 14:2). Their first journey is characterized in terms of the response from the Gentiles: “And when they arrived, they gathered the church together and declared all that God had done with them, and how he had opened a door of faith to the Gentiles” (14:27). This report is repeated in Acts 15:3, 12 in connection with the council in Jerusalem, where the question will arise of the basis on which the Gentiles may be included among the people of God.

It is in these two accounts, of Paul’s first journey and the subsequent council in Jerusalem, that we find the two explicit Old Testament citations that directly address the Gentile mission. The first comes at the key point in Paul’s first journey when, in the face of opposition from Jews, he and Barnabas embark on a conscious program of preaching to Gentiles.⁹ They justify this action by citing Isa 49:6 (Acts 13:47).¹⁰ The point of contact between their situation and the citation appears to be the frustration and futility Paul and Barnabas experience in preaching Jesus to Jewish audiences. As the servant of Isa 49 experienced frustration in his divinely appointed ministry, so do Paul and Barnabas. As the servant then was entrusted with a larger calling, to be a light to the nations, so Paul and Barnabas are appointed to preach to Gentiles.

Although Isa 49:6 and Isa 42:6 contain $\text{אֲנִי לְאֻרִי} \text{ (εἰς φῶς ἔθνῶν)}$, other features of the citation come from Isa 49:6: the preceding verb and object, τέθεικά σε (42:6 has ἔδωκά σε) and the purpose or result clause, $\text{τοῦ εἶναί σε εἰς σωτηρίαν ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς}$.

⁹ Tannehill finds important parallels in the way that the missions of John, Jesus, Peter, and Paul are introduced in Luke 3:4–6 (Isa 40:3–5); 4:18–19 (Isa 61:1–2); Acts 2:17–21 (Joel 3:1–5); 13:47 (Isa 49:6), contending, “There is a sermon by each of these figures near the beginning of the story segment that will concentrate on his work, and the sermon either includes or is accompanied by a scriptural quotation which reveals the divine purpose behind the mission that is beginning. These scriptural quotations have a significance beyond the scenes in which they appear.” Tannehill, *Narrative Unity*, 1:52.

¹⁰ “Isaiah 49:6, which is explicitly cited in Acts 13:47 and is reflected in Luke 1:79 and 24:47 as well as in Acts 1:8 and 26:20, apparently influenced the shape of Luke’s entire work.” Jack T. Sanders, “Isaiah in Luke,” in *Luke and Scripture: The Function of Sacred Tradition in Luke-Acts* (ed. Craig A. Evans and Jack T. Sanders; Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1993), 20. Sanders may overstate the point, but this text is important to Luke.

<p>Isaiah 49:6 MT</p> <p>וַיֹּאמֶר נִקְלָה כְּהוֹדוֹתַי לִי עֲבָד לְהַקִּים אֶת־שִׁבְטֵי יַעֲקֹב וּנְצִיבֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל לְשִׁיב וּנְתַתֵּנִי לְאוֹר גּוֹיִם לְהַיְהוֹת יְשׁוּעָתִי עַד־קֶצֶה לְאַרְבָּן</p> <p>Isaiah 42:6–7 MT</p> <p>אֲנִי יְהוָה קָרָאתִיךָ רִצְדִּיק וְאֶתְּקַן בְּרִדְךָ וְאֶתְּקַן וְאֶתְּקַן לְבָרִית עִם לְאוֹר גּוֹיִם לְפָקֵד עֵינַיִם עֲרֻרֹת לְהוֹצִיא מִמִּסְגַּר אֶפְסֹר מִבַּיִת כְּלֵא יְשָׁבֵי הַשָּׁחַר</p>	<p>Isaiah 49:6 OG</p> <p>6a και εἶπέν μοι b Μέγα σοί ἐστὶν τοῦ κληθῆναί σε παιδά μου c τοῦ στήσαι τὰς φυλάς Ἰακωβ d καὶ τὴν διασπορὰν τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἐπιστρέψαι· e ἰδοὺ τέθεικά σε f εἰς διαθήκην γένους εἰς φῶς ἔθνῶν g τοῦ εἶναί σε εἰς σωτηρίαν ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς.</p> <p>Isaiah 42:6–7 OG</p> <p>6a ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἐκάλεσά σε ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ b καὶ κρατήσω τῆς χειρὸς σου c καὶ ἐνισχύσω σε d καὶ ἔδωκά σε e εἰς διαθήκην γένους, εἰς φῶς ἔθνῶν 7a ἀνοιῶμαι ὀφθαλμοὺς τυφλῶν b ἐξαγαγεῖν ἐκ δεσμῶν δεδεμένους c καὶ ἐξ οἴκου φυλακῆς καθημένους ἐν σκότει</p>	<p>Acts 13:47</p> <p>47a οὕτως γὰρ ἐντέταλται ἡμῖν ὁ κύριος·</p> <p>b τέθεικά σε c εἰς φῶς ἔθνῶν d τοῦ εἶναί σε εἰς σωτηρίαν ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς.</p> <p>Acts 13:47</p> <p>47a οὕτως γὰρ ἐντέταλται ἡμῖν ὁ κύριος·</p> <p>b τέθεικά σε c εἰς φῶς ἔθνῶν d τοῦ εἶναί σε εἰς σωτηρίαν ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς.</p>
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Because of its similar language and earlier place in the book, it will be necessary to examine 42:6 briefly as part of the background for 49:6 before turning full attention to that text.

The citation in Acts 13:47 is particularly interesting because there are at least two allusions to Isa 49:6 in Luke-Acts. (It has been suggested that Acts 1:8 and Acts 26:18 also reflect the language of these Isaianic texts.) The first is the prayer of Simeon:

Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word; for mine eyes have seen thy salvation which thou hast prepared in the presence of all peoples, a light for revelation to the Gentiles [φῶς εἰς ἀποκάλυψιν ἔθνῶν], and for glory to thy people Israel. (Luke 2:29–32)

The second occurs in the conclusion of Paul’s defense before Agrippa:

To this day I have had the help that comes from God, and so I stand here testifying both to small and great, saying nothing but what the prophets and Moses said would come to pass: that the Christ must suffer, and that, by being the first to rise from the dead, he would proclaim light both to the people and to the Gentiles [φῶς μέλλει καταγγέλλειν τῷ τε λαῷ καὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν]. (Acts 26:22–23)

What is striking about Luke 2:32 and Acts 26:23 is that in them Isaiah’s language of the “light to the nations” is applied to Jesus. Yet in Acts 13:47, Paul applies the words of the prophet to himself and his companions, introducing his citation with the words, “For so the Lord has commanded *us*” (οὕτως γὰρ ἐντέταλται ἡμῖν ὁ κύριος). This raises a number of intriguing questions about how Luke understood this text and its fulfillment.

3.2 Isaiah 49:6

3.2.1 The Servant Songs

Both Isa 49:6 and Isa 42:6 have been identified as belonging to the servant songs of Isaiah 40–55.¹¹ The literature on these texts is immense and only a cursory survey is given here.¹²

In the first edition of his Isaiah commentary (1892), Bernard Duhm first identified four texts in the latter portion of Isaiah as “Servant Songs:” 42:1–4; 49:1–6; 50:4–9; 52:13–53:12.¹³

¹¹ It has become customary to refer to these chapters as Deutero-Isaiah and to attribute them to a different (and later) author. The book was regarded, however, as a single work during the Second Temple period and would have been viewed as such by the authors of the New Testament. It will be treated as a unity in the present study.

¹² “A well-known commentator is said to have abandoned his projected commentary on Isaiah because this part of his subject overwhelmed him.” Henry Wheeler Robinson, *The Cross in the Old Testament* (London: SCM, 1955), 66. Still the most accessible and thorough survey in English remains Christopher R. North, *The Suffering Servant in Deutero-Isaiah: An Historical and Critical Study* (2d ed.; London: Oxford University Press, 1956). See also the detailed treatment in Harold H. Rowley, *The Servant of the Lord and Other Essays on the Old Testament* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1952), 3–60.

¹³ Cf. B. Duhm. *Das Buch Jesaja*. 4th ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1922).

Duhm believed these had been written by a single author and inserted into the book by a later editor. Other proposed servant songs have included 42:19–21; 48:14–16; 51:4–8; 51:9–16; 61:1–6;¹⁴ and, most notably here, 42:5–9 (or 7)¹⁵ and 49:7–13. Curiously, 41:8–9; 43:10; 44:1–2, 21–26; 45:4; 48:20 speak of Yahweh’s “servant,” but have not been considered servant songs.¹⁶

Duhm also believed that all four songs spoke of a single servant, a view that has largely been taken for granted since.¹⁷ The quest for the identity of this single servant has led to four main approaches: individual (variously identifying the servant as Jeremiah, Josiah, Hezekiah, Jehoiachin, Uzziah, Zerubbabel, Isaiah, Deutero-Isaiah, the author of the songs—on the assumption that neither Isaiah nor Deutero-Isaiah was the author—Cyrus, Moses,¹⁸ an otherwise unknown contemporary of the author, etc.); corporate (Israel, a pious remnant within Israel, the exiles, an ideal Israel, or the order of the prophets);¹⁹ mythological (reflecting the Babylonian myth of the dying and rising God, particularly in reference to the fourth song, Isa 52:13–53:12);

¹⁴ North, *Suffering Servant*, 127–138. North dismisses these, although his grounds are open to question. He rejects several in which the servant appears to be Israel rather than an individual and Isa 61 because, despite “undoubted similarities” between it and the accepted songs, the passage is judged to belong to Trito- rather than Deutero-Isaiah. Snaith, on the other hand, concludes that Isa 60–62 are “definitely the work of the Second Isaiah himself.” Norman H. Snaith, “Isaiah 40–66: A Study of the Teaching of Second Isaiah and Its Consequences,” in *Studies on the Second Part of the Book of Isaiah* (VTSup 14; Leiden: Brill, 1967), 234, 198–200.

¹⁵ For verse 7, see, e.g., Jan Ridderbos, *Isaiah* (trans. John Vriend; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1984). For verse 9, see, e.g., J. Alec Motyer, *Isaiah: An Introduction and Commentary* (TOTC; Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity, 1999), 259–62; *The Prophecy of Isaiah* (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity, 1993), 318–22.

¹⁶ See also Isa 41:8–9; 43:10; 44:1–2, 21–26; 45:4; 48:20.

¹⁷ A single identity for the servant in these passages had not been held prior to Duhm. North, *Suffering Servant*, 46. So, e.g., Calvin understands 42:1 to speak of Christ, but 49:3 to speak of the church. John Calvin, *Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Isaiah* (Calvin’s Commentaries 8; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1979; repr., Calvin Translation Society edition, Edinburgh, 1845–1856), 3:284 and 4:11–12.

¹⁸ This identification has recently been advanced by Klaus Baltzer, *Deutero-Isaiah: A Commentary on Isaiah 40–55* (trans. Margaret Kohl; Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001), 125–26.

¹⁹ See especially the influential Henry Wheeler Robinson, *Corporate Personality in Ancient Israel* (rev. ed.; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980); Robinson, *Cross*, 75–79.

and messianic (including some who would combine the servant with the Davidic Messiah of the prophecies of Isa 9 and 11).²⁰ Some have sought to combine one or more of these views. R. Kittel and W. Rudolph argued that the servant was both an anonymous historical figure and a messianic one.²¹ J. A. Alexander combined the messianic and the corporate, understanding the “Servant of Jehovah” to be “the Messiah and his people, as a complex person.”²² Delitzsch famously proposed a pyramid, with all Israel as the base, the remnant as the center section, and “the apex is the person of the Mediator of salvation springing out of Israel.”²³ The difficulty of the issue is evident in North’s observation that “there is no theory that has been altogether immune from criticism.”²⁴ The wide variety of views, along with the absence of any consensus, suggests that the whole question should be reexamined,²⁵ particularly the proposed isolation of these texts from their contexts²⁶ and the assumption that the songs all speak of the same

²⁰ North, *Suffering Servant*.

²¹ North, *Suffering Servant*, 85.

²² Joseph Addison Alexander, *Commentary on the Prophecies of Isaiah* (2 vols.; new and rev. ed.; New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1865), 2:128.

²³ Franz Delitzsch, *Isaiah* (Commentary on the Old Testament; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975), 2:174.

²⁴ North, *Suffering Servant*, 209.

²⁵ This is also the view of Harry M. Orlinsky, “The So-Called ‘Servant of the Lord’ and ‘Suffering Servant’ in Second Isaiah,” in *Studies on the Second Part of the Book of Isaiah* (VTSup 14; Leiden: Brill, 1967), 12–16. So also Hans M. Barstad, “The Future of the ‘Servant Songs’: Some Reflections on the Relationship of Biblical Scholarship to its own Tradition,” in *Language, Theology, and the Bible: Essays in Honor of James Barr* (ed. Samuel E. Balentine and John Barton; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 261–70; Johannes Lindblom, *The Servant Songs in Deutero-Isaiah* (Lund: Gleerup, 1951). Williamson now questions the traditional view and cites T. N. D. Mettinger (*A Farewell to the Servant Songs: A Critical Examination of an Exegetical Axiom*. Lund: 1983.) Hugh G. M. Williamson, *Variations on a Theme: King, Messiah and Servant in the Book of Isaiah* (Carlisle, U.K.: Paternoster, 1998), 130–31, 141.

²⁶ This isolation seems particularly strange when the singular noun, עֶבְדִּי, appears 20 times in Isa 40–55: 41:8-9; 42:1, 19 (2x); 43:10; 44:1-2, 21 (2x), 26; 45:4; 48:20; 49:3, 5-7; 50:10; 52:13; 53:11. In all but 49:7, the servant is “my servant” or “his servant” (expressed by the pronominal suffix attached either to the noun or to an adjacent ם). Only six of these 20 occurrences appear in the servant songs as Duhm has defined them (42:1; 49:3, 5, 6; 52:13; 53:11); surprisingly, the term is absent from Duhm’s third song (50:4–9), although it appears in the immediately adjacent verse (50:10), as observed also by Orlinsky, “Servant,” 90; Snaith, “Servant,” 168. See also Williamson,

servant.²⁷ Such a reexamination would, however, be beyond the scope of the present study. Nevertheless, the substantial discussion indicates the high importance scholars have placed on the Isaianic servant texts, not only in view of their appearance in the New Testament, but also in view of the servant’s evident importance in the latter part of Isaiah.²⁸

This complex discussion does not prevent us from seeking to clarify expectations regarding the servant as we approach Isa 49. Servant language is common in the MT. “My servant” (עֶבְדִּי) appears 65 times, in 58 as a servant of Yahweh (לִּי עֶבְדִּי only in Isa 44:21; 49:6). “His servant” (עֶבְדֵּךָ) occurs 49 times, but in only 27 a servant of Yahweh (לוֹ עֶבְדִּי only in Isa 49:5). “Your servant” (עֶבְדְּךָ) occurs 20 times, 11 referring to a servant of Yahweh. “Servant of Yahweh” (עֶבְדֵּךָ יְהוָה) appears 11 times. The following table summarizes this data.²⁹

	My servant	His servant	Your servant	Yahweh’s servant	Total
Abraham	1	3			4
Moses	6	5	8	9	28
Caleb	1				1
Joshua		1			1
David	23	4	1	1	29
Solomon		1			1
Hezekiah		1			1

Variations, 131. Several scholars have noted significant parallels between the servant songs and other portions of Isa 40–55. See, e.g., Morna D. Hooker, *Jesus and the Servant: The Influence of the Servant Concept of Deutero-Isaiah in the New Testament* (London: SPCK, 1959), 27–30; Lindblom, *Servant Songs*, 52–64.

²⁷ Orlinsky has argued that “every clear context of the 21 occurrences of *‘ebed* in Second Isaiah points either to the people Israel or to Second Isaiah himself as the *‘ebed*.” Orlinsky, “Servant,” 96.

²⁸ Jewish interpreters have also paid attention to the servant, variously identifying him as the righteous, the Messiah, the people of Israel as a whole, or some particular historical individual. North, *Suffering Servant*, 9–22. More recently, see Bernd Janowski and Peter Stuhlmacher, eds., *The Suffering Servant: Isaiah 53 in Jewish and Christian Sources* (trans. Daniel P. Bailey; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004).

²⁹ There is admittedly a subjective element in this analysis, but it is small and will not greatly affect the overall results. The application of servant terminology to Abraham, Moses, and David seems clearly established by Isaiah’s time and thus provides background for his use of this language. Instances of the plural “servants” have been omitted as unlikely to shed light on “the servant” (singular).

	My servant	His servant	Your servant	Yahweh's servant	Total
Isaiah	1				1
A prophet		7			7
Job	6				6
Nebuchadnezzar	3				3
Anonymous			2	1	3
Jacob (as individual)	2				2
Israel	11	2			13
The Isaianic Servant	5	2			7
The "Branch"	1				1
Total					108

Moses and David emerge as the servants of Yahweh *par excellence*, with Israel a distant third.³⁰

Other prophets and kings also form part of the background for the term. Looking at these expressions as a whole, Yahweh's "servant" is first of all chosen by him for a special role in the accomplishing of his redemptive purposes. It is most often someone for whom Yahweh has affection and regard (but see Nebuchadnezzar, Jer 25:9; 27:6; 43:10).³¹ Pending study of any particular occurrence, we would expect that one designated as Yahweh's servant would play a distinctive role in his saving purposes and be the object of his special regard.

There is substantial support for a corporate understanding of the servant in which a single figure may represent the whole.³² "The 'Servant of the Lord' is a corporate term that embodies at

³⁰ Motyer finds 14 instances of "my servant" referring to Israel, of which seven are in Isa 40–55. Kaiser claims that 12 of the 20 singular instances of "servant" in Isaiah 40–53 are applied to Israel. Walter C. Kaiser, Jr., *Mission in the Old Testament: Israel as a Light to the Nations* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2000), 56; Motyer, *Prophecy*, 319, n. 1. There are 20 occurrences of the single עַבְדַּי in Isaiah 40–55, but Kaiser includes some texts lacking עַבְדַּי and omits some with it. The correct texts are 41:8, 9; 42:19 (2x); 44:1, 2, 21 (2x); 45:4; 48:20; 49:3; and possibly 43:10. Motyer may be counting passages rather than verbal occurrences (he does not say).

³¹ Contrary to the impression given by the literature, the title "servant" is never applied to Cyrus, who is mentioned by name in Isaiah only in 44:28; 45:1. The same observation has been made by Orlinsky, "Servant," 96.

³² Although concluding that the servant must ultimately be seen as an individual, Horace Hummel has noted that "in neither testament is it functionally possible to consider the body apart from the Head, but the accents may vary in different texts." Horace D. Hummel, *The Word Becoming Flesh: An Introduction to the Origin, Purpose and Meaning of the Old Testament* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1959), 224.

one and the same time a reference to the One, who is the representative of the whole . . . ”³³ The term may thus encompass Israel, the righteous remnant, an individual, and/or an ideal figure.

The figure of the Servant is a very fluid one; it seems to refer now to one thing, now to another; and any attempt to interpret it too rigidly will do violence to the evidence and almost certainly distort what the prophet wished to say. . . . The figure of the servant oscillates between the individual and the group.³⁴

One reason this view is attractive is that it allows the assumption of a single referent for all of the servant references in Isa 40–55. Texts in which the servant appears to be an individual (42:1; 44:26; 49:5–7; 50:10; 52:13; 53:12) appear among those in which the servant seems clearly seem to be Israel (41:8–9; 42:19; 44:1–2, 21; 45:4; 48:20; and possibly 43:10). If these must all have a single referent, that referent must somehow include both the individual and corporate. The assumption of a single referent is, however, part of the now-traditional view of the servant songs that should be reexamined. In fact, most references to the servant indicate clearly and without ambiguity whether Israel or an individual is in view. Different things are said about the two: as an individual, the servant has a calling to Israel and the nations; as Israel, the servant is promised Yahweh’s deliverance. Only Isa 49:3 is problematic, with Israel and an apparently individual servant only a verse apart. This text is a slender basis on which to postulate a corporate identity for the servant in all of these texts. The present study will remain open to the possibility that the term may simply be used in different senses, even in adjoining contexts.³⁵

³³ Kaiser, *Mission*, 56. So also Alexander, *Isaiah*, 2:128; Edward J. Young, *The Book of Isaiah* (3 vols.; NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1965–1972), 3:109, n. 1. Kaiser may overstate the case when he claims that “to reject the corporate solidarity of the servant figure is to leave oneself with an unsolvable enigma in these songs, or at least a flat contradiction” (57).

³⁴ John Bright, *The Kingdom of God: The Biblical Concept and Its Meaning for the Church* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1953), 150.

³⁵ This is not meant to question the presence of corporate personality in the Old Testament, or to deny that in either the Old Testament or the New the Messiah represents his people. The point at issue is whether the servant texts in Isaiah require or employ such an understanding.

In support of differing views of the servant's identity, many scholars have sought to emend these texts or viewed difficult statements as later additions. However we should assess such proposals,³⁶ the present study is concerned with Luke's use of the text as it appeared in the first century. The substantial agreement of the MT, the DSS, and the OG make it clear this text included the language cited in Acts 13:47.

3.2.2 Isaiah 42:6

“I will give you for a covenant to the people, to be a light to the nations.’ This formula is so central, and yet so difficult to grasp in its precise significance!”³⁷

In 42:1–4, Yahweh addresses his servant, whom he “upholds,” has chosen, and in whom he delights (1a). We are not surprised to find that the servant has a task to perform on Yahweh's behalf: to “bring forth” (יִצְיֵא) justice (מִשְׁפָּט) (1b, 3) and to “establish” it (יָסַד, 4). In v. 4, “justice” is parallel to Yahweh's “law” (or “instruction,” חֻקֵּי),³⁸ suggesting that justice includes fulfillment of all Yahweh's will.³⁹ The servant will be gentle (3), but his task will not be easily or quickly fulfilled. He labors faithfully, despite apparent failure and discouragement (4). The servant's labor is universal in scope: to bring justice “to the nations” (לְגוֹיִם) and establish justice

³⁶ A good case can be made for the integrity of the songs as they appear in the MT. North finds that the songs were written “almost certainly by the same author” as the surrounding prophecies. North, *Suffering Servant*, 188.

³⁷ Baltzer, *Deutero-Isaiah*, 131. See also Brueggemann's observation that “The phrases are rich and suggestive, but their precise intent is unclear.” Walter Brueggemann, *Isaiah* (2 vols.; Westminster Bible Companion; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1998), 2:44.

³⁸ See also the association of “justice” and “law” in Isa 51:4.

³⁹ Williamson has argued that מִשְׁפָּט and חֻקֵּי here refer to the royal function of “administering, upholding and even initiating justice,” particularly on behalf of “those least able to defend themselves, such as the orphan and the widow.” Williamson, *Variations*, 135–39. “Justice” is more than exacting legal compliance, but is restorative as things are put things right as God intends. *TDOT*, s.v. מִשְׁפָּט, 92–93.

“in the earth” (אֶרֶץ);⁴⁰ parallel to the latter is a statement that “the coastlands⁴¹ [אֲרָצוֹת] wait for [hope in⁴²] his law.” For this task, the servant has been endowed with Yahweh’s Spirit (1b).⁴³

Isa 42:6 has not traditionally been included in the first servant song,⁴⁴ but some scholars have recently argued that the first song continues through verse 9.⁴⁵ Yahweh is described in universal terms that match the universal scope of the servant’s mission.⁴⁶ In verse 6, he announces four actions with four verbs. First, he has “called” his servant “in righteousness” (6a). He is “called” in the sense of “commissioned” (or perhaps “summoned” or “invited”).⁴⁷ “In righteousness” refers to the righteous (i.e., “saving”) purpose of Yahweh.⁴⁸ The next two verbs

⁴⁰ Although this expression might in another context be translated “in the land,” the context here—justice also coming “to the nations” and “the coastland” hoping in his law—clearly indicates that a broader reference is in view.

⁴¹ The “coastlands” are distant and so here imply a universal application of *torah*. “Coastlands” parallel “the ends of the earth” in 41:5; 42:10; “peoples from afar” in 49:1; cf. “the coastland across the sea” (Jer 25:22).

⁴² MT אֲרָצוֹת; BDB, s.v. אֲרָצוֹת; HALOT, s.v. אֲרָצוֹת. See, e.g., NIV; cp. OG καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ ἔθνη ἐλπιοῦσιν.

⁴³ The Spirit is given in the Old Testament for leadership (Num 11:25, 29), especially in war (Num 27:18; Deut 34:9; Judg 6:34; Judg 14:6, 9; 1 Sam 16:3; cp. Isa 28:6), service (Exod 31:3; 35:31; 1 Chr 12:18), and prophecy (1 Sam 10:6, 10; 19:23; Mic 3:8; Neh 9:20); The Spirit is especially associated with eschatological blessings, including new creation (Isa 32:15; 44:3; 63:11, 14; Ezek 11:19; 36:27; 37:14; 39:29; Joel 2:28–29; Zech 4:6).

⁴⁴ North, *Suffering Servant*, 131–135.

⁴⁵ Yahweh speaks first about the servant (1–4), then to the servant (5–9). Motyer, *Prophecy*, 318. See also the similar views of Baltzer, *Deutero-Isaiah*, 124–37; Lindblom, *Servant Songs*, 23. For the contrary view (that 5–9 is a separate oracle), see Claus Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66* (trans. David M. G. Stalker; OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1969), 98; Roger N. Whybray, *The Second Isaiah* (OTG; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1983).

⁴⁶ Yahweh created the heavens, the earth, and everything (or everyone?) in it. The Hebrew אֲשֶׁר (RSV “and what comes from it”) is most often rendered “offspring” (i.e., of men). Of 11 instances in the MT (only Isaiah and Job), BDB proposes “produce” only here and Isa 34:1. In this verse Yahweh also gives life to all people on earth (“who gives breath to the people upon it and spirit to those who walk in it”). On the Gentiles in Isa 40–55, see Pao, *Acts*, 218. Verses 8–9 continue the universal orientation, echoing themes from elsewhere in Isaiah. There is no other god (43:10–13; 45:5–7, 14, 18–21; 46:5–11). Only Yahweh can declare things before they happen (41:21–29; 43:9–13; 44:6–8; 45:18–21, 46:5–11; 48:3–8, 14). He will not share his glory with others (48:11), particularly images (40:18–20; 41:29; 42:17; 44:9–20; 45:16, 20–21; 46:1; 48:5; 57:13; 66:3).

⁴⁷ BDB, s.v. אָרָץ, 5. See, e.g., Isa 41:9; 48:12; 48:15; 49:1; 51:2; 54:6.

indicate Yahweh's care for his servant (6b, c).⁴⁹ The fourth verb introduces the servant's mission: "I have given you as a covenant to the people, a light to the nations" (6d–e).⁵⁰

The term אָמָר ("people") is often taken here to refer to Israel (e.g., Isa 40:7; 42:22; 43:8)⁵¹ as in Isa 49:8.⁵² The term may, however, refer to people of another nation,⁵³ to people generally (e.g., Isa 13:4; 25:3), or to all people on earth (e.g., Isa 24:4).⁵⁴ The broader use (all people on earth) in 42:5⁵⁵ and the parallel with אֲרָצוֹת in 42:6,⁵⁶ suggest the broader sense here.⁵⁷ The phrase

⁴⁸ In this way God's "righteous purposes are fulfilled." Motyer, *Prophecy*, 322. "The servant's mission is rooted and grounded in God's righteousness," which "will manifest itself in love and salvation to those of His good pleasure, and in wrath and eternal punishment, however, to those who perish." Young, *Isaiah*, 3:118. "In the book of Isaiah, 'righteousness' means help, salvation, and peace for the downtrodden. No one except the Messiah can and will establish it among his people and the nations." Markus Barth, *Ephesians: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (2 vols.; AB 34–34A; New York: Doubleday, 1974), 796.

⁴⁹ To "hold the hand" is an expression of tender care (Ps 73:23; 139:10). The other verb (אָרַבְתָּ) could be derived from אָרַב ("to keep") or אָרַב ("to form"). The former would indicate God's preservation and the latter God's creation of the servant; either way, God's care is evident. Motyer, *Prophecy*, 322; Young, *Isaiah*, 3:119.

⁵⁰ "Given" (נָתַתָּ) with לְ likely bears the sense of "assign, designate" or "make, constitute," and is thus roughly parallel to "call" in 6a. BDB, s.v. קָרָא, *Qal* 2.d., 3.b.

⁵¹ See, e.g., Delitzsch, *Isaiah*, 179; Ridderbos, *Isaiah*, 379; Snaith, "Servant," 158; Young, *Isaiah*, 3:119–20. Lindblom believes that "if the author had meant the nation of Israel, he would surely have written אֲמָר or something else unmistakably pointing to Israel." Lindblom, *Servant Songs*, 21. The parallel אֲרָצוֹת admittedly lacks an article but this noun commonly has a broad reference to "the nations" without an article. It must be admitted that the singular consistently applies to Israel in Isa 40–66. Snaith, "Servant," 157.

⁵² Some manuscripts of the OG seem to share this view, inserting μου after γένους in 42:6; "my people" would normally suggest Israel.

⁵³ E.g., Gen 19:4; 23:7; Isa 1:10 (Gomorrhah); 14:20 (Babylon); 18:2, 7 (Cush?); 23:13 (Babylon); 33:19 (Babylon?); 34:5 (Edom). The word does not appear in this sense in Isa 40–66, unless in 42:6 (or 49:8).

⁵⁴ The translation of אֶרֶץ here must be "earth," rather than "land" in light of the association of "heaven" with שָׁמַיִם earlier in the verse and the fact that God "gives breath" not only to Israel, but to all who live (see 2:22).

⁵⁵ So Julian Morgenstern, "The Rest of the Nations," *JSS* 2 (1957): 225–31; James Muilenberg, "The Book of Isaiah: Chapters 40–66," in *IB* (ed. George A. Buttrick, et. al.; 12 vols.; New York: Abingdon, 1956), 5:381–733; North, *Suffering Servant*; Charles Cutler Torrey, *The Composition and Date of Acts* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard, 1916). Snaith argues that אֲמָר in the singular "means Israel" in Is 40–55; the only exceptions are 40:7 (written off as a gloss) and 42:5. Snaith, "Servant," 157.

⁵⁶ Lindblom, *Servant Songs*, 21.

עַם לְבָרִיתָּהּ has been rendered “covenant people,”⁵⁸ an “obligation” to the world,⁵⁹ “a confederation of peoples,”⁶⁰ and “splendor of the people,”⁶¹ but more likely indicates the means by which Yahweh’s covenant is fulfilled:⁶² “I made you a covenant for [the] people.” “Covenant” and the application of עַם לְבָרִיתָּהּ in 49:8 to Israel argue for understanding עַם here as Israel, making the servant’s ministry to Israel and the nations. If עַם instead refers to all people, we have a striking reference to God’s intended grace to Gentiles.⁶³

“Light to the nations” (6e) occurs also in 49:6 and deserves close attention.⁶⁴ Light is associated in Isaiah with Yahweh’s salvation and blessing⁶⁵ and is a fit accompaniment to the joy

⁵⁷ Baltzer, *Deutero-Isaiah*, 132; Motyer, *Prophecy*, 332; Roger N. Whybray, *Isaiah 40–66* (NCB; London: Oliphants, 1975), 74–75. “The referent of ‘people’ (*‘am*) is most plausibly the same as that found in the preceding verse, namely, all the inhabitants of the earth, a meaning supported by the parallel ‘nations’ that immediately follows.” Paul D. Hanson, *Isaiah 40–66* (IBC; Louisville: John Knox, 1995), 46; Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66*, 100. While עַם and גּוֹי are often opposed (e.g., Num 23:9; Deut 4:6; 2 Sam 7:23), they also appear in parallel (e.g., Deut 3:8; Mic 5:8; Hag 2:14; Ps 96:3; and especially Isa 2:4; 11:10; 14:6; 25:7; 30:28; 33:3; 49:22; 61:9), including the parallels between the singular עַם to the plural גּוֹי (e.g., Exod 34:10; Ps 18:4).

⁵⁸ Israel W. Slotki, *Isaiah: Hebrew Text & English Translation with an Introduction and Commentary* (Soncino Books of the Bible; London: Soncino, 1949), 200. The syntax, however, seems against this.

⁵⁹ “He is to be the agent who imposes Yahweh’s obligations upon them.” Whybray, *Isaiah 40–66*, 75. “The nations of the world will be obliged to accept Yahweh’s sovereignty, of which they will now become aware for the first time (hence *a light*), and with thus be forced to accept the obligation (*b’rit*) which he imposes on them.”

⁶⁰ Lindblom, *Servant Songs*, 21. “‘The called’ will grow into a large assembly of peoples bound together, of course, by the same faith and a common subjection to Yahweh, Israel’s God.”

⁶¹ Deriving עַם לְבָרִיתָּהּ in this case from a root meaning “shine.” North, *Suffering Servant*, 133.

⁶² The servant will be “the means through whom people will come into a covenant relation with the Lord.” Motyer, *Prophecy*, 322. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66*, 100. “All the blessings of the covenant are embodied in, have their root and origin in, and are dispensed by him.” Young, *Isaiah*, 3:120. So also Koole, who states that in Isa 42:6, the servant “is not described as a mediating third party, nor even as somebody who stands surety for the covenant (thus Elliger, Whybray), but as a personification and embodiment of the covenant (Ridderbos, Van Hoonacker, Steinmann, Smart, Young, Schoors).” Jan L. Koole, *Isaiah, Part 3* (trans. Anthony P. Runia; 3 vols.; Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1997–2001), 1:232. M. Hooker has noted covenant language as one of many points of contact between Isa 40–55 and Jer 30–33; Ezek 34–37. Hooker, *Jesus and the Servant*, 39.

⁶³ It must be admitted that the singular consistently applies to Israel in Isa 40–66. Snaith, “Servant,” 157.

⁶⁴ The expression occurs in the Old Testament only here, Isa 49:6, and Isa 51:4 (where the expression is identical in the OG, but not the Hebrew). See 3.2.3. and 3.2.4. below.

of those rescued from darkness of anguish, gloom, and oppression (9:2; 59:9). Supernatural brightness, with abundant and life-giving water, accompanies Yahweh's healing of his wounded people (30:26). He gives light to those who are blind and have lost their way in darkness (42:16). Israel is called to "walk in the light of the Lord" (2:5), as his law (or instruction) is made known to the nations. Light comes not merely from awareness of Yahweh's will, but from his liberating and restorative justice (לְיִשְׁעוֹתָי) (51:4; 59:9). Light evokes the glory Yahweh will give to his restored people (58:8, 10; 60:1, 3), which is ultimately the glory of the presence of Yahweh himself ("for the LORD will be your everlasting light, and your days of mourning shall be ended," 60:19–20). "Light to the nations" is thus tantamount to "salvation to all the world."⁶⁶

In the context of Isa 42:6, light comes to those who have been "blind" and imprisoned in "darkness" (7), metaphors in Isaiah for spiritual ignorance,⁶⁷ calamity, and judgment.⁶⁸ The servant thus brings deliverance.⁶⁹ In Isa 49:6, the result of לְאֹרֶךְ יָמִים is לְהוֹרֹת יְשׁוּעָתִי עַד-קְצֵה הָאָרֶץ.

⁶⁵ "We may take the two ["light" and "salvation"] as rough synonyms, both of them referring to the full offer of well-being as intended by the creator." Brueggemann, *Isaiah*, 2:112.

⁶⁶ There have been attempts to limit the extent of "light to the nations." Koole notes that Rashi applied *goyim* to Israel. Koole, *Isaiah*, 1:233. Snaith sees the light as a beacon for the exiles who have been scattered among the nations; only Israel experiences salvation while the nations merely "see" it. Snaith, "Servant," 156–157. Orlinsky writes: "In a word: Israel will be 'a light of nations' in the sense that Israel will dazzle the nations with her God-given triumph and restoration; the whole world will behold this single beacon that is God's sole covenanted people." Orlinsky, "Servant," 117. (This is curious in light of Orlinsky's earlier conclusion that the servant is the prophet rather than Israel. Orlinsky, "Servant," 76–77.) He argues further that the expression "must be understood strictly within the limits of Judean nationalism" and that "the verses that precede and follow our own make it amply clear that Israel alone is to benefit from God's actions." Orlinsky, "Servant," 111–14. (He does not explain the nearby universalistic references, such as 42:1, 4, 5, 10, 12.) By contrast "in *DI* גוֹיִם always means the other nations and never Israel." "Our v., too, must mean that the nations not only perceive Israel's salvation, but also share in the great liberation." Koole, *Isaiah*, 1:233. Goldingay observes that, while Isa 48:20 invites all to praise God for redeeming Israel, other texts, notably Isa 45:22 and 42:10 envision the nations experiencing God's salvation. John Goldingay, *Isaiah* (NIBCOT 13; Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2001), 283.

⁶⁷ Isa 29:18; 35:5; 42:16, 18–19; 43:8; 56:10; 59:10.

⁶⁸ Isa 5:20, 30; 8:22; 9:1; 29:18; 45:7; 47:5; 49:9; 50:10; 58:10; 59:9; 60:2.

⁶⁹ Snaith understands blindness and imprisonment to refer only to the exile. Snaith, "Servant," 158. The actual use of the terms, however, does not support this limitation.

(“that my salvation may reach to the end of the earth”). In the context of 42:4 this includes **מִשְׁפָּט** (“justice”) and **תּוֹרָה** (RSV “law,” better “instruction”). The release from prison is metaphorical.⁷⁰

The servant of Isa 42 is distinguished from the nations (1, 6) and “the people” (5, 6). His accomplishments, “bringing forth” and “establishing” justice (1, 4) are never predicated of Israel as a whole. Establishing of justice elsewhere in Isaiah is associated with the king (e.g., Isa 9:7; 11:3–5; 16:5; 32:1).⁷¹ “His law” (**תּוֹרָתוֹ**) cannot be “Israel’s law,” but is Yahweh’s (51:4), albeit mediated through his servant (cp. “law of Moses” Jos 8:32; 1 Kgs 2:3 “his servant” Mal 3:22; Dan 9:11). The “blind” in Isaiah are most often Israel, but blind Israel cannot give Israel sight (7). The servant here is therefore distinguished from Israel and is most plausibly an individual.⁷²

3.2.3 Isaiah 49:6

Isaiah 49:6 MT	Isaiah 49:6 RSV	Isaiah 49:6 (author)
וַיֹּאמֶר	6a he says:	And he said,
נִקְלָ מְהִיזְתָּךְ לִי עֶבֶד	b “It is too light a thing that you should be my servant	“It is too insignificant that you be my servant
לְהָקִים אֶת־שִׁבְטֵי יַעֲקֹב	c to raise up the tribes of Jacob	to raise the tribes of Jacob
וּנְצִירֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל לְהָשִׁיב	d and to bring back the preserved of Israel;	and to bring back those kept of Israel.
וְנָתַתִּיךָ	e I will give you	I will give you
לְאוֹר גּוֹיִם	f as a light to the nations,	for a light to the nations
לְהִיזוֹת יְשׁוּעָתִי עַד־קֶצֶה הָאָרֶץ	g that my salvation may reach to the end of the earth.”	that my salvation may be [<i>or</i> and to be my salvation] to the end of the earth.”

⁷⁰ It may include release of literal prisoners, but is not limited to them. Details are noticeably lacking. Goldingay, *Isaiah*, 242.

⁷¹ Williamson argues that the servant is a royal figure, but understands the royal language to apply to Israel’s role vis-à-vis the nations. Williamson, *Variations*, 132, 139–46.

⁷² See the careful argument of Orlinsky, “Servant,” 76–79. His arguments do not, however, establish the individual as the prophet himself. The focus is more on the task to be performed than on the identity of the servant. Williamson, *Variations*, 146.

3.2.3.1 The Context of Isaiah 49:6

There is no consensus on the boundaries of the passage to which Isaiah 49:6 belongs. Many follow Duhm in limiting the song to verses 1–6.⁷³ Others have extended the song through verses 9a⁷⁴ or 13.⁷⁵ Many also follow Duhm in isolating the song from its present context,⁷⁶ but other scholars have found connections to the immediately preceding⁷⁷ or following contexts.⁷⁸

Verses 1–6 are often viewed as a distinct unit, because in these verses the servant himself speaks in the first person, in contrast with the verses that precede or follow.⁷⁹ It is true that in verses 5–6 Yahweh speaks, but this speech is reported by the servant. The criterion of speaker could extend the unit as far as verse 8, as Yahweh continues to speak to “you” (masculine singular), whom he has chosen (7), answered, helped, kept, and given a unique role (8), but the grammar then seems to require inclusion of verse 9, and the content⁸⁰ then requires further extension verses 12 or 13. The remainder of Isa 49 (and even into the opening verses of Isa 50) then speaks of the assurance that Yahweh will restore his people (as promised in 49:9),

⁷³ Motyer, *Prophecy*, 383; Slotki, *Isaiah*, 239; Whybray, *Isaiah 40–66*, 135.

⁷⁴ Ridderbos, *Isaiah*. Ridderbos recognizes a change in speaker with verse 7, but believes that the servant is still in view, as the prophet speaks of him or to him.

⁷⁵ Hanson, *Isaiah 40–66*, 126–33; Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66*, 213; Young, *Isaiah*, 3:276–83.

⁷⁶ Whybray, *Isaiah 40–66*.

⁷⁷ Motyer, *Prophecy*, 383–384. Many commentators, including Motyer, see chapter 48 as concluding one of the major sections of the book.

⁷⁸ Lindblom sees 49:1–7 related both to 48:20–21 and 49:8–21. Lindblom, *Servant Songs*, 27–32. See also Young, *Isaiah*, 3:277.

⁷⁹ The following verses are “a response on the Lord’s part to the utterance of the servant.” Young, *Isaiah*, 277.

⁸⁰ The infinitive לְאֵנֹכַר (verse 9) parallels the infinitives לְהַקְבִּי and לְהַנְחִיל in verse 8. The following verses describe those who are brought out of prison and their return to the land.

continuing the thought, if not the song still further.⁸¹ Nevertheless, the focus of 49:1–13 is on the servant, while the focus after 49:14 is on Zion and its restoration. On that basis, we will proceed to consider Isa 49:1–13 as the primary context for Isa 49:6.

Although many scholars see a major division following chapter 48, H. van de Sandt has suggested that Isa 49 is closely connected with the preceding chapters. Isaiah 47 announces the fall of Babylon. The final verses of chapter 48 summon God’s people “to leave that nation and to proclaim God’s deed of salvation to the end of the earth (48,20).”⁸²

Go forth from Babylon, flee from Chaldea, declare this with a shout of joy, proclaim it, send it forth to the end of the earth; say, “The LORD has redeemed his servant Jacob!” They thirsted not when he led them through the deserts; he made water flow for them from the rock; he cleft the rock and the water gushed out. (Isa 48:20–21)

Following this proclamation of what Yahweh has done for his people, Isa 49 issues its call to the “coastlands” and “peoples from afar” to listen to the servant’s words. The servant has been “called” and “named” by Yahweh from before birth (1).⁸³ The servant is described as a weapon carefully prepared for use: a sharp sword, a polished arrow (2). The expression פִּי כַהֲרָב הָדָה (”my mouth as a sharp sword”) occurs only here,⁸⁴ although the idea of the mouth as a weapon is found in Isa 11:4; Hos 6:5 (cp. Rev. 19:15). The term for “polished” (from בָּרַר) occurs only here and Jer 51:11: the OG has ἐκλεκτὸν (“chosen,” “elect”) here and παρασκευάζετε (“prepare”) in Jer 51:11; RSV reads “sharpen the arrows” in Jer 51:11. The point of concealing these weapons

⁸¹ Curiously, in 50:4–9 (–11?) we come to what has been regarded as the third servant song (the only other to be written also in the first person), which affirms God’s eventual vindication despite present suffering, the same message given to Zion in 49:14–5:3. Could it be that the entire text (49:1–50:11) is actually a single song or unit?

⁸² Huub van de Sandt, “The Quotations in Acts 13,32–52 as a Reflection of Luke’s LXX Interpretation,” *Bib* 75 (1994): 51. See also Motyer, *Prophecy*, 383–384.

⁸³ For a similar thought, see Isa 44:2; Jer 1:5; cp. Gal 1:15.

⁸⁴ The two words occur together 37 times in פִּי הַחֶרֶב (”the mouth [or “edge”] of the sword”), e.g., Gen 34:26; Exod 17:13; Num 21:24; Deut 13:16; 20:13; Josh 6:21. Could there be here a word play on this idiom?

is not clear—both protection and (private) preparation have been suggested.⁸⁵ At a minimum, these verses indicate Yahweh’s care for and preparation of the servant.

Despite Yahweh’s choice of the servant, and his having known and formed him from the womb, the servant’s calling has proven difficult. Verse 4 describes the futility the servant has experienced: “I have labored in vain, I have spent my strength for nothing and vanity.” The text does not indicate explicitly the cause of the frustration, but it is not difficult to infer. There may be a hint in verse 3, where there is a reference to “Israel, in whom I will be glorified.” In fact, Yahweh has *not* been glorified through his people Israel. Rather, “continually all the day my name is despised” (52:5). Isaiah’s own mission was one doomed to frustration:

And he said, “Go, and say to this people: ‘Hear and hear, but do not understand; see and see, but do not perceive.’ Make the heart of this people fat, and their ears heavy, and shut their eyes; lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their hearts, and turn and be healed.” (Isa 6:9–10)

Israel did not listen to the preaching of Isaiah (28:12; 30:9; 65:12; 66:4). Although Isaiah does not reveal his feelings about preaching to an unresponsive people, it cannot have been easy.

Jeremiah was also sent to preach to an unresponsive people (7:27), and he complained bitterly to Yahweh (20:7–10, 14–18; 15:10, 17–18). Apparently in response to the servant’s complaint, Yahweh provides reaffirms his calling, assures him of his ultimate effectiveness in bringing Israel back to Yahweh, and then expands the servant’s mission to include all nations.⁸⁶

The following verses (7–13) provide additional assurance that Yahweh will use his servant to restore Israel. Kings and princes will see and respond with respect and awe (7). Prisoners will

⁸⁵ Ridderbos, *Isaiah*, 434–35; Young, *Isaiah*, 3:268.

⁸⁶ Young, *Isaiah*, 3:273. Ekblad attempts (unsuccessfully) to distinguish the δοῦλος of vv. 3, 5 from the πᾶσις of v. 6, despite the judgment of Grelot (*Les Pômes du Serviteur*) that the terms are synonymous in Isaiah. Eugene Robert Ekblad, Jr., *Isaiah’s Servant Poems according to the Septuagint* (Lueven: Peters, 1999), 108.

be released and emerge from darkness (i.e., into the light, 9). The rejected and despised will be honored and exalted. God will provide for his people as in the Exodus.⁸⁷

Isaiah 49:6 thus appears in a context in which the servant is portrayed as known and chosen by Yahweh. He is appointed for a two-fold task (5–6). This task is first (both in calling and in fulfillment) to be the agent of Israel’s restoration. It is “to bring Jacob back to him, and that Israel might be gathered to him” (5), “to raise up the tribes of Jacob and to restore the preserved of Israel” (6), and “to establish the land, to apportion the desolate heritages; saying to the prisoners, ‘Come forth,’ to those who are in darkness, ‘Appear’” (8c–9a). To aid their return, Yahweh provides food, water, and level ground (9b–12). The restoration includes the return from exile to Palestine and the restoration of Israel as a coherent state, but the promised restoration is never merely geographical and/or political.⁸⁸ It is above all about restoring Israel to God himself (“to him” twice in 49:5;⁸⁹ see also, Deut 30:1–10; Ezek 36:24–36; Joel 2:18–32).⁹⁰ The exile had a spiritual cause (faithlessness to Yahweh and his covenant) and was above all a spiritual punishment—separation from the presence of Yahweh (Isa 54:8; Jer 52:3). The return is above all a return to blessing in Yahweh’s presence as his people. Prophecy continued after the return

⁸⁷ The comparison is not made explicitly in the text, but the language leaves little doubt.

⁸⁸ Whybray wrongly claims that “salvation” “generally in Deutero-Isaiah denotes not spiritual blessings but Yahweh’s coming victory over Babylon.” Whybray, *Isaiah 40–66*, 139.

⁸⁹ In the second instance, the *Qere* יָבֹא (“to him”) in place of אֵלַי (“not”). This substitution appears in a number of texts (see BDB, s.v. אֵלַי, Note.) The parallelism with יָבֹא in the previous line makes יָבֹא here “undoubtedly correct.” Motyer, *Prophecy*, 387, n. 2. The *Qere* is supported by 1QIsa^a and other versions. Whybray, *Isaiah 40–66*, 139. Reading אֵלַי (“not”), Calvin saw an indication of Israel’s “rejection,” although he granted that “it cannot necessarily be proved from the context [of Acts 13:47] that Paul affirms that the Gentiles were not to be enlightened until the light had been extinguished for the Jews.” John Calvin, *Acts 14–28* (trans. John W. Fraser; Calvin’s New Testament Commentaries; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 391–392. Whybray argues that if אֵלַי is correct, the verb “must not mean ‘gather’ but ‘sweep away’: ‘that Israel might not be swept away.’” Whybray, *Isaiah 40–66*, 139.

⁹⁰ Young, however, goes too far when he states that “The reference is not to a return from Babylon, but a spiritual return to God.” Young, *Isaiah*, 3:273–74. The two are intimately related.

because the temple had to be rebuilt and proper worship restored (Haggai, Zechariah), while the returned exiles must continue to seek and obey Yahweh (Malachi, cf. also Ezra, Nehemiah).

The second task given to the servant is to be “a light to the nations, that my salvation may reach to the end of the earth” (6). The significance of this task will be considered in detail below.

The universal dimension of the servant’s ministry has been apparent from the beginning of the chapter. In verse 1, the servant addressed his words to the “coastlands” and “peoples from afar.” This dimension appears again in verse 6 (“the nations,” “the ends of the earth”), in verse 7 (“Kings . . . princes”), and perhaps in verse 13, where the heavens and earth (and mountains) are to join in praising God. This universal dimension is not at the expense of Israel, for the servant’s initial calling is “to bring Jacob back to him, and that Israel might be gathered to him” (49:5), “to restore the preserved of Israel” (49:6), to be “a covenant to the people,⁹¹ to establish the land, to apportion the desolate heritages” (49:8), and to call “to the prisoners [apparently the exiles], ‘Come forth’” (49:9). This larger role for the servant is not prompted by a divine rejection of Israel, but from God’s desire to bestow even greater honor on his servant (49:5–6, especially 6b).

Verses 1–6 have been understood in more than one way by scholars seeking to identify the servant. On the one hand, verse 3 plainly identifies the servant as Israel.⁹²

Isaiah 49:3 MT	Isaiah 49:3 RSV	Isaiah 49:3 OG
וַיֹּאמֶר לִי עֲבָדִי אֶתְּהָא אֲשֶׁר אֶל אֲשֶׁר-בָּרַךְ אֶתְּפָאֵר	And he said to me, “You are my servant, Israel, in whom I will be glorified.”	καὶ εἶπέν μοι δοῦλός μου εἰ σύ Ἰσραηλ καὶ ἐν σοὶ δοξασθήσομαι

In verse 5, the servant is distinguished from Israel and given a mission to Israel.

Isaiah 49:5 MT	Isaiah 49:5 RSV	Isaiah 49:5 OG
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⁹¹ “The people” here at least is clearly Israel (see above on 42:6), in light of “the land,” the apportioning of “desolate heritages,” and the summoning of (exiled) prisoners. Koole, *Isaiah*, 1:230; Motyer, *Prophecy*, 322, 391.

⁹² Lindblom, who believes that the prophet is addressed in these verses, believes the text should be read “you, my servant, you are (i.e., symbolize) Israel.” Lindblom, *Servant Songs*, 30.

וַעֲתָה אָמַר יְהוָה
 יָצָרִי מִבֶּטֶן לְעַבְדֹּךָ לֵאמֹר
 לְשׁוּבִי יְעַקֵּב אֵלָיו
 וְיִשְׂרָאֵל לֹא יֵאָסֵף
 וְאֶפְבַּד בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה
 וְאֱלֹהֵי הָהָרָה עִזִּי

And now the LORD says, who
 formed me from the womb to be
 his servant, to bring Jacob back to
 him, and that Israel might be
 gathered to him, for I am honored
 in the eyes of the LORD, and my
 God has become my strength

καὶ νῦν οὕτως λέγει κύριος ὁ
 πλάσας με ἐκ κοιλίας δοῦλον
 ἑαυτῷ τοῦ συναγαγεῖν τὸν Ἰακωβ
 καὶ Ἰσραὴλ πρὸς αὐτόν
 συναχθήσομαι καὶ δοξασθήσομαι
 ἐναντίον κυρίου καὶ ὁ θεός μου
 ἔσται μου ἰσχύς

Many scholars have sought to resolve the difficulty by amending the text to remove the reference to יִשְׂרָאֵל from v. 5, but textual support for the omission is limited to a single medieval manuscript.⁹³ The references to calling and forming from the womb (49:1, 5) suggest to some that an individual is in view, although it must be admitted that the same language is used of Israel in Isa 44:2, 22, 24.⁹⁴ Williamson suggests that, while there are “royal aspects to the person and work of the servant” in this text, the similarities to Jeremiah make the servant here “*sui generis*.”⁹⁵ The text illustrates the difficulty of specifying a single identity for the servant.⁹⁶

3.2.3.2 The Text of Isaiah 49:6

There are five minor textual issues concerning the MT of Isa 49:6.

Isaiah 49:6 MT	Isaiah 49:6 RSV	Isaiah 49:6 (author)
וַיֹּאמֶר	6a he says:	And he said,
נִקְלָ כְּהַיְוֹתֶךָ לִי עֶבֶד	b “It is too light a thing that you should be my servant	“It is too insignificant that you be my servant
לְהָקִים אֶת־שְׁבִטֵי יַעֲקֹב	c to raise up the tribes of Jacob	to raise the tribes of Jacob
וּנְצִיחֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל לְהָשִׁיב	d and to bring back the preserved of Israel;	and to bring back those kept of Israel.
וְנָתַתִּיךָ	e I will give you	I will give you
לְאוֹר גּוֹיִם	f as a light to the nations,	for a light to the nations

⁹³ See the summary of the arguments *pro* and *con* in Orlinsky, “Servant,” 80–89.

⁹⁴ Young, *Isaiah*, 3:273.

⁹⁵ Williamson, *Variations*, 154–155. See Jeremiah’s call (1:5) and its subsequent frustration (15:25–28; 17:14–27; 20:7–18).

⁹⁶ Williamson again argues the focus is more on the servant’s task than identity. Williamson, *Variations*, 155.

לְהִיֹּחַת יִשׁוּעָתִי עַד־קֶצֶה הָאָרֶץ

g that my salvation may reach to
the end of the earth.”

that my salvation be to the end
of the earth.”

The initial *וַיִּאָמֶר* seems to some unnecessary,⁹⁷ although no extant manuscripts omit it. The *Qere* in 6d reads *נִצְרִי* (*Qal* passive participle from *נָצַר*, meaning “watch, guard, keep,” cf. 42:6; 49:8) for the *Kethiv* *וַיִּצְרִי* (plural adjective from *נָצַר*, meaning “preserved”—appearing only here). The *BHS* apparatus suggests *וַיִּנְצְרִי* (“branches,” “offshoots,” possibly “descendants,”⁹⁸) prompted by the Syriac, but the DSS support the *Qere*. 1QIsa^a reverses “Jacob” and “Israel” in 6c, d and makes *קֶצֶה* plural. 1QIsa^b turns 6b into a question by adding the interrogative (*הֲנִקְלָה* instead of *נִקְלָה*). None of these are sufficiently attested or compelling to require amending the MT.

There are a number of minor variants and two significant ones in the OG.

Isaiah 49:6 OG

καὶ εἶπέν μοι

Μέγα σοί ἐστὶν τοῦ κληθῆναι σε παιδά μου

τοῦ στῆσαι τὰς φυλὰς Ἰακωβ

καὶ τὴν διασπορὰν τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ

ἐπιστρέψαι

ἰδοὺ τέθεικά σε

εἰς διαθήκην γένους εἰς φῶς ἐθνῶν

τοῦ εἶναι σε εἰς σωτηρίαν ἕως ἑσχάτου

τῆς γῆς.

Isaiah 49:6 OG (author)

6a And he said to me,

b “It is a great thing for you to be called my servant,

c in order to establish the tribes of Jacob

d and to turn [back] the dispersion of Israel.

e Behold, I have appointed you

f to be a covenant of the people, to be a light of nations

g so that you be for salvation to the end of the earth.”

In 6e, Vaticanus, the Lucianic recension, several other manuscripts, and a few Fathers read *δεδωκα σε* for *τέθεικά σε*. The former is more frequently used to translate *נתן* and could be considered a more literal rendering, while the latter translates *נתן* almost 90 times and was clearly seen as an acceptable alternative. Although *τέθεικά σε* may have been read back into the OG from Acts 13, the fact that the two verbs are interchanged in other texts suggests that the motive

⁹⁷ So *BHS*. “The *’amar* of ver. T is sufficient introduction.” North, *Suffering Servant*, 119.

⁹⁸ Whybray, *Isaiah 40–66*, 139.

here (whichever verb was original) was stylistic.⁹⁹ At the same time, there is evidence of the assimilation of this text to Isa 42:6, where the expression is clearly ἔδωκά σε. Both Rahlfs and the Göttingen Septuagint read τέθεικά σε in Isa 49:6.

In 6f, Sinaiticus, Origen’s and Lucian’s recensions, other manuscripts, and some Fathers read εἰς διαθήκην γένους, although these words are absent from other manuscripts, the MT, and Acts 13. Their presence in 6f appears to represent assimilation to Isa 42:6, where the “light to the nations” is joined with “a covenant to/for the people” (καὶ ἔδωκά σε εἰς διαθήκην γένους εἰς φῶς ἐθνῶν). The reverse appears in 49:8, where some manuscripts add εἰς φῶς ἐθνῶν to εἰς διαθήκην ἐθνῶν (עַם לְבְרִית עִם).¹⁰⁰ Although Rahlfs includes εἰς διαθήκην γένους at 6f, the Göttingen Septuagint omits it. Its absence from Acts 13:47 suggests either that Luke was working from the MT or from an OG manuscript tradition that omitted the expression.¹⁰¹

The OG shows other differences. In 6b, it reads μέγα, seemingly reversing the sense of the MT. Otley suggests that the translator heard גָּדוֹל (“great”) in place of לְקַטְלוֹ (“trivial”),¹⁰² but the two words are not sufficiently similar for this explanation to be convincing. Koole suggests that the OG rendering and the addition of an interrogative in 1QIsa^b indicate some discomfort with the idea that reclaiming Israel was an “insignificant” assignment. The OG (and the Targum) has τῆν

⁹⁹ At least five other texts show variation between δίδωμι and τίθημι: 4 Kgdms 5:1; 2 Chr 3:16; Eccl 7:22 (21 MT); Ezek 30:24; 2 Esd 17:71 (Neh 7:71). In four of these six texts, A reads τίθημι while B reads δίδωμι, and in one case these readings are reversed (both read τίθημι against Sinaiticus in the sixth). The only conclusion that can be drawn is that the two verbs appear somewhat interchangeable. HRCS, s.v. τιθέναι.

¹⁰⁰ However, North believes that even עַם לְבְרִית עִם in 49:8 “has been inserted for the purpose of making what was originally an Israel-Song into a Song about the Servant.” North, *Suffering Servant*, 129–30.

¹⁰¹ “The Hebrew text is probably right as against LXX . . . in omitting עַם לְבְרִית עִם (for a covenant of the people) as a gloss from 42:6.” Snaith, “Servant,” 156.

¹⁰² Richard R. Otley, *The Book of Isaiah according to the Septuagint (Codex Alexandrinus)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1906), 2:333.

διασποράν τοῦ Ἰσραηλ (“the dispersion of Israel”) in place of “the preserved of Israel” (the difference in meaning between *Kethiv* “preserved” and *Qere* “kept, guarded” is not great).¹⁰³

Although questions have been raised about the text of the MT of Isa 49:6, there are sufficient grounds for accepting the text as it has come down to us. The witness of the OG is less certain, with the apparent insertion of εἰς διαθήκην γένους in 6f and the rendering μέγα in 6b. The portions of the text cited in Acts, however, are well attested in both the MT and the OG.

3.2.3.3 The Interpretation of Isaiah 49:6

If only for grammatical reasons, interpretation of Isa 49:6 must begin with verse 5, where the speaker of verse 6 is identified. The servant quotes Yahweh, who says three things: first, Yahweh formed and shaped the servant from before birth for his own purpose (Jer 1:5; cf. Ps 22:9; 71:6; 139:13); second, that purpose is the restoration¹⁰⁴ and regathering of Jacob/Israel; third, Yahweh regards the servant with honor and provides him with strength.

Yahweh’s regard for the servant leads to the expanded mission of v. 6. The calling is restated, “to raise up [לְהַקִּים] the tribes of Jacob and to restore [לְהַשִּׁיב] the preserved of Israel.” The *hi’pil* of קום is commonly translated “establish, erect,” but the prophets use it in the sense of “reestablish, restore.” Such a “restoration” would seem to promise all that Israel had lost.¹⁰⁵ “Preserved” translates the *Qere* נִצְרָה, the *qal* passive participle of נָצַר (or less likely the *Kethiv*

¹⁰³ John D. W. Watts, *Isaiah 34–66* (Waco: Word, 1987), 184.

¹⁰⁴ The promised restoration explicitly involves bringing Jacob back “to him” (following the *Qere* “to him”).

¹⁰⁵ North wrongly claims that this expression “can only refer to political restoration, since a tribe is a political entity.” Slightly more carefully: “the Servant’s mission to Israel involved, in its initial stages, some measure of concern for the political restoration of the nation.” North, *Suffering Servant*, 146. See also Young, *Isaiah*, 3:275.

נִצְרִי, an adjective that would be a *hapax*, with the same general meaning).¹⁰⁶ Ottley's suggestion that נִצְרִי ("branches") lies behind the OG's τῆν διασπορὰν is unlikely.¹⁰⁷

Given Yahweh's desire to honor his servant, it is not enough "merely" to be the agent of Israel's restoration.¹⁰⁸ That would be לְקַל, "trifling"¹⁰⁹ or "too small or insignificant."¹¹⁰ Instead, Yahweh will make¹¹¹ his servant a "light to/for the nations" (לְאוֹר גּוֹיִם). We would expect the expression here to mean essentially what it did in 42:6, release from the blindness and darkness of spiritual ignorance and oppression into the salvation of God, a salvation now extended, not only to the descendants of Abraham, but to Gentiles.¹¹² This understanding is supported by the purpose clause that follows:¹¹³ לְהֵיוֹת יְשׁוּעָתִי עַד-קְצֵה הָאָרֶץ ("that my salvation may reach to the

¹⁰⁶ *BHS* margin suggests נִצְרִי, from נֶצֶר ("branch"), but this is speculative. It is not clear why Whybray believes that "the sense [of the *Kethib* or *Qere*] is not good," nor why "offshoots, descendants" makes better sense here. Whybray, *Isaiah 40–66*, 139. The noun נֶצֶר is used only four times in the MT (Isa 11:1; 14:19; 60:21; Dan 11:7), never clearly with the sense of "descendants."

¹⁰⁷ It is not clear how διασπορά would be a plausible interpretation of "branches." It is easier to imagine that the translator would associate "preserved" (i.e., "remnant") with "scattering." The verb διασπείρω is used of the "scattering" of the exile (Deut 4:27; 28:64; 30:3). The translator may have recalled that Israel was to be "gathered" (5) and inferred a prior "scattering," perhaps prompted by the difficulty of the *hapax*, נִצְרִי.

¹⁰⁸ What is "trivial" is not being Yahweh's servant, but being the agent "only" of the restoration of Israel. Koole, *Isaiah*, 2:21–22.

¹⁰⁹ BDB, s.v. לְקַל.

¹¹⁰ *HALOT*, s.v. לְקַל. Young, *Isaiah*, 3:275. See 1 Kgs 16:31: "And as if it had been a light thing for him to walk in the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, he took for wife Jezebel the daughter of Ethbaal king of the Sidonians, and went and served Baal, and worshiped him."

¹¹¹ BDB, s.v. עָשָׂה, *Qal* 3.b. offers the rendering "make, constitute" when the verb has two accusatives or, as here an accusative plus לְ (or פְּ).

¹¹² "The genitive construction אוֹר גּוֹיִם = 'light of the nations,' means not only that the nations (with the exiles) see salvation, 52:10, but that God's intervention brings about their own salvation, 51:4f." Koole, *Isaiah*, 2:23.

¹¹³ Bruce K. Waltke and Michael P. O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1990), §36.2.3d; Ronald J. Williams, *Hebrew Syntax: An Outline* (2d ed.; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), §520. From a formal perspective, the construction לְ plus infinitive could be a purpose or a result clause. However, a result that is expected to follow as the consequence of a deliberate action ("I will make you a light to the nations") is essentially a purpose.

end of the earth”).¹¹⁴ RSV interprets לְהַיִּיחַ here, inferring that for God’s salvation to “be” to the end of the earth, it must be extended there.¹¹⁵ In Isaiah, God’s salvation often looks toward deliverance from the Assyrian threat or the Babylonian captivity, but it often also looks beyond these immediate needs to a more comprehensive work of God. In 25:9, God’s awaited salvation includes a feast in Jerusalem “for all nations” and fulfillment of the promise that God “will swallow up death for ever, and . . . wipe away tears from all faces” (25:6, 8). A salvation that includes all nations and brings an end to death is much more than mere restoration from exile. Isa 51:4–6, joins three major themes of Isa 49:6—light, salvation, and the nations: “for a law will go forth from me, and my justice¹¹⁶ for a light to the peoples” (עֲלֵיָם); “my salvation has gone forth,” “my salvation will be for ever, and my deliverance will never be ended”; “and my arms will rule the peoples [עֲלֵיָם]; the coastlands¹¹⁷ wait for me.” This unending and universal salvation is much greater than the expected deliverance from Assyria or Babylon. In the same way, the universality of the promise of salvation in Isa 49:6 appears to look toward a greater salvation.¹¹⁸

The universal thrust of the servant’s ministry has been apparent throughout the text. In verse 1, the servant had addressed his words to the “coastlands” and “peoples from afar.” It appears again in verse 7 (“kings . . . princes”), and perhaps in verse 13, where the heavens and

¹¹⁴ The expression קִצְוֵי הָאָרֶץ appears eight times in Isa 40–66, three times in the plural (40:28; 41:5, 9) and four others (as in 49:6) in the singular (42:10; 43:6; 48:20; 62:11). The end(s) of the earth are created by Yahweh (40:28); tremble before God’s judgment (41:5); are the place from which God has (41:9) or will (43:6) gather his people; will hear God has redeemed his people (48:20; 62:11); and will give him praise (42:10).

¹¹⁵ Others have personalized the translation: “that you may bring my salvation” (NIV); “that thou mightest be my salvation” (Young, *Isaiah*, 3:276.)

¹¹⁶ Note “law” (בְּיִשְׁרָאֵל) and “justice” (תּוֹרָה) together here, as in 42:4.

¹¹⁷ As noted earlier, the “coastlands” (אֲרָצוֹת) parallel “the ends of the earth” (קִצְוֵי הָאָרֶץ) in 41:5; 42:10.

¹¹⁸ A fourth text, Isaiah 52:10, also joins יִשְׁמְעוּ and הַגּוֹיִם, but in this context it is more plausible (though not certain) that “see” may refer to no more than the nations observing God’s salvation of Zion.

earth (and mountains) are to join in praising God. This universal thrust is not at the expense of Israel, for the servant's initial calling is "to bring Jacob back to him, and that Israel might be gathered to him" (49:5), "to restore the preserved of Israel" (49:6), etc. and this calling will be fulfilled (vv. 8–13). In fact, the mission to Israel comes first, not only in time, but of necessity, because it is the means by which God will glorify himself and win the worship of the nations.

Clearly the Servant's work for Israel will affect the whole world. After her redemption Israel will call other nations to her, and they will come running (55:3–5). In response to Yahweh's invitation to turn to him and be saved (45:14, 22), the nations will bow down before the Lord's people (45:14; cf. 49:23), acknowledging that there is no other God than Yahweh and he is certainly with them.¹¹⁹

The final goal will be a redeemed humanity. Israel will be the center of a confederation of peoples, subject to Yahweh, the God of Israel and Creator of heaven and earth . . .

The Gentiles, at present living in blindness and darkness, are prepared in their hearts for that goal. They wait to share in the true faith and to become subject to Yahweh. They are highly esteemed by Yahweh, not an object of vengeance and punishment, but destined for welfare and salvation . . .

The realizing of that goal will imply both the glorifying of Yahweh and the exaltation of Israel, the people of Yahweh.¹²⁰

Who is the servant? In 49:5–6, the servant seems to be an individual. Since the servant is singled out as a unique recipient of God's favor, it is difficult to see how Whybray understands from the text that "each man in his own way is to act as Yahweh's instrument to bring about the nation's recognition of Yahweh's universal sovereignty."¹²¹ The question of the servant's identity, however, is made difficult by the apparent identification as Israel in v. 3, while, in verse 5, the servant seems to be distinguished from Israel and given a mission with respect to Israel.

¹¹⁹ Andreas J. Köstenberger and Peter T. O'Brien, *Salvation to the Ends of the Earth: A Biblical Theology of Mission* (New Studies in Biblical Theology 11; Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity, 2001), 48.

¹²⁰ Lindblom, *Servant Songs*, 53. (The ellipses mark omission of Hebrew terminology related to each point.) The citation is from Lindblom's summary of the teaching of the servant songs. Lindblom views Israel as given first the calling of the servant "to mediate welfare to" and "be a witness among the pagans to faith in Yahweh." (52).

¹²¹ Whybray, *Isaiah 40–66*, 139.

Although the language of calling and forming from the womb can be applied to Israel (44:2, 22, 24),¹²² its use in 49:1, 5 most naturally suggests an individual (cf. Jer 1:5). The language of 49:9b–12 describes either the return from exile and/or an eschatological act of redemption.

The return from exile is part of the same redemptive work of God of which Christ’s coming in the flesh is the focus. Fundamentally, the work done by men like Zerubbabel, Joshua, and Ezra in bringing Israel back is the work of the Servant of the Lord; they were His instruments, and at the same time they prefigured him.¹²³

The grand scope of the servant’s mission implies that the servant is an eschatological figure.¹²⁴

3.2.4 Isaiah 51:4

The similarity of themes in Isa 51:4–6 and Isa 49:6 was noted above. The OG of Isa 51:4 reads εἰς φῶς ἐθνῶν, but the Hebrew differs, reading עַמִּים לְאֹרֶךְ instead of גּוֹיִם לְאֹרֶךְ and it is not the servant, but “my [God’s] justice” that will be a light to the nations.

Isaiah 51:4 MT	Isaiah 51:4 RSV	Isaiah 51:4 OG
הַקְשִׁיבוּ אֵלַי עַמִּי	4a Listen to me, my people,	ἀκούσατέ μου ἀκούσατε λαός μου
וּלְאֻמֵּי אֱלֹהֵי הָאֲדָמָה	b and give ear to me, my nation;	καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς πρὸς με ἐνωτίσασθε
כִּי תֵצֵא מִמֶּנִּי חֹקֵי הַצִּדִּיק	c for a law will go forth from me,	ὅτι νόμος παρ’ ἐμοῦ ἐξελεύσεται
וּבְקִשְׁפֹּטִי לְאֹרֶךְ עַמִּים אֲרַגִּיעַ	d and [lit. I will cause to rest] my justice for a light to the peoples.	καὶ ἡ κρίσις μου εἰς φῶς ἐθνῶν

Few scholars have reckoned Isa 51:4 among the servant songs,¹²⁵ but there are a number of similar themes. Along with “light to the nations,” Isa 51:4–5 also promises חֻקָּה (“law,” “instruction,” 42:4), מִשְׁפָּט (“justice,” 43:1, 4), and יְשׁוּעָה (“my salvation,” 49:6). Where in 51:5

¹²² Young, *Isaiah*, 3:273.

¹²³ Ridderbos, *Isaiah*, 437.

¹²⁴ Dirk H. Odendaal, *The Eschatological Expectation of Isaiah 40–66 with Special Reference to Israel and the Nations* (Nutley, N.J.: Presbyterian and Reformed, 1970), 135.

¹²⁵ North, *Suffering Servant*, 136–37.

“the coastlands wait for me,” in 42:4 “the coastlands wait for his law” (הַיָּם, see also 49:1).

Though not the source of the quotation in Acts 13:47, Isa 51:4 is part of the complex of ideas to which Isa 49:6 and 42:6 belong and indicates the importance of these themes in Isaiah.

3.2.5 Summary

On two occasions the Isaianic servant is described as having been designated by God as “a light to the nations.” This light is, in Brueggemann’s phrase, a “rough synonym”¹²⁶ for salvation in Isaiah. The servant is to bring this salvation, not only to Israel, but also to the nations. We can note a number of elements common to these texts.

1. The servant is the object of Yahweh’s special regard and care (42:1, 6; 49:1–2, 5–6).
2. He has been called and appointed to his task by Yahweh (42:1, 6; 49:1).
3. The servant faces difficult challenges, frustration, and even apparent failure in the fulfillment of his divinely appointed mission to Israel (42:3–4; 49:4). Yet in the midst of this experience, Yahweh assigns his servant a broader, seemingly universal mission (49:6).
4. The results of the servant’s ministry are, in the general sense, salvific (49:6): eyes opened (42:7), prisoners released (42:7; 49:9), Israel restored (49:8), a new Exodus (49:10–13).
5. This ministry has a universal scope. In 42, he is called by the creator of “the heavens” and “the earth” (42:5), brings justice “to the nations” (42:1), and “the coastlands wait for his law” (42:4). In 49, he addresses the “coastlands” and “peoples from afar” (49:1) and his salvation reaches “to the end to the earth” (49:6) in such a way that he receives obeisance from “kings” and “princes” (49:7) while heaven and earth join in praising God (49:13).

¹²⁶ Brueggemann, *Isaiah*, 2:112.

6. The servant appears to be an individual. In 42, he is distinguished from the nations and he establishes justice (42:1, 3, 4), a royal responsibility. In 49, he has a mission to both Israel (49:5–6) and the nations (49:6).
7. Finally, in both passages and in Isaiah as a whole, the dramatic nature of the salvation the servant brings strongly suggests the work of an eschatological figure.

In summary, “the ‘Ebed Yahweh is a royal, individual, eschatological figure, who is instrumental in bringing about the royal eschatological dominion of Yahweh.”¹²⁷

3.3 The Expected Servant

3.3.1 The Servant in the Old Testament

Outside of Isaiah, there are no clear references in the Old Testament to Isaiah’s unnamed “servant.”¹²⁸ Such an observation, however, may easily give a wrong impression. Messiah (מָשִׁיחַ) appears relatively few times in the Old Testament,¹²⁹ but few would deny the importance of messianic expectation as central to a broader constellation of prophetic ideas.

It is much the same with the servant.¹³⁰ The royal figure of Isa 9 and 11 has been associated with the servant of the latter chapters¹³¹—both are endowed with the Spirit and bring light, justice, righteousness, and release to the oppressed. Both David (Ezek 34:23–24; 37:24–25)

¹²⁷ Odendaal, *Expectation*, 135.

¹²⁸ Hooker, *Jesus and the Servant*, 53.

¹²⁹ The term occurs fewer than 40 times with the majority in historical, rather than prophetic, contexts.

¹³⁰ “This figure [i.e., the Servant of the Lord] embraces the entire messianic hope of the OT in all its depth, and Isaiah was permitted to see in this figure basic and essential features which seem to be based on a typological approach.” Leonhard Goppelt, *Typos: The Typological Interpretation of the Old Testament in the New* (trans. Donald H. Madvig; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), 39, n. 99.

¹³¹ “The description of the Messianic king in Isa. XI.3–4 provides a good commentary” on Isa 42:1–4. Lindblom, *Servant Songs*, 17.

and Moses (Deut 18:18–19), the preeminent Old Testament servants of God, are models for or types of figures to come. Morna Hooker has noted close similarities between key themes in Isa 40–55 and those in Jer 30–33 and Ezek 34–37.¹³² The Isaianic servant and his calling are thus associated with other prophecies of restoration, renewal, and the conversion of the nations.

It was, however, these other ideas, and the texts that contain them, that attracted attention during the Second Temple period. The servant apparently does not appear in the apocrypha, pseudepigrapha,¹³³ or (non-biblical) DSS. The texts about the Isaianic servant seem to have attracted little attention until the New Testament.

3.3.2 The Servant in Luke-Acts¹³⁴

Jesus' public ministry in Luke begins with his synagogue sermon in Nazareth (4:16–30), in which he applies the language of Isa 61:1–2 to himself: σήμερον πεπλήρωται ἡ γραφή αὕτη ἐν τοῖς ὠσὶν ὑμῶν (“Today this scripture has been fulfilled in your hearing.”)¹³⁵

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 to the captives and recovering of

¹³² Hooker, *Jesus and the Servant*, 30–40. E.g., Israel will be gathered again, from the ends of the earth; Jerusalem will be rebuilt; Yahweh, the creator of all things, will be with his people and will again be their shepherd; Yahweh will make a new covenant with his people.

¹³³ Hooker, *Jesus and the Servant*, 53–54. There is an allusion to Isa 49:6 in 1 Enoch 48:4, where the Son of Man (not explicitly the servant) is “the light of the gentiles.” Steyn, *Septuagint Quotations*, 197. There are occasional echoes, particularly to Isa 53, but these do not refer explicitly to the servant. Janowski and Stuhlmacher, eds., *Suffering Servant*. See especially in this volume Martin Hengel and Daniel P. Bailey, “The Effective History of Isaiah 53 in the Pre-Christian Period,” 75–146.

¹³⁴ The servant songs are reflected in many texts: Isa 52:13–53:12 in Luke 22:37; Acts 8:32–34; Matt 8:17; John 12:38–41; Rom 15:21; 1 Pet 2:22–25; and (questionably) Mark 15:28 (cf. 1 Clem 16; Barn 5:2). Matt 12:18–21 quotes Isa 42:1–4 and 2 Cor 6:2 quotes Isa 49:8. Less certain are claimed allusions in the accounts of Jesus' baptism (Matt 3:17 ||) and transfiguration (Matt 17:5 ||); Heb 9:15; Mark 8:31; 9:31; 10:33–34, 45; John 1:29; Rom 4:25; Phil 2:5–11; 1 Cor 15:3–4; Heb 9:28. Vincent Taylor, *The Names of Jesus* (London: Macmillan, 1953), 36.

¹³⁵ Isaiah's influence on Luke-Acts is not limited to the servant songs. “Luke did not merely utilize Isaiah as a source for prooftexts to support his own point of view. Rather Luke had investigated Isaiah extensively and had a deep appreciation for Isaianic themes. His mind was saturated with Isaianic texts and concepts, which shaped his views.” Thomas S. Moore, “‘To the End of the Earth’: The Geographical and Ethnic Universalism of Acts 1:8 in Light of Isaianic Influence on Luke,” *JETS* 40 (1997): 392. See also Pao, *Acts*; Sanders, “Isaiah in Luke.”

sight to the blind, to set at liberty those who are oppressed, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord. (Luke 4:18–19)

Although the term servant does not occur here and this text is not commonly identified among the servant songs, Snaith finds that “the characteristic phrasing is unmistakable” and argues that “the opening of His ministry, then, is said by Luke to be the fulfillment of that prophecy. This is the advent of the Servant of the LORD.”¹³⁶

Snaith finds other influences of the servant passages in Jesus’ ministry. He believes that the extensive portrayal of Jesus’ healing ministry in the gospels supports the identification of Jesus as the awaited servant, particularly Luke 7:18–23, where Jesus answers the delegation from John by performing acts of healing which are then described in Isaianic terms.

τυφλοὶ ἀναβλέπουσιν καὶ χωλοὶ περιπατοῦσιν, λεπροὶ καθαρίζονται καὶ κωφοὶ ἀκούουσιν, καὶ νεκροὶ ἐγείρονται καὶ πτωχοὶ εὐαγγελίζονται	the blind receive their sight, the lame walk, lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, the poor have good news preached to them
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He also believes that Jesus’ passion sayings (Luke 9:22; 18:31–34 and pars.) reflect the servant passages (50:6; 53:3–6); in the latter, “note the inclusion of the mocking and scourging, both of which are part of the picture of the humiliated, maltreated Servant.” Jesus’ words in the upper room (22:37) include a citation of Isa 53:12. Jesus’ enjoining silence about his miracles and his own silence at his trial reflect a conscious effort to embody the hiddenness and silence of the servant (e.g., 42:2–3; 49:2; 53:7). Snaith concludes that “Jesus deliberately modeled his ministry on the concept of the Servant of the LORD of the Second Isaiah.”¹³⁷ Other scholars hear echoes of Isa 42:1 in the words from heaven, σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν σοὶ εὐδόκησα, at

¹³⁶ Snaith, “Servant,” 205.

¹³⁷ Snaith, “Servant,” 205–7, 210–14.

Jesus' baptism (Luke 3:22).¹³⁸ The citation of Isa 53:7–8 in Acts 8:32–33 and its application to Jesus (8:34–35) indicates that Jesus was identified with the Isaianic servant in the early church.

In addition to explicit citations from the Isaianic servant passages, we must also consider the use of servant language in Luke-Acts. The OG uses two nouns primarily as translations of *עֲבָדַי*, *παῖς* (341 times)¹³⁹ and *δοῦλος* (most of the 334 times *δοῦλος* occurs in the OG),¹⁴⁰ comprising about three-quarters of the 860 instances of *עֲבָדַי* in the MT. Neither term is distinctively applied to God's servant.¹⁴¹ The former is the primary term for *עֲבָדַי* in Isa 40–55¹⁴² while *δοῦλος*, although far more frequent in the New Testament (appearing 126 times), does not seem to carry echoes from the servant songs.¹⁴³

¹³⁸ See, e.g., Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 486; Walther Zimmerli and Joachim Jeremias, “Παῖς Θεοῦ,” *TDNT*, 5:701–2. See also the extended argument in Jeffrey A. Gibbs, “Israel Standing with Israel: The Baptism of Jesus in Matthew’s Gospel (Matt 3:13–17),” *CBQ* 64 (2002): 511–26.

¹³⁹ Georg Braumann, “Παῖς,” *NIDNTT*, 3:283.

¹⁴⁰ Karl Heinrich Rengstorff, “Δοῦλος, κτλ,” *TDNT*, 2:265. Rengstorff states that *δοῦλος* translates *עֲבָדַי* “with few exceptions.” The 334 figure is derived from Accordance Ver. 6.4.1, Oak Tree Software.

¹⁴¹ Moses, e.g., is called ὁ θεράπων μου (Josh 1:2; 8); ὁ παῖς μου (Josh 1:7); and ὁ δοῦλός μου (2 Kgs 21:8). Similarly, David is τὸν παιδά μου (1 Chr 17:4; Isa 37:35); τὸν δοῦλόν μου (2 Sam 7:8; Ezek 34:23).

¹⁴² Fourteen times, including key texts in this chapter: 41:8–9; 42:1, 19a (translated as plural); 43:10; 44:1–2, 21 (2x), 26; 45:4; 49:6; 50:10; 52:13. The six remaining instances of *עֲבָדַי* in these chapters are translated by *δοῦλος* (singular in 48:20; 49:3, 5; plural in 42:19b; 49:7), except for 53:11, where *δουλεύοντα* appears.

¹⁴³ The term appears 126 times in the New Testament, primarily for literal slaves of human masters. Although it is sometimes assumed that the term is applied to generally to Jesus’ followers, as individual Israelites could be termed “servants of Yahweh” (e.g., Lev 25:55; 1 Kings 8:23; 2 Kings 10:23; Isa 54:17; Ps 135:14), examination of actual use of the term does not bear this out. Paul’s frequent use of the term for himself and his companions (e.g., Rom 1:1; Phil 1:1; 1 Tim 2:24) appears to refer those with leadership roles in the church (see also James 1:1; 2 Pet 1:1; Jude 1:1; and probably Acts 4:29), reflecting the application of servant language in the Old Testament to leaders such as Moses, David, etc. Although the verb is applied to believers’ relationship both to Christ and to one another and the noun used in parables in which Jesus compares his followers to slaves, the noun is not applied to individual believers as servants of God or Christ, except for Luke 2:29 (Simeon), one reference to slaves as “slaves of Christ” (Eph 6:6), 1 Pet 2:16 and in Revelation (1:1; 2:20 7:3; 19:5; 22:3; 22:6; and possibly 11:18).

In Luke-Acts, *παῖς* is used seven times in a theologically significant sense:¹⁴⁴ of Israel (Luke 1:54), of David (Luke 1:69; Acts 4:25), and of Jesus (Acts 3:13, 26; 4:27, 30). In Acts 3, we are told that God “glorified his servant Jesus” (3:13) and that, “having raised up his servant, sent him to you first, to bless you in turning every one of you from your wickedness” (3:26). In Acts 4, God’s enemies were “truly in this city were gathered together against thy holy servant Jesus, whom thou didst anoint” (4:27), but “thou stretchest out thy hand to heal, and signs and wonders are performed through the name of thy holy servant Jesus” (4:30).¹⁴⁵

Of the uses of *παῖς* in Acts, 3:26 is of the greatest interest for the present study. The previous verse cited the promise to Abraham, that “in your posterity shall all the families of the earth be blessed” (Gen 22:18). God’s servant, then, was sent “first” to “you” (a Jewish audience in Jerusalem) to “bless you” (i.e., convey the blessing promised to Abraham). The “first,” however, suggests a “second,” presumably some second stage in the work of the servant, sending of the servant “second” to Gentiles, to convey to them also the blessing of Abraham.¹⁴⁶

The explicit citations from the servant songs, the narrative indications that Jesus fulfilled the responsibilities of the servant (e.g., recovery of sight for the blind), and the use of servant terminology, demonstrate that the servant theme plays a significant role in shaping Luke-Acts¹⁴⁷ and that Luke sees Jesus as the awaited servant.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁴ In other instances, the term is used three times of literal servants of a human master (Luke 7:7; 23:45; 15:26) and five times of a child or young man (Luke 2:43; 8:51, 54; 9:42; Acts 20:12).

¹⁴⁵ Apart from Luke-Acts, there is only one other theologically significant use of the term in the New Testament, the citation of Isa 42:1–4 in Matt 12:18–21. (The term occurs seven other times in Matthew: three times of children [2:16; 17:8; 21:15] and four times of servants of a human master [8:6, 8, 13; 14:2; so also John 4:51].

¹⁴⁶ See further on this citation in section 5.3 below.

¹⁴⁷ Many have noted the importance of the servant songs in Luke-Acts. Moessner, for example, (referring to the work of Tiede and Tannehill) describes “the servant passages of Isaiah as literarily and theologically constitutive for much of the story material in Acts.” David P. Moessner, “The Ironic Fulfillment of Israel’s Glory,” in *Luke-Acts and*

3.3.3 Light to the Nations in Luke-Acts

While Acts 13:47 is the only explicit citation of Isa 49:6 in Luke-Acts, two other texts echo the language of “light to the nations” and two others contain possible allusions. Other allusions have been suggested, but the evidence for these is not persuasive.¹⁴⁹

3.3.3.1 Luke 2:32

The first of these is found in the words of Simeon in Luke 2:32.¹⁵⁰

Luke 2:29–32	Luke 2:29–32 RSV
νῦν ἀπολύεις τὸν δοῦλόν σου. δέσποτα,	29 “Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in
κατὰ τὸ ῥῆμά σου ἐν εἰρήνῃ	peace, according to thy word;
ὅτι εἶδον οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου τὸ σωτήριόν	30 for mine eyes have seen thy salvation
σου,	
ὃ ἠτοίμασας κατὰ πρόσωπον πάντων τῶν	31 which thou hast prepared in the presence of
λαῶν.	all peoples,
φῶς εἰς ἀποκάλυψιν ἐθνῶν καὶ δόξαν	32 a light for revelation to the Gentiles, and for
λαοῦ σου Ἰσραήλ.	glory to thy people Israel.”

Simeon’s words echo a number of Isaianic texts. “Seeing God’s salvation” (30), echoes Isa 40:5

(cited in Luke 3:6); 52:10.¹⁵¹ Verse 32, echoes Isa 49:6; 42:6, although the words are not an

the Jewish People (ed. Joseph B. Tyson; Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1988), 46–47. See also the more general summary of servant themes in Luke-Acts in Strauss, *Davidic Messiah*, 325 (cf. 235–250, 288–292, 324–33).

¹⁴⁸ It is difficult to sustain the argument of D. L. Jones that the use of παῖς in Acts has “no particular reference to Deutero-Isaiah.” Donald L. Jones, “The Title ‘Servant’ in Luke-Acts,” in *Luke-Acts: New Perspectives from the Society of Biblical Literature Seminar* (ed. Charles H. Talbert; New York: Crossroad, 1984), 157. See the persuasive case made by Dennis E. Johnson, “Jesus Against the Idols: The Use of Isaianic Servant Songs in the Missiology of Acts,” *WTJ* 52 (1990): 344–45.

¹⁴⁹ Mark Strauss sees an allusion in Luke 1:79 (ἐπιφᾶναι τοῖς ἐν σκότει καὶ σκιᾷ θανάτου καθημένοις, “to give light to those who sit in darkness and in the shadow of death”), although use of the infrequent ἐπιφαινῶ makes this seem less an allusion to a text than the appropriation of an Isaianic idea, Strauss, *Davidic Messiah*, 325. David Pao sees an allusion in Luke 24:46–47, although his reasoning is not persuasive, Pao, *Acts*, 84–86. Van Unnik suggests that Isa 49:6 “is quoted” in Acts 28:28, as well as in 13:47, “at a turning point and the conclusion of the work,” but there is little to support the claim: no “light,” nor “end of the earth”—only “Gentiles” and σωτήριον (not σωτηρία as in Isa 49:6). Willem C. van Unnik, “‘The Book of Acts’—The Confirmation of the Gospel,” in *Sparsa Collecta: The Collected Essays of W. C. van Unnik, Part One: Evangelia, Paulina, Acta* (NovTSup 29; Leiden: Brill, 1973), 364. An allusion to Isa 49:6 (42:6) in Enoch 48:4–5 identifies the Son of Man as “the light of the gentiles,” seemingly associated the servant and the Son of Man. (I am indebted for the reference to Steyn, *Septuagint Quotations*, 197.) “The resultant combination of the Son of Man and the servant of God . . . was of decisive significance for Jesus’ sense of mission.” Zimmerli and Jeremias, *TDNT*, 5:688.

¹⁵⁰ The only textual variant cited in NA²⁷ here is the omission of ἐθνῶν in D. The text is well established.

exact citation: where Isaiah has εἰς φῶς ἐθνῶν (OG), Luke has φῶς εἰς ἀποκάλυψιν ἐθνῶν and adds καὶ δόξαν λαοῦ σου Ἰσραήλ.¹⁵² “Light” and “salvation”¹⁵³ appear together in Isa 49:6; 51:4–6.¹⁵⁴ “Light” and “glory” are associated in Isa 42:6, 8; 58:8; 59:17–19; 60:1–3. “Salvation” and “glory” are associated in 46:13, and all three terms (“salvation,” “light” and “glory”—with “righteousness”!) in Isa 60: 18–21. “Revelation” (ἀποκάλυψιν) does not occur in the OG of Isaiah, although the verb (ἀποκαλύψει) appears with σωτηρίαν in Isa 52:10, where “the Lord will reveal . . . before all nations” “his holy arm.”¹⁵⁵

Although the general import of Simeon’s words is clear, three observations must be made. First, the term for “salvation” (τὸ σωτήριον) in Luke 2:30 is not found in the Greek of the canonical Old Testament.¹⁵⁶ A different term, σωτηρία, is found in Isa 42:6 and nine other times in Isa 40–66. While σωτήριον has been taken by some to refer to the *means* of salvation

¹⁵¹ Plummer believes 2:32 combines Isa 49:6 and Ps 98:2. Alfred Plummer, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to S. Luke* (5th ed.; ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1922), 69. ἐναντίον τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀπεκάλυψεν, however, is not φῶς εἰς ἀποκάλυψιν ἐθνῶν.

¹⁵² It has been suggested that this phrase depends on Isa 46:13 (τῷ Ἰσραήλ εἰς δόξασμα). NA²⁷; Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 428; Luke Timothy Johnson, *The Gospel of Luke* (SP 3; Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1991), 55.

¹⁵³ In Luke-Acts “*phōs* stands for the Christ who acts like the Father and is the Messiah. . . . it also looks to the suffering servant, salvation, and eschatology.” Robert F. O’Toole, *The Christological Climax of Paul’s Defense* (AnBib 78; Rom: Biblical Institute Press, 1978), 64. Light imagery appears elsewhere in the New Testament. Where the beginning of Jesus’ ministry in Luke’s gospel is marked by application of servant language from Isa 61 to himself (Luke 4:16–30), the beginning of his ministry in Matt (4:14–16) is explained by reference to the coming of light on those in darkness through the expected royal figure of Isa 9:1–6. In John, Jesus states “I am the light of the world.” (John 8:12; 9:5; 12:46; see also 1:4–9; 3:19–21; 12:35–36; and probably 11:9–10.) Jesus’ illumination is contagious: his disciples can also be described as “the light of the world” (Matt 5:14), “light in the Lord” (Eph 5:8), “sons of light” (1 Thess 5:5), those who have been “called . . . out of darkness into [God’s] marvelous light” (1 Pet 2:9), and those who have been “qualified . . . to share in the inheritance of the saints in light” (Col 1:12). Light is a New Testament metaphor for salvation (Rom 13:12; 2 Cor 4:6; 6:14; Eph 5:13–14; 1 John 2:8).

¹⁵⁴ See the OG, which in 51:5 reads ἐξελεύσεται ὡς φῶς τὸ σωτήριόν μου for MT יִשְׁרָאֵל נֹרָא.

¹⁵⁵ Isa 52:10 continues: “the ends of the earth will see the salvation which is with God.” Fitzmyer believes this verse is the inspiration for the words κατὰ πρόσωπον πάντων τῶν λαῶν in v. 31. Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 428.

¹⁵⁶ It is found five times in the apocryphal books: 3 Macc 6:31; 7:18; 4 Macc 12:6; 15:26; Wis 1:14.

rather than to the salvation itself,¹⁵⁷ its semantic range includes the salvation and it would be unwise to attempt too great a distinction in this text.¹⁵⁸ Second, some have suggested that Simeon’s words do not state that Gentiles actually experience salvation, but merely that they observe it. The Isaianic background noted above, the nature of the enlightening already announced in Luke 1:79, and the subsequent use of Isa 49:6; 42:6 in Acts 13:47; 26:22 all argue against this minimalist understanding.¹⁵⁹ light brings revelation, and consequently salvation, to Gentiles.¹⁶⁰ Third, it does not in the end matter greatly “whether φως and δόξαν should be taken as two coordinates in apposition to σωτήριον or whether φως alone should be regarded as in apposition to σωτήριον with ἀποκάλυψιν and δόξαν as parallel statements of the illumination which the salvation brings about.”¹⁶¹

Simeon’s words come at, as it were, Jesus’ first “public appearance.” The aged saint, prompted by God’s Spirit (2:27), adds his testimony about Jesus to that of the angel (2:10–12). Simeon applies the language of the Isaianic servant, who brings salvation to both Israel and the nations, to the child he holds in his arms. The Lord’s anointed, the Christ, whom Simeon had

¹⁵⁷ L&N 1:2.29, 30; Frédéric Godet, *A Commentary on the Gospel of St. Luke* (trans. E. W. Shalders and M. D. Cusin; 2 vols.; 5th ed.; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1957), 1:139; David Gooding, *According to Luke: A New Exposition of the Third Gospel* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 57; Joel B. Green, *The Gospel of Luke* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 148.

¹⁵⁸ BDAG, s.v. σωτήριος.

¹⁵⁹ Green and Marshall attribute this view to G. D. Kilpatrick, “λαοι at Luke ii.31 and Acts iv.25–27,” *JTS* 16 (1986), 127. Green, *Luke*, 148; Ian Howard Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (New International Greek Testament Commentary; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978), 121.

¹⁶⁰ Plummer correctly notes that of the 11 other instances of ἀποκάλυψις with the genitive in the New Testament, the genitive signifies either what is revealed, or (possibly) the one who reveals (2 Cor 12:1 and Rev 1:1 could be read either way). However, he also notes that there is nothing to prevent a possessive genitive here, indicating that this revelation “belongs to” the Gentiles. Plummer, *Luke*, 69.

¹⁶¹ John Martin Creed, *The Gospel according to St. Luke: The Greek Text with Introduction, Notes, and Indices* (London: Macmillan, 1965), 41. For the former, see Raymond E. Brown, *The Birth of the Messiah: A Commentary on the Infancy Narratives in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke* (New updated ed.; New York: Doubleday, 1993), 440; Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 428; Plummer, *Luke*, 69. For the later, see Marshall, *Luke (Commentary)*, 121.

been promised he would see before he died (2:26), is also the awaited servant. This servant is the promised light to the nations, who “will bring salvation to the end of the earth” (Isa 49:6) and will “to open the eyes that are blind, to bring out the prisoners from the dungeon, from the prison those who sit in darkness” (42:7). Sight to the blind and freedom to the captives will become distinguishing marks of Jesus’ ministry.¹⁶² First, however, Jesus will experience opposition: “a sign that is spoken against” (2:34; cp. Isa 49:4).

Curiously, Simeon’s words reverse the expected order—we would expect to hear first about salvation for the Jews and only subsequently (if at all) for the Gentiles. Simeon, however, speaks first of a salvation prepared by God κατὰ πρόσωπον πάντων τῶν λαῶν (“in the presence of all peoples”) and a light bringing revelation to the Gentiles before he speaks of that light bringing glory to Israel. He thus makes a strong statement about the universal extent of the ministry of Jesus. “The Messianic salvation brings out the full and true glory of Israel and sheds universal light upon all the peoples of the world.”¹⁶³ Luke 2:32 thus links the Isaianic servant with Gentile blessing¹⁶⁴ and indicates this as the purpose for which the servant has come.

Thus Luke’s appropriation of scriptural traditions in Simeon’s oracle also reflects a highly specific view of the salvation of God (see Isa. 40:5, LXX), which this prophet-messiah Jesus portends for Israel, a view that was clearly subject to dispute. Indeed, the allusion to Isa. 49:6, enriched with words and phrases drawn from the larger context of those distinctive latter chapters of Isaiah, might well be regarded as a thematic statement of Luke’s entire narrative: the call of the servant (*pais*) to restore the diaspora of Israel and to be a light to the Gentiles to the end of the earth.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶² See especially Luke 4:18–19 (citing Isa 61:1–2); 7:19–2. The gospels record at least six occasions on which Jesus restored sight to blind people: Matt 9:27; 12:22; 15:30 par.; 20:30 par.; Mark 8:22 par.; John 9. In addition, Ananias told Saul that “the Lord Jesus who appeared to you on the road by which you came [dazzling him with light], has sent me that you may regain your sight and be filled with the Holy Spirit” (Acts 9:17).

¹⁶³ Creed, *St. Luke*, 41; Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 428.

¹⁶⁴ This text appears to be the first in Luke-Acts to explicitly indicate blessing of Gentiles by Christ.

¹⁶⁵ David L. Tiede, *Prophecy and History in Luke-Acts* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980), 31.

3.3.3.2 Acts 26:23

The second allusion appears in Acts 26:23, Paul's defense before Agrippa (26:2–23).¹⁶⁶

Acts 26:23 NA²⁷

ἐπικουρίας οὖν τυχῶν τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄχρι
τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης ἕστηκα μαρτυρόμενος
μικρῷ τε καὶ μεγάλῳ οὐδὲν ἐκτὸς λέγων ὧν
τε οἱ προφήται ἐλάλησαν μελλόντων
γίνεσθαι καὶ Μωϋσῆς,

εἰ παθητὸς ὁ χριστός, εἰ πρῶτος ἐξ
ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν φῶς μέλλει
καταγγέλλειν τῷ τε λαῷ καὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.

Acts 26:23 RSV

22 To this day I have had the help that comes from God, and so I stand here testifying both to small and great, saying nothing but what the prophets and Moses said would come to pass:

23 that the Christ must suffer, and that, by being the first to rise from the dead, he would proclaim light both to the people and to the Gentiles.”

This scripture summary is reminiscent of Luke 24:44-47. What “the prophets and Moses” had prophesied was the suffering and resurrection of Christ (“the first to rise from the dead”), with the consequent proclamation of “light” to Jews (“the people”)¹⁶⁷ and (more strikingly) Gentiles. The words do not exactly reflect Isa 49:6 or 42:6: there the servant becomes himself a light to the nations, while here Jesus proclaims light, both to Jews and the nations. As in Isaiah, however, the broad ministry to the nations (49:6) follows “suffering” (cp. Isa 49:4).

What is proclaimed is “light,” i.e., salvation. The sermons of Acts have made clear what has been accomplished by Jesus’ death and resurrection and what is being proclaimed in his name: forgiveness of sins (2:38; 5:31; 10:43; 13:38), the gift of the Spirit (2:38 10:44; 15:8), the blessing of repentance (3:26; 5:31; 17:30; 20:21; 24:25), resurrection of the dead (23:6; 24:15), and extension of God’s grace to the Gentiles (11:17–18; 13:47; 15:13–18).¹⁶⁸ (See also the

¹⁶⁶ Curiously, this allusion is not noted in the marginal notes or table of citations NA²⁷, although it is in UBS⁴. The only textual issue noted in the apparatus of NA²⁷ is a conjectural addition. The presence of the words constituting the allusion in this text is well established.

¹⁶⁷ In Luke, the term almost always refers to Israel. See section 4.5.3. below.

¹⁶⁸ From the narrative of Acts we can also add: healing (3:1–10; 4:10; 5:12–16; 8:6; 9:33–35; 14:8–10; 19:11); sight to the blind (9:12, 17–19); resurrection (9:40–42; 14:19–20; 20:9–12?); release from prison (5:18–19; 12:1–19a; 16:23–40); and judgment on unbelief and disobedience (5:1–11; 8:20–23; 12:23; 13:6–12).

description of the promised salvation in Acts 26:18 below.) When Jesus, then, on the basis of his death and resurrection, proclaims light to the nations, he proclaims himself: the message of light is the message about the one who is himself that light. By contrast, although Paul is here related to the servant,¹⁶⁹ Paul himself is not described here as himself being “a light to the nations.”

3.3.3.3 Acts 1:8

Some have found an allusion to Isa 49:6 in Acts 1:8, where Jesus says that the apostles will be his witnesses “to the end of the earth” (ἕως ἑσχάτου τῆς γῆς).¹⁷⁰ The expression is found in the New Testament only here and the citation in Acts 13:47. T. Moore has argued persuasively that the term indicates “both geographic and ethnic universalism,” not only that the gospel is preached throughout the world, but specifically to Gentiles as well as Jews.¹⁷¹ D. Johnson finds further echoes of the servant songs in the coming of the Spirit (Isa 44:1–8), the calling to bear witness (Isa 41:1–4; 43:8–12; 44:8), and the extension of salvation to the nations.¹⁷² The suggestion that the apostles are described, even in this early point in Acts, in the language of the Isaianic servant is intriguing. The allusion (if it is one), however, is brief, and the expression

¹⁶⁹ In 26:16, Jesus appoints Paul “to serve and bear witness” (ὑπηρέτην καὶ μάρτυρα). The former is not a term for the servant in Isaiah and the term only translates עָבָד once (Prov 14:25). However, witness and servant (עֵד, translated by πᾶσις) are joined in Isa 43:10.

¹⁷⁰ Dupont notes that “the expression ‘to the ends of the earth’ is not to be taken in a purely geographic sense. In contrast to Jerusalem, the ‘city of the great king’ and center of the worship of the true God, the ends of the earth represent the pagan nations. . . . 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. So Rome, as the capital of the pagan world, is really situated ‘at the ends of the earth.’” Dupont, “Salvation,” 19–20. See also Frederick F. Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostles: The Greek Text with Introduction and Commentary* (3d rev. and enl. ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990), 315.

¹⁷¹ Moore, “To the End of the Earth.”

¹⁷² Johnson, “Idols,” 346–49. Johnson might also have included Isa 55:3–5. None of these references appear in what are usually considered to be servant songs. If, however, one understands the songs to be integrally related to their context, rather than separately composed interpolations, Johnson’s approach can be seen as sound.

(“the end of the earth”) occurs often enough in the OG that we cannot assume that readers would have associated the phrase specifically with Isa 49:6.¹⁷³

3.3.3.4 Acts 26:18

Acts 26:18 is also part of Paul’s defense before Agrippa (26:2–23). It has been suggested that Paul here describes his call¹⁷⁴ with an allusion to Isa 42:7, 16¹⁷⁵ (underlined below).

But rise and stand upon your feet; for I have appeared to you for this purpose, to appoint you to serve and bear witness to the things in which you have seen me and to those in which I will appear to you, delivering you from the people and from the Gentiles—to whom I send you to open their eyes, that they may turn from darkness to light and from the power of Satan to God, that they may receive forgiveness of sins and a place among those who are sanctified by faith in me. (Acts 26:16–18)

Isaiah 42:7, 16 MT	Isaiah 42:7, 16 OG	Acts 26:18
לְפָקֶה עֵינַיִם עָרְוֹת	7a <u>ἀνοίξαι ὀφθαλμοὺς τυφλῶν</u>	18a <u>ἀνοίξαι ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν,</u>
לְהוֹצִיא מִמִּסְכָּר אֶפְסֵיר	b ἐξαγαγεῖν ἐκ δεσμῶν δεδεμένους	
מִבֵּית כְּלָא שְׂבִי הַשָּׁחַד	c καὶ ἐξ οἴκου φυλακῆς καθημένους ἐν σκότει	
וְהוֹלִכְתִּי עֲרֻרִים בְּדַרְדָּר	16a καὶ ἄξω τυφλοὺς ἐν ὁδῷ ἧ οὐκ ἔγνωσαν	
בְּנִתְיָבוֹת לֹא יָדְעוּ אֲדָרְיָכֶם	b καὶ τρίβους οὓς οὐκ ἤδεισαν πατήσαι ποιήσω αὐτούς	
אֶשְׂמֵם מִהֶקֶד לְפָנֵיהֶם לְאוֹר	c ποιήσω αὐτοῖς τὸ <u>σκότος εἰς φῶς</u>	b <u>τοῦ ἐπιστρέψαι ἀπὸ σκότους εἰς φῶς</u>

¹⁷³ The “end of the earth” appears in the OG in Deut 28:49; 1 Macc 3:9; Ps 135:7; *Pss. Sol.* 1:4; 8:15; Isa 8:9; 45:22; 48:20; 62:11; Jer 6:22; 10:13; 16:19; 27:41; 28:16; 32:32; 38:8. Van Unnik, however, notes it occurs with ἕως only in the Isaiah four Isaiah texts, *Pss. Sol.* 1:4; 1 Macc 3:9 (although he does not comment on the omission of the article in this last); he cannot find any other instances of the full expression in Greek literature. Willem C. van Unnik, “Der Ausdruck ἕως ἐσχάτου της γης (Apostelgeschichte I, 8) und sein alttestamentlicher Hintergrund,” in *Sparsa Collecta: The Collected Writings of W. C. van Unnik, Part One: Evangelia, Paulina, Acta* (NovTSup 29; Leiden: Brill, 1973), 400.

¹⁷⁴ This is the third account of Paul’s call: Acts 9:15–16; 22:14–15; 26:16–18. Each includes a reference to mission to the Gentiles: τοῦ βαστάσαι τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐνώπιον ἐθνῶν τε καὶ βασιλέων υἱῶν τε Ἰσραήλ (9:15–16); ὅτι ἔση μάρτυς αὐτῷ πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους (22:14–15); and this text.

¹⁷⁵ NA²⁷ marginal reference. UBS⁴ lists only Isa 42:16. See also Schnabel, *Early Christian Mission*, 943.

<p>וּבְנֵי קִשְׁיָא לְכִישׁוּר אֲלֵךְ הַרְבֵּה רַם עֲשִׂי אֶלְא עֲזַבְתִּי עֲזַבְתִּי</p>	<p>d και τὰ σκολιὰ εἰς εὐθειάν</p> <p>e ταῦτα τὰ ῥήματα ποιήσω και οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψω αὐτούς</p>	<p>c και τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ σατανᾶ ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν,</p> <p>d τοῦ λαβεῖν αὐτούς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν</p> <p>e και κληρον ἐν τοῖς ἡγιασμένοις πιστεῖ τῆ εἰς ἐμέ.</p>
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The case for an allusion here is weak. Acts 26:18a has αὐτῶν rather than τυφλῶν of Isa 42:7a (OG).¹⁷⁶ Acts 26:18b speaks of “turning” *people* from darkness to light, where in Isa 42:16c (OG) God “will make” darkness *into* light. These differences are significant since the number of words shared between Acts 26:18 and Isa 42 is so small. Nor is the language as distinctive as “light to the nations.” These blessings appear in other Isaianic texts: recovery of sight in Isa 29:18; 35:5 and provision of light in place of darkness in Isa 9:2; 58:10 (cp. Mic 7:18). These other texts do not explicitly mention the servant.

Paul here applies the language of providing light (to both “the people and . . . the Gentiles”), not to Christ, but to his own ministry.¹⁷⁷ The Lord Jesus had sent Paul to the Gentiles (26:17) “to open their eyes” (ἀνοῖξαι ὀφθαλμοῦς), echoing the mission of the servant in Isa 42:7 (תִּירְוּ עֵינֵי עֲזַבְתִּי, ἀνοῖξαι ὀφθαλμοῦς τυφλῶν).¹⁷⁸ The purpose (τοῦ plus infinitive) is “that they may turn from darkness to light” (τοῦ ἐπιστρέψαι ἀπὸ σκότους εἰς φῶς),

¹⁷⁶ A few manuscripts of Acts read τυφλῶν. This is the only variant cited in NA²⁷. The words supposed to constitute the allusion are clearly part of the text.

¹⁷⁷ D. Johnson sees allusions to the servant songs in Paul’s accounts his conversion and call. Johnson, *Message of Acts*, 116. In addition to these echoes in Acts 26: 18, see also Acts 22: election (Acts 22:15; Isa 42:1; 49:2); the righteous one (Acts 22:14; Isa 53:11; cp. Acts 3:14; 7:52); witness (Acts 22:15; Isa 41:1-4; 43:8-12; 44:8); refusal to hear his testimony (Acts 22:18; Isa 53:1); and the extension of salvation to the Gentiles (Acts 22:15; 22:21).

¹⁷⁸ Recovery of sight figures prominently as a metaphor (or aspect) of salvation in Isaiah. In addition to 42:7; 42:16 see 29:18; 32:3; 35:5; 43:8.

echoing (though not reproducing) Isa 42:16 (רָאִתְּ לְפָנַי לְדַשְׁתִּים מִשָּׁרָא, ποιήσω αὐτοῖς τὸ σκοτός εἰς φῶς).¹⁷⁹ Paul is also to turn the Gentiles from “from the power of Satan to God” (τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ σατανᾶ ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν), also possibly reflecting the servant’s work “to bring out the prisoners from the dungeon, from the prison those who sit in darkness” (Isa 42:7).

Yet the light that he brings them is Christ (Acts 26:23 = Isa 49:6), and Paul is only an apostle of Christ. If the prophecy of Isaiah is fulfilled in Paul, it must first have been fulfilled in Christ. Hence Paul’s use of this text in connection with his own mission presupposes its prior use for theological purposes.¹⁸⁰

3.3.3.5 Summary

There are at least two allusions to Isa 49:6 in Luke-Acts. In the clearest of these (Luke 2:29–32; Acts 26:23), the language of the prophecy is clearly applied to Jesus as the one who would be (or proclaim) light to the nations. In a third (Acts 1:8), there is a briefer echo of the text in Jesus’ promise to (or commission of) the apostles as his witnesses “to the end of the earth.” The case for an allusion in 26:18 is not persuasive, yet the text is evidence of Luke’s interest in themes from the larger context of Isaiah. These texts together indicate Luke understood the prophecy of Isa 49:6 as applying to Jesus.

3.4 Acts 13:47

Acts 13 is a turning point in the narrative of Acts. The focus of the church’s mission has been Jews and those geographically or spiritually close to them. With the beginning of Paul’s missionary activity, and particularly the citation of Isa 49:6 in Acts 13:47, this begins to change.

¹⁷⁹ Perhaps also Isa 9:2: “The people who walked in darkness have seen a great light; those who dwelt in a land of deep darkness, on them has light shined.”

¹⁸⁰ Dupont, “Apologetic,” 146. O’Toole, however writes of “the task of the Suffering Servant begun by Christ carried on by Paul.” “The resurrected Christ has from the Father a mission which Christ performs. What Paul does can be predicated of Christ. So, the resurrected Christ cannot only be said to be in heaven; he is with and in Paul proclaiming the light.” O’Toole, *Climax*, 69, 119.

3.4.1 The Context of Acts 13:47

The first recorded episode in Paul's and Barnabas' mission takes place on Cyprus, the home of Barnabas (4:36). After landing at Salamis, on the eastern end of the island, they first "proclaimed the word of God in the synagogues of the Jews" (13:5), although no mention of the response is recorded. They traveled through the island to Paphos, on the western end. There they preached the gospel to the proconsul, who, from his name, Sergius Paulus, appears to be a Gentile. They were opposed, however, by "a certain magician, a Jewish false prophet, named Bar-Jesus" (13:6) or "Elymas" (13:8). Saul, "who is also called Paul" (called by this name here for the first time in Acts), denounced Elymas for his opposition to the message and pronounced that he would for a time be blind (13:9–11). Impressed by "the teaching of the Lord," the proconsul believed. "Paul and his companions"¹⁸¹ subsequently left the island, sailed to Perga in Pamphylia, and moved inland to Antioch in Pisidia (13:13–14).

In Antioch, they again entered a synagogue. After the reading of the scriptures, they were invited to speak (13:14–15). Paul¹⁸² rose and addressed the assembly of "men of Israel and . . . Gentiles who worship God" (13:16).¹⁸³ He began with a brief history of God's dealings with Israel, from the election of Abraham (see also 3:26), through the exodus/conquest (13:17–20a) to establishment of the kingdom (13:20b–22), concluding with the designation of David, not only as king, but "a man after my heart, who will do all my will" (13:22). It is "of this man's

¹⁸¹ Note the change from the earlier "Barnabas and Saul" (11:20; 12:25; 13:1, 2, 7). From this point on, "Paul and Barnabas" (13:43, 46, 50; 15:2, 22, 35) predominates over "Barnabas and Paul" (14:14; 15:12, 25; cp. 14:2).

¹⁸² Not Barnabas. Paul's transition into the leadership of the mission becomes more evident.

¹⁸³ He will later characterize them as "brethren, sons of the family of Abraham, and those among you that fear God" (13:26). Dunn notes that the address has thus from the beginning included Gentiles. James D. G. Dunn, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Valley Forge: Trinity Press International, 1996), 178. These Gentiles are already associated with the synagogue—they both "worship" and "fear" God. Dunn effectively challenges the view that (apart from the distinctive readings in D), evangelization of Gentiles does not begin until 13:47. Epp, *Theological Tendency*, 83–84.

posterity” that “God has brought to Israel a Savior, Jesus, as he promised” (13:23). Paul recounted Jesus’ identification by John (13:24–25), rejection by “those who live in Jerusalem and their rulers” (13:27–29), and resurrection (13:30–32), concluding that “what God promised to the fathers, this he has fulfilled . . . by raising Jesus” (13:32). These promises were not fulfilled in David (Ps 2:7; 16:10; Isa 55:3)¹⁸⁴ nor by Moses, but have now been fulfilled in Jesus.

Let it be known to you therefore, brethren, that through this man forgiveness of sins is proclaimed to you, and by him every one that believes is freed from everything from which you could not be freed by the law of Moses. (13:38–39)¹⁸⁵

Paul concluded by warning of judgment on those who reject the message (13:40–41, citing Hab 1:5).¹⁸⁶ Many Jews and “devout converts to Judaism followed Paul and Barnabas” (13:42–43).

On the next sabbath “almost the whole city gathered” (13:44). Jealous of the respect and attention that the missionaries received from the Gentiles, “the Jews” opposed the message (13:45).¹⁸⁷ The missionaries (“Paul and Barnabas,” not Paul only) declared that, while it had been “necessary that the word of God should be spoken first to” Jews, since they have rejected the message, “behold, we turn to the Gentiles” (13:46), citing Isa 49:6 as justification.

¹⁸⁴ Dunn (among others) has noted similarities between first recorded address by Paul and Peter’s first address in Acts 2, particularly in the use of David and the argument concerning the resurrection. Dunn, *Acts*, 177.

¹⁸⁵ Jervell suggests that v. 39 (ἐν τούτῳ πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων δικαιούται) already anticipates the announcement of the extension of the mission to the Gentiles. Jervell, “Divided People,” 60.

¹⁸⁶ At first glance, this warning may seem harsh and uncalled for. However, “the facts on the ground” have been that many Jews *did* reject Jesus and the message about him, a fact not only evident in the narrative of Acts, but even in Paul’s sermon here (13:27–30).

¹⁸⁷ That is, “some Jews,” Witherington, *Acts*, 414. “No more did ‘all Gentiles’ believe than did all ‘the Jews’ reject.” Dunn, *Acts*, 184. This jealousy may indicate that Jewish efforts to obtain spiritual influence on their neighbors had been less successful. “The fear would be of an untried and untested new sect upsetting and undermining the good standing and good relations which the Jewish community had established for itself within the city (minorities were always anxious about their legal and social standing since local and international politics were so unpredictable).” Dunn, *Acts*, 183. Dunn argues that their privileged position in the plan of God was threatened by the way Paul had from the beginning addressed his message to the Gentiles present, as well as to the Jews. See also John B. Polhill, *Acts* (NAC 26; Nashville: Broadman, 1992), 306; David J. Williams, *Acts* (NIBCNT 5; Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1990), 238. (The message is addressed, however, only to synagogue-attending Gentiles who already “worship” and “fear” God, and the content of the message does not explicitly address Gentile salvation.

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.” (13:47)

Gentiles greeted this as good news and “as many as were ordained to eternal life believed” (13:48). As a result, “the word of the Lord spread throughout all the region” (13:49), although “the Jews” enlisted leading citizens in an ultimately successful effort to drive Paul and Barnabas from the city (13:50). On their departure, Paul and Barnabas shook the dust off their feet.¹⁸⁸ The new disciples remained in Antioch and “were filled with joy and with the Holy Spirit” (13:52).

From this point, the Gentile mission is a primary focus of the book. In Iconium, Paul and Barnabas begin preaching in the synagogue, where many Jews and Gentiles believe, but they are again forced to leave the city (14:1–7). In Lystra, they speak to a pagan audience and win “a large number of disciples” (14:8–21). When they return to Antioch, “where they had been commended to the grace of God for the work which they had fulfilled,” (14:26) they report “all that God had done with them, and how he had opened a door of faith to the Gentiles” (14:27).

In Acts 15, controversy arose in Antioch concerning the obligation of Gentile believers to the law, a controversy eventually settled by a council of the apostles and elders in Jerusalem. Acts 15 is the last indication in the book of Acts of conflict within the church over the Gentiles (although the Gentile mission remained controversial with non-Christian Jews, 22:21–22).¹⁸⁹ Following the council, Paul traveled first to Syria then Derbe and Lystra and, after being forced west, eventually to Macedonia and Achaia. He continued to speak first in synagogues, but also to Gentiles wherever he found them (e.g., the marketplace in Athens, 17:17; the hall of Tyrannus, 19:9). In Corinth, and again in Ephesus, the same scenario is played out.

¹⁸⁸ Following Jesus’ instructions to the Twelve (Luke 9:5 || Matt 10:14; Mark 6:11) and the 70 (Luke 10:11).

¹⁸⁹ Possibly because some Jews expected only destruction for Gentiles. Jeremias, *Promise*, 41.

When Silas and Timothy arrived from Macedonia, Paul was occupied with preaching, testifying to the Jews that the Christ was Jesus. And when they opposed and reviled him, he shook out his garments and said to them, “Your blood be upon your heads! I am innocent. From now on I will go to the Gentiles.” (18:5–6)

And he entered the synagogue and for three months spoke boldly, arguing and pleading about the kingdom of God; but when some were stubborn and disbelieved, speaking evil of the Way before the congregation, he withdrew from them, taking the disciples with him, and argued daily in the hall of Tyrannus. (19:8–9)

Finally, arrested on false charges in Jerusalem (related to Gentiles, 21:27–36), Paul preached to governors and kings (24–26) as God had told Ananias he would (9:15). Acts closes with Paul preaching in Rome, where once again many Jews did not believe and once again Paul announced that the message had been sent by God also to the Gentiles, “and they will listen” (28:28).¹⁹⁰

3.4.2 The Text of Acts 13:47

Acts 13:47	Acts 13:47 RSV	Acts 13:47 (author)
οὕτως γὰρ ἐντέταλται ἡμῖν ὁ κύριος	47a For so the Lord has commanded us, saying,	For so the Lord has commanded us,
τέθεικά σε	b ‘I have set you	“I have appointed you
εἰς φῶς ἐθνῶν	c to be a light for the Gentiles,	to be a light of nations
τοῦ εἶναί σε εἰς σωτηρίαν ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς.	d that you may bring salvation to the uttermost parts of the earth.’	that you be for salvation to the end of the earth.”

There are no significant textual variants in the citation of Isa 49:6 in Acts 13:47. Some variation appears in the introductory words in 47a (e.g., οὕτως and οὕτω, ἐντέταλται and other forms including ἐντέταλκε(ν), ἐντέλλεται, etc.), but none significantly affect the meaning. The citation itself includes some minor variants, e.g., the presence of ἰδοὺ,¹⁹¹ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν instead of ἐθνῶν, but none are well attested and none affects the meaning of the text.

¹⁹⁰ The rejection of the message by Jews and the subsequent turning to Gentiles in 13:45–49 and 28:25–31 thus form a kind of *inclusio* for this major section of Acts.

¹⁹¹ Present in the OG of Isa 49:6 (though not in 42:6).

As noted earlier, the citation appears to be from Isa 49:6, rather than the similar 42:6. Two factors support this conclusion. First, Acts 13:47 follows Isa 49:6 with τέθεικά σε rather ἔδωκά σε as in 42:6. Second, with Isa 49:6, Acts 13:47 follows εἰς φῶς ἐθνῶν with τοῦ εἶναί σε εἰς σωτηρίαν ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς, an expression lacking in 42:6.

Only a portion of Isa 49:6 is cited in Acts 13:47. There is no hint of the opening words of Yahweh's address (either from Isa 49:6b–d or 42:6a–c).

Isaiah 49:6 MT	Isaiah 49:6 OG	Acts 13:47
		47a οὕτως γὰρ ἐντέταλται ἡμῖν ὁ κύριος·
וַיֹּאמֶר	6a καὶ εἶπέν μοι	
קָל כְּהוֹתֶה לִּי עֶבֶד	b Μέγα σοί ἐστὶν τοῦ κληθῆναί σε παιδά μου	
לְהַקִּים אֶת־שִׁבְטֵי יַעֲקֹב	c τοῦ στήσαι τὰς φυλάς Ἰακωβ	
וּנְצִירֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל לְהָשִׁיב	d καὶ τὴν διασπορὰν τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἐπιστρέψαι·	
וּנְתַתִּי	e ἰδοὺ τέθεικά σε	b τέθεικά σε
לְאוֹר גּוֹיִם	f εἰς διαθήκην γένους εἰς φῶς ἐθνῶν	c εἰς φῶς ἐθνῶν
לְהוֹת יְשׁוּעָה עַד־קֶצֶה וְאַרְצָה	g τοῦ εἶναί σε εἰς σωτηρίαν ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς.	d τοῦ εἶναί σε εἰς σωτηρίαν ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς.

The citation follows the MT of Isa 49:6 more closely than it does the OG. Except for a few manuscripts, Acts 13:47 omits the ἰδοὺ present in the OG. A number of OG manuscripts include in 49:6 the expression εἰς διαθήκην γένους before εἰς φῶς ἐθνῶν. As noted earlier, this appears to be an interpolation from 42:6 (and/or possibly 49:8). In any case, the expression is rightly omitted from Acts 13:47. The rest of the citation follows the MT and the OG exactly.

Isaiah 49:6 MT	Isaiah 49:6 OG	Acts 13:47
		47a οὕτως γὰρ ἐντέταλται ἡμῖν ὁ κύριος·
וּנְתַתִּי	6e τέθεικά σε	b τέθεικά σε
לְאוֹר גּוֹיִם	f εἰς διαθήκην γένους εἰς φῶς ἐθνῶν	c εἰς φῶς ἐθνῶν
לְהוֹת יְשׁוּעָה עַד־קֶצֶה וְאַרְצָה	g τοῦ εἶναί σε εἰς σωτηρίαν ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς.	d τοῦ εἶναί σε εἰς σωτηρίαν ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς.

Either the form of the text here represents a fresh translation of the MT that happens to coincide closely with the OG or an OG manuscript closer to the MT than any currently extant. The text cited does not differ significantly from that found in the MT or the OG.

3.4.3 The Interpretation of Acts 13:47

Acts 13:47 supports the stated intention in verse 46 (γὰρ). Prompted by jealousy of the favorable reception Paul and “his company” (13:13) received, “the Jews” (i.e., those who had rejected the message; not the “many” who had accepted it) “contradicted what was spoken by Paul, and reviled him” (13:45). In response, Paul and Barnabas declared (13:46):

ὕμῖν ἦν ἀναγκαῖον πρῶτον λαληθῆναι
τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ· ἐπειδὴ ἀπωθείσθε
αὐτὸν καὶ οὐκ ἀξίους κρίνετε ἑαυτοὺς
τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς, ἰδοὺ στρεφόμεθα εἰς
τὰ ἔθνη.

It was necessary that the word of God should
be spoken first to you. Since you thrust it
from you, and judge yourselves unworthy [lit.
do not judge yourselves worthy] of eternal
life, behold, we turn to the Gentiles.

Paul had earlier issued a prophetic warning not to reject the gospel (13:41). Now faced with rejection, he declares that he had discharged his obligation and is free to turn to a more fruitful field.¹⁹² This is not surprising; Jesus had told the Twelve to move on when they met rejection.¹⁹³ What is remarkable is that Paul and Barnabas will now preach intentionally to Gentiles. They justify this surprising action by citing Isa 49:6.

The citation is introduced by the words, οὕτως γὰρ ἐντέταλται ἡμῖν ὁ κύριος (“For so the Lord has commanded us”). The action that Paul and Barnabas have announced is, they believe, not only justified but required by this prophetic text (ἐντέταλται . . . ὁ κύριος “the

¹⁹² Paul’s obligation to preach first to Jews echoes Peter’s application of the promise to Abraham in Acts 3:26, “God, having raised up his servant, sent him to you first, to bless you” (ὕμῖν πρῶτον ἀναστήσας ὁ θεὸς τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτὸν εὐλογοῦντα ὑμᾶς).

¹⁹³ Luke 9:5–6 (|| Matt 10:14; Mark 6:11); 10:11; cp. Matt 10:23. However, the twelve were explicitly forbidden to go to the Gentiles or even the Samaritans (Matt 10:5–6, although this does not appear in Luke).

Lord commanded us).¹⁹⁴ This had been God's intention from ages past: Isa 49:6 stated Yahweh's intention to bring "light" to Gentiles and "salvation" "to the end of the earth."¹⁹⁵ This is the purpose for which God had commissioned his servant, and for which the servant had suffered. The ultimate justification, then, for the Gentile mission is not rejection of the gospel by Jews, but the coming of Christ in the plan of God.¹⁹⁶ (In the context of Isa 49, however, the wider mission of 49:6 is occasioned by the failure and frustration of the servant's mission to Israel.) The citation justifies only "turning to" Gentiles; it does not require "turning from" Jews.¹⁹⁷

For the citation to legitimate the Gentile mission in this way, Isa 49:6 must be understood to mean that salvation in Jesus is to be extended to Gentiles. In other words, Isa 49:6 must be understood in the terms outlined above, that the nations will not simply observe the glory or salvation of Israel, but will share in a salvation and glory extended to all nations.

¹⁹⁴ Some have argued that the κύριος here is Jesus, not Yahweh who spoke through the prophet. It is therefore Jesus who has commanded this turning to the Gentiles. Pao, *Acts*, 101; Martin Rese, "Die Funktion der alttestamentlichen Zitate und Anspielungen in den Reden der Apostelgeschichte," in *Les Actes des Apôtres: Traditions, rédaction, théologie* (ed. Jacob Kremer; BETL 48; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1979), 78–79; Steyn, *Septuagint Quotations*, 201. This would be an odd way, however, for Paul and Barnabas to address a Jewish opposition that would almost certainly have understood "the Lord" to refer to Yahweh.

¹⁹⁵ Barrett characterizes the articular infinitive τοῦ εἰναί σε as exegetical. The "light" and "salvation" represent the same blessing. Charles K. Barrett, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles* (2 vols.; ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1994–1998), 657.

¹⁹⁶ Jewish refusal is "a contributory, though not the primary (cf. chs. 10–11), cause of the Gentile mission." "The fact that the Gentile mission could be justified from the Old Testament does not exclude either the prior proclamation of the gospel to the Jews or the possibility that Jewish obduracy could become an immediate cause of the Gentile mission." Wilson, *Gentile Mission*, 222.

¹⁹⁷ Witherington incorrectly limits "turning to the Gentiles" as though it "can only refer to what Paul will do while he remains in Antioch," that "this turning is local and not permanent." However, he rightly observes that "it is incorrect to say that this announcement . . . means that the Jews will not be preached to (or respond) again or that the Gentiles are offered God's word only because of rejection by the Jews, as a sort of afterthought or second choice," particularly in light of earlier indications of God's intention to bring salvation to all the world. Witherington, *Acts*, 415–16. Polhill notes that "in the very next city on his missionary itinerary, he would again begin his witness in the synagogue (14:1)" and notes Paul's continued preaching in synagogues (Acts 17:1, 10, 17; 18:4, 19; 19:8; cp. 16:13 [not, as Polhill has it, 16:12]). Polhill, *Acts*, 308. So also Barrett, *Acts*, 656.

Although the blessing and recipients in Acts 13:47 correspond to those in Isa 49:6 (and the other allusions in Luke-Acts), the identity of the one who brings the blessing does not. Isaiah 49:6 spoke of an individual “servant” who would be the light and bringer of salvation. The singular “you” of Isa 49:6, interpreted elsewhere in Luke-Acts as Jesus (Luke 2:29–32; Acts 26:23), has become “us,” and the promise is now a command addressed to Paul and Barnabas.

The point of contact is the frustration experienced by both the servant and Paul and Barnabas in fulfilling their divinely appointed ministries to Jews.

Their situation is nevertheless analogous to the position of the servant in Isa 49:1–6. Just as the servant failed to bring back to God the whole of Israel, so the apostles meet with opposition from “the” Jews. Both find themselves in difficult circumstances and it is here that Luke actualizes the verse from Isa 49,6d. In the greater mandate of the servant the preachers perceive a divine command, explicitly addressed to themselves (ἐντέταλται ἡμῖν).¹⁹⁸

The particular appropriateness of Isa 49:6 to the situation is evident. Just as the servant suffered frustration in his initial calling to minister to Israel, so “the Jews” now reject the message of Paul and Barnabas. Just as Yahweh expanded the “trifling” task of “gathering Israel to himself,” God expands the ministry of Paul and Barnabas, directing that they preach to Gentiles.¹⁹⁹ This pattern (“to the Jew first, but also to the Greek,” Rom 1:16) will be repeated in each city as they first speak to Jews, experience substantial (though not complete) rejection, and then speak to Gentiles. It is emphasized narratively by its inclusion in the very last verses of Acts (28:23–31).

The result of this startling announcement is that “the Gentiles . . . were glad and glorified the word of God” (τὰ ἔθνη ἔχαιρον καὶ ἐδόξαζον τὸν λόγον τοῦ κυρίου, 13:48). As a result of the preaching of Paul and his companions, “as many as were ordained to eternal life

¹⁹⁸ Sandt, “Quotations,” 54.

¹⁹⁹ Eckhard Schnabel sees echoes of servant language in Paul’s descriptions of his call in Acts 18:9–10 (Isa 41:10) and 26:16–18 (Isa 42:6–7, 16), although this latter is not “unmistakable” as an allusion, as Schnabel claims. Schnabel, *Early Christian Mission*, 943.

believed. And the word of the Lord spread throughout all the region” (13:48–49). Many Gentiles “saw the light,” and salvation indeed came to those in distant parts of the earth.

3.5 The Use of Isaiah 49:6 in Acts 13:47

Our understanding of the use of Isa 49:6 in Acts 13:47 is shaped by answers to three questions. To whom is the prophecy in Acts 13:47 applied? What rationale supports this application of the prophecy? Is the prophecy applied restrictively or can its application include others?

3.5.1 To Whom/What Is the Prophecy Applied?

In Acts 13 a promise (in Isaiah, as well as in Luke 2:32; Acts 26:23) directed to an individual becomes a command addressed to Paul and Barnabas. A number of proposals have sought to explain this unusual development.

3.5.1.1 The Prophecy Applies to Christ

It has been suggested that the text is here applied, not to Paul and Barnabas, but to Christ. P. Grelot states that “En dépit des apparences, ce texte n’est pas transféré du Christ, Serviteur du Seigneur, à ses deux envoyés, Paul et Barnabé.”²⁰⁰ Grelot appeals to the grammar of Acts 13:47: “For so the Lord has commanded us [ἡμῶν, plural], saying, ‘I have set you [σε, singular] to be a light for the Gentiles, that you [σε, singular] may bring salvation to the uttermost parts of the earth.’” He concludes that the singular address in the citation cannot be understood as applying to (plural) Paul and Barnabas. For the same reason, J. Fitzmyer also ascribes the citation to Jesus:

Paul seems to be applying the Servant’s words to himself (and Barnabas). The difficulty, however, is that the words cited are addressed to “you” (2nd person singular), which makes them difficult to apply to Paul and Barnabas. So the quoted part of the Servant Song may in reality refer to Christ, who through Barnabas and Paul is making known to the Jews of Pisidian Antioch this “light of the Gentiles” and

²⁰⁰ Pierre Grelot, “Note Sur Actes, XIII, 47,” *RB* 88 (1981): 370. Also Jacques Dupont, “Je t’ai établi lumière des nations (Ac 13, 14, 43–52),” in *Nouvelle Études sur les Actes des Apôtres* (Paris: Cerf, 1984), 343–49.

“means of salvation to the ends of the earth,” i.e., a light that will shine on Gentiles and bring salvation everywhere.²⁰¹

Grelot also argues that the application of the same text from Isaiah to Christ in Acts 26:23 prohibits its application here to Paul and Barnabas. Instead, we are to understand that Paul and Barnabas have been called by God to preach the Word—as they proclaim Christ as the light to the nations, they bring salvation to the end of the earth. Peter Bolt understands the prophecy as a commission that Paul and Barnabas share “indirectly.”²⁰² While it is true that Christ is himself a light to the nations (Luke 2:32) and that Christ is “to proclaim light to . . . the Gentiles” (Acts 26:23), the question is whether these readings adequately reflect what Acts 13:47 actually says. It does not say “God commanded us to preach Christ as light for the nations,” nor does it say “God commanded Christ to proclaim light,” but God commanded ἡμῖν to be “a light to the nations.” Grelot and Fitzmyer privilege the singular σε and constrain the plural ἡμῖν to fit.

3.5.1.2 The Prophecy Applies to the Salvation Accomplished by Christ

Eric Franklin argues that the citation is really about the salvation Jesus brings. “The fact that [Luke] can apply this passage to Paul as well as to Jesus suggests that he sees its emphasis as pointing in the first place, not so much to the person of Jesus, as to the saving work of God which is accomplished through him. It is the salvation of God which is his first concern”²⁰³ Such a subordination of Christ to God’s salvation seems unlikely, however, given the centrality of Christology in most readings of Luke-Acts. The language of Isa 49:6 is not simply cited, but

²⁰¹ Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 521.

²⁰² Peter G. Bolt, “Mission and Witness,” in *Witness to the Gospel: The Theology of Acts* (ed. Ian Howard Marshall and David Peterson; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 211.

²⁰³ Eric Franklin, *Christ the Lord: A Study in the Purpose and Theology of Luke-Acts* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1975), 121.

applied, first to Jesus and then to Paul and Barnabas in such a way that its fulfillment becomes a personal obligation: “for so the Lord has commanded us.”

3.5.1.3 The Prophecy Applies to Israel

James Dunn believes that the language of the servant song is applied to first to Israel.

Israel itself had been given the task of being and bringing light and salvation to the Gentiles (Isa. 49.6). So all Paul and Barnabas were doing was fulfilling Israel’s mission.²⁰⁴

For some reason not entirely clear, Paul understood that with the death and resurrection of Jesus, the time and possibility had arrived for Israel’s responsibility to be a light to the Gentiles to be fulfilled (Gal 1.15–16; 3.13–14, 23–29; 4:1–7).²⁰⁵

In a similar vein, Witherington writes that Paul and Barnabas “are assuming the role and tasks of the Servant of the Servant Songs, which is to say, the tasks of Israel.”²⁰⁶ Neither explains, however, just how Paul manages to derive a command to himself and Barnabas from this commission to Israel, nor how the audience might be expected to follow such reasoning.²⁰⁷

3.5.1.4 The Prophecy Applies Both to Christ and the Church

Still other scholars have found a double reference to Christ and the church.

The view that identifies the servant with Israel fails. Israel alone was never the instrument of the world’s redemption. Paul’s use of this verse (Acts 13:47) supports the identification of the servant as the Messiah and His people. When His people labor in His Name as Paul and Barnabas were doing, He works through them.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁴ Dunn, *Acts*, 184.

²⁰⁵ Dunn, *Acts*, 329 (commenting on 28:16).

²⁰⁶ Witherington, *Acts*, 416.

²⁰⁷ A single New Testament text may support the idea that Israel was not only to *bring* light but to *be* light, Rom 2:19: *πέποιθάς τε σεαυτὸν ὁδηγὸν εἶναι τυφλῶν, φῶς τῶν ἐν σκότει* (“and if you are sure that you are a guide to the blind, a light to those who are in darkness”). Beyond this, a reference to this concept is possible (though not certain) in Matt 5:14, where he calls the disciples (the new Israel?) τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου. Apart from the servant songs, no Old Testament texts suggest that Israel itself was to function as a light.

²⁰⁸ Young, *Isaiah*, 3:276.

The double use of the imagery is important . . . Paul is a light of the Gentiles only in virtue of the Christ he preaches; Christ is a light to the Gentiles as he is preached to them by his servants.²⁰⁹

Others have seen a similar connection.

But if the faithful Servant, through suffering and consequent triumph, accomplished the saving work single-handedly, his mission was henceforth shared with his followers, as they spread the gospel light in his name throughout the nations.²¹⁰

The present passage asserts that the mission of the Servant is also the task of the followers of Jesus. Thus the task of Israel, which she failed to carry out, has passed to Jesus and then to his people as the new Israel; it is the task of bringing the light of revelation and salvation to all the peoples of the world (*cf.* the clear allusion to Is. 49:6 in Lk. 2:29–32).²¹¹

Luke has already recorded how this verse was applied to Jesus by Simeon and will soon record Jesus applying it to Paul (Acts 26:17–18). This is not a contradiction, however, for the Lord's suffering servant is the Messiah, who gathers round him a Messianic Community to share in his ministry to the nations.²¹²

“Evidently the apostles regarded themselves as one with the servant: his mission is continued in theirs.”²¹³ These writers do not explain the nature of the connection, nor do they offer a rationale by which this prophecy may be interpreted in a twofold way, while other prophetic texts are given an exclusively Christological application. Nor is there any indication why Paul believed himself *required* by God from this text to take such a dramatic step.²¹⁴

²⁰⁹ Barrett, *Acts*, 658.

²¹⁰ Bruce, *Acts*, 267.

²¹¹ Marshall, *Acts*, 230.

²¹² John R. W. Stott, *The Message of Acts: The Spirit, the Church and the World* (Bible Speaks Today; Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity, 1994), 227.

²¹³ Richard B. Rackham, *The Acts of the Apostles* (WC; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1978), 221.

²¹⁴ Rackham speaks of “this apostasy—for so the Jews would regard it.” Rackham, *Acts*, 221.

3.5.1.5 The Prophecy Applies to Paul and Barnabas

The last view (“us” = Paul and Barnabas) is the most natural and persuasive. The difficulty is whether its generality adequately accounts for the degree of obligation expressed by “for so the Lord has commanded us” (Acts 13:47). These words seem to have a particular, if not exclusive application to Paul and Barnabas. We will return to this question (section 3.5.3.).

3.5.2 What Rationale Supports Paul’s Reasoning?

What hermeneutical principles appear to support this application of the prophecy? The appeal to Isa 49:6 is to persuade both Paul’s hearers and Luke’s readers of the appropriateness of this new course of action.

3.5.2.1 No Rationale Is Necessary

Some claim that first-century interpreters felt little need to be logical or consistent in use of the Old Testament²¹⁵ and assume there is no point in looking for an underlying rationale beyond mere verbal suitability. Such a view is circular: one will never explore whether there might be a rationale if one assumes it does not exist. The conclusion that no hermeneutical or theological rationale explains the “transfer” of the text from one party to another in Acts 13:47 can only be made after a thorough study of possible rationales has been attempted.

3.5.2.2 A Fluid Concept

We have already seen that some believe that the servant in Isaiah is a fluid concept. At some points, the servant seems to be Israel, while at others, the servant seems to be distinguished

²¹⁵ We have previously noted Jervell’s observation that “obviously, one cannot expect too much logic in the use of Old Testament quotations in New Testament writings.” Jervell, “Divided People,” 52.

from Israel (whether as a righteous remnant or an individual).²¹⁶ Does Luke-Acts show a similar understanding of the servant?

We noted earlier that Jesus' bringing sight to the blind and freedom to the captives echoed several Isaianic texts, including 42:7, where these signs are associated with the servant. As we read the book of Acts we also find the apostles and other divinely appointed representatives performing signs like those of Jesus: healing the lame (3:7; 8:6; 14:8–10); healing the paralyzed (8:6; 9:34–35); healing other people and illnesses (5:15–16; 19:11; 28:8); restoring sight (9:17–18); casting out evil spirits (5:16; 8:7; 16:18; 19:11); raising the dead (9:36–42; 20:9–12?); along with unspecified signs, wonders and miracles (2:43; 5:12; 6:8; 8:13; 14:3; 15:12; 19:11).²¹⁷ Although these are servant tasks, servant language is not particularly evident. The only instance where servant-related language appears to be applied to others is Acts 13:47.

Although the present survey found no commentators who attempted this argument, one might argue Jesus and the two apostles can both be viewed as subjects of the prophecy in light of the fluid identity of the servant. There are three reasons, however, not to do so. First, the present study has in fact questioned the presence of a fluid or corporate understanding of the servant in Isaiah. Second, a decision to accept a “fluid” understanding as the full explanation implies that nothing more could be said, that no deeper, more specific rationale can be found for the application of Isa 49:6 both to Jesus and to Paul and Barnabas. Finally, it is difficult to see how the audience could be expected to assent to the notion that the Isaiah text constitutes a clear command to Paul and Barnabas, if the referent is fluid or variable.

²¹⁶ This view assumes a single referent for all the servant references.

²¹⁷ See also Luke 9:1, 6; 10:9, 18–19.

3.5.2.3 *Imitatio Christi*

There are many ways in the New Testament that believers are urged to be like Jesus, or to follow his example. As Jesus is to suffer and die, so believers are to take up their cross (Mark 8:31–38 and par.). Believers are to suffer wrong patiently, following Jesus' example (1 Peter 2:21). They are to forgive one another and “walk in love” as Jesus did (Eph 4:32–5:2). They are to follow Jesus' example and wash one another's feet (John 13:14–15). In Luke-Acts, disciples are called to “follow me” (Luke 5:27; 9:23, 59; 18:22; see also the implicit call to imitation in Luke 22:26–27; cp. also 1 Cor 11:1).

It is certainly true that, in the New Testament, believers are called to be like Jesus and to follow his example, but believers are not to be like Jesus in every way. They do not offer their lives redemptively for others. The New Testament never suggests that, because Jesus did not marry, believers should not marry either. Nor did the early church understand that all believers should, like Jesus, be itinerant preachers. A simple affirmation of the necessity to imitate Christ does not adequately explain the rationale for the application of Isa 49:6 in Acts 13:47.

3.5.2.4 *Ministers Share the Mission of Christ*

Calvin offers a more focused explanation, understanding the prophecy to apply specifically to both Christ and ministers of the gospel.²¹⁸ He notes that “many things that Scripture applies to Christ, apply to His ministers,” but he is careful to speak of “‘many things’, not everything, for certain descriptions are peculiar to the person of Christ.” However, “since He acts through His ministers transferring His own functions to them,” Christ's ministers act on his behalf and with his authority, particularly in the preaching of the gospel. It is in this way, Calvin believes, that the prophecy may be appropriately applied to Paul and Barnabas.

²¹⁸ Calvin, *Acts 14–28*, 391.

3.5.2.5 Union of the Church with Christ

A number of older interpreters have suggested that the underlying rationale for the “transfer” of the citation from Christ to Paul and Barnabas lies in the Pauline doctrine of the union of Christ and the church. Such an approach fits well with a corporate understanding of the servant in Isaiah. Because of the fundamental connection between Christ and his church, what is true of Christ may also be applied to the church. J. A. Alexander writes that:

Commanded us is not an arbitrary transfer or accommodation of the passage, but a faithful reproduction of its original and proper import, as relating both to the Head and the Body, the Messiah and the Church in their joint capacity, as heralds of salvation to the world.²¹⁹

The application of this verse by Paul and Barnabas, in their address to the Jews of Antioch in Pisidia (Acts xiii. 47) is very important, as a confirmation of the hypothesis assumed above, that the person here described is not the Messiah exclusively, but that his people are included in the subject of the description.²²⁰

This approach offers a theological explanation for the “transfer” of an apparently Christological prophetic text to the mission of Paul and Barnabas. It will appeal to those who hold this union to be an important feature, not only of Pauline, but also of New Testament teaching generally. It may be questioned, however, whether Luke employs such category.

Robert F. O’Toole has recognized the presence of a union between Christ and his people in Luke-Acts, but he is unable to discover the nature of it.

Luke never fully elaborates in this chapter or in the whole of Lk-Acts how Christ unites himself with Christians. But, if Christ be the Savior, he must really effect something in the Christians; otherwise, Luke writes nonsense. But since Luke remains vague on the nature of this union, we have no choice but to be vague ourselves.²²¹

²¹⁹ Joseph Addison Alexander, *Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles* (3d ed.; New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co., 1875; repr., Zondervan: Grand Rapids, 1956), 504.

²²⁰ Alexander, *Isaiah*, 2:228.

²²¹ O’Toole, *Climax*, 159.

3.5.2.6 A Christ–Church Typology

There is a more fruitful way in which to understand the application of Isa 49:6 to the ministry of Paul and Barnabas, one that draws on dynamics indigenous to Luke-Acts.

One of the major conclusion's of Bock's study on Luke's use of the Old Testament is that Luke's Christology is developed not only by citing Old Testament prophecies, but from fulfillment of Old Testament "patterns" as well.

Luke sees the Scripture as fulfilled in Jesus in terms of the fulfillment of OT prophecy and in terms of the reintroduction and fulfillment of OT patterns that point to the presence of God's saving work. In referring to patterns, we refer to what is commonly called typology . . .²²²

Bock understands typology to refer to "a pattern within events that is to culminate in a final fulfillment in light of the passage's and the OT's context of hope and deliverance."²²³ Such patterns are sufficiently common that Bock calls "Luke's use of the OT for Christology, 'proclamation from prophecy and pattern.'"²²⁴ This principle that is clearly part of Luke's hermeneutical strategy, and can shed light on the use of Isa 49:6 in Acts 13:47.

One of the most significant studies of typology (and one noted by Bock) is that of Richard Davidson.²²⁵ In his work, Davidson distinguishes three "aspects" or phases of typological

²²² Bock, *Proclamation*, 274.

²²³ Bock, *Proclamation*, 50.

²²⁴ Bock, *Proclamation*, 274.

²²⁵ Richard M. Davidson, *Typology in Scripture: A Study of Hermeneutical τυπος Structures* (Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series 2; Berrien Springs, Michigan: Andrews University Press, 1981). See also Richard M. Davidson, "The Eschatological Structure of Biblical Typology" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the of the Evangelical Theological Society, November 19, 1999); "Is Biblical Typology Really Predictive? Some Possible Indicators of the Existence and Predictive Quality of OT Types" (paper presented at the midwestern regional meeting of the Evangelical Theological Society, St. Paul, Minn., February 26–27, 1999); "Israel Typology" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the of the Evangelical Theological Society, November 16, 2000).

fulfillment: some types are fulfilled in Christ (inaugurated or Christological fulfillment); some will be fulfilled in the eschatological future (consummated or apocalyptic fulfillment); but some are fulfilled now in the life of the church (appropriated or ecclesiological fulfillment).²²⁶

An example may help: The tabernacle (later temple) symbolized God's presence with his people. Even within the Old Testament there are hints of a greater future presence of God (e.g., Isa 7:14). In the New Testament, John indicates that the promise of the tabernacle was fulfilled in the incarnation (1:14; cp. 2:20–21), but Paul wrote that the church is now the dwelling of God by Christ's Spirit (1 Cor 3:16; 2 Cor 6:16; Eph 2:21–22; cp. Col 1:27), and the immediacy of God's presence with his people will eventually be such that no temple is necessary (Rev.21:22). Christ's incarnation does not "exhaust" the tabernacle pattern, but becomes the basis for further fulfillment in the present age and the eschaton. We can picture the entire process like this: Old Testament type → Christ (inaugurated) → church (appropriated) → eschaton (consummated). The Old Testament type anticipates Christ, but once Christ has come, subsequent fulfillments in the church and the eschaton may also be expected. Much as the Old Testament presents types of Christ, Christ himself becomes a type of the church and both are types of the eschaton. The patterning does not just run from Old Testament to New (or to Christ), but also from Christ to the church in the present age (and eventually to the eschaton).

This is the reverse of the "narrowing" often seen in Old Testament expectation, where, e.g., David's dynasty becomes focused in the one king who "will reign over the house of Jacob forever" (Luke 1:33). Old Testament promises and types "narrow" and come to a focus in Christ, the one to whom all of God's promises point and in whom they find their "yes" (2 Cor 1:20). But

²²⁶ Davidson, *Typology*, 390–97.

then, flowing out of Christ, the fulfillment expands as these things are fulfilled not only in Christ himself, but also through him in his church and in the consummation.

This may sound similar to the “double fulfillment of prophecy” but the dynamic is different. In double fulfillment, many prophecies are understood to have a straightforward single fulfillment (“this is that”), while others have a multi-layered fulfillment (e.g., fulfilled both in the return from exile and in the coming of Christ, or in both Christ’s first and second comings). There does not seem to be any way to determine in advance from the original text whether a particular prophecy will have a double fulfillment. Davidson offers a potentially richer understanding of fulfillment: every prophecy or type is susceptible to a fulfillment in Christ, which then anticipates further fulfillments in the church and in the consummation. Apparent instances of double fulfillment are better understood as examples of this multi-layered typology.

It is particularly appropriated or ecclesiological typology that is relevant to Acts 13:47. Rather than importing a Pauline theological category (union with Christ), typology is a biblical-theological or redemptive-historical category native to Luke-Acts’ demonstration of the fulfilling of God’s promises in and through Christ. Typology deals with the fulfillment of God’s purposes in history, with the things that “must needs be”²²⁷ in the unfolding of God’s redemptive program.

There is evidence of a typological dynamic in a number of texts and themes in Luke-Acts. We find reflections in Jesus’ ministry of the ministries of Elijah and Elisha²²⁸ and of Moses.²²⁹

²²⁷ Davidson’s expression for an essential feature of typological fulfillment. Davidson understands typology not as a merely literary correspondence, but historical development within the history of redemption in which types ordained by God *must* be subsequently fulfilled. Luke often expresses this necessity with his use of δεῖ (40 times in Luke-Acts, including instances of redemptive-historical necessity such as Luke 4:43; 9:22; 13:16, 33; 17:25; 21:9; 22:37; 24:7, 26, 44; Acts 1:16; 3:21; 4:12; 14:22; 17:3).

²²⁸ E.g., Craig A. Evans, “The Function of the Elijah/Elisha Narratives in Luke’s Ethic of Election,” in *Luke and Scripture: The Function of Sacred Tradition in Luke-Acts* (ed. Craig A. Evans and Jack T. Sanders; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 70–83.

We find that the ministry of Jesus is a pattern for that of his followers: they “take up the cross” as his followers (Luke 9:22, cp. 23); they must go through suffering (Luke 9:22; cp. Acts 9:16; 14:22— $\delta\epsilon\iota$ appears in all three passages); they are empowered by the Spirit (Acts 10:38; cp. 1:8); the apostles work “signs and wonders” (Acts 2:22; cp. 2:43; 5:12; 14:3; 15:12). There are as well striking parallels between the ministries of Jesus and Stephen,²³⁰ and Jesus and Paul.²³¹ The contention is that these are not merely literary devices, but reflect a divine necessity that things that happened in the ministry of Jesus “must needs be” mirrored and fulfilled in his followers.

Davidson’s appropriated or ecclesiological typology offers help in understanding Acts 13:47. Davidson offers us the opportunity to have our cake and eat it too: we can affirm with Simeon (Luke 2:32) and with Paul (Acts 26:23, 18) that Jesus is the servant who brings light to the nations, while at the same time affirming with Paul and Barnabas (Acts 13), that God has commanded these missionaries to be light to the nations. We can hold both to be true because of the typological relationship that exists between Christ and the church. The prophecy of the servant finds fulfillment first of all in Jesus, but also through him in his church and particularly in those of his church entrusted with the responsibility to take his message to the nations.²³²

Because the promise of the servant’s bringing light to the nations has been fulfilled in Christ, it is thus incumbent on Paul and Barnabas to shine that light on the nations. Yahweh

²²⁹ E.g., Moessner, *Lord of the Banquet*. See especially Luke 9:31. See also the deliberate parallels between the ministries of Jesus and Moses in Stephen’s speech. Tannehill, *Narrative Unity*, 91–92.

²³⁰ Tannehill, *Narrative Unity*, 80–101.

²³¹ See their divine commissioning and reception of the Spirit in baptism (Luke 3:21–22; Acts 9:17); their articulation of their commission in the words from Isaiah (Luke 4:16–21; Acts 13:46–47); their rejection and arrest by Jewish leaders in Jerusalem; their being delivered by the Jewish officials to Gentiles (Luke 18:32; Acts 21:11).

²³² Even if we grant the presence of corporate identity in the servant of Isa 40–66, we should still seek to clarify the nature of the connection between Israel and the coming individual “true Israel.” Indications in the text that the individual accomplishes an eschatological salvation suggest that the nature of the union would be typological: the individual comes to fulfill the calling first given to the nation; the nation is a type of the one to come.

appointed his servant to be a light to the nations. By virtue of the church's relationship to Christ, and because the promises fulfilled in him are also fulfilled in and through his church, when Christ received a commission to be light to the nations, so did the church.

3.5.3 Is the Prophecy Applied in a Restrictive Way or Can It Include Others?

If Isa 49:6 is applied to Paul and Barnabas in Acts 13:47, is it applied only to them?²³³ Or is it applied to them in their capacity as apostles?²³⁴ Or as Christian ministers and/or missionaries?²³⁵ Or as followers of Jesus and members of his church?²³⁶

The argument is then that, because Isa 49:6 applies to Christ, it also applies to the church.²³⁷ It is true, however, that in the New Testament, primary responsibility for proclamation lay with the apostles. The role of "witness" was limited to the apostles and others who had seen the risen Jesus (Luke 24:48; Acts 1:8, 22; 2:32; 5:32; 10:39, 41; 13:31). The apostles assumed a special responsibility for proclamation (Acts 6:2, 5) and it is primarily the Eleven who preach in Acts²³⁸ (prior to the ministry of Paul).²³⁹ The sense of personal commission in Acts 13:47

²³³ Witherington, *Acts*, 416.

²³⁴ Rackham, *Acts*, 221; Charles S. C. Williams, *A Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles* (HNTC; New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957), 167. Barnabas is apparently referred to as an apostle in Acts 14:14; cp. 14:4, although the use of the term in this chapter has raised questions. Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 526; Witherington, *Acts*, 419–20. The nature of apostleship in the early church is a complex question. See, e.g., the literature cited in Frederick F. Bruce, *Paul: Apostle of the Heart Set Free* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977), 155, n. 22.

²³⁵ See the argument of Calvin, above (3.5.2.4.) Calvin, *Acts 14-28*, 391. See also Polhill, *Acts*, 307.

²³⁶ Bruce, *Acts (Greek, 3d ed.)*, 315; *Acts*, 267; Marshall, *Acts*, 230.

²³⁷ It is possible that Jesus' teaching that his disciples "are the light of the world" (Matt 5:14) reflects this, even as John records the expression applied by Jesus to himself (John 8:12). See, e.g., Alan Hugh McNeill, *The Gospel according to St. Matthew: The Greek Text with Introduction, Notes, and Indices* (New York: Macmillan, 1915; repr., Grand Rapids: Baker, 1980), 56. Luke, however, does not record either of these sayings of Jesus.

²³⁸ Although other believers were εὐαγγελιζόμενοι as well: 8:4 ("those who were scattered"); Acts 8:12, 40 (Philip); 11:20 ("men of Cyprus and Cyrene"); cp. 6:8–7:60 (Stephen); 18:24–28 (Apollos).

²³⁹ Paul's letters abound with statements reflecting his calling to preach (Rom 1:17; 1 Cor 1:17; 2 Cor 4:5; Gal 1:16; Eph 3:8; 2 Tim 1:11), yet his only exhortation to anyone to preach is to Timothy (2 Tim 4:2).

suggests that the text is not applied equally to all believers, but especially to those entrusted with the responsibility to preach Christ, who is himself “a light for revelation to the Gentiles,” as well as “for glory to thy people Israel” (Luke 2:32).

3.6 Summary

Acts 13 marks a turning point in the narrative of Acts. To this point in the narrative the gospel has been proclaimed primarily to Jews, with Peter as the primary spokesman. Beginning in Acts 13, Peter disappears from sight (except for Acts 15), Paul becomes the primary spokesman for the gospel, and he speaks everywhere to both Jews and Gentiles. The decisive change comes with the citation of Isa 49:6 in Acts 13:47. The summary of Paul’s first journey in 14:27 highlights Gentile response to the gospel. The account of Paul’s mission leads directly into the account of the council in Jerusalem that settled the final issues relating to Gentiles and the church (although it was not the Gentiles converted on Paul’s journey but Gentiles in the church in Antioch who prompted the dispute).

Isaiah’s prophecy of the “servant” as “a light to the nations” is echoed at least three times in the Luke-Acts. The allusions in Luke 2:32 and Acts 26:23 (and possibly Acts 1:8) are applied to Jesus and the salvation he brings to the Gentiles. Jesus’ universal ministry arises in the context of opposition (Luke 2:32) and suffering (Acts 26:23) encountered in his initial ministry to Israel. In the explicit citation in Acts 13:47, the text is applied to the ministry of Paul and Barnabas, and through them to the church. Although the initial point of contact between the servant and the apostolic preachers is their common experience of frustration and failure in ministry to Israel, the Gentile mission is not merely a response to this rejection of the gospel, but derives from the promise of God through Isaiah centuries before and is required by the fulfillment of that promise

in Jesus. Paul and Barnabas, in the end, cannot *not* preach Jesus to Gentiles. The citation thus demonstrates the necessity of an intentional Gentile mission.²⁴⁰

3.6.1 Text

The form of the citation is close to, and could be derived from, either the OG or the MT. Luke's wording exactly reproduces language in the OG, but does not follow the OG where the latter diverges from the MT. The only substantive textual issues relate to those divergences. It is impossible to determine with certainty whether the citation reflects a fresh rendering of the MT or an OG manuscript closer to the MT than most extant OG manuscripts.

3.6.2 Hermeneutic

Although some doubt that Isa 49:6 envisions the extension of God's saving work to Gentiles, this is exactly what the text indicates. The citation of this text in Acts 13:47 to legitimate the Gentile mission is therefore in keeping with the text's original contextual meaning.

The question of the identity of the servant in Isa 40–55 is more difficult. Evidence from the rest of the Old Testament leads us to expect that Yahweh's servant would be someone who would be the object of his special regard and play a distinctive role in the accomplishment of his (saving) purposes. The servant is a complex figure, sometimes apparently referring to Israel and at other times to an individual who is to come. In Luke 2:32 and Acts 26:23, the text is applied to Jesus, but in Acts 13:47, it is applied to Paul and Barnabas. In the former, we find the Christocentric hermeneutic of Luke 24:44 ("everything written about me in the law of Moses and the prophets and the psalms must be fulfilled"). In the latter, we have suggested that the same hermeneutic is employed, with the additional recognition that there is a typological connection between Christ and his church (and particularly to the apostles as his official representatives).

²⁴⁰ On the question of whether Israel was to carry out an intentional mission to the nations, see 5.3.1 below.

Richard Davidson's understanding of appropriated/ecclesiological fulfillment of types provides a conceptual framework that illuminates the way that the text is applied to the point in question.

3.6.3 Purpose

The citation of Isa 49:6 in Acts 13:47 demonstrates the necessity of an intentional Gentile mission. It justifies the startling claim that Christ's messengers have been commissioned by "the Lord" to preach the gospel to Gentiles. While Peter's vision permitted him to accept the invitation to Cornelius' house and preach (Acts 10–11) and some had preached to "Greeks" in Antioch (11:20), Acts 13:46–47 represents the first conscious decision by leaders of the church to preach to Gentiles (recorded in the narrative of Acts). God had previously indicated the appropriateness of accepting Gentiles when they believed, but an active Gentile mission as an intentional missionary strategy had not yet begun. Such a significant step was unlikely to have been taken apart from divine direction. Paul's claim in Acts 13:47 is that he received such direction, not through a vision like Peter's (Acts 10), but through the commission of Yahweh to his servant in Isaiah 49:6, that he would be a light to the nations. Since Jesus has come in fulfillment of that commission, the church's (and particularly Paul's) active engagement in the Gentile mission is now an obligation. It is imperative that those entrusted with the task of proclaiming Christ preach to Gentiles as well as Jews (see Acts 1:8).

The citation not only explains Paul's subsequent actions in speaking again and again to Gentiles, but it assures readers that this step is in keeping with the plan of God and required by that plan's fulfillment in Jesus. The appeal to scripture both legitimates this action and enhances the authority of Paul and Barnabas. The narrative inclusion of the missionaries' appeal to Isaiah also serves to enhance the authority of Luke as narrator, by lending the authority of the scriptures to Luke's narrative presentation of the work and purpose of God. At the same time, it

presupposes that both those listening in Pisidian Antioch and Luke's readers have sufficient respect for the Old Testament that they would find an appeal to it an appropriate and effective means of persuasion. The subsequent narrative, particularly the characterization of this missionary journey as one through which God "had opened a door of faith to the Gentiles" (14:27), supports the interpretation given to the cited text. Along with earlier, less explicit Old Testament citations (see chapter 5), it prepares for the final decision of the Jerusalem council in Acts 15 regarding the way in which Gentiles are to be included among the people of God.

CHAPTER 4

GENTILES CALLED BY MY NAME (ACTS 15:16–18; AMOS 9:11–12)

4.1 Introduction

The citation of Amos 9:11-12 in Acts 15:16-17 raises many important questions. The citation is embedded in a discussion of, and appears to have settled (at least for the majority of the church), a critical theological question: the basis upon which Gentiles were to be admitted to the people of God, particularly in regard to circumcision and the Mosaic law.¹ Walter Kaiser has rightly called this important passage a “test passage for theological systems.”² The passage has understandably spawned many special studies, as well as attracting the attention of biblical theologians and commentators on both Acts and Amos. Nevertheless, sufficient attention has not been paid to the relationship between the restoration of the kingdom and the Gentile mission. By examining the citation in its context both in Amos and Acts, we can better understand the relationship between the reestablishment of the Davidic kingdom in Christ and the gathering of the nations, as well as the author’s hermeneutic and purpose.

Amos 9:11–12 MT		Amos 9:11–12 OG		Acts 15:16–18 (NA ²⁷)
בְּיָמֵם הַהוּא	11a	ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ	16a	μετὰ ταῦτα
אָקִים אֶת־סֹפֶת דָּוִד הַנְּפֹלֶת	b	ἀναστήσω τὴν σκηνὴν Δαυὶδ τὴν πεπτωκυῖαν	b	ἀναστρέψω
וְנִדְרַשְׁתִּי אֶת־פֶּתַח יְהוּדָה	c	καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσω τὰ πεπτωκότα αὐτῆς	c	καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσω τὴν σκηνὴν Δαυὶδ τὴν πεπτωκυῖαν

¹ It has been suggested that there are “many far more apposite passages” from which one might make the argument. Richard S. Cripps, *A Critical & Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Amos* (New York: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1929), 323. The discussion below will indicate the unique suitability of this text.

² Walter C. Kaiser, Jr., “The Davidic Promise and the Inclusion of the Gentiles (Amos 9:9–15 and Acts 15:13–18): A Test Passage for Theological Systems,” *JETS* 20 (1977): 97–111.

וְהָרַסְתִּי אֶת־קָיִים	d	καὶ τὰ κατεσκευασμένα αὐτῆς ἀναστήσω	d	καὶ τὰ κατεσκευασμένα αὐτῆς ἀνοικοδομήσω
וּבְנִיתִי הָיִהּ	e	καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσω αὐτήν	e	καὶ ἀνορθώσω αὐτήν,
כַּיְהִי עוֹלָם	f	καθὼς αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ αἰῶνος		
לְמַעַן יִירָשׁוּ אֶת־אֶרֶץ־חַרְמֵם	12a	ὅπως ἐκζητήσωσιν οἱ κατάλοιποι τῶν ἀνθρώπων	17a	ὅπως ἂν ἐκζητήσωσιν οἱ κατάλοιποι τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸν κύριον
וְכָל־הַגּוֹיִם אֲשֶׁר־בְּנִקְרָא	b	καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, ἐφ' οὓς ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐπ' αὐτούς	b	καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐφ' οὓς ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐπ' αὐτούς,
וְהָיָה עַל־יְהוָה	c	λέγει κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ ποιῶν ταῦτα.	c	λέγει κύριος ποιῶν ταῦτα
וְהָיָה עַל־יְהוָה			18	γνωστὰ ἀπ' αἰῶνος.

4.2 Amos 9:11–12

4.2.1 The Context of Amos 9:11-12

Amos prophesied in the first half of the eighth century B.C., during the reigns of Jeroboam II of Israel and Uzziah of Judah, the “Silver Age of Israelite history.”³ The advances of the Assyrian king Adad-nirari III (811–784) had seriously weakened the Aramean power to Israel’s north. Although Israel also became tributary to Assyria, neither Adad-nirari nor his successors were able to consolidate their authority over Syro-Palestine.⁴ With the weakening of Damascus, both Israel and Judah prospered.

By the mid-eighth century the dimensions of Israel and Judah together lacked but little of being as great as those of the empire of Solomon. Since full advantage seems to have been taken of the favorable position in which the country found itself, a prosperity unknown since Solomon ensued. The two states being at peace with each other, and the major trade routes—up and down Transjordan, into northern Arabia, along the coastal plain, into the hinterland from the Phoenician ports—all once more passing through Israelite territory, tolls from caravans, together with the free interchange of goods, poured wealth into both countries . . .

All this resulted in a prosperity such as no living Israelite could remember. The splendid buildings and costly ivory inlays of Phoenician or Damascene origin

³ Shalom M. Paul, *Amos: A Commentary on the Book of Amos* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), 1.

⁴ John Bright, *A History of Israel* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1972), 253–54.

unearthed at Samaria show that Amos did not exaggerate the luxury that Israel's upper classes enjoyed. Judah was equally prosperous. Population in both countries probably reached its greatest density in the eighth century, with many towns overflowing their walls.⁵

While the eighth century brought Israel a period of almost unprecedented political and economic prosperity, it also was a period of almost unprecedented moral and spiritual bankruptcy. Amos and his contemporary, Hosea, condemned the northern kingdom for murder (Hos 4:2), adultery (Hos 4:2, 12–15; Amos 2:7–8), theft and deceit (Hos 4:2; Amos 5:10), oppression and injustice (Hos 10:13; Amos 2:6–7; 4:1; 5:11; 8:4–6), bribery (Amos 5:12), drunkenness (Hos 4:11; Amos 2:8; 4:1; 6:6), superficial spirituality (Hos 6:6; Amos 4:4–5; 5:21–27), faith in military power (Hos 10:13), idolatry (Hos 4:17; 8:4; 10:5–6; 11:2; 13:2; Amos 2:4), and Baal worship (Hos 2:8; 7:16; 13:1). After announcing judgment on the surrounding nations (Damascus, Gaza, Tyre, Edom, Ammon, Moab) in 1:3–2:3, Amos announced God's judgment on Judah and then, at greater length, on Israel for its many sins.

Thus says the LORD: “For three transgressions of Israel, and for four, I will not revoke the punishment. (2:6)

Then the Lord said, “Behold, I am setting a plumb line in the midst of my people Israel; I will never again pass by them; the high places of Isaac shall be made desolate, and the sanctuaries of Israel shall be laid waste, and I will rise against the house of Jeroboam with the sword.” (7:8–9)

“And on that day,” says the Lord GOD, “I will make the sun go down at noon, and darken the earth in broad daylight. I will turn your feasts into mourning, and all your songs into lamentation; I will bring sackcloth upon all loins, and baldness on every head; I will make it like the mourning for an only son, and the end of it like a bitter day. (8:9–10)

I saw the LORD standing beside the altar, and he said: “Smite the capitals until the thresholds shake, and shatter them on the heads of all the people; and what are left of them I will slay with the sword; not one of them shall flee away, not one of them shall escape. (9:1)

⁵ Bright, *History*, 255.

For lo, I will command, and shake the house of Israel among all the nations as one shakes with a sieve, but no pebble shall fall upon the earth. All the sinners of my people shall die by the sword, who say, “Evil shall not overtake or meet us.” (9:9–10)

4.2.2 The Authenticity of Amos 9:11-12

For more than a century, many have questioned whether Amos 9:11–15 is the work of the prophet whose words are recorded in the rest of the book. Although linguistic and other arguments have been advanced, the fundamental objection is the contrast between the hopeful tone of these verses with the message of judgment in the rest of the book. Wellhausen’s sharp characterization is often quoted: “Rosen und Lavendel statt Blut und Eisen” (“roses and lavender instead of blood and iron”).⁶ Other scholars have noted, however, that the prophets routinely announce prophecies of both judgment and hope.⁷

The message of hope and restoration following repeated oracles of doom may be startling to some, but the typical pattern of oracles in the other eighth-century B.C. prophets is that of hope for salvation following oracles of judgment.⁸

The same alternation of judgment and hope in Amos has been noted by Jewish interpreters.

Finally, the Rabbis regard the entire epilogue (vs. 11–15) as being eschatological. Unlike most of the modern scholars, they accepted the epilogue as authentic and not as an interpolation from exilic or post-exilic times. The fact that throughout the book, Amos speaks of doom and judgment, and in the epilogue, of restoration and a bright future, did not create a literary problem for the Rabbis. On the contrary, that was to them characteristic of all the prophets who followed the

⁶ Julius Wellhausen, *Die kleine Propheten übersetzt und erklärt* (4th ed.; Berlin: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1963), 96. “Ich glaube nicht, dass 9,8–15 von Amos herrührt.” These verses are often viewed as “a later voice of promise,” William Rainey Harper, *A Critical And Exegetical Commentary on Amos and Hosea* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1905), 195. See also references in Gerhard F. Hasel, *The Remnant: The History and Theology of the Remnant Idea from Genesis to Isaiah* (Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University Press, 1972), 207–8, n. 300.

⁷ Ronald E. Clements, *Prophecy and Covenant* (SBT 43; London: SCM Press, 1965), 110–14.

⁸ Billy K. Smith, “Amos,” in *Amos, Obadiah, Jonah* (ed. Billy K. Smith and Frank S. Page; NAC 19B; Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 1995), 164. Smith cites the messages of hope following judgment in Hos 1:10–2:1; Mic 2:12–13; 4:1–5; and the alternating messages of judgment and hope in Isa 1–5 as examples.

example of Moses by inaugurating their prophetic utterances with words of reproach and closing them with words of comfort.⁹

Andersen and Freedman observe that “the hope of salvation in the near future was given up completely, but not all hope for the future.”¹⁰

In fact, the message of hope is not absent from Amos although one has to look with care to find it. Yahweh is not insensitive to the pain of his people: twice Amos interceded for Israel (7:2, 5) and twice Yahweh determined not to bring the destruction he had contemplated (7:3, 6).¹¹ Instead, Yahweh invites Israel to return to him.

Seek good, and not evil, that you may live; and so the LORD, the God of hosts, will be with you, as you have said. Hate evil, and love good, and establish justice in the gate; it may be that the LORD, the God of hosts, will be gracious to the remnant of Joseph. (5:14–15)

Although Amos can speak of “all” being delivered to judgment (6:8) and say that “not one of them shall flee away, not one of them shall escape” (9:1), there are hints that a few will be saved.

Thus says the LORD: “As the shepherd rescues from the mouth of the lion two legs, or a piece of an ear, so shall the people of Israel who dwell in Samaria be rescued, with the corner of a couch and part of a bed.” (3:12)

“Two legs, or a piece of an ear” are not much. The emphasis is on the magnitude of the destruction, but a little (i.e., a few of “the people of Israel who dwell in Samaria”) will be saved. Similarly, although “everyone” in a house will die, when a relative comes to dispose of a body, he finds one still alive.

And if ten men remain in one house, they shall die. And when a man’s kinsman, he who burns him, shall take him up to bring the bones out of the house, and shall say to him who is in the innermost parts of the house, “Is there still any one with you?” he

⁹ Hyman J. Routtenberg, *Amos of Tekoa: A Study in Interpretation* (New York: Vantage, 1971), 169.

¹⁰ Francis I. Andersen and David Noel Freedman, *Amos: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 24A; New York: Doubleday, 1989), 8.

¹¹ William Sanford LaSor et al., *Old Testament Survey* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), 325.

shall say, “No”; and he shall say, “Hush! We must not mention the name of the LORD.” (6:9–10)

“All the sinners of my people shall die” (9:10) and God will destroy “the sinful kingdom,” but he will *not* “not utterly destroy the house of Jacob.”

Behold, the eyes of the Lord GOD are upon the sinful kingdom, and I will destroy it from the surface of the ground; except that I will not utterly destroy the house of Jacob,” says the LORD. (9:8)

The hope of 9:11–15, then, though not a major theme in the earlier portions of the book, is not alien to Amos’ message and does not require that 9:11–15 be a later addition.¹²

A second reason that has been suggested for dating these verses in the exilic or post-exilic period has been that the description of conditions that did not exist in Amos’ day. The Davidic kingdom had not “fallen,” unless that is understood to mean the division of the kingdom.¹³ City walls, particularly those of Jerusalem (the city most closely associated with the house of David) had not been breached.¹⁴ Yet this reasoning, too, seems to fail to understand the nature of Old Testament prophecy.¹⁵ Amos has announced the destruction of Israel. Now, he announces that *after* this coming destruction, when the Davidic kingdom has fallen into disrepair, God will restore Davidic rule and the prosperity of Israel.

The argument that “abruptness of transition” to a picture of restoration unaccompanied by an announcement of destruction point to a later dating completely

¹² Benson points also to 3:2; 4:11; 5:3, 4–6, 14–15. Alphonsus Benson, “. . . From the Mouth of the Lion’: The Messianism of Amos,” *CBQ* 19 (1957): 199–212. On “Amos’ Future Hope and Eschatology,” see Gerhard F. Hasel, *Understanding the Book of Amos: Basic Issues in Current Interpretations* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1991), 105–120.

¹³ Clements argues for the early date of the book on just this basis. Clements, *Prophecy*, 111–12. See also the argument of Max E. Polley, *Amos and the Davidic Kingdom: A Socio-Historical Approach* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989). See, however, the view of Benson: “Amos need not have look that far into the future to see a ruined Davidic dynasty.” Benson, “. . . From the Mouth of the Lion’: The Messianism of Amos,” 210.

¹⁴ James D. Nogalski, “The Problematic Suffixes of Amos IX 11,” *VT* 43 (1993): 416–17.

¹⁵ Erling Hammershaimb, *The Book of Amos: A Commentary* (trans. John Sturdy; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1970), 137, argues that the same issues arise in the prophecies of Hosea, Isaiah, Micah, and Jeremiah.

misinterprets the purport of the prophetic announcements. Punishment for punishment's sake is not the prophetic ideal. The prophet's chastisement is meant to serve as a transitional stage to a period of future restoration, at least for the surviving remnant. Because the previous pericope described the sifting of the "wheat from the chaff," it is now followed by a series of unconditional promises of bliss and salvation, comprising themes characteristic of this literary genre that portray the happy future of those who will not be cut off by the sword.¹⁶

Amos therefore was looking for the deportation of the people, and it is only a continuation of a leading idea in his preaching if he says that after enduring the punishment they will no more be cast off. We cannot therefore conclude from this expression that the prophet lives in or after the exile.¹⁷

More recently, a number of scholars questioned this skeptical approach to verses 11–12.

Shalom Paul contends that "the arguments for the lateness of the pericope are based on linguistic and ideological grounds, all of which, however, are seriously open to question" and that "almost all of the arguments for later interpolations and redactions, including a Deuteronomistic one, are shown to be based on fragile foundations and inconclusive evidence."¹⁸ There are, in the end, no arguments that compel us to deny the authenticity of these verses.¹⁹

In fact, there are a number of similarities between 9:11–15 and earlier portions of Amos.

"In that day" (11a) referred to the day of judgment (8:3, 9, 13) before it identified the day of salvation. David's "fallen" hut (11b) recalls "fallen . . . virgin Israel" of 5:2 (see also 7:17; 8:14). She has "none to raise her up" (*hip'il* of קום) in 5:2, but Yahweh will both "raise up the booth of

¹⁶ Paul, *Amos*, 289. These "characteristic themes" are identified in n. 11: "The motifs of Davidic kingship, extended boundaries, agricultural fertility, the return to former secure times, and the ingathering of exiles are predominant in other prophetic biblical oracles of the future blissful times as well."

¹⁷ Hammershaimb, *Amos*, 138.

¹⁸ Paul, *Amos*, 288, 6.

¹⁹ J. J. M. Roberts "is not convinced the general skepticism [regarding an eighth-century date] is warranted." Jimmy J. M. Roberts, "The Old Testament's Contribution to Messianic Expectation," in *The Messiah: Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity* (ed. James H. Charlesworth; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 44. So also Gerhard von Rad, *Old Testament Theology* (trans. D. M. Starker; London: Oliver & Boyd, 1965), 2:138. For other scholars who support the authenticity of these verses. Benson, "' . . . From the Mouth of the Lion': The Messianism of Amos," 208, n. 37.

David that is fallen” (11b) and “raise up its ruins” (11d). (Amos alone among the prophets uses the *hip'il* of קָרַם to denote “restore” after a “fall.”) Before promising to “repair its breaches” (11c), Amos announced that the “cows of Bashan” would be led into exile through the breaches in Samaria’s walls.²⁰ Amos mentions Edom (12a) a total of five times (1:6, 9, 11; 2:1), more than any other prophet (except the longer Jeremiah and Ezekiel).²¹ He speaks not only of “the remnant of Edom” (12a), but also of “the remnant of the Philistines” (1:8) and “of Joseph” (5:15). The divine origin of Amos’ words is underscored by the repeated “says the LORD.”²² Although the Davidic kingdom is not usually thought to be prominent in Amos, at least one scholar has recently argued that the division of the Davidic kingdom is the northern kingdom’s central sin and its reunification the prophet’s goal.²³ The two explicit mentions of David in Amos are actually noteworthy compared to the few references in the rest of the prophetic corpus.²⁴

The following verses (13–15 are usually understood belonging with 11–12²⁵) also have links to earlier portions of Amos. “Behold, days are coming” not only echoes the beginning of this text (“in that day” in 11a), but uses the language of the earlier warning of 8:11. “My people

²⁰ Only Isaiah, Ezekiel, and Amos use this noun, each of them twice.

²¹ Edom is mentioned only 28 times in the prophetic books: by Isaiah (4), Jeremiah (8), Ezekiel (7), Joel (1), Amos (5), Obadiah (1), and Malachi (1).

²² Also in 2:16; 3:10, 13, 15; 4:3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11; 6:8, 14; 8:3, 9, 11; 9:7, 8.

²³ Polley, *Amos*. While much of Polley’s argumentation seems speculative, his work is a helpful reminder of the importance of the Davidic kingdom in Israel’s identity. Unfortunately, he considers 9:11–15 to be post-exilic.

²⁴ קָרַם occurs only 37 times in the prophetic corpus: Isaiah (10), Jeremiah (15), Ezekiel (2), Hosea (1), Amos (2), and Zechariah (6). If we discount multiple instances in the same context, the number of distinct contexts is even smaller: Isaiah (8), Jeremiah (7), Ezekiel (4), Hosea (1), Amos (2), and Zechariah (1).

²⁵ Paul, *Amos*, 288; Wilhelm Rudolph, *Joel-Amos-Obadiah-Jona* (KAT 13.2; Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1971); Gary V. Smith, *Amos* (rev. ed.; Ross-Shire: Christian Focus, 1998); Hans Walter Wolff, *Joel and Amos* (trans. Waldemar Janzen, et al.; Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977), 351. For the view that 13–15 is a distinct unit, see Harper, *Amos and Hosea*; James Luther Mays, *Amos: A Commentary* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1969).

Israel” (14) appeared earlier in 7:8, 15; 8:2;²⁶ the only other occurrences of the expression in the prophetic books are in Jeremiah (twice) and Ezekiel (seven times). Verses 13–15 also proclaim the coming reversal of the blight and frustration announced earlier (cp. 5:11; 4:9).

4.2.3 The Text of Amos 9:11-12 (Masoretic Text)

The MT of Amos 9:11–12 raises few problems. No variants in the Hebrew textual tradition are noted by BHS. There are no variants in the biblical manuscripts from Qumran,²⁷ although one adaptation of verse 11 appears in two nonbiblical texts.²⁸

Amos 9:11–12 MT	Amos 9:11–12 RSV	Amos 9:11–12 (author)
בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא	11a “In that day	In that day,
אָקִים אֶת־סֹכֶת דָּוִד הַנִּפְלֹתָ	b I will raise up the booth of David that is fallen	I will raise up David’s fallen hut
וְנִדְרָתִי אֶת־פְּרָצֶיהָ	c and repair its breaches,	and I will repair their breaches
וְהִרְסֹתִי אֶקִים	d and raise up its ruins,	and I will raise up his ruins,
וּבְנִיתֶיהָ	e and rebuild it	and I will build it
כַּיְמֵי עוֹלָם	f as in the days of old;	as in days of old;
לְמַעַן יִירְשׁוּ אֶת־שְׂאֵרֵי־אֲדוֹם	12a that they may possess the remnant of Edom	in order that they will possess the remnant of Edom
וְכָל־הַגּוֹיִם אֲשֶׁר־נִקְרָא שְׁמִי עֲלֵיהֶם	b and all the nations who are called by my name,”	and all the nations upon which my name has been called [i.e., which belong to me],
נְאֻם־יְהוָה עֹשֶׂה זֶה	c says the LORD who does this.	says Yahweh who does this.

Two emendations are proposed by BHS, prompted by the Greek text and the difficulty of the pronominal suffixes in verse 11. Verse 11b begins with *הַנִּפְלֹתָ* דָּוִד, “David’s fallen

²⁶ David Allan Hubbard, *Joel and Amos: An Introduction and Commentary* (TOTC; Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity, 1989), 238.

²⁷ Amos 9:11–12 is preserved in only one of the biblical scrolls (Mur 88, col. VIII) and only in a fragmentary form. The only textual question on which the fragment is able to shed any light is in verse 11d, where the masculine singular pronominal suffix clearly appears. Pierre Benoit et al., *Les grottes de Murabba’at* (2 vols.; DJD II; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), pl. LVIII.

²⁸ 4Q174 (4QFlor) and CD^a read *והקימותי* (*waw* plus perfect) in place of the imperfect *אָקִים*. This would seem to reflect adaptation in these citations, as it is difficult to imagine how *והקימותי* could have originally stood in the text following *בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא*. Both citations are preceded by an introductory formula, *כַּאֲשֶׁר כָּתוּב* (4Q174 1 I, 21, 2) or *כַּאֲשֶׁר אָמַר* (CD^a, VII, 16). Both have *סוכת* written fully and 4Q174 has *דָּוִד* and *הַנִּפְלֹתָ* written fully.

hut.” Since חֲבֻצָה is feminine, one would expect subsequent pronominal references also to be feminine singular, as we in fact find in 11e (וּבְגִיטֵיהֶּן). What we find, however, is “their breaches” (feminine plural בְּרִצְיֵיהֶּן) in 11c and “his ruins” (masculine singular וְהִרְסוֹתָיו) in 11d before returning to “her” (feminine singular וּבְגִיטֵיהֶּן) in 11e. In both 11c and 11d the Greek text (both the OG and the New Testament) reads αὐτῆς²⁹ (to correspond to the feminine σκαηνῆς) and BHS proposes emending the Hebrew with feminine singular pronominal suffixes (וּבְגִיטֵיהֶּן and וְהִרְסוֹתֶיהָ).

Commentators generally follow the Greek and the BHS emendation.³⁰ Hammershaimb finds that “the suffixes in בְּרִצְיֵיהֶּן and in וְהִרְסוֹתָיו are in disorder; it is best to read them both as feminine singulars, referring back to the word חֲבֻצָה.”³¹ Similarly, to S. Paul, “the suffixes seem to be in total disarray, singular and plural intermixing with masculine and feminine.”³² It must be conceded, however, that there are no extant variants in the MT textual tradition.

But not all commentators find it necessary to emend the pronominal suffixes in this way. Niehaus has argued that they should not, in fact, be emended.

The walls here are not, however, the walls of the hut (unless the hut be considered emblematic of Jerusalem, as in Isa. 2:8, or other cities under Davidic sway), for the Old Testament never speaks of repairing the broken walls of huts. Rather the broken walls referred to are, implicitly, city walls in general (hence the feminine plural pronominal suffix) . . . The Septuagint’s feminine singular suffix is a typical emendation to accomplish consistency with חֲבֻצָה (feminine singular); but such shifts between singular and plural are well known in ancient Near Eastern literature, especially Old Testament poetry.³³

²⁹ In 11c Origen’s recension reads αὐτῶν.

³⁰ See the list in Nogalski, “Suffixes,” 417, n. 1.

³¹ Hammershaimb, *Amos*, 140.

³² Paul, *Amos*, 291 n. 20.

³³ Jeffery Niehaus, “Amos,” in *The Minor Prophets: An Exegetical and Expository Commentary* (ed. Thomas Edward McComiskey; 3 vols.; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1992), 490. In support of Niehaus’s position, we can note that בְּרִצְיָהּ is most often used of a breach in the walls of a city, never that of an individual dwelling. The noun occurs 18 times in all in the MT. In at least seven (eight, if the present text is included) the breach is explicitly or in context a

Nor, in Niehaus's view, is it necessary to change the masculine singular pronoun in 11c.

The Septuagint's feminine plural suffix is another emendation for consistency with *הַסָּדָה*, the imagined antecedent. The masculine singular pronoun ending, however, has David as its antecedent, so that, by the metonymy of the adjunct, David's ruined cities stand for the fallen dominion of the Davidic dynasty.³⁴

It is therefore not necessary to emend the text, since there are plausible referents for both the feminine plural suffix (the city walls) and the masculine singular suffix (David).

Nogalski, too, has sought to make sense of the suffixes as they stand in the MT. He faults the "vast majority" that adjust the MT in favor of the OG for making two incorrect assumptions:

First, most authors implicitly or explicitly presume that the LXX represents the "more original" reading; and second, they presume that the solution must explain away one or more of the problematic suffixes.

Nogalski starts instead from the view that the "the LXX is no different from the other ancient versions." Examining the Vulgate and Syriac along with the OG, he finds that all three

attempt a solution to the problem of the suffixes in their own way. Whereas the LXX eliminates the problem by ignoring the change of number and gender in the suffixes, the Syriac and Vulgate offer some help both in the verification of the MT and, more indirectly, toward a solution.

Nogalski helpfully summarizes the diverse readings in a chart:

breach in a wall (or, in 1 Kgs 11:27, "the city," i.e., the city's walls). The three texts in which *פָּרַץ* occurs with the verb *בָּנָה* (Isa 58:12; Ezek 13:5; 22:30) seem clearly to refer to building of city walls. The use with *בֵּית* in Ezekiel 13:5 is not an exception, because the "house" is the *בֵּית הַמִּלְחָמָה* which is being prepared for battle (מִלְחָמָה); the "house" is metaphorical (as the "hut" of Amos 9) and the walls one would build up in preparation for battle would be those of the city. The only other instance in which an object (what is breached) is explicit or implied is Judg 21:15, "a breach in the tribes of Israel" (*פָּרַץ בְּטֵיבֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל*). The term is used twice of a flood, "a breach of waters" (2 Sam 5:20; 1 Chr 14:11). It is used seven times without an explicit object, two with reference to giving birth and five in an abstract or metaphorical sense (e.g., Ps 106:23 "Moses . . . stood in the breach before him"). City walls in Amos are never the masculine *פָּרַץ* (note the cognate verb *וַיִּבְנֶה הַיָּתִיב* in 11c) which refers to freestanding walls, not walls of buildings or cities, but the much more common feminine noun *חֻמָּה* (which occurs 133 times in MT, including four times in Amos, but no closer to this text than 7:7; also 1:7, 10, 14), and appearing twice with *פָּרַץ* (Isa 30:13; Neh 6:1). The feminine noun *קִיר*, most commonly indicating the wall of a house, also occurs in Amos 5:19.

³⁴ Niehaus, "Amos," 490. Kaiser agrees that the masculine singular refers to David and the feminine singular to the fallen "booth," but believes that the feminine plural refers to the two kingdoms, Israel and Judah. Walter C. Kaiser, Jr., *The Messiah in the Old Testament* (Studies in Old Testament Biblical Theology; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1995), 146. Similarly Henderson, who ascribes the feminine plural to either the "different parts or cities of the kingdom." Ebenezer Henderson, *The Book of the Twelve Minor Prophets* (Boston: Draper, 1859), 180.

	Breaches Suffix	Ruins Suffix	I will rebuild “it” Suffix
MT:	FP	MS	FS
LXX:	FS	FS	FS
Syriac:	MP	MP	FS
Vulgate:	NS	NP	MS

The Syriac renders the first two suffixes as masculine plurals—masculine to correspond with the masculine (in Syriac) “tent,” and plural (Nogalski believes) “to indicate that the translator understood the entire phrase ‘fallen booth of David’ as a collective expression.” Curiously, the final suffix is rendered as a feminine, reflecting the MT, but having no clear antecedent in the Syriac rendering of the text. The Vulgate renders the first as *eius*, which Nogalski reads as neuter, in agreement with the neuter *tabernaculum*.

The Vulgate avoids the second suffix. The Vulgate obviously has problems translating the Hebrew since it has changed the plural noun “ruins” into a masculine plural verb as though reading *hār^esû*. One may explain this as an intentional change for two reasons. First, it is doubtful that two letters (*tau* and *yodh*) would have fallen away from the MT. Second, the Vulgate preserves echoes of a suffix attached to “ruins” in its phrase “those things which” (*ea quae*).

For the third suffix, the Vulgate has a masculine singular (*eum*), presumably referring back to David and suggesting that “importantly . . . the Vulgate interprets both ‘booth’ and ‘David’ as antecedents to the suffixes.”

Given the evidence of the other versions, the principle of *lectio difficilior* suggests that the LXX merely smoothes over the problems of a very difficult MT.

One may not, therefore, presume that the LXX represents the “more original” reading. Other solutions must be sought.³⁵

Nogalski believes only two alternatives remain. Rejecting the suggestion that the text originally referred to “booths” instead of the singular “booth,”³⁶ he seeks to understand the text

³⁵ Nogalski, “Suffixes,” 412–14. *Tg. Jon.* supports the feminine plural in the first suffix. Michael A. Braun, “James’ Use of Amos at the Jerusalem Council: Steps toward a Possible Solution of the Textual and Theological Problems,” *JETS* 20 (1977): 114.

of the MT. He begins by noting the synonymous parallelism of the four lines of 11b–e, with מִקְנֵי in the first and third lines.

The syntactical key to unlocking the understanding of these suffixes appears in the expression of collective ideas via the combination of feminine singular nouns with plural adjectives. This phenomenon occurs with enough regularity to enable us to presume that the collective idea could as well be expressed via the combination of a feminine singular noun and a plural suffix. Thus it is possible to view the second statement as a collective parallel to the first statement.³⁷

Nogalski believes that the second and third suffixes can also be explained on the basis of this parallelism, “since the suffixes relate specifically back to the constituent elements of the phrase ‘booth of David’” with the second (masculine singular) referring to David and the third (feminine singular) to the “hut.”³⁸

Niehaus and Nogalski offer plausible, if not absolutely certain, readings of the suffixes of the MT. They demonstrate that the suffixes can be read in a way that makes sense and that the versions taken together generally appear to support the MT. This demonstration, together with the principle of accepting the more difficult reading, argues convincingly for retaining the suffixes as they stand in the MT. The text of Amos 9:11–12 in the MT is thus well established.

³⁶ Nogalski, “Suffixes,” 414. Nogalski attributes this view to G. Hofmann, “Versuche zu Amos,” *ZQW* 3 (1883), pp. 125–26. He also rejects the proposal (n. 14) that we should read “Succoth” instead of “booth,” as suggested by H. Neil Richardson, “SKT (Amos 9:11): ‘Booth’ or ‘Succoth,’” *JBL* 92 (1973): 375–81; Douglas L. Stuart, *Hosea-Jonah* (WBC 31; Waco: Word, 1987).

³⁷ Nogalski, “Suffixes,” 415–16. Nogalski cites GKC §132g in support and offers as examples Gen 30:43 and 1 Sam 25:18, in which a feminine singular noun takes a plural adjective (וְהָיָה צֹאן עֵשָׂו וְצֹאן רִבְחָה and וְהָיָה צֹאן עֵשָׂו וְצֹאן רִבְחָה), and Num 27:17, where a feminine singular noun takes a plural pronoun (כִּי־בָאֵן אֶשְׂרָר אֵין־לָהֶם). It may be objected, that “sheep” is recognized as a collective noun, while “hut” is not. However, Nogalski also cites GKC §145c, which includes בְּנֵי־חַתָּה (cp. בְּנֵי־חַתָּה) among a list of collective nouns. (It is not clear who the constituent members of this collective might be: Davidic monarchs? the people? Which of these might justify a feminine plural pronominal suffix?)

³⁸ Nogalski, “Suffixes,” 416. He goes on to see “David’s booth” in verse 11 as parallel to the “ruined cities” of verse 14 (both are to be “rebuilt” [בְּנֵיהֶן], but the term for “ruin” is different). The parallel seems genuine, but “David’s hut” is surely not to be reduced to a metaphor for ruined cities as Nogalski then does. It is the restoration of the throne that is in view. It is thus not necessary to follow him in requiring a post-exilic date for this text (when the cities of Judah had been destroyed), since the decline of the Davidic dynasty was already plainly evident in Amos’ time (due to the nation’s overall decline in power and prestige as well as to its division). In any case Amos was a prophet and was looking ahead to a time of restoration that would follow an as-yet-unfulfilled judgment.

4.2.4 The Text of Amos 9:11-12 (Old Greek)

The OG manuscript tradition includes a number of variants. Some variants emerged within the OG manuscript tradition itself. Others appear to reflect accommodation of the OG of Amos 9 to the form of the text quoted in Acts 15.

In addition, the OG shows a number of differences from the MT of Amos 9:11–12. Some are comparatively minor, such as the translation of two distinct verbs, יָבִינְנִי (11c) and יִבְנֶנּוּ (11e) by ἀνοικοδομήσω, or the rendering of the singular אִישׁ by the plural ταῦτα in 12c. A much more substantial difference appears in 12a, however, where “that they may possess the remnant of Edom” becomes “that the rest of men may seek.” Since this change appears to facilitate the application of this text to the question before the council in Jerusalem in Acts 15, it will require extended attention (section 4.2.4.3 below).

4.2.4.1 Minor Variants

<p>Amos 9:11–12 OG ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἀναστήσω τὴν σκηνὴν Δαυὶδ τὴν πεπτωκυῖαν καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσω τὰ πεπτωκότα αὐτῆς καὶ τὰ κατεσκαμμένα αὐτῆς ἀναστήσω καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσω αὐτήν καθὼς αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ αἰῶνος ὅπως ἐκζητήσωσιν οἱ κατάλοιποι τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, ἐφ’ οὓς ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐπ’ αὐτούς λέγει κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ ποιῶν ταῦτα.</p>	<p>Amos 9:11–12 OG (author)</p> <p>11a In that day</p> <p>b I will rebuild [<i>or</i> raise up] the fallen tent of David</p> <p>c and I will build up its fallen parts</p> <p>d and I will rebuild [<i>or</i> raise up] its ruins</p> <p>e and I will build it up as the days of old,</p> <p>12a so that the rest of men might seek</p> <p>b and all the nations, upon whom my name is called upon them</p> <p>c says the Lord God, who does these things.</p>
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The OG text of Amos 9:11–12 shows more variants than the MT. Most appear simply to be transcriptional or possibly stylistic variants of little consequence.

<p>Amos 9:11–12 OG ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἀναστήσω τὴν σκηνὴν Δαυὶδ τὴν πεπτωκυῖαν</p>	<p>Minor variants</p> <p>11a ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις (<i>ll</i>)</p> <p>b καταπεπτωκυῖαν (<i>W Q</i>).</p>
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καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσω τὰ πεπτωκότα αὐτῆς	c	W αὐτήν and omits τὰ πεπτωκότα αὐτῆς (cp. 11d). Origen reads αὐτῶν (cf. MT).
καὶ τὰ κατεσκαμμένα αὐτῆς ἀναστήσω	d	130' omits τὰ. 233 Theodoret omit αὐτῆς.
καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσω αὐτήν	e	
καθὼς αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ αἰῶνος	f	
ὅπως ἐκζητήσωσιν οἱ κατάλοιποι τῶν ἀνθρώπων	12a	ἐκζητήσουσιν (W Q). add με before οἱ (L C other MSS, versions and fathers). καταλελείμενοι (534).
καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, ἐφ' οὓς ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐπ' αὐτούς	b	ἐφ' ᾧ (L and a few MSS and fathers). omit μου (2 MSS). ἐπ' αὐτά for ἐπ' αὐτούς (L, three fathers); a few MSS omit.
λέγει κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ ποιῶν ταῦτα.	c	ταῦτα is αὐτα in 534. πάντα is inserted before or after ταῦτα in L and several other MSS and fathers.

The most noteworthy is the apparent replacement of αὐτῆς with αὐτῶν in 11c, to conform to the (feminine) plural pronominal suffix found in the MT. There is no evidence of a similar change in 11d to make αὐτῆς of 11d correspond to the masculine singular suffix of the MT.

4.2.4.2 Variants Probably Reflecting Accommodation to the Text of Acts 15

Of greater interest are the variants that reflect accommodation to the New Testament text.

Amos 9:11–12 OG		Variants related to the text of Acts 15:16–17
ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ	11a	
ἀναστήσω τὴν σκηνὴν Δαυὶδ τὴν πεπτωκυῖαν	b	
καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσω τὰ πεπτωκότα αὐτῆς	c	
καὶ τὰ κατεσκαμμένα αὐτῆς ἀναστήσω	d	κατεστραμμένα (A Q and some MSS of Acts 15:16 [N B Ψ]); καταστρεμμένα (106); ἀνεστραμμένα (L and Acts 15:16 [only E]).
καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσω αὐτήν	e	ἀνοικοδομήσω καὶ ἀνορθώσω (764, so Acts 15:16); ἀναστήσω καὶ οἰκοδομήσω (V).
καθὼς αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ αἰῶνος	f	
ὅπως ἐκζητήσωσιν οἱ κατάλοιποι τῶν ἀνθρώπων	12a	ὅπως ἄν (A and several other MSS, as in Acts 15:17). add τὸν κύριον (A and several other MSS, as in Acts 15:17)
καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, ἐφ' οὓς ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐπ' αὐτούς	b	

λέγει κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ
ποιῶν ταῦτα.

c ὁ θεὸς in A W and a few other MSS and fathers; omitted by B,
Q, L, C, and the Göttingen text (as Acts 15:17).

In 11d, the confusion between *κατεσκαμμένα* and *κατεστραμμένα* is reflected in Greek manuscripts of both Amos 9 and Acts 15. The two terms have similar meanings and are confused two other times in the OG (Jdt 8:17 and Prov 14:1, the latter translating כִּרְה as here). It is not possible to determine with certainty whether the variants originated in the OG and are then reflected in the New Testament, or vice versa. (It is less likely that identical variants originated in each manuscript tradition independently.) Both OG and New Testament manuscript evidence favors *κατεσκαμμένα*. The verb *κατασκάπτω* is more common as a translation of כִּרְה.³⁹

The difference in verbs in 11d/e (*ἀνοικοδομήσω . . . ἀνορθώσω* in place of *ἀναστήσω . . . ἀνοικοδομήσω*) again reflects no significant difference in meaning. The OG variant is poorly attested (only 764, but see also the variant in V) and suggests accommodation of the OG in this manuscript to the text of Acts 15:16d, e, where the text is secure.

The insertion of ἄν in the text of 12a likewise makes no significant difference in meaning. The OG textual evidence favors its omission. In addition, ὅπως ἄν is comparatively uncommon in the OG.⁴⁰ The New Testament textual tradition includes ἄν with almost no exceptions, even though ὅπως ἄν generally is even less common in the New Testament than in the OG.⁴¹

³⁹ The verb כִּרְה is translated by *κατασκάπτω* 14 times in the OG, but by *καταστρέφω* only twice.

⁴⁰ ὅπως occurs 170 times in the OG of the canonical Old Testament, only 32 of them with ἄν (19%), and all but four of these in the Pentateuch or Psalms). ὅπως occurs 6 other times in the Greek of Amos (1:13; 2:7; 4:1; 5:6, 14–15), none of them with ἄν.

⁴¹ ὅπως occurs 53 times in the New Testament (38 times Matt, Luke, and Acts). Only four times does ὅπως appear with ἄν (7.5%): three times in Luke-Acts (Luke 2:35; Acts 3:20; 15:17) and one (Rom 3:4) where it simply reproduces the ὅπως ἄν from the OG of Ps 50:6 (where it appears without variants). (But see also the variant reading in Matt 6:5.)

The verb ἐκζητήσωσιν in 12a seems incomplete without a direct object. A number of Greek manuscripts, versions and fathers insert με following the verb. Other manuscripts, including Alexandrinus, add τὸν κύριον following ἀνθρώπων (as does Acts 15:17a). The two conflicting “solutions” suggest that an original text had the “problem” of the verb without an object,⁴² which appears to result from confusion in the OG rendering of the Hebrew text. The MT has לְמַעַן יִרְשׁוּ אֶת־שְׂאֵרֵי אֶדְוֹם (“in order that they will inherit/dispossess the remnant of Edom”). The OG translators appear to have taken רָשׁוּ (“possess,” “inherit,” “dispossess”) as שָׁרְשׁוּ (“seek,” “inquire”). In addition, the apparent object, אֶדְוֹם (“the remnant of Edom”), became the subject οἱ κατάλοιποι τῶν ἀνθρώπων (“the remnant of men”), leaving no object for ἐκζητήσωσιν. This construction, which expects but lacks an object, would appear both to be the more difficult reading, and the reading which most naturally explains the both the readings με and τὸν κύριον (as attempts to supply the object that was felt to be missing). While the secure text of Acts 15:17 at this point provides an additional witness to the τὸν κύριον textual tradition, it seems thus most likely that the original text lacked both με and τὸν κύριον.

In 12c some manuscripts read ὁ θεὸς in λέγει κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ ποιῶν ταῦτα. The MT is accurately rendered without ὁ θεὸς and these words are omitted by a broadly representative group of manuscripts.⁴³ While ὁ θεὸς appears in a number of manuscripts as well,⁴⁴ the external evidence appears to favor the omission. The briefer expression, λέγει κύριος (without ὁ θεὸς), occurs over 500 times, 30 in Amos. The longer expression (λέγει κύριος ὁ θεὸς) appears 63 times in the OG, nine of them in Amos (3:11, 13; 4:3, 5; 5:16, 27; 8:9; 9:12, 15). Besides 9:12,

⁴² Although ἐκζητέω may more occur without an object (e.g., Deut 17:4; Jos 2:22; Judg 6:29; Ps 9:25, 34), it normally (and much more frequently) takes an object in the accusative.

⁴³ Notably B, Q, most of the Lucianic recension, and the Catena.

⁴⁴ A, W, the Lucianic subgroup III, the Bohairic, and two fathers.

8:9 is also contested, with B, V, and the Catena omitting ὁ θεός. At the same time, A adds κύριος before ὁ θεός in 8:14. Both expressions are thus possible and there appears to be a degree of fluidity in the textual tradition regarding these expressions. Although Rahlfs includes ὁ θεός, the Göttingen Septuagint is likely correct in omitting it from the text.⁴⁵

4.2.4.3 Differences from the MT

More significantly, the OG Greek differs at several points from the MT (underlined).

Amos 9:11–12 MT	Amos 9:11–12 OG
בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא	11a ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ
אָקַם אֶת־חֹפֶת דָּוִד הַנִּפְלֵחַ	b ἀναστήσω τὴν σκηνὴν Δαυὶδ τὴν πεπτωκυῖαν
וַיְבַרְכֵי אֶת־פְּרָצֵיהֶן	c καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσω τὰ πεπτωκότα αὐτῆς
וַיְהַרְסוּ אֶת־אֶקֶם	d καὶ τὰ κατεσκαμμένα αὐτῆς ἀναστήσω
וַיְבַנְיֶיהָ	e καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσω αὐτήν
כַּיּוֹם עוֹלָם	f καθὼς αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ αἰῶνος
לְמַעַן יִירָשׁוּ אֶת־שְׂאֵרֵי אֲדוֹם	12a ὅπως ἐκζητήσωσιν οἱ κατάλοιποι τῶν ἀνθρώπων
וְכָל־הַגּוֹיִם אֲשֶׁר־נִקְרָא שְׁמִי עַל־הֶם	b καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, ἐφ' οὓς ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐπ' αὐτούς
וַיֹּאמֶר ה' הַיּוֹם עָשָׂה	c λέγει κύριος ὁ θεός ὁ ποιῶν ταῦτα.

We have already noted three of these differences: the feminine singular (αὐτῆς) in place of the feminine plural in 11c and the masculine singular in 11d, and the apparent addition of ὁ θεός to λέγει κύριος in 12c. Although σκηνή (“tent”) may appear to be an inexact translation of חֹפֶת (“hut”) in 11b, σκηνή is in fact the usual translation of חֹפֶת in the OG.⁴⁶ Likewise, the plural

⁴⁵ Joseph Ziegler, *Duodecim Prophetæ* (Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum 13; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984).

⁴⁶ Of 30 other occurrences of חֹפֶת in the MT, it is rendered 21 times by σκηνή, 5 times by σκηνοπηγία (always of τὴν ἑορτὴν τῆς σκηνοπηγίας Deut 16:16; 31:10; Zech 14:16, 18, 19; but notice τὴν ἑορτὴν τῶν σκηνῶν in Ezra 3:4; 2 Chr 8:13), once as a proper noun (Σοκχωθ, 3 Kgdms 21:16), once by ἀπόκρυφος (Isa 4:6), once apparently by ὕλη (in a text seeming to be a rather free rendering of the MT). In one case חֹפֶת appears in a clause that does not appear in the OG (Job 27:18).

ταῦτα for the singular תאֵ in 12c is not uncommon.⁴⁷ In addition, the OG “levels” the verbs in 11c, 11e, translating both וַיְבַרְכֵם and וַיְבַרְכֵם by ἀνοικοδομήσω, but this does not seem to introduce a significant difference in meaning.⁴⁸

The most striking (and theologically significant) differences from the MT are 12a: rendering שִׁיר as ἐκζητέω and the direct object וְהָיָה לְכָל־הָעָם as the subject οἱ κατάλοιποι τῶν ἀνθρώπων. If, with most scholars, we view these as changes to the MT, we can distinguish four changes: שִׁיר became ἐκζητέω; the object וְהָיָה לְכָל־הָעָם became the subject, וְהָיָה became וְהָיָה, and the singular וְהָיָה לְכָל־הָעָם and וְהָיָה became the plurals οἱ κατάλοιποι and τῶν ἀνθρώπων. Despite the assertion of de Waard, there is no evidence that a distinctive *Vorlage* of this section of Amos ever circulated.⁴⁹ The Vulgate, reading *ut possideant reliquias Idumaeae*, follows the MT. The OG textual tradition includes only minor variants within the general outlines of ὅπως ἐκζητήσωσιν οἱ κατάλοιποι τῶν ἀνθρώπων and none that challenge it.⁵⁰

Most commentators begin with the verb.⁵¹ It is commonly suggested that the translator read שִׁיר (“possess,” “inherit,” “dispossess”) as שִׁיר (“seek,” “inquire”), mistakenly reading *yôd*

⁴⁷ A common rendering, particularly in a generalizing sense with reference to things said or done, as in four of seven occurrences of תאֵ in Amos (2:11; 8:4; 8:8; 9:11). See also Hos 5:1; 7:10; Joel 1:2; 4:9; Mic 1:5; 3:9; Mal 1:9; 2:13; Isa 1:12; Jer 5:21; Ezek 23:38; Gen 41:39; Deut 14:4; Judg 2:2; Neh 13:18; Ps 43:18; Job 12:9.

⁴⁸ Andersen and Freedman, *Amos*, 890. Ådna notes the repeated pattern ἀναστήσω . . . ἀνοικοδομήσω in 11b/c and 11d/e, and argues that the rendering is stylistically motivated. Jostein Ådna, “James’ Position at the Summit Meeting of the Apostles and Elders in Jerusalem (Acts 15),” in *The Mission of the Early Church to Jews and Gentiles* (ed. Jostein Ådna and Hans Kvalbein; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 129–30.

⁴⁹ Jan de Waard, *A Comparative Study of the Old Testament Text in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the New Testament* (STDJ 4; Leiden: Brill, 1965), 25, 78. Braun seeks to build on de Waard’s assertion. Braun, “James Use of Amos,” 116–117. In the absence of an extant text this claim remains speculative. See further section 4.4.2 below.

⁵⁰ The extant variants are on the order of ἐκζητήσουσιν for ἐκζητήσωσιν, or the addition of a direct object in the form of με or τὸν κύριον.

⁵¹ Barrett, *Acts*, 727; Richard Bauckham, “James and the Jerusalem Church,” in *The Book of Acts in its Palestinian Setting* (ed. Richard Bauckham; vol. 4 of *The Book of Acts in its First Century Setting*, ed. Bruce W. Winter; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 455; Bruce, *Acts*, 294.

in place of *dālet*, whether because of their similar appearance⁵² or because of an unclear or damaged original.⁵³ The change may also have been made intentionally by a translator who felt that the usual translation of שׂר by κληρονομέω was not appropriate here.⁵⁴

How did אֲדָרִית אֲשֶׁר־תִּשְׁאָל, which seems to be the object of יִרְשָׁו (or יִרְדָּו), become the subject? If the clause became corrupt initially through the misreading of שׂר as שׂר, ὅπως ἐκζητήσωσιν τὸν κατάλοιπον Ἰδουμαίας would have been puzzling. Why would the people of the restored kingdom “seek” or “inquire of” the remnant of Edom? In the OG of the prophets, ἐκζητέω is used over a dozen times of “seeking” or “inquiring” of Yahweh,⁵⁵ but the post-exilic community would not worship or pray to the remnant of Edom.⁵⁶ This difficulty would have prompted the translators to make other adjustments in order to bring sense out of what had become a perplexing text. The translator may have chosen to ignore the direct object marker as the best way to make sense of the text.⁵⁷ Perhaps, as Archer and Chirichigno suggest, תִּשְׁאָל was read as אֲדָרִית אֲשֶׁר (“him”) or אֲדָרִית (“me”), removing the object indicator from אֲדָרִית אֲשֶׁר so that

⁵² “In the history of the transmission of the OT there was a time when *d* and *y* were virtually indistinguishable.” Braun, “James Use of Amos,” 117.

⁵³ A damaged original would explain why it is only here that the OG translators rendered שׂר as ἐκζητέω.

⁵⁴ Karen H. Jobes and Moisés Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2000), 195. “Possessing,” i.e., “ruling over” Edom might make more sense in the context of a revived Davidic kingdom than “inheriting” Edom. However, other interpretive issues may also have influenced the rendering of the entire clause.

⁵⁵ E.g., Amos 5:4; Isa 9:13; Jer 10:21; Hos 5:6; Zech 8:21 (in the latter two examples it translates בָּקַשׁ rather than שׂר). The remaining twenty-plus instances speak either of someone’s seeking good or justice (e.g., Mic 6:8), or of something being required of someone (e.g., Ezek 3:18). Neither of these definitions makes sense in this text.

⁵⁶ It has been suggested that תִּשְׁאָל may have been read as אֲדָרִית. Braun, “James Use of Amos,” 117; Rainer Reisner, “James’s Speech, Simeon’s Hymn, and Luke’s Sources,” in *Jesus of Nazareth: Lord and Christ* (ed. Joel B. Green and Max Turner; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 271. This may make better grammatical sense, but the meaning would still be unclear. If this were the case, we would not find the OG without the object, nor the various manuscripts trying to complete the thought by supplying με or τὸν κύριον. Ådna, “James,” 137.

⁵⁷ Jobes and Silva, *Invitation*, 194. The suggestion of Braun (“James Use of Amos,” 117) that the translator mistook תִּשְׁאָל for אֲדָרִית fails when we note that no text of the OG supplies θεός as the “missing” direct object.

the text read “so that the remnant of men will seek *him* (or *me*).”⁵⁸ Some grammarians believe that אָדָם occasionally appears, not as the *nota accusativi*, but with the subject (or as an indicator of emphasis),⁵⁹ making possible (if unlikely) that אָדָם־שְׂאֵרֵי־אֱדוֹם was genuinely understood to be the subject, at least by the OG translators. On either reading (וַיִּרְשׁוּ or וַיִּרְשׁוּ), “in order that the remnant of Edom will possess/seek,” the clause is incomplete and has no clear meaning.⁶⁰

It is more difficult to explain how אָדָם become אָדָם. Many commentators assume that אָדָם was misread as אָדָם, due to their apparent identity in the consonantal text.⁶¹ The *wāw*, however, seems to prevent reading אָדָם as אָדָם⁶² and the *wāw* is clearly present in the extant Hebrew manuscripts, including the one fragmentary copy of Amos from the Dead Sea Scrolls.⁶³ It is possible that the translator’s text was defective, or was faded, soiled, or damaged, so that the *wāw* was not visible. It is also possible that the translator interpreted the text, believing that “the remnant of mankind” in 12a was a more natural parallel to “all the nations” than “the remnant of

⁵⁸ Gleason L. Archer and Gregory Chirichingo, *Old Testament Quotations in the New Testament* (Chicago: Moody, 1983), 155. Some OG manuscripts, versions, and fathers supply the direct object “me,” but this may be the result of copyists attempting to improve the sense by supplying the object they expected to find (cf. the similar addition of τὸν κύριον in Acts 15:17a). Archer and Chirichigno speculate that the LXX translators had before them a Hebrew *Vorlage* with these readings, but no such *Vorlage* has come down to us.

⁵⁹ HALOT, 101. GKC, §117 *i–m*. Christo van der Merwe et al., *A Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 247; Waltke and O’Connor, *Syntax*, §10.3.2. For the contrary, see Takamitsu Muraoka, *Emphatic Words and Structures in Biblical Hebrew* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1985), 158.

⁶⁰ This is the most plausible reason for the additions με and τὸν κύριον in some manuscripts.

⁶¹ אָדָם occurs four times earlier in the book (1:6, 9, 11; 2:1), each appropriately translated as Ἰδοῦμαία.

⁶² “Defective spelling of Edom is unknown in the MT (except for the gentilic form), but it is possible that *’dm* survived to the time of the LSS alongside of *’dwm*.” Andersen and Freedman, *Amos*, 890.

⁶³ Mur 88. See Benoit et al., *DJD II*, 188 and pl. LVIII.

Edom,”⁶⁴ or that Edom, as one of Israel’s most persistent enemies, was to be understood as a representative of them all.

Once the direct object $\text{אֲדָמָה} \text{וְכָל־בְּנֵי־עֵדֹם}$ has become the subject and אֲדָמָה has become $\alpha\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\varsigma$, the change from singular to plural is the least difficult to explain. At least 160 times (over one-quarter of occurrences), the OG translates the often collective אֲדָמָה as $\alpha\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\iota$.⁶⁵ Similarly, בְּנֵי־עֵדֹם is translated more than half the time by a plural noun or participle, as here.⁶⁶

Bauckham, Ådna, and Nägele have recently argued that the OG does not depend on a now-lost Hebrew *Vorlage*, or on transmissional errors, but must be understood in the context of the exegetical practices of the day as an instance of ‘*al tigrē*’ or “implicit” midrash.⁶⁷ Bauckham argues that those who think the OG misreads the Hebrew

entirely misunderstand the way in which Jewish exegesis of this period treated the biblical text, as the Dead Sea Scrolls in particular have now made clear to us. A Jewish Christian familiar both with the Hebrew and the LXX of this verse would not regard the latter as a misreading of the Hebrew. He may not have known a Hebrew text like that translated by the LXX, but, even if not, would have recognized that the LXX represents, not a misreading, but either a variant text or a deliberate alternative

⁶⁴ I am unfortunately not able to locate the source of this suggestion. The OG translators frequently interpreted and applied the text. Jobes and Silva, *Invitation*, 21–22, 93–101.

⁶⁵ E.g., Gen 6:1; Judg 16:7; Isa 6:11; Amos 4:13; Jonah 3:7; Hab 1:4.

⁶⁶ It is translated 46 times by $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\iota\pi\omicron\varsigma$ (or other $\lambda\omicron\iota\pi\omicron\varsigma$ compound), 38 as a plural (the three instances in Isa are singular) and five times by $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\iota\pi\omega$ (three plural participles, one singular participle, and one infinitive). The 14 instances of $\lambda\epsilon\iota\mu\mu\alpha$ (or a related compound) are all singular. One occurrence is not translated.

⁶⁷ Jostein Ådna, “Die Heilige Schrift als Zeuge der Heidenmission: Die Rezeption von Amos 9,11–12 in Apg 15,16–18,” in *Evangelium, Schriftauslegung, Kirche* (ed. Jostein Ådna, et al.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997), 1–23; Ådna, “James,” 131; Richard Bauckham, “James and the Gentiles (Acts 15.13–21),” in *History, Literature, and Society in the Book of Acts* (ed. Ben Witherington, III; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 160–61; Bauckham, “James and the Jerusalem Church,” 455–56; Sabine Nägele, *Laubhütte Davids und Wolkensohn: eine auslegungsgeschichtliche Studie zu Amos 9,11 in der jüdischen und christlichen Exegese (AGJU 24; Leiden: Brill, 1995)*, 104. “Implicit midrash” is from Ellis, “Biblical Interpretation,” 703–6; Edward Earle Ellis, “Midrash, Targum and New Testament Quotations,” in *Neotestamentica et Semitica* (ed. Edward Earle Ellis and Max Wilcox; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1969), 62. “Many a variant of the LXX may indeed not go back to a variant in the Hebrew texts which was translated, but merely represent an interpretation of that text, yet it must be questioned whether this holds good of all variants and of displacements of texts and parts of texts.” Doeve, *Jewish Hermeneutics*, 117.

reading of the text. Jewish exegetes were accustomed to choosing among variants the reading which suited their interpretation, or to exploiting more than one. But in a case such as ours, it is scarcely possible to distinguish a variant text which has arisen accidentally in the transmission of the text from one which results from the exegetical practice of deliberately reading the text differently by means of small changes (known as *'al tiqrē'* in later rabbinic terminology). The “misreading” of the Hebrew text presupposed by the LXX of Amos 9:12 is quite comparable with many examples of deliberate “alternative readings” (*'al tiqrē'*) in the Qumran pesharim.⁶⁸

Other also see “midrashic tendencies” in the OG.⁶⁹ But, if, “it is scarcely possible to distinguish a variant text from one which results from the exegetical practice known as *'al tiqrē'*,”⁷⁰ it is unclear how we can be sure that the OG reading results from this approach rather than a misreading or an alternative text. The absence of an extant Hebrew *Vorlage* with these readings suggests that the translators may have deliberately interpreted the text for Diaspora readers who might be more interested in a believing “remnant” from the Gentiles than in the reassertion of Jewish sovereignty over Edom.⁷¹ At the same time, it is not clear why an interpreter, having once taken liberties with the text, would not go ahead and supply the direct object that ἐκζητήσωσιν seems to require. In the end, it is not possible to be certain how the OG reading arose.

The text of the OG thus gives evidence both of some uncertainty or instability as well as divergence from the MT. Although there are many variants within the OG manuscript tradition, these do not call into question the distinctive OG rendering of the text of Amos 9:12a: “that the

⁶⁸ Bauckham, “James and the Gentiles,” 160–61; “James and the Jerusalem Church,” 455–56.

⁶⁹ Jacob Neusner, *What Is Midrash?* (GBS; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987), 24; Emanuel Tov, “The Septuagint,” in *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (ed. Martin Jan Mulder; CRINT 2.1; Assen/Mastricht: Van Gorcum, 1988), 177–78. See also Johnson, *Septuagintal Midrash*.

⁷⁰ “In those instances in which the LXX differs from the received or Masoretic Text, it may have been because of a different text, but it may also have resulted from the translation style, or tendential concerns, or the attempt to harmonize parallel passages.” Neusner, *Midrash*, 24.

⁷¹ The OG reading “chimes in with the hope of many Jews of the dispersion that Gentiles would seek and find the true God.” Frederick F. Bruce, “Prophetic Interpretation in the Septuagint,” *BIOCS* 12 (1979): 17.

rest of men may seek.” This wording must be regarded as an established part of the OG text. In the absence of an extant Hebrew text with this wording and the lack of divergence in the OG manuscript tradition, it seems unlikely that the OG reflects a variant Hebrew text. While it is possible that the OG results from a misreading of the Hebrew original, it is at least equally likely that it represents an interpretation, application or expansion of the text by the translators.

4.2.5 The Interpretation of Amos 9:11-12

Amos 9:11 looks into *בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא*, a standard prophetic term for the future,⁷² In this case, the future in view appears to follow the judgment Amos had previously announced. In this new phase of the eschatological future, Amos sees the restoration of the Davidic kingdom, a restoration that not only brings blessing to Israel, but also to the nations.

4.2.5.1 The Booth of David (Amos 9:11)

“In that day,” God will “raise up the booth of David that is fallen.” The *בֵּית דָּוִד*, the “booth of David” has been variously interpreted. S. Nägele has surveyed the interpretation of the text since Qumran.⁷³ At Qumran, the raising of “the booth of David” was variously interpreted as the fulfillment of the Torah by the community (CD VII, 12–21)⁷⁴ and as the “branch of David” who was expected to arise with the “Interpreter of Torah” (4Q174, 4QFlor 1,10–13).⁷⁵ The rabbis generally understood the text to refer to the restoration of the Davidic kingdom, including

⁷² The expression appears over 100 times in the prophets, referring to a future (often eschatological) event. BDB, s.v. *יוֹם*, 7.g. Robertson believes the expression refers merely to the future, without any likely eschatological reference. O. Palmer Robertson, “Hermeneutics of Continuity,” in *Continuity and Discontinuity: Perspectives on the Relationship Between the Old and New Testaments* (ed. John S. Feinberg; Westchester, Ill.: Crossway, 1988), 89. The term is employed (rarely) without future reference, e.g., Gen 15:18; Josh 24:25; Neh 12:44.

⁷³ Nägele, *Laubhütte Davids*.

⁷⁴ Florentino García Martínéz and Eiblert J. C. Tigchelor, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (2 vols.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997–1998), 561; Nägele, *Laubhütte Davids*, 223–25.

⁷⁵ García Martínéz and Tigchelor, *DSS Study Edition*, 353; Nägele, *Laubhütte Davids*, 225–26.

national sovereignty and the rebuilding of Jerusalem and the temple;⁷⁶ *Bar Nafle*, “son of the fallen” was even taken as a title for the Messiah.⁷⁷ Among Christian interpreters, the fathers noted both an historical application of the text to Israel’s return from exile and a Christological reading in which the “tent of David” refers to the body of Christ (i.e., the church). Nicholas of Lyra applied the text to the restoration of the purity of the church (i.e., true worship without idols) by Christ. Luther understood the text to refer the restoration of the kingdom of David through Christ’s “preaching the Gospel of faith.” Most recent commentators have understood the expression ironically of David’s family, dynasty and/or kingdom (the “house” has become a “hut”), while proposing different events as the occasion of its “fall” (the division following the death of Solomon, the Joash’s conquest of Judah, or the exile).⁷⁸ Others have seen the “booth” as a metaphor for the now destroyed (through division or exile) Davidic empire.⁷⁹

Other, less likely, views may be noted. Mauro believes that the expression refers to the tent David pitched for the ark (2 Sam 6:17, although the term there is *אֹהֶל*, not *בֶּכָה*).⁸⁰ Richardson has read *בֶּכָה* for *בֶּכָה*, a city that, although in ruins by Amos’ time, he believes to have been held a strategic role in David’s occupation of Transjordan.⁸¹ Nägele associates the feast of tabernacles with the temple in Jerusalem (and ultimately with Jerusalem itself) and understands the text both

⁷⁶ Nägele, *Laubhütte Davids*, 226–28.

⁷⁷ *b. Sanh. 96b–97a*. Routtenberg, *Amos*, 127.

⁷⁸ Nägele, *Laubhütte Davids*, 231–33.

⁷⁹ Nägele, *Laubhütte Davids*, 155–57.

⁸⁰ Philip Mauro, “Building the Tabernacle of David,” *EvQ* 9 (1937).

⁸¹ Richardson, “Succoth.” He has been followed by others, including Stuart, *Hosea-Jonah*. However, the evidence offered seems exceedingly thin and “it is not likely that the passages in Amos 9:11 has in mind the restoration and rebuilding of Succoth.” Andersen and Freedman, *Amos*, 915.

as warning to Judah that the temple would not protect from God's judgment and promising a harvest from all nations for Yahweh.⁸² Motyer also finds a reference to the feast of booths that suggests the coming of the perfect mediator, a king who will also fulfill priestly functions.⁸³

Others understand a more focused reference to Davidic rule. Andersen and Freedman at one point seem to favor the tents of David's military campaigns, so that the expression indicates the restoration of Judah's military power.⁸⁴ Nogalski argues that the cities of the Davidic kingdom are in view, based on the application of the term סֹכֶת to Jerusalem in Isaiah 1:8.⁸⁵ Mauchline identifies the "booth of David" generally with the Davidic dynasty, but arrives there by way of a royal or bridal canopy that signifies God's "covering" his people.⁸⁶

With so many diverse proposals, it is necessary to examine more carefully the uses of סֹכֶת in the MT. The term occurs 31 times in 29 verses. The basic idea is that of a temporary shelter: Jacob built "booths" for his cattle at a place which was then named Succoth (Gen 33:17); Jonah made a "booth" in which he waited to see judgment come to Nineveh (4:5); young lions "crouch in their dens or lie in wait in their 'booth'" (Job 38:40). A "booth" was fragile and temporary: the house of the wicked is "like a spider's web, like a booth which a watchman makes" (Job 27:18); "the daughter of Zion is left like a booth in a vineyard, like a lodge (בֵּית הַיַּעֲרָה)⁸⁷ in a cucumber field,

⁸² Nägele, *Laubhütte Davids*, 236–38. None of the biblical texts suggested demonstrate that the temple was ever referred to by סֹכֶת (193), nor do they demonstrate a link between the feast of booths and the temple (194–95).

⁸³ J. Alec Motyer, *The Day of the Lion* (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity, 1975), 202–3.

⁸⁴ Andersen and Freedman, *Amos*, 915.

⁸⁵ Nogalski, "Suffixes," 416–17.

⁸⁶ John Mauchline, "Implicit Signs of a Persistent Belief in the Davidic Empire," *VT* 20 (1970): 290–91.

⁸⁷ Used only here and Isa 24:20, where the earth "is violently shaken" (24:19) and "sways like a hut." BDB glosses as "sim. of frail, insecure structure."

like a besieged city” (Isa 1:8). The term is used for the tents of military campaigns (2 Sam 11:11; 1 Kgs 20:12, 16). One-third of occurrences refer to the “feast of booths” (הַגַּדְּתֹהֹטִים). Another quarter refer to the “booths” in which Israel was to live during this feast.⁸⁸ By itself, סֹכָה never is used to refer to the festival. The term is used twice simply for shelter (Isa 4:6; Ps 31:20) and (probably in this more general sense) for God’s heavenly dwelling (2 Sam 22:12 || Ps 18:11; Job 36:29). The term never refers to the tabernacle, which is uniformly represented by אֹהֶל or מִשְׁכָּן.⁸⁹ It is therefore most unlikely that the term in Amos 9:11 refers to the festival, tabernacle, or temple. It refers simply to a temporary shelter.

The expression in Amos 9:11, סֹכָה דָּוִד, is unique in the MT and could conceivably bear some special significance. How does “of David” modify the “booth?” Should the fact that the “booth” is associated with David lead us back to the festival, tabernacle, or temple? It does not seem likely that the feast of booths or the tabernacle were particularly associated with David—if anything, “booth of Moses” would be more apt for things that originated long before David’s time. David pitched a tent for the ark in Jerusalem (2 Sam 6:17; 1 Chr 15:1; 16:1), but the term is אֹהֶל, not סֹכָה, and there is no indication that this tent (subsequently replaced by the temple) played a lasting role in Israel’s thinking or expectation. Finally, there is no instance in which the temple is described as “of David” (nor even “of Solomon,” for that matter).

There is an analogous expression that has received too little attention. Isaiah 16:5 speaks of an אֹהֶל דָּוִד, “tent of David,” translated in the OG by σκηνή Δαυιδ, as in Amos 9:11.

⁸⁸ For the festival: Lev 23:34; Deut 16:13, 16; 31:10; Ezra 3:4; 2 Chr 8:13; Zech 14:16, 18, 19; cp. Neh 8:14 (“the people of Israel should dwell in booths during the feast of the seventh month”). For the booths themselves: Lev 23:42 (2 times), 43; Ezra 3:4; Neh 8:15, 16, 17 (2 times).

⁸⁹ It is unlikely that the related סֹכָה in Ps 76:3 refers to the tabernacle or temple, although the temple is in view in פֶּתַח (for סֹכָה as BDB suggests?) in Lam 2:6. Neither of these, however, is סֹכָה.

Isaiah 16:5 MT	Isaiah 16:5 RSV	Isaiah 16:5 OG
וְהָיָה בְּהִסְדָּר כִּסֵּא וְיָשָׁב עָלָיו בְּאַמֻּנַת בְּאֵהָל דָּוִד שֹׁפֵט וְדָרַשׁ מִשְׁפָּט וּמְהֵרָה יִצְדֵּק	then a throne will be established in steadfast love and on it will sit in faithfulness in the tent of David one who judges and seeks justice and is swift to do righteousness.	καὶ διορθωθήσεται μετ' ἐλέους θρόνος καὶ καθίεται ἐπ' αὐτοῦ μετὰ ἀληθείας ἐν σκηνῇ Δαυιδ κρίνων καὶ ἐκζητῶν κρίμα καὶ σπεύδων δικαιοσύνην

Admittedly, this is an אֵהָל, not a בְּכָה. While אֵהָל often refers to the tabernacle or tent of meeting, a number of occurrences bear the generic sense of “tent”⁹⁰ and אֵהָל thus overlaps with הֶחָר. ⁹¹ The context (Isa 15–16) is an oracle concerning Moab.⁹² In distress, Moab appealed to Judah for assistance. God promised that Moab’s oppression would cease and a good king rule in faithfulness, righteousness, and justice (cp. Isa 9:7). That king “will sit in the tent of David” and dispense “justice and righteousness.” To what does the “tent of David” refer? It is difficult to see how the feast of booths would be in view. The tabernacle and temple are unlikely places (biblically speaking) for the throne of the (earthly) king. Although Jerusalem could be seen as the seat of justice and righteousness, this does not seem to be a biblical way of speaking.⁹³ Rather,

⁹⁰ The noun occurs over 350 times in the MT. RSV translates אֵהָל about 170 times as “tabernacle” or “tent of meeting,” as well as rendered as “tent” in several dozen other occurrences where that the tabernacle is clearly in view. In over 100 instances (about one-third of the occurrences) אֵהָל simply refers to a “tent.”

⁹¹ Abram, who did not possess land of his own, lived in a tent (Gen 12:8; 13:2, 18; 18:1), as did Isaac (Gen 24:67; 26:25) and Jacob (Gen 25:27; 31:25; 35:21). Israel lived in tents during the Exodus (Exod 16:16; Num 11:10; 16:26; Deut 1:27; Josh 3:14) and apparently for some time after entering the land (Josh 7:21–24; and possibly 22:4–8; Judg 20:8; but see below). An אֵהָל was sometimes contrasted with the more permanent יָיָה (Jer 35:7, 10; Ps 84:10; Prov 14:11) and was sometimes explicitly seen as fragile or vulnerable (Isa 38:12; Jer 4:20; 10:20). Those who cared for flocks and herds in the open would use an אֵהָל for shelter (Gen 4:20; 13:5; Judg 6:5; 1 Chr 5:9–10; 2 Chr 14:15; Isa 38:12; Jer 49:29). Like בְּכָה, אֵהָל is used of the shelters soldiers used in the field (Judg 6:5; 7:8, 13; 2 Kgs 7:7, 8, 10; Jer 6:3). It is used at least once metaphorically of God’s dwelling (Isa 40:22). Unlike בְּכָה, אֵהָל was apparently used idiomatically for “home,” even after Israel began to live in settled communities (1 Sam 4:10; 13:2; 2 Sam 18:7; 19:8; 20:1, 22; 1 Kgs 8:66; 12:16; 2 Kgs 8:21; 14:12; 2 Chr 7:10; 25:22). The term appears to be used on only two occasions for a city (Jerusalem in Isa 33:20; as parallel to “dwellings,” “city,” and “palace” in Jer 30:18).

⁹² Scholars differ on the precise circumstances and date of this oracle. See, e.g., John Bright, “Isaiah—I,” in *Peake’s Commentary on the Bible* (ed. Matthew Black; Sunbury-on-Thames, Middlesex: Thomas Nelson, 1962), 501; Ronald E. Clements, *Isaiah 1–39* (NCB; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980), 150–51; John Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah: Chapters 1–39* (NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1986), 336.

⁹³ A search for verses containing “righteousness,” “justice,” or “faithfulness” and “city” or “Jerusalem” in the RSV does not turn up a single instance in which the city is identified as the seat or source of these qualities.

the reference must be to the king as one who stands (or sits) in the place of David, and thus one of the line or house of David.⁹⁴

The “booth” is therefore the “house” of David,⁹⁵ the “house”⁹⁶ or dynasty God promised to build for David (2 Sam 7:11). The expression in Amos is ironic—the formerly great “house” can be more accurately described as a hut or shack,⁹⁷ which has either already fallen⁹⁸ or will at some future point have fallen⁹⁹ from its earlier glory. If the former, the reference is to Israel’s decline from its greatness under David and Solomon (including the division of the kingdom¹⁰⁰); if the latter, it refers to the coming defeat and exile of Israel at the hand of Assyria and Judah at the hand of Babylon. In any case, the fall of the “booth” will be past before God acts to raise it up again. David’s “fallen” booth echoes “fallen” “virgin Israel” of 5:2 (cf. 7:17; 8:14). While she had “none to raise her up,” Yahweh will “raise up the booth of David that is fallen” and “its ruins.”¹⁰¹ It will no longer be “fallen,” but will be as “in the days of old” (11f). While the

⁹⁴ Bright, “Isaiah,” 501; Clements, *Isaiah 1–39*, 154; Motyer, *Prophecy*, 149, 152–53; Oswalt, *Isaiah*, 343.

⁹⁵ Hammershaimb, *Amos*, 140; Carl F. Keil, *Minor Prophets* (trans. James Martin; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1973), 329; Simon M. Lehrman, “Amos,” in *The Twelve Prophets: Hebrew Text, English Translation and Commentary* (ed. Abraham Cohen; Soncino Books of the Bible; Bournemouth, England: Soncino, 1948), 123.

⁹⁶ The expression appears some 25 times in the MT.

⁹⁷ For the “booth” as representing a diminished or dishonored state, see Isa 1:8, “And the daughter of Zion is left like a booth in a vineyard, like a lodge in a cucumber field, like a besieged city.” However, *הֶבֶטֶט* does not necessarily refer to a humble structure, since the term is applied to “the Lord’s heavenly pavilion.” Niehaus, “Amos,” 490. Cf. 2 Sam 12:22 || Ps 18:11; Job 36:29.

⁹⁸ “After the death of David, Israel’s sovereignty declined fast.” Hammershaimb, *Amos*, 141. See Andersen and Freedman, *Amos*, 916. “In our view what had fallen was the empire, and that had happened a long time ago.”

⁹⁹ The participle may be translated “falling” or “fallen.” The OG translates with the perfect *πεπτωκυῖαν*. Benson notes that “the *Qal* participle *nophelet* could mean either, but the context favors ‘which has fallen.’” Benson, “. . . From the Mouth of the Lion’: The Messianism of Amos,” 210.

¹⁰⁰ Clements, *Prophecy*, 111–12; Nogalski, “Suffixes,” 416–17; Polley, *Amos*.

¹⁰¹ Only Amos of all the prophets appears to use the *hip'il* of *קָם* in this sense of “restore” after “falling.”

division of the kingdom is not the primary focus, its reunification is implied: “David and his promises relate to the entire nation of chosen people, not one part of it.”¹⁰²

4.2.5.2 The Remnant of Edom (Amos 9:12)

In verse 12, the purpose or result (יָשׁוּבֵם) of this restoration is expressly stated,¹⁰³ but the text contains a number of difficulties: why Edom is singled out; what the “the remnant of Edom” means; who will “possess” it and in what sense; how “the remnant of Edom” is related to “all the nations;” what it means that God’s “name is called upon them.”

There are two basic answers to these questions. The first expects reestablishment of the Israelite kingdom as it had been under David and Solomon. “The remnant of Edom” is “that part of Edom which is still independent,” (not under Davidic rule).¹⁰⁴ “They” are Davidic kings who will reassert control over Edom as David had done (2 Sam 8:13–14) in the final phase of his early campaign that secured peace for Israel and secured his rule. “They” would “possess” “the remnant of Edom” as Israel “possessed” the nations of Canaan under Joshua, by dispossession and destruction. “The conquest of Edom in particular would be understood to be either the final step in the reestablishment of the Davidic kingdom,”¹⁰⁵ or one of its key results (an exercise of restored power). “All the nations upon which my name is called” are the other nations God ruled through David at the height of his power, i.e., Moab, Ammon, Philistia, and Syria.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰² Smith, *Amos*, 379.

¹⁰³ The expression “implies an order both in purpose and time.” Robertson, “Hermeneutics,” 91.

¹⁰⁴ Hasel, *Remnant*, 214; Niehaus, “Amos,” 491. It has been suggested that the port of Elat is particularly in view. Nägele, *Laubhütte Davids*, 214–15, 238.

¹⁰⁵ Andersen and Freedman, *Amos*, 918.

¹⁰⁶ Hammershaimb, *Amos*, 141; Hasel, *Remnant*, 214. See also Polley, *Amos*, 55–82.

There are at least three difficulties with this view. First, the consistent use of remnant language, and of שְׂאֲרֵיהֶם in particular, suggests that the “remnant of Edom” would refer to “what is left” “after the reduction of Edom at some future date,”¹⁰⁷ rather than “that part of Edom which is still independent.”¹⁰⁸ Despite the use of “remnant” in a negative sense in Amos 1:8 (“the remnant of the Philistines shall perish”), it is normally a good thing, a sign of God’s blessing, to belong to the remnant that has survived some danger or disaster.¹⁰⁹

The second difficulty concerns the verb יָרַשׁ. When “dispossess” is the intended sense, יָרַשׁ most often appears in the *hif'il* with a personal object (e.g., “nations,” or “them”).¹¹⁰ It appears here in the *qal*. Of the 162 instances of יָרַשׁ in the *qal* in the MT, in only nine of those instances does it appear with “nations” or “them” as the object in the sense of “dispossess.”¹¹¹ By contrast, it occurs nearly 100 times with “land” or “it” as the object, yielding the sense of “possess.”¹¹² While in some cases the context includes reference to those who formerly possessed the land (e.g., Num 21:35; Judg 11:21; Ps 37:34; 105:44), most focus simply on Israel’s possession of the land and enjoyment of it.

¹⁰⁷ Morgenstern, “Nations,” 225–31; Niehaus, “Amos,” 491.

¹⁰⁸ The suggestion “Edom down to its last fragment” (inferred from Amos 1:8) seems unlikely and does not appear to have attracted many adherents. Hammershaimb, *Amos*, 141.

¹⁰⁹ See, e.g., Gen 45:7; 2 Kgs 19:4 (|| Isa 37:4); Jer 6:9; 8:3; 23:33; 24:8; 40:11; 42:2; Ezek 5:10; 9:8; Mic 4:6–7; 7:18; Zeph 3:11–13; Hag 1:12, 14; 2:2; Zech 8:10–12; 2 Chr 36:20. See the expression the texts which parallel שְׂאֲרֵיהֶם with הִטְיָלוּם (“escape”): 2 Kgs 19:31 (|| Isa 37:22); Isa 15:9; Ezra 9:14.

¹¹⁰ Of the 66 instances of יָרַשׁ in the *hif'il*, only nine lack a personal object (Num 14:24; 33:53; Jos 8:7; 17:12; Judg 11:24?; Job 13:26; 20:15; Ezra 9:12; 2 Chr 20:11).

¹¹¹ Deut 9:1; 11:23; 12:2, 29; 18:14; 19:1; 31:3; Isa 54:3; Ezek 35:10.

¹¹² For the two expressions Josh 23:5: יְהוָה יִדְרִישׁ אֶתְכֶם מִלְּפָנֵיכֶם וַיִּרְשׁוּם אֶת־אֲרָצָם (Yahweh “will . . . drive them out of your sight [*hif'il* with personal object]; and you shall possess their land [*qal* with land as object]”).

And he said to him, “I am the LORD who brought you from Ur of the Chaldeans, to give you this land to possess.” (Gen 15:7)

Behold, I have set the land before you; go in and take possession of the land which the LORD swore to your fathers, to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, to give to them and to their descendants after them. (Deut 1:8)

When you cry out, let your collection of idols deliver you! The wind will carry them off, a breath will take them away. But he who takes refuge in me shall possess the land, and shall inherit my holy mountain. (Isa 57:13)

For behold, days are coming, says the LORD, when I will restore the fortunes of my people, Israel and Judah, says the LORD, and I will bring them back to the land which I gave to their fathers, and they shall take possession of it. (Jer 30:3)

He himself shall abide in prosperity, and his children shall possess the land. (Ps 25:13)

But the meek shall possess the land, and delight themselves in abundant prosperity. . . . for those blessed by the LORD shall possess the land, but those cursed by him shall be cut off. . . . Wait for the LORD, and keep to his way, and he will exalt you to possess the land; you will look on the destruction of the wicked. (Ps 37:11, 22, 34)¹¹³

The land thus “possessed” by Israel suffers no loss and even enjoys blessing and fruitfulness.

The LORD will open to you his good treasury the heavens, to give the rain of your land in its season and to bless all the work of your hands. (Deut 28:12)

May there be abundance of grain in the land; on the tops of the mountains may it wave; may its fruit be like Lebanon; and may men blossom forth from the cities like the grass of the field! (Ps 72:16)

At the same time, it must be conceded that the few instances of the *qal* of יָרַשׁ with נוֹי appear to employ the verb in the sense of “dispossess.”¹¹⁴ J. A. Motyer believes that here “*possess* signifies a conquest,” but argues that the context requires a different understanding of the implications of that conquest and possession.

¹¹³ See also Isa 60:21; 61:7; 65:9; Ps 37:11, 22a, 34; 69:35

¹¹⁴ Deut 9:1; 11:23; 12:2, 29; 18:14; 19:1; 31:3; Isa 54:3; Ps 105:44.

The people of God demonstrate a superior power. But the conquest is followed by an equality of citizenship in that it is not their name but the name of their God by which the Gentiles are called.¹¹⁵

Paul Raabe argues that although the verb with a personal object

usually denotes “to dispossess,” here it means “to possess” in the sense of incorporate or own; the statement expresses more the idea of Israel controlling and ruling the survivors of the nations than that of occupying their lands.¹¹⁶

The third difficulty is the expression “all the nations upon whom my name is called.” The precise relation of this phrase to “the remnant of Edom” is uncertain. If “all the nations” is meant to parallel “remnant of Edom” as objects of וַיִּרְשָׁה , we would expect a second object marker (אֶת) (e.g., Hos 2:22 [MT 2:24]; 3:5; Joel 4:8). Others understand “all the nations” as a second genitive (parallel to “Edom” only, i.e., the remnant of both Edom and all the nations).¹¹⁷ Either of these alternatives is more likely than that “all the nations” is the subject of the verb וַיִּרְשָׁה .¹¹⁸

The nations in view are those “who are called by my name” (RSV) or, more precisely, “upon whom my name is called.” The *nip'al* of קָרָא plus עַל denotes naming, particularly in the sense of possession or dominion,¹¹⁹ as in 2 Sam 12:28, where Joab warned that David must come

¹¹⁵ Motyer, *Day*, 204–5. The church’s missionary expansion “involves a submission followed by an equality.”

¹¹⁶ Paul R. Raabe, *Obadiah: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 24D; New York: Doubleday, 1995), 40. Raabe does not explicitly distinguish between the *hif'il* and *qal* forms. He characterizes the occupation more as religious or spiritual than military.

¹¹⁷ Henderson, *Minor Prophets*, 181; Raabe, *Obadiah*, 41; Rudolph, *Joel/Amos*, 279. In support, Raabe cites Paul Joüon, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew* (trans. T. Muraoka; *SubBi* 14; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1991), § 129b. The difference in meaning between a second object and a second genitive here is fairly minor.

¹¹⁸ Andersen and Freedman have suggested that the phrase might instead be the subject of the verb וַיִּרְשָׁה , so that the clause would read “that they—all the nations who are called by my name—might possess the remnant of Edom.” Andersen and Freedman, *Amos*, 918. Lehrman had earlier argued similarly, although for the different reason that the expression “upon whom my name is called” “is only used in the Bible of Israel, the Temple and Jerusalem” Lehrman, “Twelve Prophets,” 123. Other scholars have not generally followed this reading, nor do any of the early versions of Amos. The expression $\text{עַל כָּל הַגּוֹיִם הַזֵּה}$ is parallel to Edom in Ezek 36:3–5, as the enemies of God’s people.

¹¹⁹ Huub van de Sandt, “An Explanation of Acts 15:6–21 in the Light of Deuteronomy 4:20–35 (LXX),” *JSNNT* 46 (1992): 89.

and lead the conquest of Rabbah, “lest it be called by my name.”¹²⁰ The phrase used here, the *nip'al* of קָרָא plus נָשָׂא plus עַל,¹²¹ is used particularly for God’s ownership of, identity with, and relationship to¹²² his people (Deut 28:10; Jer 14:9; Dan 9:19; 2 Chr 7:14; cp. Isa 43:7; 48:1), Solomon’s temple (1 Kgs 8:43; 2 Chr 6:33; Jer 7:10, 11, 14, 30; 32:34; 34:15),¹²³ his prophet (Jer 15:16), and the city of Jerusalem (Jer 25:29; Dan 9:18–19), where God’s name was to dwell (Cf. 1 Kgs 8:16; 11:36; 14:21; 2 Kgs 23:27; 2 Chr 6:5; 12:13). Isaiah 63:19 is striking in its linking of possession and rule: “We have become like those over whom thou hast never ruled, like those who are not called by thy name.”¹²⁴ When God’s name is called over something it never seems to denote mere ownership or control, but God’s presence in blessing.¹²⁵ When people are called by God’s name, it seems always to be in the sense of the covenantal formula, “I will be your God and you will be my people”(e.g., Gen 17:7–8; Lev 26:12; Jer 31:33; Rev 21:3; cp. Num 6:27).

¹²⁰ See also Gen 46:18, where Jacob took Manasseh and Ephraim as his own sons, saying “and let my name be called in them” [author], and Isa 4:1 (“And seven women shall take hold of one man in that day, saying, ‘We will eat our own bread and wear our own clothes, only let us be called by your name; take away our reproach.’”).

¹²¹ The expression occurs 19 times in the MT. It is represented in the OG as here with ἐπικαλέω . . . ὄνομα . . . ἐπί . . . , except for four instances: Deut 28:10 lacks ἐπί; 2 Sam 12:28 and Isa 4:1 has καλέω for ἐπικαλέω; and Jer 25:29 [OG 32:29] has ὀνομάζω for ἐπικαλέω. This Greek expression is used only one other time, translating הָרַמְתִּי אֶת־שֵׁם יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ (the *qal* of קָרָא) in Ps 49:11.

¹²² “A special relationship is implied, a relationship that virtually spells out an identity.” Hubbard, *Joel and Amos*, 241.

¹²³ See also 1 Macc 7:37; Bar 2:26. In light of this broad usage, we must question Nägele’s assertion that “the phrase ‘over whom my name is called’ is also taken from temple terminology.” Nägele, *Laubhütte Davids*, 230.

¹²⁴ Amos 9:12 is the only text in the MT in which God’s name appears to be called over the Gentiles. Jacques Dupont, “Un peuple d’entre les nations (Actes 15.14),” *NTS* 31 (1985): 324. Dupont understands the idiom differently, as “consecration” rather than “ownership:” the invocation of the divine name consecrates to the Lord the people of Israel, the ark of the covenant, etc.

¹²⁵ We must be careful not to overstate the potential for a “negative” reading of this idiom. Ådna, for example, states that “this idiom as an expression of ownership can have both a negative and a positive colouring; i.e., it not only addresses cases of subjugation and dominion, but also, particularly when it is related to God’s name, can mean ownership in the sense of care and protection.” Ådna, “James,” 146. Yet only in 2 Sam 12:28 is there any negative connotation; the 17 other instances in the MT besides Amos 9:12 are all positive.

When Yahweh's name is the subject, it also connotes a privileged status. In the Hebrew Bible, only Israelite entities have "Yahweh's name pronounced upon them" . . . That Edom and the nations would be given such a status is quite striking and brings to mind the idea expressed in Isa 19:24–25.¹²⁶

For these and other reasons, some interpreters have followed a different line of reasoning. In their view, Amos is not here promising a restoration of the Davidic kingdom that is simply like the one "of old."¹²⁷ If the nations are called by God's name in blessing and covenantal fellowship, then Israel's "possession" of the nations is not for judgment, but for blessing. Edom is then understood to stand in apposition to "all the nations," as a symbol for them all.

Edom was used symbolically by the prophets as an embodiment of the hostility of the world to the kingdom of God. This was in keeping with its attitude from the first (cf. Nu. 20:14) to the last (cf. Am. 1:11). The overthrow of Edom therefore speaks of a real and complete end of all opposition.¹²⁸

O. P. Robertson has suggested that Amos intended to allude to the prophecy of Balaam in Num 24:18,¹²⁹ noting David's unsuccessful attempt to wipe out the royal line of Edom (1 Kgs 11) and inferring that God had chosen to preserve Esau's offspring.¹³⁰ Although David had had to rule

¹²⁶ Raabe, *Obadiah*, 42.

¹²⁷ "As in days of old" should perhaps be taken to refer to particular aspects of the former kingdom, such as its authority, glory, and rule by one of David's line, rather than to identity in every detail.

¹²⁸ Motyer, *Day*, 204. Appeal is made to Isaiah 34; 63:1–6; Ezek 35:1–36:7; Obad 15–21, in which God's judgment on Edom appears to represent his judgment on the nations. So also Smith, *Amos*, 380. At the same time, it must be noted that this symbolism (if it occurs) is not frequent: אֲדוֹם occurs only 28 times in the prophets and in almost all of these instances, Edom appears in lists with other nations (e.g., Amos 1:11–12), or seems to refer to a particular people. A cursory survey turned up no entries for "Edom" in dictionaries of biblical theology or symbolic senses of the term in Bible dictionaries. In support of Motyer's view, however, see also Kaiser, "Davidic Promise," 103; *Messiah*, 147; Keil, *Minor Prophets*, 331; Stuart, *Hosea-Jonah*, 398.

¹²⁹ Robertson, "Hermeneutics," 91–92. RSV renders Num 24:18 as "Edom shall be dispossessed," but the MT reads simply יְרֵשָׁה אֲדוֹם יְרֵשָׁה, which is rendered more neutrally by the LXX as καὶ ἔσται Ἐδωμ κληρονομία. In fact, the noun (יְרֵשָׁה) occurs only here. The related form, יְרֵשָׁה, occurs fourteen times and simply refers to the fact of "possession," not to "dispossession." BDB (which adds "inheritance"), s.v. יְרֵשָׁה, יְרֵשָׁה; HALOT s.v. יְרֵשָׁה, יְרֵשָׁה.

¹³⁰ We may also note God's promise to prosper Esau because he, too, is Abraham's "seed" (Gen 21:13, 18).

Edom “by force of garrisons maintained night and day,” now “Israel’s possession leads to God’s name being called on the arch-rival.”

[Amos] sees from among all the nations of the earth, but particularly from Edom, a people “that bear [God’s] name” (Amos 9:12). They shall not simply be held in check. . . . In radical contrast with the entire past history of Israelite-Edomite relations, these aliens shall become brothers called by the same name, heirs to the same promises.¹³¹

Raabe argues that Edom is not chosen because of any unique historic hostility with Israel, but is an instance of a larger pattern of movement between universal and particular in judgment oracles.¹³² Edom is tapped for this dubious honor in a number of texts, as “one typical nation whose name and location evoke its own fate and that of other nations” in Isa 34 and as taking on “the role of representing or typifying all the nations” in Ezek 35–36. Particularly “when the prophets associate Edom closely with all nations seen as an undifferentiated whole, Edom both represents itself and serves as a special illustration of all nations.”¹³³ “Edom” here then functions as Egypt and Assyria do in Isa 19:23–25,¹³⁴ or Egypt in Zech 14:18–19, or “Rahab,” Babylon, Philistia, Tyre and Ethiopia” in Ps 87. Amos 9:12 would thus echo the common assertion that Yahweh rules (or will one day rule) over all nations (Ps 22:8; 2 Chr 20:6; Isa 14:26; 40:15–17). There is at least one universal interpretation of this in (later) Jewish sources.

“In that day will I raise up the tabernacle of David,” that the whole world shall become one brotherhood, as it is said [citing Zeph 3:9 “Yea, at that time I will

¹³¹ Robertson, “Hermeneutics,” 92–93.

¹³² Moab appears more than twice as often in judgment oracles and is similarly employed as representative of the nations in Isa 25:10–12. Raabe, *Obadiah*, 33. “By particularizing universal judgment, the prophets grounded the fate of one place or group of people in a more all-inclusive phenomenon.” Paul R. Raabe, “The Particularizing of Universal Judgment in Prophetic Discourse,” *CBQ* 64 (2002): 671.

¹³³ Raabe, *Obadiah*, 36, 39, 45.

¹³⁴ Benson, “. . . From the Mouth of the Lion’: The Messianism of Amos,” 211; Motyer, *Prophecy*, 170, n. 1; Oswalt, *Isaiah*, 381.

change the speech of the peoples to a pure speech, that all of them may call on the name of the LORD and serve him with one accord.”].¹³⁵

Niehaus concludes that “there is also a promise here that the whole world (‘all the nations’) will come under the rule of Yahweh.”¹³⁶

Amos is not announcing the doom of Edom so much as a positive promise of blessing on Edom and all the nations (Gen 12:3; 28:14) committed to Yahweh (cf. Deut. 28:9–10; Jer 14:9). They will enjoy the blessings of this restored kingdom just like the remnant of Israel.¹³⁷

Consequently the taking possession referred to here will be of a very different character from the subjugation of Edom and other nations to David. It will make the nations into citizens of the kingdom of God, to whom the Lord manifests Himself as their God, pouring upon them all the blessings of His covenant of grace (see Isa. lvi. 6–8).¹³⁸

This language [that “those from all nations are to be ‘called’ by God’s name or to ‘bear’ his name] indicates that the “possession” of Edom cannot be considered as submission by force. The remnant of Edom and the nations are to be God’s own people, just as the elect of Israel had been in the past.¹³⁹

Finally, Benson writes: “The restoration will not be for the benefit of the house of David alone.

The restored kingdom will consist of Gentiles as well as the chosen people (9,12).”¹⁴⁰

The text concludes with a solemn “says Yahweh, who does this,” certifying both that this missionary wonder will be all of grace and that, as a word spoken by Yahweh, it will not fail.¹⁴¹

¹³⁵ *Gen. Rab.* 88. Routtenberg, *Amos*.

¹³⁶ Niehaus, “Amos,” 491.

¹³⁷ Smith, *Amos*, 380.

¹³⁸ Keil, *Minor Prophets*, 332.

¹³⁹ Robertson, “Hermeneutics,” 93.

¹⁴⁰ Benson, “. . . From the Mouth of the Lion’: The Messianism of Amos,” 210.

¹⁴¹ “The standard *n‘m yhw’h*.” Andersen and Freedman, *Amos*, 918. The expression occurs over 260 times in the MT, all but 10 of them in the writing prophets (15 other times in Amos and over 160 times in Jeremiah.)

4.2.5.3 Amos 9:13–15

Though not cited in Acts 15, verses 13–15 describe the prosperity that the restored kingdom will enjoy. The earlier blight and frustration (5:11; 4:9) will be reversed.¹⁴²

Therefore because you trample upon the poor and take from him exactions of wheat, you have built houses of hewn stone, but you shall not dwell in them; you have planted pleasant vineyards, but you shall not drink their wine. (5:11)

I smote you with blight and mildew; I laid waste your gardens and your vineyards; your fig trees and your olive trees the locust devoured; yet you did not return to me,” says the LORD. (4:9)

I will restore the fortunes of my people Israel, and they shall rebuild the ruined cities and inhabit them; they shall plant vineyards and drink their wine, and they shall make gardens and eat their fruit. (9:14)

The conjunction of kingship and agricultural prosperity echoes Psalm 72. God’s people will be (“planted in”) their land and dwell secure, as God had promised David: “And I . . . will plant them, that they may dwell in their own place, and be disturbed no more” (2 Sam 7:10).

4.2.5.4 Summary

Amos announced judgment on Israel, Judah (including Jerusalem/Zion), and the surrounding nations, but particularly on the northern kingdom. The “booth of David” had already suffered significant loss in the division into Israel and Judah. Even the brief renaissance enjoyed by the northern kingdom in the eighth century brought back only a fraction of the material and military prestige that the united kingdom earlier enjoyed. Worse, however, was yet to come. For its many sins, God announced that he would destroy the northern kingdom.

After announcing judgment on Israel and the nations, Amos promised that God would subsequently restore the Davidic kingdom for the purpose of blessing the nations. In uncertainty

¹⁴² I am indebted for the reference to 4:9 to Hubbard, *Joel and Amos*, 238. For earlier expressions of this frustration theme, see Deut 28:30–34, 38–42, 49–51. Its roots doubtless lie in Gen 3:16–19.

over the reading “the remnant of Edom” (or “remnant of men”), we must not miss the clear statement that “all the nations who are called by my name” are in view. Israel’s “possession” of the remnant of Edom and all the nations does not signify mere military conquest. When the name of Yahweh is called upon them, the nations are welcomed into the same status enjoyed by Israel, as the people of God.

4.3 The Expected Kingdom

4.3.1 The Kingdom in the Old Testament

The Davidic kingdom was not only a political fact in Amos’s day,¹⁴³ but an important part of eschatological expectation.¹⁴⁴ Even before the establishment of the kingdom, initially under Saul and then more firmly under David, there were hints of a coming kingdom.¹⁴⁵ Royal dominion was included in God’s promises to Abraham.

Behold, my covenant is with you, and you shall be the father of a multitude of nations. No longer shall your name be Abram, but your name shall be Abraham; for I have made you the father of a multitude of nations. I will make you exceedingly fruitful; and I will make nations of you, and kings shall come forth from you. (Gen 17:4–6)

And God said to Abraham, “As for Sarai your wife, you shall not call her name Sarai, but Sarah shall be her name. I will bless her, and moreover I will give you a son by her; I will bless her, and she shall be a mother of nations; kings of peoples shall come from her.” (Gen 17:15–16)

This promise was reaffirmed to Jacob, making clear that the promised kings would not arise merely from the collateral lines of Ishmael and Esau (Gen 17:20; 36:31), but the line of promise.

¹⁴³ Amos was himself from Judah and a subject of one of the Davidic kings, Uzziah/Azariah (Amos 1:1).

¹⁴⁴ “The earliest prophesies of salvation are associated with the figure of David.” Goppelt, *Typos*, 38, n. 99.

¹⁴⁵ An early date for these texts is challenged by those who date all of the Pentateuchal sources later than the establishment of the kingdom and the final form of these documents well after the exile. A strong case, however, can be made for a much earlier date for these materials. See, e.g., the conclusion of Roland K. Harrison, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1969), 541.

And God said to him, “I am God Almighty: be fruitful and multiply; a nation and a company of nations shall come from you, and kings shall spring from you. (Gen 35:11)

Regardless of how we are to understand the much-discussed *שִׁילֵהוּ* (“to whom it belongs”), the references to staff and scepter in the blessing of Jacob indicate an expectation of royal authority.

The scepter shall not depart from Judah, nor the ruler’s staff from between his feet, until he comes to whom it belongs; and to him shall be the obedience of the peoples. (Gen 49:10)

The third and fourth Balaam oracles speak of a powerful Israelite king or kingdom.

How fair are your tents, O Jacob, your encampments, O Israel! Like valleys that stretch afar, like gardens beside a river, like aloes that the LORD has planted, like cedar trees beside the waters. Water shall flow from his buckets, and his seed shall be in many waters, his king shall be higher than Agag, and his kingdom shall be exalted. God brings him out of Egypt; he has as it were the horns of the wild ox, he shall eat up the nations his adversaries, and shall break their bones in pieces, and pierce them through with his arrows. He crouched, he lay down like a lion, and like a lioness; who will rouse him up? Blessed be every one who blesses you, and cursed be every one who curses you.” (Num 24:5–9)

I see him, but not now; I behold him, but not nigh: a star shall come forth out of Jacob, and a scepter shall rise out of Israel; it shall crush the forehead of Moab, and break down all the sons of Sheth. Edom shall be dispossessed, Seir also, his enemies, shall be dispossessed, while Israel does valiantly. By Jacob shall dominion be exercised, and the survivors of cities be destroyed!” (Num. 24:17–19)

The Mosaic law explicitly provided for the eventual appointment of a king over Israel.

When you come to the land which the LORD your God gives you, and you possess it and dwell in it, and then say, “I will set a king over me, like all the nations that are round about me”; you may indeed set as king over you him whom the LORD your God will choose. One from among your brethren you shall set as king over you; you may not put a foreigner over you, who is not your brother. Only he must not multiply horses for himself, or cause the people to return to Egypt in order to multiply horses, since the LORD has said to you, “You shall never return that way again.” And he shall not multiply wives for himself, lest his heart turn away; nor shall he greatly multiply for himself silver and gold.

And when he sits on the throne of his kingdom, he shall write for himself in a book a copy of this law, from that which is in the charge of the Levitical priests; and it shall be with him, and he shall read in it all the days of his life, that he may learn to fear the LORD his God, by keeping all the words of this law and these statutes, and doing them; that his heart may not be lifted up above his brethren, and that he may

not turn aside from the commandment, either to the right hand or to the left; so that he may continue long in his kingdom, he and his children, in Israel. (Deut 17:14-20)

There was no king for many years, during which “every man did what was right in his own eyes” (Judg 17:6; 21:25).

When the kingdom was finally established, the initiative came from the people, not God, and was prompted by a desire for “a king to govern us like all the nations” (1 Sam 8:5), a desire ultimately based on their rejection of God as Israel’s king (1 Sam 8:7). Nevertheless, God directed Samuel to anoint Saul as Israel’s first king (1 Sam 9) and, after Saul’s failure to obey, to anoint David, the “man after [God’s] own heart” (1 Sam 13:14; 16), who became the model for and forefather of the king(s) of the dynasty to come.¹⁴⁶

The heart of later kingdom expectation was God’s covenant with David.

I will make for you a great name, like the name of the great ones of the earth. And I will appoint a place for my people Israel, and will plant them, that they may dwell in their own place, and be disturbed no more; and violent men shall afflict them no more, as formerly, from the time that I appointed judges over my people Israel; and I will give you rest from all your enemies. Moreover the LORD declares to you that the LORD will make you a house. When your days are fulfilled and you lie down with your fathers, I will raise up your offspring after you, who shall come forth from your body, and I will establish his kingdom. He shall build a house for my name, and I will establish the throne of his kingdom for ever. I will be his father, and he shall be my son. When he commits iniquity, I will chasten him with the rod of men, with the stripes of the sons of men; but I will not take my steadfast love from him, as I took it from Saul, whom I put away from before you. And your house and your kingdom shall be made sure for ever before me; your throne shall be established for ever. (2 Sam 7:9–16 || 2 Chr 17:8–14)

Second Samuel 23:1–7, Ps 89:3–4, 19–37; 132:11–12, and 17–18 also rehearse the terms of this covenant. In an important essay,¹⁴⁷ Walter Kaiser has noted the parallels between the Davidic

¹⁴⁶ For David as the model king, see Jer 30:9; Ezek 34:23–24; 37:24–25; Hos 3:5. For Davidic descent of Israel’s future kings, see Isa 55:3; Jer 23:5; 33:15, 17, 21–22, 26; Zech 12:7–8, 10, 12; 13:1; Ps 89:28, 36–37; 132:11, 17. For David’s name applied to the dynasty, see Isa 9:7; 16:5; Jer 17:25; 22:4; Amos 9:11.

¹⁴⁷ Walter C. Kaiser, Jr., “The Blessing of David: The Charter for Humanity,” in *The Law and the Prophets* (ed. John H. Skilton; Nutley, N. J.: Presbyterian and Reformed, 1974), 309.

covenant in 2 Sam 7 and the Abrahamic covenant: a name (2 Sam 7:9; Gen 12:2), a secure place to live (2 Sam 7:10; Gen 12:1; 15:7, 18–21), descendants (particularly a son, 2 Sam 7:12; Gen 15:4; 17:4–21), and “everlasting” duration (2 Sam 7:13, 16; Gen 17:7). Further, Kaiser has demonstrated that the Davidic covenant is of a piece with and an extension of the foundational covenant with Abraham.¹⁴⁸ Max Polley finds that central elements of the Davidic covenant are typical of those found in ancient royal grants: the loyalty of the recipient, the unconditional (hence everlasting) nature, and the gifts of land and dynasty. Polley also notes that these three elements likewise parallel the essential elements of the Abrahamic covenant.¹⁴⁹

Psalm 72 is particularly striking in its description of the reign of the ideal king. Not only does he rule in righteousness (2) and mercy (4, 12–14), but even the natural world blossoms in response to his reign (3, 7, 16). He reigns, not only over Israel, but “from sea to sea, to the ends of the earth” (8), over “all kings and all nations” (11), and “as long as the sun” (5, 17).¹⁵⁰ The language echoes the promise to Abraham, “all nations will be blessed through him, and they will call him blessed” (17b NIV). Israel’s king does not rule over or for Israel alone, but over and for the world. He becomes the focus of God’s promise to Abraham to bless the world.

¹⁴⁸ Kaiser sees the Davidic covenant a new phase in “a single program” begun by God in the covenant with Abraham. By contrast, Clements believes that the account of the Abrahamic covenant has been “moulded” in light of the Davidic covenant “as part of a conscious attempt to relate the two.” Ronald E. Clements, *Abraham and David: Genesis XV and Its Meaning in Israelite Tradition* (SBT 2/5; London: SCM Press, 1967), 55.

¹⁴⁹ Polley, *Amos*, 46, 48. The studies by Moshe Weinfeld to which Polley refers are: “Covenant, Davidic,” *IDB*, supplementary volume: 188–192; “The Covenant of Grant in the OT and in the Ancient Near East,” *JAOS*, 90 (1970):184–203; *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972).

¹⁵⁰ Cf. Ps 2:8: “Ask of me, and I will make the nations your heritage, and the ends of the earth your possession.”

The prophets spoke about the restoration of the Davidic kingdom after the coming judgment.¹⁵¹ Isaiah 9:7 promised that a new king who would rule on David's throne (cp. Jer 17:25; 22:4; 33:17; 33:21) in righteousness (cp. Isa 16:5; Jer 23:5; 33:15). In keeping with the promise of 2 Sam 7, this new king will be from the line of David¹⁵² and his reign will never end (Isa 22:15; Jer 33:17; cp. Ps 110:4). Several texts call this king "David" (Jer 30:9; Ezek 34:23–24; 37:24–25; Hos 3:5). He will rule in concert with Yahweh himself (Jer 30:9; Hos 3:5).

But they shall serve the LORD their God and David their king, whom I will raise up for them. (Jer 30:15)

Afterward the children of Israel shall return and seek the LORD their God, and David their king; and they shall come in fear to the LORD and to his goodness in the latter days. (Hos 3:5)

This rule will first be established over Israel (in Ezek 37 it is over the reunited twelve tribes). A universalizing dimension, however, is also evident in a number of texts. After echoing Ps 72 in describing the wisdom and righteousness which will characterize the reign of the ideal king, Isaiah 11:10 promised that "In that day the root of Jesse shall stand as an ensign to the peoples; him shall the nations seek . . ." In Isa 42:6 and 49:6, the royal servant of Yahweh, a figure with Davidic associations, is sent to be a light to the nations. Isaiah 55:3–5 reaffirmed the "everlasting covenant, my steadfast, sure love for David."

I made him a witness to the peoples, a leader and commander for the peoples.
Behold, you shall call nations that you know not, and nations that knew you not shall

¹⁵¹ For additional treatment of Davidic expectation in the Old Testament and pre-Christian Judaism, see Eduard Schweizer, "The Concept of the Davidic 'Son of God' in Acts and Its Old Testament Background," in *Studies in Luke-Acts* (ed. Leander E. Keck and James Louis Martyn; Nashville: Abingdon, 1966; repr., Mifflintown, Penn.: Siglar Press, 1999), 186–93; Strauss, *Davidic Messiah*, ch. 2.

¹⁵² From David's descendants (Jer 33:22, 26), the "house of David" (Isa 22:22; Zech 12:8, 10, 12; 13:1), the "root of Jesse," a "shoot" or "branch" (Isa 11:1; Jer 23:5; 33:15).

run to you, because of the LORD your God, and of the Holy One of Israel, for he has glorified you. (Isa 55:4–5)¹⁵³

All this fits in the larger context of prophetic expectation concerning not only the coming judgment, but also the blessing of the nations (e.g., Isa 2:2–4 || Mic 4:1–3; Isa 19:23–25; Ps 87).

4.3.2 The Davidic Kingdom in Amos

Apart from Amos 9, there is no explicit kingdom expectation in Amos. The mention of David in 6:5 is a musical, not a royal reference.¹⁵⁴ The other references to kings, kingdoms, and rulers are contemporary, not eschatological (1:1, 15; 2:1, 3; 6:2; 7:1, 10, 13; 9:8).¹⁵⁵ However, Amos' criticism of social injustice is an implied criticism of both king and kingdom. If the ideal king was to dispense justice,¹⁵⁶ the appalling injustice in the Israel under Jeroboam II was an indictment of his rule and must have aroused hope for a true king who would rule with justice.

4.3.3 The Davidic Kingdom in Second Temple Judaism

Expectation regarding the Davidic Kingdom grew during the Second Temple period.¹⁵⁷ Sirach and 1 Macc refer to the promise of David's descendants ruling on his throne (Sir 45:25; 47:22; 1 Macc 2:57). In 2 Esd 12:32 we find "the Messiah whom the Most High has kept until the end of days, who will arise from the posterity of David." Echoing canonical Old Testament

¹⁵³ In this text "the fulfillment of covenant mercies to David brings hope for the world at large, in keeping with Israel's mission to impart the knowledge of the true God to her neighbors." Frederick F. Bruce, *Peter, Stephen, James and John: Studies in Early Non-Pauline Christianity* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979), 95.

¹⁵⁴ "Who sing idle songs to the sound of the harp, and like David invent for themselves instruments of music."

¹⁵⁵ The one exception is the difficult reference to "Sakkuth your king" (5:23); if "king" is the correct reading of the text, the reference appears to be to a religious figure (i.e., an idol), rather than a political ruler.

¹⁵⁶ In addition to Ps 72, see 1 Kgs 10:9; Isa 9:7; Jer 23:5; contrast Jer 22:15.

¹⁵⁷ Julette M. Bassler, "A Man for All Seasons: David in Rabbinic and New Testament Literature," *Int* 40 (1986): 156–69; John J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature* (ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1995); Dennis C. Duling, "The Promises to David and their Entrance into Christianity: Nailing Down a Likely Hypothesis," *NTS* 20 (1973): 55–77; Cleon L. Rogers, Jr., "The Promises to David in Early Judaism," *BSac* 150 (1993): 285–302; Strauss, *Davidic Messiah*, 38–57.

texts, the *Pss. Sol.* describes at length how the “son of David,”¹⁵⁸ “the Lord Messiah” will bring judgment and justice to his people, Israel (17:21–44), including subjection of Gentile nations (17:30).¹⁵⁹ Among references to the coming Davidic king among the Qumran materials, 4QFlor contains an extended *peshet* on portions of 2 Sam 7:10–14 (with references to Exod 15:17–18 and Amos 9:11), 4Q252 joins the blessing on Judah (Gen 49:10) with the “branch of David,” 4Q161 comments on Isa 11:1–5, CD 7 joins Amos 5:26–27 with Amos 9:11 and Num 24:13, 4Q285 refers to the “shoot from the stump of Jesse,” and 4Q504 speaks of “your covenant with David.”

All the foundational elements of the promise tradition are present—God’s faithfulness to his covenant promises, the raising up of David’s ‘seed’, the reign of this Davidic heir forever on the Davidic throne, his domination of the pagan nations, and a father-son relationship with God.¹⁶⁰

4 Ezra 12:32, 34 speaks of “the Messiah who will arise from the posterity of David” who “will deliver in mercy the remnant of my people.” Strauss notes that “while the rabbinic literature expands and embellishes its messianic images with apocalyptic or other traditions, its descriptions agree in general with the portraits of the coming Davidic king found in the writings of the Second Temple period, and especially the *Psalms of Solomon*.”¹⁶¹ While much of the treatment of the Messiah in this literature focuses on his rule over Israel, *T. Jud.* draws together allusions to a number of prophetic texts related to the Messiah and his rule, and asserts that “the

¹⁵⁸ *Pss. Sol.* 17:21 appears to be the earliest witness to this Messianic title. Strauss, *Davidic Messiah*, 42.

¹⁵⁹ In the somewhat puzzling rendering of Isa 11:10 in the OG, God’s rule over the nations is beneficial: ὁ ἀνιστάμενος ἄρχειν ἐθνῶν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ ἔθνη ἐλπιοῦσιν (“he who rises to rule the Gentiles; in him shall the Gentiles hope,” quoted in Rom 15:12).

¹⁶⁰ Strauss, *Davidic Messiah*, 44. In some of these texts we find dual (royal and priestly) messiahs. Duling, “Promises,” 64–67.

¹⁶¹ Strauss, *Davidic Messiah*, 53.

Shoot of God Most High is the fountain for the life of all humanity” and “the rod of righteousness for the nations, to judge and save all that call on the Lord” (*T. Jud.* 24:4, 6).¹⁶²

4.3.4 The Davidic Kingdom in Luke-Acts

In the mid-1980s, Bovon noted that “No one to our knowledge has analyzed the figure of David in the writings of Luke.”¹⁶³ This deficiency has now been remedied by Mark L. Strauss.¹⁶⁴

The expected restoration of the Davidic kingdom is evident from the beginning of Luke’s gospel. The angel Gabriel is sent “to a virgin betrothed to a man whose name was Joseph, of the house of David” (1:27), to tell her that her son

will be great, and will be called the Son of the Most High; and the Lord God will give to him the throne of his father David, and he will reign over the house of Jacob for ever; and of his kingdom there will be no end. (1:32–33)¹⁶⁵

Zechariah praised God, because

he has raised up a horn of salvation for us in the house of his servant David, as he spoke by the mouth of his holy prophets from of old . . . to perform the mercy promised to our fathers, and to remember his holy covenant, the oath which he swore to our father Abraham.” (1:68–75)

At Jesus’ birth, angels announced that “to you is born this day in the city of David a Savior, who is Christ the Lord” (2:11, cf. 4). The kingdom was the heart of his message (4:43; 8:1; 9:11),¹⁶⁶ as well as the message he gave his apostles to proclaim (9:2, 60, 62; 10:9, 11). He cast out demons as a sign that the kingdom had come (11:20). He taught his disciples to pray for (11:2)

¹⁶² See also *T. Jud.* 22:2–3.

¹⁶³ Bovon, *Luke the Theologian*, 93. Bovon calls attention to the following texts: Luke 1:27, 32, 69, 2:4

¹⁶⁴ Strauss, *Davidic Messiah*.

¹⁶⁵ Fitzmyer has shown that these promises parallel those made to David in 2 Sam 7. Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 338.

¹⁶⁶ These texts speak of the kingdom “of God” (or simply “the kingdom”). The rule of Israel through God’s anointed king is an expression of God’s rule. See 1 Chr 17:14, where God place David’s son over “my kingdom.”

and to look forward to his kingdom (6:20; 12:32; 21:31). On his final journey to Jerusalem he was hailed as (and answered to) “Jesus, Son of David,” (18:35–43; cp. 20:41–45). On the night he was betrayed, he spoke to his disciples about the kingdom (22:16, 18, 29–30). The thief on the cross asked to be remembered when Jesus came into his kingdom (23:42). Joseph of Arimathea was “looking for the kingdom” (23:51). Luke 13:28–29 suggests that Gentiles will participate in the eschatological kingdom.¹⁶⁷ Jesus is “a light . . . to the Gentiles” (2:32 alluding to Isa 49:6), who meets a believing centurion (7:9) and a thankful Samaritan (17:18). “Repentance and forgiveness of sins should be preached in his name to all nations” (24:46).

In Acts, following his resurrection, Jesus again teaches his disciples about the kingdom (1:3). In 1:6–8, they ask whether Jesus will now restore the kingdom to Israel; he answers that the Spirit will soon come upon them and empower them as his witnesses to the end of the earth. Jesus does not here change the subject, correct them,¹⁶⁸ or point to the distant future,¹⁶⁹ but directly answers their question: the coming of the Spirit and their own subsequent testimony to the risen (Lord) Jesus *are* the means by which the kingdom is restored!¹⁷⁰ As in Luke’s earlier work, the kingdom remains at the heart of the message (8:12; 14:22; 19:8; 20:25; 28:23, 31). David and the words of David have a special place in understanding that message. David’s words had anticipated Judas’ betrayal (1:16–20 citing Ps 69:25; 109:8) and the opposition of the nations (4:24–28 citing Ps 2:1–2). Both are called God’s servant (3:25, 27, 30; 3:13–36). David spoke of

¹⁶⁷ Wilson, *Gentile Mission*, 33. The text reads: “And men will come from east and west, and from north and south, and sit at table in the kingdom of God.”

¹⁶⁸ E.g., Bruce, *Acts*; Fitzmyer, *Acts*.

¹⁶⁹ John A. McLean, “Did Jesus Correct the Disciples’ View of the Kingdom?,” *BSac* 151 (1994).

¹⁷⁰ Jacques Dupont, “La portée christologique de l’évangélisation des nations,” in *Nouvelle Études sur les Actes des Apôtres* (Paris: Cerf, 1984), 49.

the resurrection (2:25–32; 13:35–37 citing Ps 16:8–11; 132:11) and ascension of Christ (2:34–36 citing Ps 110:1). He was the model king, the one “after God’s heart,” and the ancestor of Jesus (13:22–23). Because “God had sworn with an oath to [David] that he would set one of his descendants upon his throne,” David foresaw Christ and his resurrection (2:30). By raising Jesus from the dead, “what God promised to the fathers, this he has fulfilled to us their children,” to “give you the holy and sure blessings of David” (13:34–36 citing Isa 55:3).¹⁷¹

This importance of the kingdom in Luke-Acts has been noted by a number of scholars.

David Ravens sees it as central to Luke’s purpose:

With his pastoral purpose in mind [i.e., convincing Jewish believers that they have not forsaken the people of God and assuring Gentile believers that they do in fact belong to the people of God], Luke has devised the following strategy. The first step is to show that Israel remains the people of God and that he has always planned to restore Israel to its pre-Davidic unity. . . .

The second step is to remind his readers that the prophets look forward to the time of the incoming Gentiles. The Gentile mission is therefore Israel’s mission and the route to the fulfillment of Israel’s destiny.¹⁷²

Not only does Luke look for the restoration of Israel but he has provided many clues about the form that Israel will take: it will be a reunited Israel under Jesus Messiah, the new Davidic king.¹⁷³

King and kingdom are therefore at the heart of both Luke’s purpose and Luke’s understanding of the divine purpose in Luke-Acts.

¹⁷¹ “For Luke, it is David, not Abraham who is the primary recipient of God’s promise.” Robert F. O’Toole, “Acts 2:30 and the Davidic Covenant of Pentecost,” *JBL* 102 (1983): 251, cf. 257.

¹⁷² David Ravens, *Luke and the Restoration of Israel* (JSNTSup 119; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 250.

¹⁷³ Ravens, *Restoration*, 255.

4.4 Acts 15:16–18

4.4.1 The Context of Acts 15:16-18

Acts 15 marks a critical point in both the book and the life of the early church.¹⁷⁴ M. Strauss has called “the Council of Jerusalem . . . the structural and theological centre of Acts.”¹⁷⁵ S. Wilson has written that “Ch. 15 forms a watershed in the book of Acts. It is a, if not the, turning point of the whole narrative.”¹⁷⁶ J. Dupont speaks of the “centre du livre et pivot du récit des Actes.”¹⁷⁷ The gospel had spread from Jerusalem and Judea, through Samaria, and on toward “the end of the earth.” In doing so, it penetrated communities of Diaspora Jews, and even overflowed these communities so that many Gentiles on the fringes of the synagogue had come to believe. But when many Diaspora Jews rejected their message, Paul and Barnabas began preaching more widely to Gentiles, supporting this radical step by appealing to Isa 49:6 as a command addressed to them (Acts 13:47). The resulting success of this intentional Gentile mission soon led to sharp disagreements regarding the way in which Gentile believers were to be admitted to the church, the role of circumcision and the Mosaic law, the appropriateness of table fellowship between believers of Jewish and Gentile backgrounds (Gal 2:11–14).

The controversy that led to the council in Acts 15 arose in Antioch. Some time after Paul and Barnabas’ first missionary journey,

some men came down from Judea and were teaching the brethren, “Unless you are circumcised according to the custom of Moses, you cannot be saved.” And when Paul and Barnabas had no small dissension and debate with them, Paul and Barnabas

¹⁷⁴ It is not necessary to review the complex discussion of the relationship between Acts and Galatians on the matter of Paul’s visits to Jerusalem. On this, see, e.g., Bruce, *Acts*; Fitzmyer, *Acts*; Witherington, *Acts*.

¹⁷⁵ Strauss, *Davidic Messiah*, 180.

¹⁷⁶ Wilson, *Gentile Mission*, 192–93.

¹⁷⁷ Dupont, “Un peuple,” 322.

and some of the others were appointed to go up to Jerusalem to the apostles and the elders about this question. (15:1–2)

It is important to note that the question here is not one merely of table fellowship, but of the relationship of circumcision and the Mosaic law to the salvation of Gentiles and their admission to the people of God (“Unless you are circumcised . . . you cannot be saved.”). This point must be emphasized in light of the frequent claim that the issue before the council was merely that of table fellowship. Further, it is not circumcision alone that is the issue, but the accompanying responsibility of the law: “It is necessary to circumcise them, and to charge them to keep the law of Moses” (15:5; cp. Gal 5:3¹⁷⁸). The “yoke” to which Simeon referred (15:10) would have been the law (“the yoke of the commandments,” *m. Ber.* 2:2)¹⁷⁹ and not circumcision alone. The terms of the “apostolic decree” (15:29) are more fitting as an alternative to the provisions of the Mosaic law than as an alternative to circumcision alone.¹⁸⁰ At the same time, it appears that it is not the whole law that is in view, but its distinctive ceremonial provisions, as is evident elsewhere in Luke-Acts and the New Testament.¹⁸¹ Moral obligations to love God and neighbor and to refrain from murder, theft, adultery, etc. were not in question and are consistently affirmed throughout the New Testament (e.g., Matt 5:17–48; 22:37–40; Rom 13:8–10; Gal 5:22–23; Eph 6:1–3).¹⁸²

¹⁷⁸ “I testify again to every man who receives circumcision that he is bound to keep the whole law.” (μαρτύρομαι δὲ πάλιν παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ περιτεμνομένῳ ὅτι ὀφειλέτης ἐστὶν ὅλον τὸν νόμον ποιῆσαι.)

¹⁷⁹ Bruce, *Acts (Greek, 3d ed.)*, 290–91.

¹⁸⁰ The terms of the decree are not substituted for circumcision or the law as requirements for salvation. Salvation by faith, without any ceremonial observance, has already been established (Acts 10:47; 11:15; 15:8–11).

¹⁸¹ Luke 6:1–11; 11:37–41; 13:10–17; 14:1–6; Acts 6:14; 21:21; Gal 4:10; Rom 14:2–6; Col 2:11, 16–17.

¹⁸² Luke 10:25–28; 18:18–20; Matt 5:17–18; Rom 13:8–10; Gal 5:22–23; Eph 6:1–3. The decree was not intended to be the sole obligation or the exhaustive code of conduct for the Gentile believers. “Moral rules, such as the Ten Commandments, were already assumed. All Christians, Jew and Gentile, lived by them . . . Morality was not the issue at the Jerusalem Conference.” Polhill, *Acts*, 331–32.

As the delegates make their way to Jerusalem (15:3), and again after they have arrived in the city (15:4), Paul and Barnabas “reported the conversion of the Gentiles” and “declared all that God had done with them.” The language echoes the summary of Paul’s first missionary journey: “they . . . declared all that God had done with them, and how he had opened a door of faith to the Gentiles” (14:27).

The record of the council’s deliberations is presented in three stages. First, after “much debate,” Peter recounted his role in the initial introduction of the gospel to the Gentiles, recorded in Acts 10–11. He ascribed the leading role in those events to God (“God made choice among you, that by my mouth the Gentiles should hear the word of the gospel and believe”) and drew the following conclusions:

1. By giving the Holy Spirit, God showed his acceptance of Gentile believers.
2. This acceptance was based on their faith in Christ, not on their circumcision or obedience.
3. In this, God made no distinction between Jews and newly believing Gentiles.¹⁸³
4. God had cleansed¹⁸⁴ the hearts of these believing Gentiles by faith.¹⁸⁵
5. Circumcision and the Mosaic law were a burden that Jews had never been able to bear.
6. To require the same of Gentile believers (after Acts 10) would be to test God.
7. Salvation is by grace (not by circumcision or law), for both Jew and Gentile.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸³ Not only is there “no distinction,” but J. Dupont has noted the framing: “them . . . as us” (v. 8), “we . . . just as they” (v. 11). Dupont, “Un peuple,” 323.

¹⁸⁴ Purification figures prominently in Acts 10–11 (10:15, 28; 11:9), Dupont, “Un peuple,” 329.

¹⁸⁵ Van de Sandt’s assertion that “the beginning of [Peter’s] speech is not connected with what went before” is surprising. Sandt, “Explanation,” 75. It overlooks the relevance of the reception of the Spirit, the abolition of distinction, and the cleansing of heart to the question of circumcision and the law. In fact, both circumcision (Gen 17:10–14) and the law were clearly understood to be distinguishing marks of the people of God (Deut 4:6–8; Eph 2:14–16). The symbolism of circumcision was of cleansing. True circumcision was thus a cleansing of the heart. (Deut 30:6; Jer 4:4; 9:25; cp. Rom 2:28–29). George A. Buttrick, ed. *Interpreter’s Dictionary of the Bible* (4 vols.; *IDB*; Nashville: Abingdon, 1962), s.v. “Circumcision”.

Barnabas and Paul¹⁸⁷ then recounted for the fourth time (15:12; cp. 14:27; 15:3, 4) what God had done among the Gentiles through them. Specifically, they describe the “signs and wonders” God had done,¹⁸⁸ echoing the “signs and wonders” accomplished at the time of the Exodus,¹⁸⁹ when God took Israel for himself (Deut 4:34, ὁ θεὸς εἰσελθὼν λαβεῖν ἑαυτῷ ἔθνος),¹⁹⁰ the signs and wonders prophesied by Joel (Acts 2:19–20), and the “mighty works and wonders and signs which God did through” Jesus (Acts 2:22).

Then James spoke. He characterized the events Peter had described¹⁹¹ as “God taking from among the Gentiles a people for his name” (ὁ θεὸς ἐπεσκέψατο λαβεῖν ἐξ ἐθνῶν λαὸν τῷ

¹⁸⁶ J. Dupont helpfully notes that Peter’s address contains two parts: the first describes past events (vv. 7–9); the second asks his hearers how, on this basis, they should regard believing Gentiles. Dupont, “Un peuple,” 323.

¹⁸⁷ This order appears only here, 14:14 and 15:25. Seven other times it is “Paul and Barnabas.” (Earlier in their association it was “Barnabas and Saul,” Acts 11:30; 12:25; 13:2, 7.)

¹⁸⁸ In the New Testament, “signs and wonders” validate the gospel and its messengers (except in Acts 7:36; see Acts 2:19, 22, 43; 4:30; 5:12; 6:8; 14:3; 15:12; Rom 15:19; 2 Cor 2:12; Heb 2:4; cp. John 4:48 and counterfeits in Matt 24:24; Mark 13:22; 2 Thess 2:9).

¹⁸⁹ E.g., Exod 7:4, 9; 11:9–10; Deut 4:34; 6:22; 7:19; 11:3; 26:8; 29:3; 34:11; Ps 78:43; 105:27; 135:9; Jer 32:20–21. “When in the LXX the phrase “signs and wonders” is used, the reference is usually to the emancipation of Israel from Egypt . . . From the allusion to Exod. 7.3 in Acts 7.36 (and maybe from 2.19 as well) it is obvious that Luke was acquainted with its reference to the Exodus.” Sandt, “Explanation,” 91. See also Karl Heinrich Rengstorff, “σημεῖον,” *TDNT* 7:242.

¹⁹⁰ Sandt, “Explanation,” 88.

¹⁹¹ It has been suggested that Συμεών here refers not to Simon Peter but to someone else. Simon Peter is never called Συμεών in Luke-Acts (only in 2 Peter 2:1 in the entire New Testament and there the text is in doubt), but in Acts is called Σίμων only in 10: 5, 18, 32; 11:13—and even there with the qualifier ἐπικαλεῖται Πέτρος. Two alternatives have been proposed, based on a statement of Chrysostom, the text of which is also in doubt. The shorter text identifies this Συμεών with the “righteous and devout” man in Luke 2:25–35. Reisner finds much appealing in this view and suggests that the *Nunc Dimittis* is in view. Reisner, “James’s Speech.” This view is mentioned, but already discounted by Frederick J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, eds., *The Beginnings of Christianity, Part I: The Acts of the Apostles* (5 vols.; London: Macmillan, 1920–1933; repr., Grand Rapids: Baker, 1979), 4:175; Williams, *Acts*, 182. The longer text suggests that this Συμεών a third person; some have suggested Simon Niger, who may perhaps been one of the representatives to the council from the church in Antioch. Fitzmyer finds the latter view “highly plausible.” Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 552–53. Neither of these views has gained much acceptance. The connection with the events of Acts 10–11 indicates that, despite the unusual form of the name, Simon Peter is meant.

ὄνοματι αὐτοῦ), anticipating the language of Amos 9:12b (Acts 15:17b).¹⁹² With these events, or with this interpretation of these events, James asserted, “the words of the prophets agree,” citing the text from Amos 9:11–12.¹⁹³ As Paul’s and Barnabas’ decision to “turn to the Gentiles” had been sealed with a citation from the Old Testament, so here the decision of the council will be settled by James’ appeal to an Old Testament citation. Strauss has argued that “James’ address is the climactic and deciding section of the narrative of ch. 15” and that “the citation of Amos 9.11–12 forms the crux of James’ argument.”¹⁹⁴

James here followed a line of argumentation found elsewhere in Acts, joining the observation of “the things which have been accomplished among us” (Luke 1:1) with “the words of the prophets.”¹⁹⁵ From this interpretation of events, with the support of the citation, James concluded that the council should not “trouble” (παρενοχλεῖν) or put obstacles in the way of the Gentiles who are “turning to God”¹⁹⁶ (and whom in fact God had already accepted). Accordingly, James proposed several limited obligations, the “apostolic decree.” James’

¹⁹² Ådna, “James,” 149; Bauckham, “James and the Gentiles,” 171. J. Dupont has effectively argued that this anticipation indicates clearly that the Amos citation is not a later addition. Jacques Dupont, “ΛΑΟΣ’ ΕΞ’ ΕΘΝΩΝ (Act. xv. 14),” *NTS* 3 (1956): 47–50. Dupont particularly has in mind the arguments of J. N. Sanders, “Peter and Paul in the Acts,” *NTS* 2 (1955–56), 133–43.

¹⁹³ The movement here is, in the characterization of E. Earle Ellis, “Current Event → Scripture,” rather than “Scripture → Current Event.” Although Ellis does not comment on this particular passage in light of this schema, he finds that “most *testimonia* in the New Testament follow the sequence Current Event → Scripture.” Edward Earle Ellis, “Midrashic Features in the Speeches of Acts,” in *Prophecy and Hermeneutic in Early Christianity* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978), 204.

¹⁹⁴ Strauss, *Davidic Messiah*, 182.

¹⁹⁵ In a similar vein, Christopher Stanley has observed that Paul seldom argues by appeal to Scripture alone. Stanley, “Quotations,” 714–15. “The use of multiple lines of argumentation is a standard recommendation of rhetoricians as far back as Aristotle.” Stanley, “Pearls,” 140, n. 35. If anything, the argument here is based first of all on what God has done, confirmed or interpreted by scripture in what appears to be almost a secondary role.

¹⁹⁶ Note the use of the present, suggesting that this turning to God on the part of the Gentiles is not yet completed, but is expected to continue.

concluding statement in v. 21 (that Moses is read in synagogues everywhere) is puzzling and there is little consensus on what it means or precisely how it contributes to the argument.

The assembly agreed with James' reading of the situation and the scriptures. It decided to send a delegation of leaders from the church in Jerusalem with Paul and Barnabas back to Antioch. The delegation carried a letter from the apostles and elders that included the apostolic decree. This letter disavowed those who had disturbed the church at Antioch, affirmed the apostles' fellowship with Barnabas and Paul, introduced the delegates Judas and Silas, and listed the obligations James had proposed.

Acts 15 offers a two-layered argument. The summary of the arguments advanced in the council¹⁹⁷ is joined to the narrative of the council's action, which itself makes an argument that the council's decision had indeed "seemed good to the Holy Spirit" as well as to the church's leaders. Readers have already noted that the gospel has been accepted by many Gentiles.¹⁹⁸ Paul and Barnabas had embarked on an intentional mission to Gentiles, based on their reading of Isa 49:6 (Acts 13:47). Before the council, Paul and Barnabas had announced "the conversion of the Gentiles" and "all that God had done with them" (15:3, 4). The council's (unanimous?) decision (15:22), the sending of the council's letter (15:23–29), and its favorable reception by the church in Antioch (15:30–34) all underscore that the council's decision has in fact been the decision of God. The council's deliberations, however, remain the centerpiece of the argument.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁷ The account is certainly abridged. There had already been "much discussion" before the first of Luke's recorded comments (15:7). Any arguments that may have been offered by the other side are omitted entirely.

¹⁹⁸ Cf. Acts 8:26-40; 10:1-11:18; 11:19-26; 13-14. These historical events, together with other events recorded later in the narrative and with the citations considered elsewhere in the present study, offer yet another layer of argument in support of the Gentile mission.

¹⁹⁹ "For here, Luke says, the problem of the Gentiles and the Gentile mission is once and for all decided at a meeting in Jerusalem of all the main figures in the early church." Wilson, *Gentile Mission*, 178. This "once and for all" view has been criticized by Richard, who argues that earlier events have already pointed toward the Gentile mission and this theme continues to be presented as late as chapter 28. Richard, "Divine Purpose." In terms of the

Some commentators have seen significance in the fact that Acts contains one other citation from the book of Amos, the citation of Amos 5:25–27 in Acts 7:42b–43. Portions of both Amos 9:11b and 5:26–27a (somewhat freely) are also cited in CD VII. 14–17.²⁰⁰ Earl Richard has argued that “Luke seems to write in a cumulative way so that later narratives and speeches develop earlier themes”²⁰¹ and that the citations are related by the common themes of the exile (μετὰ ταῦτα in 15:16a) and tabernacle. We will see that there are better ways to understand the appearance of μετὰ ταῦτα and that “tabernacle” is not the best rendering of σκηνή in Acts 15. While it is striking that Luke includes two citations from such a brief book (and one that is not explicitly cited elsewhere in the New Testament), two other citations from the Minor Prophets (Joel 2:28–32 in Acts 2:16–21; Hab 1:5 in Acts 13:40–41) indicate that the book of the Twelve was familiar to Luke. The strongly dissimilar contexts and the slimness of the evidence make it unlikely that there is a substantial connection between the two citations.

4.4.2 The Text of Acts 15:16-18

Acts 15:16–18	Acts 15:16–18 RSV	Acts 15:16–18 (author)
μετὰ ταῦτα	16a ‘After this	“After these things,
ἀναστρέψω	b I will return, and	I will return and
καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσω τὴν σκηνὴν Δαυὶδ τὴν πεπτωκυῖαν	c I will rebuild the dwelling of David, which has fallen;	I will build up David’s fallen tent
καὶ τὰ κατεσκαμμένα	d I will rebuild its ruins,	and I will build up its ruins
αὐτῆς ἀνοικοδομήσω καὶ ἀνορθώσω αὐτήν,	e and I will set it up,	and I will restore it

argument of Acts, Richard may be correct: the narrative continues to demonstrate the fruitfulness of the Gentile mission and God’s superintendence of it. This is, however, is not precisely Wilson’s point: Acts does indicate that the question of how and whether the Gentiles were to be included was given a definitive answer at a particular point in time—and in the narrative. The subsequent opposition comes not from within the church but from Jews.

²⁰⁰ The interpretation of both texts given there, however, is quite different from that in Acts.

²⁰¹ Earl Richard, “The Creative Use of Amos by the Author of Acts,” *NovT* 24 (1982): 49.

ὅπως ἂν ἐκζητήσωσιν οἱ κατάλοιποι τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸν κύριον	17a	that the rest of men may seek the Lord,	so that the rest of men may seek the Lord
καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐφ' οὓς ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐπ' αὐτούς,	b	and all the Gentiles who are called by my name,	and all the nations upon whom my name is called
λέγει κύριος ποιῶν ταῦτα	c	says the Lord, who has made these things	says the Lord who does these things,"
γνωστὰ ἀπ' αἰῶνος.	18	known from of old.'	known from of old.

There are four variants that must be considered in establishing the text of Acts 15:16–18.

Three are of little consequence. Only D supports the reading ἐπιστρέψω for ἀναστρέψω in 16b and so this reading should be rejected (even though the former is more common in the New Testament and Luke-Acts in particular).²⁰² The alternative readings for κατεσκαμμένα (16d) in both the OG and New Testament have been noted in the discussion of the OG above. The evidence supports the decision of the editors of the NA²⁷ and UBS⁴ in favor of κατεσκαμμένα.²⁰³ The omission of ὁ in 17c is more difficult to decide in terms of the external evidence, but the decision is of little consequence for the interpretation of the text. The more complicated question regarding the final words of the text will be considered below.

The text of Acts 15:16–18, however, raises additional issues, because the citation differs considerably from both the MT and the OG of Amos 9:11–12.²⁰⁴ The chart below demonstrates these differences: differences from the MT to the OG/NT are marked with single underlining, differences from the MT to the NT with heavy underlining, and differences from the OG to the NT with double underlining. Omissions from the OG in NT are marked with brackets [].

²⁰² ἐπιστρέψω occurs 18 times in Luke-Acts and 18 more in the rest of the New Testament, while ἀναστρέψω occurs only two times in Acts and seven times in the rest of the New Testament.

²⁰³ The different conclusion of Tischendorf, WH, and NA²⁵ requires a measure of humility.

²⁰⁴ E. Earle Ellis has noted that all nine of the New Testament quotations that include λέγει κύριος “vary, to one extent or another, both from the LXX and the M.T.” Edward Earle Ellis, “Λέγει Κύριος Quotations in the New Testament,” in *Prophecy and Hermeneutic in Early Christianity* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978), 182.

Amos 9:11–12 MT	Amos 9:11–12 OG	Acts 15:16–18
בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא	11a ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ	16a <u>μετὰ ταῦτα</u>
אָקִים אֶת־כַּפַּת דָּוִד הַנִּפְלֵא	b ἀναστήσω τὴν σκηνὴν Δαυὶδ τὴν πεπτωκυῖαν	b <u>ἀναστρέψω</u>
וְנִדְרָתִי אֶת־פְּרָצֵיהֶן	c καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσω τὰ πεπτωκότα αὐτῆς	c <u>καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσω</u> τὴν σκηνὴν Δαυὶδ τὴν πεπτωκυῖαν
וְהִרְבֵּיתִי אֶקִים	d καὶ τὰ κατεσκαμμένα αὐτῆς ἀναστήσω	d καὶ τὰ κατεσκαμμένα αὐτῆς <u>ἀνοικοδομήσω</u>
וְהִבְרִיתִי	e καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσω αὐτήν	e καὶ <u>ἀνορθώσω</u> αὐτήν,
בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא	f καθὼς αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ αἰῶνος	
לְמַעַן יִרְשׁוּ אֶת־שְׂאֵרֵי עֵדוֹם	12a ὅπως ἐκζητήσωσιν οἱ <u>κατάλοιποι τῶν ἀνθρώπων</u>	17a ὅπως <u>ἂν</u> ἐκζητήσωσιν οἱ <u>κατάλοιποι τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸν κύριον</u>
וְכָל־הַגּוֹיִם אֲשֶׁר־נִקְרָא	b καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, ἐφ' οὓς ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐπ' αὐτούς	b καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐφ' οὓς ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐπ' αὐτούς,
שְׂכָנֵי עֲלֵיהֶם	c λέγει κύριος <u>ὁ θεὸς ὁ ποιῶν ταῦτα</u> .	c λέγει κύριος [ὁ θεὸς] [ὁ ποιῶν <u>ταῦτα</u>
וְהָאֵלֱהִים עִשָׂא		18 γνωστὰ ἀπ' αἰῶνος.

It is immediately apparent that the Amos citation in Acts 15 is based on but adapted from the OG text.²⁰⁵ The influence of the OG is clear in the αὐτῆς of 16d. Verse 17a follows the OG readings ἐκζητήσωσιν and οἱ κατάλοιποι τῶν ἀνθρώπων (“that the rest of men may seek”) instead of MT “that they may possess the remnant of Edom.” As noted above (section 4.2.4.2), the OG and New Testament manuscript traditions share some of the same textual variants. Significantly, there appear to be no manuscript tradition in which the New Testament form of the citation appears to conform to the MT against the OG.

It has been suggested that Acts 15:16 independently reproduces an alternative Hebrew *Vorlage*. Although such a claim remains conjectural in the absence of a Hebrew text with these

²⁰⁵ Holtz sees a sharp distinction between v. 17, which adheres closely to the OG (“ein ganz genaues Zitat von Amos 9,12”), and v. 16, which departs significantly from the OG (“eine gekürzte Wiedergabe des Textes, dessen Charakter nicht ganz deutlich ist und von dem nicht mit Sicherheit gesagt werden kann, wieweit es von der LXX abhängig ist”). Holtz, *Untersuchungen*, 23–25.

distinctive readings, de Waard and others have claimed that adaptations in the citations of Amos 9:11 at Qumran (4Q174 1 I, 21, 2 and CD^a VII, 16) indicate that such a *Vorlage* did exist and that “the text form of the Amos quotation in Acts differs from that of the MT and the LXX, but it is exactly identical with that of 4QFlor.”²⁰⁶ In fact, the differences are less than are claimed.²⁰⁷ The only difference that would be reflected in Greek would be καί (Acts 15:16c) representing initial *wāw* in Amos 9:11b,²⁰⁸ but, καί would be required in any case by the apparent addition of ἀναστρέψω at the beginning of the quotation (an addition not explained the Qumran citations). Also, καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσω appears already in the OG of Amos 9:11c (otherwise omitted from Acts 15:16); it is more likely that this expression was substituted for ἀναστήσω in Amos 9:11b than that καί in Acts 15:16c is evidence of an alternative Hebrew *Vorlage*.²⁰⁹

There are several relatively minor differences between Acts 15:16–18 and the OG. The particle ἄν appears to have been added to Acts 15:17a (Amos 9:12a). While it appears in a few OG manuscripts, this OG variant is likely derived from Acts 15 and may have been added to Acts 15 for stylistic reasons (perhaps archaizing the language).²¹⁰ Its presence or absence does not

²⁰⁶ Waard, *Comparative Study*, 25, cf. 78. See also George J. Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran: 4QFlorilegium in its Jewish Context* (JSOTSup 29; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985), 210–11; Reisner, “James’s Speech,” 271.

²⁰⁷ The Qumran materials read וְהִקְיִמּוּהוּ (waw plus perfect) in place of the imperfect וְהִקְיִמּוּ. F. F. Bruce wisely argues that “It takes more than the omission of ‘in that day’ and the insertion of ‘and’ before ‘I will (re)build’ to provide an adequate basis for such a conclusion.” Bruce, *Acts (Greek, 3d ed.)*, 340. So earlier Chaim Rabin, *The Zadokite Documents* (2d rev. ed.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), 29. See also Martin Stowasser, “Am 5,25–27; 9,11f. in der Qumranüberlieferung und in der Apostelgeschichte,” *ZNW* 92 (2001): 47–63.

²⁰⁸ The introductory formula “as it is written” (present in 4Q174, but “as he said” in CD^a) is common enough that there is no need to hypothesize that a text with this formula must lie behind Acts 15:16.

²⁰⁹ Ådna argues for an alternative Hebrew *Vorlage* behind Acts 15:17, but concedes that it “on its own” the case is “very speculative,” and is rendered “more likely” only in light of the supposed *Vorlage* lying behind 15:16 (viewed as established). Ådna, “James,” 138.

²¹⁰ Richard, “Creative Use,” 46. “ὅπως has largely lost its ἄν in NT.” James Hope Moulton et al., *A Grammar of New Testament Greek* (4 vols.; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1908–1976), 3:105. See also BDF, §369(5).

significantly affect the meaning of the text. The omission of the article ὁ in 17c (ποιῶν in place of ὁ ποιῶν) may likewise be understood as a stylistic variation that has little effect on the meaning. The addition of τὸν κύριον in 17a (Amos 9:12a) was likely prompted by the seemingly incomplete expression “that the rest of men may seek.”²¹¹ Some OG manuscripts likewise insert τὸν κύριον while others insert με. (It is impossible to know whether the text of Acts influenced the OG or whether Acts reflects an OG text, which had these words.)

The changes in the verbs in verse 16 are more striking. Acts has ἀνοικοδομήσω (16c, 16d) for ἀναστήσω (Amos 9:11b, 11d). It has been suggested that this substitution reflects Luke’s desire to reserve ἀνίστημι for the resurrection of Christ.²¹² When the OG of Amos has ἀνοικοδομήσω, Acts first omits Amos 9:11c entirely and then substitutes ἀνορθώσω in 16e (Amos 9:11e).²¹³ The effect is to produce a nice chiasm:²¹⁴

ἀνοικοδομήσω τὴν σκηνὴν Δαυὶδ τὴν πεπτωκυῖαν
καὶ τὰ κατεσκαμμένα αὐτῆς ἀνοικοδομήσω

Finally, Acts adds ἀναστρέψω καὶ (16b), which does not correspond to anything in the MT or OG of Amos 9. None of these differences significantly alters the sense of the cited text. While these differences could arise from a particular OG manuscript(s) at Luke’s (or James’) disposal,

²¹¹ Nägele believes that “God” could be understood as implicit in the Hebrew עֲלֵה, but not in the Greek ἐκζητέω, prompting this “filling in” of the text in Acts 15. Nägele, *Laubhütte Davids*, 88. Richard views the addition as “redactional” Richard, “Creative Use,” 46.

²¹² Richard notes that the verb is used intransitively nine times in Acts, six with reference to the resurrection of Christ and three with reference to Deut 18:15. Richard, “Creative Use,” 47; “Divine Purpose,” 206, n.38. Bauckham’s point appears well taken when he argues that the substitution of ἀνοικοδομήσω for ἀναστήσω here clearly shows that Amos 9:11 here is *not* employed as a prophecy of Christ’s resurrection (*contra* Haenchen). Bauckham, “James and the Gentiles,” 157.

²¹³ Both of these words are comparatively rare: ἀνοικοδομέω occurs twenty times in the canonical OG and only these two times in the NT; ἀνορθώω only fourteen times in the OG and two other times in the NT (Luke 13:13; Heb 12:12). If in fact the author substituted ἀνοικοδομήσω for ἀναστήσω for theological reasons, he may have felt obliged to provide a different word in place of ἀνοικοδομήσω in 16e for stylistic reasons.

²¹⁴ Breaking the symmetry of the OG (ἀναστήσω . . . ἀνοικοδομήσω . . . ἀναστήσω . . . ἀνοικοδομήσω).

no OG manuscript with the distinctive readings found in Acts 15 has come down to us. The differences are better understood as stylistic changes that a speaker (or writer) might make inadvertently when citing from memory or intentionally by way of paraphrasing the text.

The text of Acts 15:16 omits two phrases from Amos 9:11. The omission of Amos 9:11c, καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσω τὰ πεπτωκότα αὐτῆς, does not significantly affect the meaning,²¹⁵ and its omission here appears to be for the purpose of creating the chiasm. The omission of Amos 9:11f, καθὼς αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ αἰῶνος, is likely due to conscious adaptation—James does not understand the prophecy to indicate merely the restoration of things as they used to be, but cites the Amos 9:11–12 to substantiate the claim that, in accepting the Gentiles as he is, God is doing something new. Others have suggested that the phrase has not been omitted, but displaced to the end of the citation and is reflected in the puzzling γνωστὰ ἀπ’ αἰῶνος in 15:18.²¹⁶

The initial words of the citation have attracted considerable attention. Verse 16a has μετὰ ταῦτα in place of ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ (the OG straightforwardly represents the MT בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא). The latter is by far the more common expression, occurring 109 times in the prophets in the MT (and translated by ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ all but 11 of those times in the OG).²¹⁷ The former expression, μετὰ ταῦτα, is used only four times in the OG of the prophets for the eschatological future,²¹⁸ and four times in the New Testament (Acts 7:7; Heb 4:8; 1 Pet 1:11; Rev 20:3).

²¹⁵ Bauckham believes 9:11c is omitted because it “suggests more strongly the walls of a city than those of a temple,” although this assumes that OG is not the basis of the citation. Bauckham, “James and the Gentiles,” 160.

²¹⁶ Toy, *Quotations*, 122.

²¹⁷ Or by a variant such as ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. Of the 11 instances, one reads ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ (Zeph 3:16), while the expression is omitted from the others altogether.

²¹⁸ Each time as a translation of אַחֲרַיִת or אַחֲרַיִת (Hosea 3:5; Joel 3:1; Isa 1:26; Jer 21:7). Cf. Gen 15:14 etc.

Barrett and Richard have separately observed that μετὰ ταῦτα here in place of ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ, is almost exactly the opposite of 2:17, where Acts reads καὶ ἔσται ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις in place of μετὰ ταῦτα (Joel 3:1 OG).²¹⁹ Similarly, Acts has μετὰ ταῦτα (7:7) for ἐν τῷ ἐξαγαγεῖν σε τὸν λαόν μου ἐξ Αἰγύπτου from Exod 3:12. These exchanges suggest a certain flexibility in citing prophetic language regarding future time.²²⁰ In any case, the applicability of the text to the point under discussion in Acts 15 did not depend on these particular words. It is not necessary to posit that borrowing from another Old Testament text, a lost manuscript tradition, or dependence on Qumran parallels. This substitution is more likely simply a free adaptation, perhaps from memory, of the text of Amos 9:11a.

Bauckham²²¹ and others²²² have claimed that μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναστρέψω is taken from Jer 12:15–16 (see NA²⁷ margin) or Hos 3:5a, but these claims are open to question. Hos 3:5a reads:

καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπιστρέψουσιν οἱ υἱοὶ
 Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἐπιζητήσουσιν κύριον τὸν
 θεὸν αὐτῶν καὶ Δαυὶδ τὸν βασιλέα
 αὐτῶν.

And after these things the sons of
 Israel will return and will seek the
 Lord their God and David their king

To be sure, μετὰ ταῦτα appears here, but the phrase occurs ten other times in the OG of the prophets. The conjunction of ἐπιστρέψουσιν, ἐπιζητήσουσιν κύριον τὸν θεὸν²²³ and Δαυὶδ may seem striking, but each is too common to establish the claim of dependence or conflation. Further, ἐπιστρέψουσιν is not ἀναστρέψω in lexical form, person or number, and

²¹⁹ Barrett, *Acts*, 725; Richard, “Creative Use,” 47.

²²⁰ “The two temporal elements seem to have been interchanged according to the author’s needs.” Richard, “Creative Use,” 47, n. 23.

²²¹ Bauckham, “James and the Gentiles,” 163–64.

²²² Ådna, “Die Heilige Schrift,” 5–8; “James,” 133–34; Clarke, “Use,” 2:94.

²²³ Only here. With τὸν κύριον in 2 Kings 3:11; 8:8; 22:18 (i.e., without τὸν θεὸν).

is a common word in any case.²²⁴ Nor is the comparatively rare ἐπιζητήσουσιν²²⁵ the more common ἐκζητήσουσιν, although to “seek the Lord” (or “the face of the Lord,” or “him,” etc.) is a common expression. References to the Davidic kingdom are frequent enough.²²⁶

Jeremiah 12:15–16 reads:

καὶ ἔσται μετὰ τὸ ἐκβαλεῖν με αὐτούς ἐπιστρέψω καὶ ἐλεήσω αὐτούς καὶ κατοικιῶ αὐτούς ἕκαστον εἰς τὴν κληρονομίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἕκαστον εἰς τὴν γῆν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔσται ἂν μαθόντες μάθωσιν τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ λαοῦ μου τοῦ ὀμνύειν τῷ ὀνόματί μου ζῆ κύριος καθὼς ἐδίδαξαν τὸν λαόν μου ὀμνύειν τῇ Βααλ καὶ οἰκοδομηθήσονται ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ λαοῦ μου

And after I have plucked them up, I will again have compassion on them, and I will bring them again each to his heritage and each to his land. And it shall come to pass, if they will diligently learn the ways of my people, to swear by my name, ‘As the LORD lives,’ even as they taught my people to swear by Baal, then they shall be built up in the midst of my people.

Unlike Hosea 3:5a, Jer 12:15–16 speaks of the eschatological incorporation of the nations in the people of God. Like Hosea 3:5a, it includes μετὰ (but not ταῦτα), ἐπιστρέψω, and (42 words later) the passive οἰκοδομηθήσονται (not the active and less common ἀνοικοδομέω).²²⁷

Holtz has suggested that there may be in Acts 15:16–18 a reflection of Zech 1:16.²²⁸

διὰ τοῦτο τάδε λέγει κύριος ἐπιστρέψω ἐπὶ Ἱερουσαλημ ἐν οἰκτιρμῷ καὶ ὁ οἶκός μου ἀνοικοδομηθήσεται ἐν αὐτῇ λέγει κύριος παντοκράτωρ

Therefore, thus says the LORD, I have returned to Jerusalem with compassion; my house shall be built in it, says the LORD of hosts,

Again it must be noted that ἐπιστρέψω is not ἀναστρέψω. While Zechariah admittedly shares with Amos the comparatively uncommon ἀνοικοδομέω, so do other texts.²²⁹ The phrase λέγει

²²⁴ In Hosea, it is the people who return, not Yahweh. The argument would be more impressive if Hos actually read ἀναστρέψω, which occurs only 19 times in the prophetic books. By contrast, ἐπιστρέψω occurs 136 times. It should be noted that D, but apparently only D, reads ἐπιστρέψω in Acts 15:16b.

²²⁵ Only 12 times in the canonical OG, in comparison with over 130 for ἐκζητέω.

²²⁶ About two dozen references occur in eschatological contexts in the prophetic corpus.

²²⁷ Jeremiah’s word, οἰκοδομέω, occurs over 360 times in the canonical OG, οἰκοδομέω only 20 times.

²²⁸ Holtz, *Untersuchungen*, 25.

κύριος occurs hundreds of times, far too many to make a case for borrowing for this specific text. The similarities are too slight to make a convincing case for borrowing or conflation.²³⁰

It must be admitted that the appearance of ἀναστρέψω is unusual. The word is used only nine times in the New Testament (only here and Acts 5:22 as an active verb). It is used only twelve times in the OG prophetic books and never of God returning to his people.²³¹

Nevertheless, once we grant the possibility of other stylistic adaptations, there seems no need to draw strained connections to additional texts. Richard rejects the proposed connection to Jer 12:15, suggesting that “Luke’s compositional techniques and thematic concerns provide sufficient explanation for this modification [the insertion of ἀναστρέψω].”²³²

The last four words of the text, ταῦτα γνωστὰ ἀπ’ αἰῶνος, are particularly problematic. There are numerous variants, including the following:²³³

ταῦτα γνωστὰ ἀπ’ αἰῶνος	Ν Β C Ψ 33 69* 81
ταῦτα πάντα γνωστὰ ἀπ’ αἰῶνος	36 307 453 610
ταῦτα γνωστὸν ἀπ’ αἰῶνος τῷ κυριῷ τὸν ἔργον αὐτοῦ	ρ ⁷⁴ A D (ἀπ’ αἰῶνος ἐστίν)
πάντα ταῦτα γνωστὰ ἀπ’ αἰῶνος ἐστίν τῷ θεῷ	E H (ταῦτα πάντα) L P 049
πάντα τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ	(ἐστίν) 1646
ταῦτα πάντα γνωστὰ ἀπ’ αἰῶνος ἐστίν πάντα τὰ ἔργα τοῦ τῷ θεῷ	2147*

²²⁹ Mal 1:4 also has ἐπιστρέψω, ἀνοικοδομέω, and λέγει κύριος, but there what “God says” is that he will prevent the Edomites from succeeding in their plans to return and rebuild. Jer 1:10 shares ἀνοικοδομέω and κατασκάπτω with Acts 15:16–18, but this simply establishes that these two verbs are naturally associated (as opposites). There is no indication of borrowing or conflation of either with Amos 9:11–12 in Acts 15.

²³⁰ Thus Nägele’s conclusion that “There are no literal quotations of other Scriptures.” Nägele, *Laubhütte Davids*, 81–82, 229.

²³¹ Nor does ἐπιστρέφω appear in this sense except in the post-exilic Zech 1:3, 16; 8:3; Mal 3:7. The first singular of ἐπιστρέφω appears in Amos 9:14, but there it is transitive (ἐπιστρέψω τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν λαοῦ μου Ἰσραηλ), reflecting a different sense altogether.

²³² Richard, “Creative Use,” 48, n. 27.

²³³ Reuben Swanson, ed., *The Acts of the Apostles, New Testament Greek Manuscripts: Variant Readings Arranged in Horizontal Lines Against Codex Vaticanus* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 262.

The editors of NA²⁷ and UBS⁴ have wisely chosen the shorter reading as the original text, as best explaining the other readings as additions to or amendments of it. Establishing the text, however, is only the beginning. These words are not in Amos 9 in any known MT or OG manuscript. They may represent an editorial comment to the effect that “this has been God’s intention all along.” Many find a reference to Isa 45:21,²³⁴ but ἐποίησεν ταῦτα ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς (Isa 45:21) is not a particularly close parallel and there is no clear reason for its addition here.²³⁵ Others suggest that the phrase is a free adaptation of the otherwise missing καθὼς αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ αἰῶνος from Amos 9:11f.²³⁶ No completely satisfactory explanation has yet been offered.

With the exception of v. 18, the text of the citation in Acts 15 is relatively secure. The textual form of the citation seems to be both based upon and adapted from the OG rather than the MT. The amendment at the beginning (μετὰ ταῦτα), the addition at the end (γνωστὰ ἀπ’ αἰῶνος), and the alterations in 16b–e indicate that the author is citing freely, possibly without a copy of Amos 9 before him.²³⁷ Whether the argument of Acts 15 depends on or requires the distinctives of the OG form of the text will be considered below.

²³⁴ So, e.g., NA²⁷ and UBS⁴ mg., Sandt, “Explanation,” 81–84.

²³⁵ “There is little contact between our quotation and Is 45,21 in the LXX.” George D. Kilpatrick, “Some Quotations in Acts,” in *Les Actes des Apôtres: Traditions, rédaction, théologie* (ed. J. Kremer; BETL 48; Leuven: J. Duculot, 1979), 84. So also Barrett, *Acts*, 728; Nägele, *Laubhütte Davids*, 88–89.

²³⁶ “In free scripture quotation (and that verse of Amos has been freely quoted in vs. 16) Luke and presumably others often transfer a phrase from one part of a quotation to another. The Hebrew parallelism lent itself to such transfer of phrases.” Foakes Jackson and Lake, eds., *Beginnings*, 4:176–77. See also Jacques Dupont, “‘Je rabâtai la cabane de David qui est tombée’ Ac 15,16 = Ac 9,11,” in *Glaube und Eschatologie* (ed. Erich Grässer and Otto Merk; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1985), 25; Nägele, *Laubhütte Davids*, 85.

²³⁷ Barrett believes this is “probably a simple gloss rather than an additional quotation.” Barrett, *Acts*, 728.

4.4.3 The Interpretation of Acts 15:16-18

4.4.3.1 As It Is Written

The citation from Amos 9:11–12 is marked as a quotation by the familiar introductory formula καθὼς γέγραπται.²³⁸ The passive γέγραπται occurs 67 times in the New Testament, 62 of these in reference to the Old Testament and 55 times introducing a quotation. In Luke-Acts, γέγραπται introduces a quotation in 12 of 14 occurrences.²³⁹ Seven are unique to Luke-Acts and in six Luke identifies the source of the quotation: ἐν νόμῳ κυρίου (Luke 2:23); ἐν βίβλῳ λόγων Ἡσαΐου τοῦ προφήτου (Luke 3:4–6);²⁴⁰ ἐν βίβλῳ ψαλμῶν (Acts 1:20); ἐν βίβλῳ τῶν προφητῶν (Acts 7:42); ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ ψαλμῷ γέγραπται τῷ δευτέρῳ (Acts 13:33); and καὶ τούτῳ συμφωνοῦσιν οἱ λόγοι τῶν προφητῶν (Acts 15:15).²⁴¹

The somewhat indefinite reference ἐν βίβλῳ τῶν προφητῶν in Acts 7:42 is similar to the expression in 15:15, οἱ λόγοι τῶν προφητῶν and likewise introduces a citation from Amos. It has been suggested that the plural προφητῶν in 15:15 indicates that words from more than one of the prophets are conflated in the citation.²⁴² The similarly indefinite τῶν προφητῶν in 7:42 introduces the citation of Amos 5:25–27, which has no evidence of conflation. Similarly,

²³⁸ 25 times in the New Testament: 18 in Paul (primarily Rom), 1 in Matt, 3 in Mark, 1 in Luke, 2 in Acts.

²³⁹ The exceptions are Luke 10:26 (“What is written in the law? How do you read?”) and Luke 24:46 (“Thus it is written, that the Christ should suffer and on the third day rise from the dead.”).

²⁴⁰ Luke 3:4 is unique, because Luke alone extends the quotation of Isa 40:3 to include 40:4–5.

²⁴¹ The sole exception is Acts 23:25 (“I did not know, brethren, that he was the high priest; for it is written, ‘You shall not speak evil of a ruler of your people.’”). The five quotations Luke shares with the other gospels are Luke 4:4, 8, 10 (|| Matt 4:4, 7, 10 quoting texts from Deut in the temptation account); Luke 7:27 (|| Mark 1:2, quoting Mal 3:1 “Behold, I send my messenger before thy face, who shall prepare thy way before thee”); Luke 19:46 (|| Matt 21:13; Mark 11:17, citing Isa 56:7 “My house shall be a house of prayer”).

²⁴² “As a matter of fact, it seems that Acts 15:16–18 combines several prophetic texts, *quoting* Amos 9:11 f extensively at its centre, and *alluding* to other texts at the beginning and the end.” Ådna, “James,” 133. “The events that happened when Peter visited Cornelius are said in v. 15 to agree with the words of the prophets, indicating that what follows will be a composite citation.” Witherington, *Acts*, 459.

Luke's quotation of Hab 1:5 in Acts 13:41 is introduced in the preceding verse as τὸ εἰρημένον ἐν τοῖς προφήταις with no evidence of conflation. It is more likely that Lake and Cadbury correctly understand Acts 15:15 to refer to "the roll of the Twelve Prophets,"²⁴³ The evidence does not support the claim that τῶν προφητῶν is indefinite²⁴⁴ or indicates the citation is a composite.

James' argument claims that the prophecy of Amos is being fulfilled. The agreement between the citation and the reports of Gentile conversions is not simply an agreement in principle, as dispensational interpreters have suggested,²⁴⁵ but a "this is that" fulfillment. Scripture is here cited as an authoritative interpretation of the phenomena of the conversion of Gentiles and their reception of the Spirit.

4.4.3.2 I Will Return

The words ἀναστρέψω καὶ are an addition to both the MT and the OG. It has been suggested that ἀναστρέψω is used here in the sense of "again,"²⁴⁶ reflecting the Hebrew ושוב ("I will return and . . ." = "I will again . . .").²⁴⁷ The verb ἀναστρέψω, however, does not appear in

²⁴³ Foakes Jackson and Lake, eds., *Beginnings*, 4:176. See also Johnson, *Acts*, 264; Marshall, *Acts*, 252. Only the quotation from Joel (Acts 2:16–21) is more precisely introduced. Like the other quotations Luke shares with the synoptics, the quotation of Mal 3:1 (Luke 7:27 || Mark 1:2) does not indicate the source of the quotation.

²⁴⁴ As Calvin proposes, Calvin, *Acts 14-28*, 46. Mauro incorrectly deduces from the substitution of μετὰ ταῦτα for ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ that "James did not purport to give the exact language of Amos, or of any prophet . . .," and that by an inexact attribution James sought "to declare the substance of 'the voices of the prophets' (not of Amos only) touching the matter under consideration." Mauro, "Tabernacle," 401.

²⁴⁵ See the discussion in Robertson, "Hermeneutics," 90–108.

²⁴⁶ Claude E. Hayward, "A Study in Acts XV. 16–18," *EvQ* 8 (1936): 165. Note that Gen 26:18, to which Hayward refers, does not contain ἀναστρέψω but πάλιν. The same view is noted, but rejected by Willard M. Aldrich, "The Interpretation of Acts 15:13–18," *BSac* 111 (1954): 322.

²⁴⁷ BDB, s.v. ושוב, *Qal* 8; GKC, §120d; *TWOT*, s.v. ושוב. The latter figure seems much too high. A cursory review shows that RSV has "again" in over 120 texts in which ושוב appears, but most appear to represent the idea of "return" as "come again" or "go again" rather than representing the idiomatic expression "to return and . . ." translated as "to . . . again."

this construction (nor with this sense) in the OG or in any (other) New Testament text, although the more common ἐπιστρέφω appears in OG texts where כּוּשׁ is commonly translated in the English versions as “again”²⁴⁸. It is unlikely that the term here should be translated “again.”²⁴⁹

A similar expression in Mal 1:4 appears to have been overlooked by scholars:

<p>διότι ἐρεῖ ἡ Ἰδουμαία Κατέστραπται, καὶ ἐπιστέψωμεν καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσωμεν τὰς ἐρήμους</p>	<p>Because one will say, “Edom is overthrown, but let us return and rebuild the desolate places.” [author]</p>
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The expression here renders the Hebrew, חוֹבְרָה הַנְּבִנּוּ בּוֹשְׁנוּ. There are admittedly differences between the OG and Acts 15:16b–c. The verbs are first person plural aorist subjunctive (instead of first person singular future indicative) and ἐπιστέψω is not ἀναστέψω. The point, however, is not to demonstrate an allusion, but establish the meaning of an expression. The Edomites had, at the time of Malachi’s prophecy, not only seen their land made desolate but had been forced from it.²⁵⁰ It was therefore necessary that they “return and rebuild,” not simply “rebuild again.”

The text in Acts 15 should also be translated as “return and rebuild.” “Return” here then has a relational sense, most often of the people (re)turning to God,²⁵¹ but in a number of texts of

²⁴⁸ See, e.g., Jer 12:15; Hos 2:9; 14:8; Mic 7:19. Only Acts 15:36 in the New Testament could be taken in this sense, although the English translations all seem to render ἐπιστρέφω “return” or “go back,” rather than as “again.” Also the syntax in Acts 15:36 is different—ἐπιστρέφω is a participle rather than a finite verb.

²⁴⁹ However, the repetition of ἀνά (ἀναστρέψω . . . ἀνοικοδομήσω . . . ἀνοικοδομήσω . . . ἀνορθώσω) underscores the idea of restoration. Walter F. Burnside, *The Acts of the Apostles: The Greek Edited with Introduction and Notes for the Use of Schools* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1916). Kaiser argues that ἀνά would make ἀναστρέψω unnecessary in the sense of “again.” Kaiser, “Davidic Promise,” 105.

²⁵⁰ Joyce Baldwin, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi: An Introduction and Commentary* (TOTC; Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity, 1972), 223; Eli Cashdan, “Malachi,” in *The Twelve Prophets: Hebrew Text, English Translation and Commentary* (ed. Abraham Cohen; Soncino Books of the Bible; Bournemouth, England: Soncino, 1948), 338; Douglas L. Stuart, “Malachi,” in *The Minor Prophets* (ed. Thomas Edward McComiskey; 3 vols.; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1998), 1287–89.

²⁵¹ *TWOT*, s.v. כּוּשׁ.

God’s action in “returning to” or “turning toward” his people, i.e., a change of heart in which God pays attention to and acts with care for his people,²⁵² as in Zech 1:16.

διὰ τοῦτο τὰδε λέγει κύριος ἐπιστρέψω
ἐπὶ Ἱερουσαλήμ ἐν οἰκτιρμῶ καὶ ὁ οἶκός
μου ἀνοικοδομηθήσεται ἐν αὐτῇ λέγει
κύριος παντοκράτωρ καὶ μέτρον
ἐκταθήσεται ἐπὶ Ἱερουσαλήμ ἔτι

Therefore, thus says the LORD, I will
return to Jerusalem with compassion and
my house will be built in it, says the Lord
Almighty, and a measure will be
stretched out over Jerusalem.

Here the different syntax, the active ἐπιστρέψω with the passive ἀνοικοδομηθήσεται (representing the *nip'al* of פנח), prevents us from reading the idiomatic construction for “again.”

Here God’s “return” is relational, having explicitly to do with the restoration of his compassion for Jerusalem; the rebuilding of the temple is a subsequent event that is dependent on the restoration of God’s favor.²⁵³

The insertion of ἀναστρέψω in Acts 15:16b, then, highlights the change that will take place: God has previously brought judgment on his people and their king, but now God will “return and rebuild David’s fallen tent.” This change of heart is implicit in Amos’ prophecy when read in its context. The addition of ἀναστρέψω does not impart additional meaning to the text, but merely calls attention to the grace of God that is already there.²⁵⁴

4.4.3.3 The Tent of David

Given the divergence of views on the דִּיבֵי פֶּתַח in Amos 9:11, diversity of opinion regarding τὴν σκηνὴν Δαυὶδ in Acts 15:16 is not surprising. Haenchen has argued that the

²⁵² Of the texts cited by BDB for this sense of the term, the following are most relevant: Isa 63:17; Jer 12:15 (RSV translates as “again”); Joel 2:14; Zech 1:3; Mal 3:7; Ps 6:5; 80:15; 90:13; 2 Chr 30:6. BDB, s.v. פנח, *Qal* 6.g.

²⁵³ Compare Jer 12:15: ἐπιστρέψω καὶ ἐλεήσω αὐτούς.

²⁵⁴ There is no warrant for the view that the return of Christ is here in view, as claimed by Aldrich, “Acts 15:13–18,” 322. See, e.g., the argument of Strauss, *Davidic Messiah*, 186.

restored “booth of David” is to be understood as a reference to the resurrection of Christ,²⁵⁵ but few have followed him.²⁵⁶ Others, notably Bauckham, Nägele, Ådna,²⁵⁷ McNicol,²⁵⁸ and Ellis²⁵⁹ have argued that the expression refers to the erection of the eschatological temple.²⁶⁰ Still others come to the same conclusion as that reached regarding the *תֵּבַת דָּוִד* in Amos 9:11 above, that the “tent of David” is the dynasty and kingdom of David.²⁶¹

We can best consider the claim that the reference is to the eschatological temple by evaluating Bauckham’s argument. Bauckham’s interpretation “takes ‘the dwelling of David’ (*τὴν σκηνὴν Δαυειδ* [*sic*]) to be the place of God’s dwelling in the messianic age when Davidic rule is restored to Israel. He will build this new temple so that all the Gentile nations may seek his presence there.”²⁶² Bauckham finds support (albeit limited) for this identification in

²⁵⁵ “When he speaks of the re-erection of the ruined tabernacle of David, he does not see this as the restoration of the Davidic kingdom, nor does he even see in it an image of the true Israel. He conceives it as adumbrating the story of Jesus, culminating in the Resurrection, in which the promise made to David has been fulfilled: the Jesus event that will cause the Gentiles to seek the Lord.” Haenchen, *Acts*, 448.

²⁵⁶ Bauckham, “James and the Gentiles,” 157.

²⁵⁷ Bauckham, “James and the Gentiles”; “James and the Jerusalem Church”; Nägele, *Laubhütte Davids*. Nägele apparently came to this conclusion independently of Bauckham. Ådna, “Die Heilige Schrift,” 1–23; “James,” 125–61. Ådna depends on both Bauckham and Nägele.

²⁵⁸ Allan J. McNicol, “Rebuilding the House of David: The Function of the Benedictus in Luke-Acts,” *ResQ* 40 (1998): 25–38.

²⁵⁹ Edward Earle Ellis, “Isaiah and the Eschatological Temple,” in *Christ and the Future in New Testament History* (ed. Edward Earle Ellis; NovTSup 97; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 60; Ellis, “Λέγει Κύριος,” 183. Cf. virtually identical text in Edward Earle Ellis, *Paul’s Use of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1957), 107–13.

²⁶⁰ For an earlier expression of this view, see Rackham, *Acts*, 253–54.

²⁶¹ See, e.g., Bruce, *Acts*, 293; Johnson, *Acts*, 265; Polhill, *Acts*, 330. Strauss’s distinction between the kingdom and the Davidic dynasty is a distinction without a difference. There is no rule without a realm and no realm without rule. Strauss, *Davidic Messiah*, 190.

²⁶² Bauckham, “James and the Jerusalem Church,” 453–54. See also Bauckham, “James and the Gentiles,” 158–59.

Tobit 13:11; Lam 2:6;²⁶³ Ps 42:5.²⁶⁴ As noted earlier, Bauckham argues that the citation in Acts 15:16–18 conflates Amos 9:11–12 with Hos 3:5; Jer 12:15–16 (μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναστρέψω); and Isa 45:21 (γνωστὰ ἀπ’ αἰῶνος). These texts together “put the main quotation from Amos . . . in a context of prophecies which associate the eschatological conversion of the Gentile nations with the restoration of the Temple in the messianic age.”²⁶⁵ Bauckham believes that the omitted clauses and changes in verbs underscore that the reference is to the restoration of a *building*, not to the restoration of a city or to the resurrection of Christ.²⁶⁶ This reading of the text would appear to fit well with the early church’s understanding of itself as the eschatological temple.²⁶⁷

The evidence for purported allusions to Hos 3:5 and Jer 12:15–16, however, is slight and not necessary to explain the text of the citation. While both texts refer to restoration of God’s people, only Hos 3:5 refers to David and the context of neither supplies a reference to the eschatological temple.²⁶⁸ Thus we do *not* have “a context of prophecies which associate the eschatological conversion of the Gentile nations with the restoration of the Temple in the messianic age.”²⁶⁹ The changes of verb and omissions of clauses from Amos 9 do not imply that

²⁶³ This text, however, employs different words in both the MT (the *hapax* אָבִי) and the OG (σκήνωμα).

²⁶⁴ Based on the admittedly “obscure” אָבִי, which was rendered as σκηνής by the OG.

²⁶⁵ Bauckham, “James and the Jerusalem Church,” 455. See also Bauckham, “James and the Gentiles,” 165.

²⁶⁶ Bauckham, “James and the Gentiles,” 157. The latter is particularly directed against Haenchen, *Acts*, 448.

²⁶⁷ Bauckham cites 1 Cor 3:16–17; 2 Cor 6:16; Eph 2:20–22; Heb 13:15–16; 1 Pet 2:5; 4:17; Rev 3:12; 11:1–2. (Some references from the Apostolic Fathers seem to refer to the individual rather than the church corporately as the dwelling of God: *Did.* 10.2[?]; *Barn.* 4.11[?]; 6.15[?]; 16.1–10[?]; *Herm. Vis.* 3; *Herm. Sim.* 9; *Ign. Eph.* 9.1. Bauckham, “James and the Gentiles,” 165–167; “James and the Jerusalem Church,” 457. Nägele notes that at Qumran the nations were to be destroyed, while here they are included. Nägele, *Laubhütte Davids*, 90–91.

²⁶⁸ “The slight verbal echoes of Jer. 12.15; Isa. 45.21 can hardly count as prophetic sayings that agree or disagree with anything.” Barrett, *Acts*, 725. The presence of the verb οἰκοδομηθήσονται in Jer 12:16 is not sufficient to establish such a reference.

²⁶⁹ Bauckham, “James and the Jerusalem Church,” 455. See also Bauckham, “James and the Gentiles,” 165.

a building rather than a dynasty is in view and these can be plausibly accounted for on other grounds. (Bauckham himself takes the building of the eschatological temple metaphorically for the establishment of the church.) The fact that ἀνοικοδομέω most often appears in the OG in connection with Jerusalem and the temple does not establish Nägele's claim that these are in view here, since (as she notes) the term is also used in connection with people or kingdom of Israel.²⁷⁰ There is in fact no basis for the claim that the eschatological temple is in view.

This leaves the view that “the tent of David” is the (restored, eschatological) Davidic kingdom, “the house and line of David” (ἐξ οἴκου καὶ πατριᾶς Δαυίδ). J. Dupont argues effectively from Luke's use of “David” for the view that the “tent of David” refers to the “house of David,” which is restored in the ascension of Christ (Acts 2:34). He notes that only Luke in the New Testament has the phrase “house of David” (Luke 1:27, 69; 2:4).²⁷¹ We have noted the prominence of Davidic and kingdom themes in Luke-Acts. The gospel opens with an announcement of the birth of the one to whom God will give “the throne of his father David” (1:32) and ends with the apostles' coming to understand what the scriptures had written about “the Christ” (24:44-49). Acts begins with the apostles' question concerning the restoration of the kingdom (1:8);²⁷² the programmatic sermon at Pentecost reaches its climax with the assertion that “God has made him both Lord and Christ, this Jesus whom you crucified” (2:36). The

²⁷⁰ Nägele, *Laubhütte Davids*, 89.

²⁷¹ Dupont, “Ac 15,16,” 30.

²⁷² Jesus' answer is not “a substitute for the disciples' hopes,” but “a pledge of the return of Jesus and of the restoration of Israel of which they are the first-fruits. Israel is now being restored and awaits the gift of the kingdom.” Franklin, *Christ the Lord*, 95–96.

expected kingdom has therefore been inaugurated²⁷³ and David's "fallen tent" has been (or is being) "built up" and "restored."²⁷⁴

This kingdom, however, is different in important ways from the kingdom in the Old Testament. Even in Amos 9, it is not simply David's kingdom restored as used to be; Gentiles are to be included in its blessings.²⁷⁵ In Luke-Acts, the kingdom's power is that of the Holy Spirit and its extension takes place through the preaching of Christ's appointed witnesses, rather than military conquest (Acts 1:8). It is not ethnically restrictive, but includes Israel's neighbors and even its historic enemies. Even the temple loses its prominence (Luke 21:6; Acts 6:13–14) and the law is seen as "a yoke . . . which neither our fathers nor we have been able to bear" (Acts 15:10). If the kingdom were to be established *exactly* as before, Gentiles could be admitted only on the basis of circumcision and obedience to the law. It is possible that Amos 9:11f (καθὼς αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ αἰῶνος) is omitted from the citation to avoid confusion on this point.²⁷⁶

²⁷³ Craig A. Evans has taken issue with Jacob Jervell's statements that, based on the citation of Amos 9:11–12, "the restoration of the fallen house of David has already occurred" and "Israel's restoration is an established fact." Jervell, "Divided People," 51; Jacob Jervell, "The Twelve on Israel's Thrones: Understanding the Apostolate," in *Luke and the People of God: A New Look at Luke-Acts* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1972), 92. Evans would prefer to say that "Israel's restoration is underway, but is far from established." Craig A. Evans, "Prophecy and Polemic: Jews in Luke's Scriptural Apologetic," in *Luke and Scripture: The Function of Sacred Tradition in Luke-Acts* (ed. Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 207, n. 145; "The Twelve Thrones of Israel: Scripture and Politics in Luke 22:24–30," in *Luke and Scripture: The Function of Sacred Tradition in Luke-Acts* (ed. Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 155, n. 2.

²⁷⁴ "The kingdom is already here, . . . David's kingdom has already been rebuilt (cf. Acts 15:16 with Amos 9:11)." Goppelt, *Typos*, 124.

²⁷⁵ Robert Wall argues that "Gentile conversion does not annul God's promise of a restored and redeemed Israel, but rather expands it." Robert Wall, "Israel and the Gentile Mission in Acts and Paul: A Canonical Approach," in *Witness to the Gospel: The Theology of Acts* (ed. Ian Howard Marshall and David Peterson; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 449–50.

²⁷⁶ Van de Sandt attributes the omission to Luke's desire "to pull down the demarcation line between Jewish and Gentile Christians," but other differences are also in view. Sandt, "Explanation," 92.

4.4.3.4 The Rest of Men

Verse 17 expresses the purpose of the actions described verse 16, as indicated by the introductory ὅπως ἄν.²⁷⁷ A pair of connected events is in view, not two parallel events as a few have suggested.²⁷⁸ The restoration of the kingdom is not an end in itself, nor is it (primarily) for the benefit of Jews—its startling, stated purpose of is to benefit Gentiles: “so that the rest of men may seek the Lord.”²⁷⁹ “In other words, the eschatological restoration of Israel was always intended to attract the Gentiles to seek God.”²⁸⁰ The restoration of the kingdom (in Jesus) is expressly meant to bring to God these Gentiles whose coming has now raised the question under consideration by the council.²⁸¹

The recipients of this blessing are “the rest of men . . . and all the Gentiles upon whom my name is called” (17a–b [author]). “The rest of men” from the standpoint of the prophecy, are presumably all who are not part of the restored kingdom, i.e., Gentiles.²⁸² In Amos 9:12, it was

²⁷⁷ BDAG, s.v. ὅπως; BDF, §369(5); Moulton et al., *Grammar*, 3:105.

²⁷⁸ Nägele has argued that ὅπως ἄν is dependent on ἀναστρέψω, so that two events result from God’s return: the restoration of David’s tent and men seeking the Lord. Nägele, *Laubhütte Davids*, 96–97. This reading, however, breaks apart ἀναστρέψω and ἀνοικοδομήσω and overlooks the fact that ἀνοικοδομήσω (or its analogues) is the main verb in both the MT and the OG; it has been argued above that ἀναστρέψω is stylistic addition to this text which does not significantly alter the meaning of the text. The addition ἀναστρέψω καὶ would then appear to function in lieu of a supplementary or circumstantial participle (BDF, §471(4)). Doctrinal presuppositions prompt Aldrich’s claim that this text envisions *two* distinct events: the inclusion of the Gentiles *and* the future restoration of the kingdom. Aldrich, “Acts 15:13–18,” 317, 322. Cole has rightly seen the connection between these events when he argues that the restoration of David’s hut is either the necessary condition of the ingathering of the nations or synonymous with it. Alan Cole, *The New Temple: A Study in the Origins of the Catechetical “Form” of the Church in the New Testament* (London: Tyndale Press, 1950), 47.

²⁷⁹ “That was, after all, the purpose of Israel’s restoration: *that the remnant of men may seek the Lord.*” [emphasis his]. William J. Larkin, *Acts* (IVP New Testament Commentary Series 5; Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity, 1995), 224.

²⁸⁰ Witherington, *Acts*, 459.

²⁸¹ Bovon speaks of “a schema which is dear to Luke (and Paul): the reestablishment of Israel (first phase) which leads to the opening up to the nations (second phase).” Bovon, *Luke the Theologian*, 99.

²⁸² Or, less likely, all who are not believing Jews (i.e., unbelieving Jews plus the [unbelieving] Gentiles). Nägele, *Laubhütte Davids*, 90–91.

difficult to determine whether “all the nations” was in opposition to “Edom” only or “the remnant of Edom,” but the inflected Greek text clearly makes “the rest of men” and “all the Gentiles” parallel expressions.²⁸³

This seems clear, despite the protest of Braun, who argues that “remnant” is a technical term, which is never “applied to Gentiles in any soteriological or eschatological sense.”²⁸⁴ The term here, however, may not function in this technical sense. Braun is motivated, in part, by a desire to maintain a dispensational distinction between Jew and Gentile (in support of a distinctive future for ethnic Jews within the people of God). He is unnecessarily concerned that ethnic Jews who believe in Jesus are absent from the text—exegetically and historically they comprise the core of the reestablished “tent of David.” It is difficult to see how “the rest of men” would refer to ethnic Jews (whether or not they believe in Jesus), particularly in light of the underlying MT “the rest of Edom.” It remains more plausible to see the two phrases as parallel.

Much of the commentary on this expression has focused on the divergence from the MT, including the suggestion that James has deliberately employed a textual variant to make his point by midrashic methods.²⁸⁵ However, John Polhill has aptly noted that this phrase is not the one that bears the weight in the argument: “the key phrase ‘nations [Gentiles] called by my name’

²⁸³ “The conjunction ‘and’ before ‘all the Gentiles’ (v. 17) is epexegetic . . . The ‘residue of men’ who are to ‘seek the Lord’ are identical with ‘all the Gentiles, upon whom my name is called’—*i.e.*, the elect from every nation.” Frederick F. Bruce, *Commentary on the Book of the Acts: The English Text with Introduction, Exposition and Notes* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1954), 310. (The statement does not appear in the 1988 edition.) So also Barrett, *Acts*, 727; Nägele, *Laubhütte Davids*, 101. Sanders argues that “‘remainder of people’ and ‘all the Gentiles’ are, of course, a *parallelismus membrorum* and synonymous.” Sanders, “Prophetic Use,” 195.

²⁸⁴ Braun, “James Use of Amos,” 120. “Doctrinally, the word ‘remnant’ applies strictly to Israel.” Braun, “James Use of Amos,” 119.

²⁸⁵ Ådna, “James,” 137; Bauckham, “James and the Gentiles,” 160–62; “James and the Jerusalem Church,” 457; Johnson, *Acts*, 265; Nägele, *Laubhütte Davids*, 86.

occurs in *both* the Hebrew and Greek texts, and either would have suited James' argument."²⁸⁶ Rather, the argument depends on linking the characterization of Simeon's testimony as "God first visited the Gentiles, to take out of them a people for his name" in v. 14 (λαβεῖν ἐξ ἐθνῶν λαὸν τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ) with 17b "all the nations upon whom my name is called" [author] (πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐφ' οὓς ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐπ' αὐτούς). The phrase, "the rest of men," does not bear the weight of the argument. While the clause "that they might seek the Lord" admittedly provides the verb for which "all the nations" is the subject, the relative clause "upon whom my name is called" [author] (ἐφ' οὓς ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐπ' αὐτούς) plays a larger role in the choice of citation. In the end, therefore, much of the discussion about 17a may be beside the point as we seek to follow the argument.

4.4.3.5 All the Gentiles Over Whom My Name Is Called

The expression in v. 17b, πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐφ' οὓς ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐπ' αὐτούς, is awkward,²⁸⁷ but it represents the Hebrew accurately and its meaning is clear. The underlying Hebrew idiom expresses ownership and dominion.²⁸⁸ It is applied in the Old Testament to the temple, to Jerusalem (as the city of God's special choosing), and to Israel (as God's chosen people).²⁸⁹ When applied to people it particularly conveys God's presence and

²⁸⁶ Polhill, *Acts*, 329, n. 93. Similarly, Bauckham notes (also with reference to 15:17b) that "Even the MT could easily have been understood by a Jewish Christian as predicting the extension of Israel's covenant status and privileges to the Gentile nations. The LXX merely makes this clearer." Bauckham, "James and the Gentiles," 169.

²⁸⁷ The masculine plurals, οὓς and αὐτούς (when one would expect the neuter) should be understood as *constructio ad sensum*, "'the Gentiles,' signifies a multiplicity of individual human beings." Barrett, *Acts*, 727. See also Moulton et al., *Grammar*, 3:40.

²⁸⁸ Dupont understands the idiom here somewhat differently: it is the invocation of the divine name that consecrates to the Lord the people of Israel, the ark of the covenant, etc. This understanding enables him to connect the consecration involved in the Spirit's cleansing of the Gentiles' hearts (vv. 8–9) with that indicated the invocation of the divine name. Dupont, "Un peuple," 324.

²⁸⁹ Nägele, *Laubhütte Davids*, 100.

care, as in the covenant formula, “I will be your God and you will be my people” (e.g., Gen 17:7-8; Lev 26:12; Jer 31:33; Rev 21:3; cp. Num 6:27). The Greek here seems intended evoke the rich associations of this Hebrew expression, bearing the name of Yahweh.

Barrett suggests that the relative clause could be read either as “over all those particular Gentiles (not all) over whom my name has been called,” or “all the Gentiles, in that my name has been called over all of them.” He proposes that the course of the narrative will indicate the author’s intent—as in Acts 13:48–50 it became apparent that some Gentiles believed (and some did not), so here it will become apparent that some bear God’s name and some do not.²⁹⁰ “All” here should be understood as distributive (“from every nation, from all tribes and peoples and tongues,” Rev 7:9), rather than inclusive (“every individual Gentile”). The narrative rather than the relative clause limits the “all.” (Note also 15:14: “to take out of them a people for his name,” λαβεῖν ἐξ ἔθνων λαὸν τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ).

4.5 The Use of Amos 9:11–12 in Acts 15

4.5.1 Context

Acts 15 provides an extended argument for the inclusion of the Gentiles among the people of God without the necessity of circumcision and the observance of the Mosaic law. The author presents a two-layered argument: Luke’s summary of the council’s discussion is the centerpiece of a larger account that shows the church reaching a decision that was not only approved by the church’s leaders, but also “seemed good to the Holy Spirit.”²⁹¹ The question is whether Gentiles who had come to faith in Jesus must “circumcised according to the custom of Moses [to] be saved” (15:2). The council’s deliberations unfold in three stages. First (after “much debate”),

²⁹⁰ Barrett, *Acts*, 727.

²⁹¹ Acts 15 is itself embedded in a still larger argument as the entire narrative of Acts shows God’s blessing following the council’s decision.

Peter argued that God's past actions (in the episode in Cornelius' house) show God has accepted Gentiles without circumcision or observing the law (15:7-12). Then, Paul and Barnabas recounted (for the third time) how God had worked through them among the Gentiles (15:12). Finally, James began to speak.

4.5.2 Form

J. W. Bowker has analyzed this speech along with others in Acts in light of recognized Jewish homily forms. His judgment regarding the argument in Acts 15:14-21 is that "there seems no doubt that Acts xv. 14–21 must be understood as a genuine *yelammedenu* response."²⁹² Unlike the proem homily, which begins with a text to be expounded, "the *yelammedenu* homily is so called because it derives from a request for instruction, *yelammedenu rabbenu*, let our teacher instruct us."²⁹³ The matter before the council is an halakic question: the text explicitly uses the term ἀπεκριθή (although Bowker notes that this may be for other reasons); "James bases his decision on two grounds, what is known to have happened in the past and on scripture, the two classic grounds for establishing *halakah*;" "James issues his decision, using the strong formula, ἔγω κρίνω, a decision is closest to what might technically be called a *taqqanah*."²⁹⁴

In an influential article,²⁹⁵ Bauckham has attempted a detailed exposition of the text that seeks to do justice to "both the way in which the scriptural quotation in 15:16–18 is composed and interpreted by the skilled use of contemporary Jewish exegetical methods and also the way

²⁹² J. W. Bowker, "Speeches in Acts: A Study in Proem and Yelammedenu Form," *NTS* 14 (1967): 108.

²⁹³ Bowker, "Speeches," 99.

²⁹⁴ Bowker, "Speeches," 107–8.

²⁹⁵ Bauckham, "James and the Gentiles." The argument is summarized in Bauckham, "James and the Jerusalem Church," 452–62.

in which the quotation is exegetically linked with the terms of the apostolic decree.”²⁹⁶ He believes that a proper understanding of these exegetical methods would relieve concern whether James would have cited the OG and would eliminate the need for hypothetical variant texts.

In a case such as ours, it is scarcely possible to distinguish a variant text from one which results from the exegetical practice of reading the text differently by means of small changes (known as *'al tiqrē'* in later rabbinic terminology).²⁹⁷

As noted previously, Bauckham believes that the citation conflates Amos 9:11-12 with other texts, Hos 3:5; Jer 12:15-16 and Isa 45:21, which together “put the main quotation from Amos . . . in a context of prophecies which associate the eschatological conversion of the Gentile nations with the restoration of the Temple in the messianic age.”²⁹⁸ Although “Luke’s summary has obscured the exegetical argument on which the terms of the apostolic decree are based, it can be uncovered.”²⁹⁹ Both Jer 12:16 and Zech 2:11 contain the expression “in the midst.”³⁰⁰ By means of *gezērā šawâ* these texts relate the God-seeking Gentiles of the *eschaton* with the Gentiles to whom the prescriptions of Lev 17–18 originally applied.³⁰¹ Bauckham believes he can explain even the puzzling conclusion in Acts 15:21: “just as the conversion of the Gentiles has been made known by God in prophecy from long ago (Acts 15.17b–18 = Isa.45.21), so the

²⁹⁶ Bauckham, “James and the Jerusalem Church,” 453.

²⁹⁷ Bauckham, “James and the Gentiles,” 161.

²⁹⁸ Bauckham, “James and the Jerusalem Church,” 455. See also Bauckham, “James and the Gentiles,” 165.

²⁹⁹ Bauckham, “James and the Jerusalem Church,” 458.

³⁰⁰ Jer 12:15-16 is a purported source of μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναστρέψω (Acts 15:16a–b). Zech 2:11 (“many nations shall join themselves to the LORD”) is “so closely related . . . as to be an obvious resource for any Christian exegete pursuing this theme.” Bauckham, “James and the Gentiles,” 163–64, 169.

³⁰¹ Bauckham, “James and the Gentiles,” 175–77.

laws which apply to them are not novel inventions, but have been read out in the synagogues in every city from ancient times (Acts 15.21).³⁰²

In the end, however, Bauckham's view cannot be supported by the text. As the case for conflation in the citation from Amos 9 was merely speculative, so is the rest of his argument here. There is no concrete evidence for proposed allusions to Jer 12:16 and Zech 2:11, nor for the claim that the presence of "in the midst" in these other texts should lead us to Lev 17–18 (rather than any of a hundred other texts with the phrase, "in the midst") or even to any other text(s) at all. Even if such subtle textual influences shaped the composition of Acts 15, it is unlikely that any reader would be able to follow such obscure textual allusions without more explicit clues.³⁰³

4.5.3 Resolving the Issue Before the Council

Bauckham has, however, correctly identified the issue before the council. The issue was not whether Gentiles could be accepted into the people of God—that had been settled, certainly by the end of Acts 11—but whether they could be accepted without undergoing circumcision and observing the law of Moses.

The central theme in Acts 15 concerns the obligations of the Gentiles who have become believers. In Luke–Acts it is already clear from the beginning (Lk. 2:29–32; Acts 1.8; 2:39; 3:25, etc.) that the Gentiles were to participate in the salvation of Israel. The question, however, was on what condition?³⁰⁴

"The issue which divided the Jerusalem church was evidently not whether Gentiles could join the messianically renewed Israel, but whether they could do so without becoming Jews."³⁰⁵

³⁰² Bauckham, "James and the Gentiles," 177–78.

³⁰³ So also Barrett, who believes that "one would expect at least a trace of the *תקרא אל* form of argument" if one is present here. Barrett, *Acts*, 728.

³⁰⁴ Sandt, "Explanation," 94. So also Robertson: "the question under debate was the manner in which Gentiles were to be incorporated into the messianic kingdom." Robertson, "Hermeneutics," 106.

³⁰⁵ Bauckham, "James and the Gentiles," 168.

Bauckham finds the solution in the words, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐφ' οὓς ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐπ' αὐτούς (Acts 15:17b; Amos 8:12b). He concludes:

The nations *qua* Gentile nations belong to YHWH. It is not implied that they become Jews, but that precisely as “all nations” they are included in the covenant relationship. It is doubtful whether any other OT text could have been used to make this point so clearly. By not paying sufficient attention to these words of the text, commentators have consistently missed the very precise relevance of Amos 9.12 to the debate at the Council of Jerusalem.³⁰⁶

Ådna has followed Bauckham in this reading of the citation.

The renunciation of circumcision and Law-observance in the aforementioned examples of missionary practice concurs perfectly with the prophetic statement that these Gentiles shall be called into the people of God *qua* Gentiles.”³⁰⁷

It is less clear in what way Amos 9 addresses the question of the acceptance of Gentiles “*qua* Gentiles,” or “without becoming Jews,”³⁰⁸ even if interpreted in the matrix of other texts Bauckham believes are also invoked in the citation. Nor it is clear how Amos 9 would make this point more clearly than similar texts that prophesy incorporation of the Gentiles among the people of God. Bauckham believes that the expression in Jas 2:7 (τὸ καλὸν ὄνομα τὸ ἐπικληθὲν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς) suggests that Acts 15:17b refers to Christian baptism. The argument would then appear to be that the Gentiles are to be admitted simply on the basis of baptism, without taking on the obligations of the law.³⁰⁹ This possibility cannot be ruled out, but the evidence is insufficient to make it more than an intriguing hypothesis.

³⁰⁶ Bauckham, “James and the Gentiles,” 169.

³⁰⁷ Ådna, “James,” 150.

³⁰⁸ The precise meaning of these expressions is not self-evident. Presumably they mean “without circumcision and/or obedience to the entire Mosaic law.”

³⁰⁹ Bauckham rightly observes that ἐπικαλεῖται τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου ἐπὶ τινὰ “is a quite different expression . . . and not to be confused with” this one. Bauckham, “James and the Gentiles,” 169–70.

How then does the citation contribute to the resolution of the issue? As James said, the citation confirmed what the church had already understood from God's actions, that God was bringing Gentiles to salvation and membership among his people. God has done so, not through the proclamation of the Mosaic law, but by the proclamation of Jesus and faith in him. L. T. Johnson has noted that the claim that ἐάν μὲ περιτμηθῆτε τῷ ἔθει τῷ Μουσεως, οὐ δύνασθε σωθῆναι "flies in the face of Luke's whole previous narrative, which made the emphatic point that Gentiles could and did receive salvation through the principle of *faith*."³¹⁰ This had not only happened at Cornelius' house, where Gentiles "received the Holy Spirit just as we have" (10:47) and Peter saw that "to the Gentiles also God has granted repentance unto life" (11:18).³¹¹ It had also happened in Antioch, where "a great number that believed turned to the Lord," and Barnabas, sent from the church in Jerusalem to investigate, "saw the grace of God" and "a large company was added to the Lord" (11:19–26). It is much the same with the account of Paul's (and Barnabas') first journey: in Pisidian Antioch "as many as were ordained to eternal life believed" (13:44–49); in Iconium "a great company believed, both of Jews and Greeks (14:1); in Lystra and Derbe they made "disciples" (14:20–22); they then returned "exhorting them to continue in the faith" (14:22); finally, they reported to the church "all that God had done with them and how he had opened a door of faith to the Gentiles" (14:27). The Gentiles received the Spirit, repented, turned to God, believed, and become disciples. God had accomplished this by giving them the Spirit (11:17), extending his grace, adding them "to the Lord," ordaining

³¹⁰ Johnson, *Acts*, 272.

³¹¹ See also Acts 15:9, where this event is understood to show that God "made no distinction between us and them, but cleansed their hearts by faith." Nägele, *Laubhütte Davids*, 229.

them to eternal life, and “opening a door of faith.”³¹² All this had taken place without circumcision or obedience to the law, as either a prerequisite or as a subsequent requirement.

The beginning of this history is cited explicitly in Peter’s speech to the council, to which James refers as he begins his own address, describing how “God first visited the Gentiles, to take out of them a people for his name” (πρῶτον ὁ θεὸς ἐπεσκέψατο λαβεῖν ἐξ ἐθνῶν λαὸν τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ).³¹³ James attributes this action to God alone. The terminology is astounding: “the term *laos* (‘people’) is used by Luke almost exclusively in reference to Israel as the ‘people of God.’”³¹⁴ This Old Testament language reflects God’s election of Israel: “called by the name of Yahweh” (Deut 28:10), “taken” by God (Exod 6:7; Deut 4:20, 34), God’s own “possession” (Deut 14:2; 7:6; Exod 19:5),³¹⁵ and “formed” for himself (Isa 43:21). Yet James applies this language to Gentiles, even Gentiles who have not been circumcised or taken up the obligation to keep the Mosaic law. It thus seems clear, as Peter had said (15:9), that God no longer distinguishes between Jew and Gentile. “For God places the Gentiles on the same level of honour as the Jews, when He wishes His name to be invoked upon them.”³¹⁶

³¹² All of this would have presumably been included in Paul’s and Barnabas’ report to the council (15:12).

³¹³ Bauckham is right to see this expression as key, even if the significance he gives it is open to question. Bauckham, “James and the Gentiles,” 168. Wall notes that the expression “combines two important Lucan catchwords:” λαός and ὄνομα. Wall, “Israel,” 451.

³¹⁴ Johnson, *Acts*, 264. “The fundamental theological correspondence between James’ anticipatory statement and the prophecy of Amos is, however, comprised in the one word λαός (‘people’).” Ådna, “James,” 149. See also Jack T. Sanders, “The Jewish People in Luke-Acts,” in *Luke-Acts and the Jewish People* (ed. Joseph B. Tyson; Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1988), 56. Wilson, however, suggests that the use of the term here “may simply be due to Luke’s carelessness” and is of no significance. Wilson, *Gentile Mission*, 225.

³¹⁵ Dupont has argued that this language (MT πῆποι, OG περιούσιος) lies behind λαὸν τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ in Acts 15:14. Dupont, “ΛΑΟΣ.” However, N. Dahl finds a more likely basis for the expression in the Targums. Nils A. Dahl, “A People for His Name (Acts XV.14),” *NTS* 4 (1958): 320–22. Nevertheless, Dahl in essence agrees with Dupont’s statement that “‘pour son Nom’, c’est-à-dire pour lui-même, pour sa gloire.” Dupont, 49.

³¹⁶ Calvin, *Acts 14-28*, 46. Similarly, “they are included in the covenant relationship (God’s name has been invoked over them).” Bauckham, “James and the Jerusalem Church.”

It is precisely with this that the citation from Amos 9 agrees. In it, God has claimed πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐφ' οὓς ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐπ' αὐτούς, “and all the nations/Gentiles who are called by my name.” This expression makes Amos 9:12 uniquely appropriate to James’ argument. The language connects with James’ characterization of God’s actions as reported by Peter to the council.³¹⁷ The language also underscores that it is *God* who has chosen to call his name over the Gentiles, making this more suitable than texts such as Zech 2:11 (15 MT) which simply predicts that “many nations shall join themselves to the LORD.”³¹⁸ Although the much-discussed wording of Acts 15:17a, “that the rest of men may seek the Lord” (differing from the MT), enhances the usefulness of the citation, it does not bear the weight of the argument. The argument therefore does not require the use of the OG rather than the MT.

The argument instead requires attention to the ὅπως ἔσται with which 15:17a begins, and to the relationship between the rebuilding of David’s tent and God’s ownership of the Gentiles. The ὅπως ἔσται indicates that the purpose for which God has restored the kingdom is *so that* he might claim the nations as his own.³¹⁹ Jesus himself had earlier answered the disciples’ question about the restoration of the kingdom by responding that they would be his witnesses to the nations (Acts 1:6–8). In doing so, Jesus did not deflect their question,³²⁰ nor refer them to the distant

³¹⁷ Or rather, James called out this phrase in beginning his speech, because it is this expression that is the key to his argument. Robertson, “Hermeneutics,” 106.

³¹⁸ Bauckham correctly notes that “in most cases such texts *could* be taken to mean that these Gentiles would be proselytes, undergoing circumcision as the corollary of their conversion to the God of Israel.” Bauckham, “James and the Jerusalem Church,” 458. Wall notes that the use of the passive here reverses the usual form of the verb in Acts; shifting the focus from the believer’s call to God to God’s call to human kind. Wall, “Israel.”

³¹⁹ See section 4.3.4. “The restoration of the fallen tent of David (16) is best understood of Jesus as the Davidic seed who has now been installed as Christ and Lord, with the Gentile influx (17) occurring as a consequence.” Bolt, “Mission,” 204.

³²⁰ Cleon L. Rogers, Jr., “The Davidic Covenant in Acts-Revelation,” *BSac* 151 (1994): 71–84.

future,³²¹ but answered them directly. The time of the full realization of the kingdom may still be known only to the Father, but the present responsibility of the people of his kingdom is clear—to be his witnesses to both Jews and the nations. Without the incorporation of the Gentiles among the people of God, God’s messianic project would be incomplete.

And this [the proclamation to the Gentiles] is required in order that the messianic prophecies may be fulfilled in their entirety. For 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.

The Scriptures themselves justify the Christian mission among the pagans, for they require this mission as the continuation of the salvific work of Jesus, the Christ.³²²

The incorporation of the Gentiles into the people of God is the appointed purpose of the coming of the kingdom.³²³ If the Gentiles are prevented from coming in, God’s purpose will fail.

The relationship between the reestablishment of the kingdom and the inclusion of the Gentiles is the second, and more important, way in which the citation from Amos 9 is uniquely appropriate to James’ argument. Amos 9 connects the restoration of the kingdom in Jesus (on which all agree),³²⁴ with the question before the council (how to regard Gentiles who believe in Jesus are to be included). All would have presumably agreed that various Old Testament

³²¹ McLean, “Jesus.”

³²² Dupont, “Salvation,” 19, 33.

³²³ This relationship is not always recognized by commentators. See, however: “The recitation of Peter’s testimony . . . is now given a scriptural warrant to demonstrate that even the inclusion of the Gentiles at this unexpected point fits with God’s plan to restore Israel.” Tiede, *Prophecy*, 91. “The Kingdom of Christ can only be established if God is invoked everywhere throughout the whole world, and the Gentiles united into His holy people.” Calvin, *Acts 14-28*, 47.

³²⁴ “The Jerusalem Council was faced with indisputable evidence. The ultimate blessing of the covenant, the possession of the Holy Spirit, had come in fullness on the Gentiles. This point was not a matter of debate. Neither was it being debated whether or not the ‘tent of David’ had yet been restored.” Robertson, “Hermeneutics,” 105–106. “James’ declaration that God had returned to rebuild the fallen tent of David so that the Gentiles might seek the Lord (Acts 16:16f.) shows that Luke saw the restoration of Israel not as something to be effected only at the parousia, but as actually in progress.” David Seccombe, “The New People of God,” in *Witness to the Gospel: The Theology of Acts* (ed. Ian Howard Marshall and David Peterson; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 351.

prophecies indicated that at some time and in some fashion some Gentiles would turn to God.³²⁵ But James, following Amos, argues that the coming of the Gentiles is inextricably linked to, and a necessary consequence of, the rebuilding of David's fallen tent. Since Jesus the king has come, Amos/James says that the time for the Gentiles is now.³²⁶ The inclusion of Gentiles does not belong still to the distant future or depend on the prior completion of Jewish evangelization. It appears from the testimony of Peter, Barnabas, and Paul, that God is bringing Gentiles into his kingdom and accepting them without circumcision and without the law.

James is concerned that the council "should not trouble those of the Gentiles who turn to God" (μη παρενοχλεῖν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐπιστρέφουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν, 15:19).³²⁷ Peter already declared that it would be "testing God" to impose a burden on these Gentile believers that Jews had been able to bear. If the council were to hinder the coming of Gentiles, or to drive them away by adding intolerable burdens, it would defeat the purpose for which God sent his Messiah.³²⁸ How ironic if the church (not the Sanhedrin) would be found to be "opposing God" (Acts 6:39) in this way! The citation thus demonstrates the necessity of a divinely ordained accommodation for the sake of ministry: the demands of the mission trump the ceremonial requirements of the Mosaic law.

The concluding clause underscores that this is God's purpose. The text of Acts 15:17c–18 is difficult, but the most likely reading is λέγει κύριος ποιῶν ταῦτα γνωστὰ ἀπ' αἰῶνος

³²⁵ Even if some Jews did not expect an inclusion of Gentiles in the future, the teaching of Jesus would have put led the church to expect inclusion of Gentiles in the kingdom. Jeremias, *Promise*.

³²⁶ "We can at least infer from this text that the Cornelius story is cited as proof that the restoration of the fallen house of David has already occurred, as well as the Gentiles seeking the Lord." Jervell, "Divided People," 51–52.

³²⁷ Johnson, *Acts*, 272.

³²⁸ "The greatest obstacle to the conversion of Gentiles was the demand that they should be circumcised." Jeremias, *Promise*, 15.

“says the Lord who makes these things known from of old” [author]. This both emphasizes that God is the one who is rebuilding David’s fallen booth and that his plan for the completion of the kingdom by the incorporation of the Gentiles is nothing new, but has been envisioned by him long ago. The 700-year-old prophecy of Amos is, of course, testimony to this, and the conclusion to the citation (v. 18) thus adds nothing new. It is best to see 15:18 as a free adaptation and unnecessary to posit conflation with Isa 45:21. Barrett captures the thought when he says that “God has not suddenly thought of the inclusion of the Gentiles; it has always been his intention, and he has long made his intention known.”³²⁹

4.5.4 The Apostolic Decree

The apostolic decree (15:20, 28–29; 21:25) is beyond the scope of the present study, but Bauckham’s proposed exegetical link between the citation and the decree requires comment.

Some have found the origin of the decree in the Noahic regulations, but this view has not found wide acceptance. Fitzmyer notes that these seven prohibitions are probably later than James’ speech and are substantially more detailed than the requirements of the decree.³³⁰ Nägele has recently argued that the provisions of the decree correspond

to the minimal requirements which are binding for Jews even in life-threatening situations: idolatry, fornication and murder (“blood”) are to be abstained from (cp. *bShevu 7b*; *bSan 57b*). To these three minimal requirements is added “what is strangled”, viz. to abstain from eating blood (cp. Gen 9:4).³³¹

Further evaluation of her proposal is needed, but it is unclear why only “emergency” stipulations would be applicable to Gentile believers, and not the whole of the law.

³²⁹ Barrett, *Acts*, 728.

³³⁰ Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 557. See also Bauckham, “James and the Gentiles,” 174.

³³¹ Nägele, *Laubhütte Davids*, 231.

Many have suggested that the four requirements of the decree correspond to the four stipulations in Lev 17–18 applied to “the strangers that sojourn among” the people of Israel.³³² The decree is then understood to make table fellowship in the church possible between observant Jews and nonobservant Gentiles.³³³ Bauckham argues that by means of *gezērâ šawâ* the expression “in the midst” in Jer 12:16 and Zech 2:11³³⁴ connects the God-seeking Gentiles of the *eschaton* with those to whom Lev 17–18 originally applied.³³⁵ Beyond the difficulty of the supposed allusions to Jer 12:16 and Zech 2:11, correspondences between the decree and Lev 17–18 are not close. Even Bauckham admits that his argument is not explicit (“Luke’s summary has obscured the exegetical argument”³³⁶). Nägele has correctly noted that “the Amos quote served to settle the overall controversial issues, not just the question of table fellowship.”³³⁷

Witherington has examined the argument for Lev 17–18 in detail and found it wanting. First, the alleged similarities of the terms of the decree to Lev 17–18 are overstated: the prohibitions concern strangers within Israel, not Gentiles in the Diaspora; εἰδωλοθύτων does not appear in Lev 17–18; there is no mention of things strangled in Lev 17–18; and the sexual

³³² Lev 17:8 (sacrifices not to Yahweh, i.e., “pollutions of idols”); 17:10, 12, 13 (“blood” and “what is strangled”); 18:26 (“unchastity”). For textual issues, see Witherington, *Acts*, 460. For an earlier statement of this argument, see Burton Scott Easton, *The Purpose of Acts* (“Theology” Occasional Papers; London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1936), 16–17.

³³³ Johnson, *Acts*, 273; Polhill, *Acts*, 332.

³³⁴ Jer 12:15–16 is a purported source of μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναστρέψω (Acts 15:16a–b). Zech 2:11 (“many nations shall join themselves to the LORD”) is “so closely related . . . as to be an obvious resource for any Christian exegete pursuing this theme.” Bauckham, “James and the Gentiles,” 163–64, 169.

³³⁵ Bauckham, “James and the Gentiles,” 175–77.

³³⁶ Bauckham, “James and the Jerusalem Church,” 458. This would be due either to carelessness (which does not seem characteristic of Luke) or a deliberate decision (which would be difficult to explain).

³³⁷ Nägele, *Laubhütte Davids*, 231. Note also the claim already made in Acts 15:9, that God has already ceased making “distinction between us and them” and that he has “cleansed [the Gentiles’] hearts by faith.” Nägele, *Laubhütte Davids*, 229.

prohibitions in Lev 18 are not well described by the term πορνεία. Witherington instead asks “in what social setting might one find all four of these sins?” He presents a persuasive argument that worship in pagan temples (and pagan feasts in particular) are in view.³³⁸ Witherington offers a possible explanation of the relationship between the citation and the decree. If in fact the decree is aimed specifically at pagan religious observances, these could be understood as in conflict with God’s ownership of Gentile believers (“called by my name”).

In any case, the terms of the decree do not substitute for circumcision or the law of Moses as a requirement for salvation. The principle of salvation by faith, without ceremonial observance, has already been clearly established in the narrative of Acts (10:47; 11:15; 15:8–11).

4.5.5 Moses Is Read Everywhere

The concluding verse of James’ speech (v. 21) has been particularly troubling to scholars: “For from early generations Moses has had in every city those who preach him, for he is read every sabbath in the synagogues.” Dibelius observed that “although straightforward from the linguistic and textual points of view, in context and meaning it is one of the most difficult verses in the New Testament.”³³⁹ Lake and Cadbury commented that “the explanations offered by commentators are numerous and unsatisfactory.”³⁴⁰ Full consideration of this part of the argument is beyond the scope of this paper, but a brief comment may be offered.

Daniel R. Schwartz has observed that there have been two main interpretations of the verse.³⁴¹ The first believes that the long proclamation of the Mosaic law justifies the imposition

³³⁸ Witherington, *Acts*, 460–67. Cp. 1 Cor 10:14–22.

³³⁹ Dibelius, *Studies*, 97.

³⁴⁰ Foakes Jackson and Lake, eds., *Beginnings*, 4:177.

³⁴¹ Daniel R. Schwartz, “The Futility of Preaching Moses (Acts 15,21),” *Bib* 67 (1982): 276–81.

of decree's requirements, as things that would only be expected (by anyone who knew the law) or that would be necessary for table fellowship.

Just as the conversion of the Gentiles has been made known by God in prophecy from long ago (Acts 15.17b–18 = Isa.45.21), so the laws which apply to them are not novel inventions, but have been read out in the synagogues in every city from ancient times (Acts 15.21).³⁴²

The law of Moses is read in every synagogue everywhere; so these requirements should come as not shock to the Gentiles.³⁴³

For a long time Moses has been proclaimed and read in every city so that both Jews and Gentiles who attend synagogues know that the four injunctions just given (v. 20) are what the Law of Moses requires of Gentiles living among the people of God.³⁴⁴

It was both reasonable and right to show consideration for the Jews by keeping the rules mentioned in vss. 19-20—thus making co-existence possible.³⁴⁵

It may be regarded as saying that since there are Jews everywhere who regularly hear the law of Moses being read in the synagogues, Christian Gentiles ought to respect their scruples, and so avoid bringing the church into disrepute with them. Alternatively, the point may be that if Christian Gentiles want to find out any more about the Jewish law, they have plenty of opportunities in the local synagogues.³⁴⁶

He warns that it is not possible for the ceremonies to be abolished so quickly, as if at one fell swoop, because the Jews had already been accustomed to the teaching of the Law for many generations, and Moses had his preachers; that agreement therefore must be gained for a short time until the freedom, procured by Christ, should gradually be more clearly understood; in other words, as the common saying goes, that the ceremonies had to be buried with some decency.³⁴⁷

³⁴² Bauckham, "James and the Gentiles," 177–178; Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 558.

³⁴³ Polhill, *Acts*, 332. See also Johnson, *Acts*, 267.

³⁴⁴ Gerhard A. Krodel, *Acts* (Augsburg Commentary on the New Testament; Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1986).

³⁴⁵ Johannes Munck, *The Acts of the Apostles* (AB 31; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1967), 140. See also Marshall, *Acts*, 254.

³⁴⁶ Marshall, *Acts*, 254. On the former, see also Munck, *Acts*, 140.

³⁴⁷ Calvin, *Acts 14-28*, 51–52.

Opponents have objected that it is difficult to determine why only a few requirements of the Mosaic law apply to Gentiles (and why these requirements in particular). Further, it is not merely table fellowship that is at issue, but the salvation of Gentiles—ἐὰν μὴ περιτμηθῆτε τῷ ἔθει τῷ Μωϋσέως, οὐ δύνασθε σωθῆναι (“unless you are circumcised according to the custom of Moses, you cannot be saved,” 15:1).

The second interpretation holds that the long proclamation of the Mosaic law limiting the requirements to only a few points, since the whole law is regularly being preached by others.

With regard to Gentile converts to Christianity, “Moses, so to speak, would suffer no loss, in failing to obtain the allegiance of those who had never been his.” This observation was perhaps intended to calm the apprehensions of the believing Pharisees, in whose eyes it was specially important that the whole Torah should be taught among the Gentiles; this, said James, was being attended to already by the synagogues.³⁴⁸

James does not cancel or abrogate Torah, but issues a *taqqanah* to a specific group of people in particular circumstances. . . . The alleviation is not so drastic as it seems, because the full law of Moses is still maintained in every synagogue sabbath by sabbath.³⁴⁹

There was still ample opportunity for Gentiles to learn the law of Moses, for it was read publicly every sabbath in synagogues throughout the civilized world.³⁵⁰

There was no real danger of the Mosaic law being despised or losing its hold, as the teaching in the synagogues would make it binding upon Jewish Christians.³⁵¹

Again, however, the issue was not the preservation of the law of Moses, but the insistence that Gentiles obey the law in order to be saved.

Schwartz proposes a third approach.

³⁴⁸ Bruce, *Acts*, 296. The citation is from Rackham, *Acts*, 254.

³⁴⁹ Bowker, “Speeches,” 108.

³⁵⁰ Bruce, *Acts*, 296.

³⁵¹ Burnside, *The Acts of the Apostles: The Greek Edited with Introduction and Notes for the Use of Schools*, 176.

James means that it would be wrong to impose Mosaic law upon converts to Christianity, for experience shows that only a few would be willing to accept the worship of the true God under such a condition. The Mosaic law is thus an obstacle to the acceptance of the true religion, and, since God wants the Gentiles to worship him (as the quote from Amos in vv. 15–17 shows), it follows that the law is not to be imposed.³⁵²

Schwartz thus attempts to explain verse 21 in light of the Amos citation and the repeated assertion in Acts that not even the Jews had been able to keep the law (Acts 15:10; cf. 7:53; 13:38-39). Although his proposal cannot be regarded as established, it is intriguing and deserves further study.

In support of Schwartz's proposal, we may note that, although Moses had been preached "in every city" "from early generations," it was through the proclamation of Jesus that significant numbers of Gentiles were now seeking the God of Abraham. Preaching "Moses" has proven ineffective in bringing significant numbers of Gentiles into the people of God, while the preaching of Jesus by Paul and Barnabas has been dramatically effective. The fulfillment of God's purposes for the nations thus requires a different, and more effective, approach.

4.5.6 Did James Use Greek?

The view that the citation of Amos 9:11–12 in Acts 15 is based on the OG,³⁵³ has raised questions regarding the historicity, or even the aptness, of the citation.

The Hebrew text would be useless for James's argument, and would even contradict it. Nearly every expositor concedes that the Jewish Christian James would not in Jerusalem have used a Septuagint text, differing from the Hebrew original, as scriptural proof. It is not James but Luke who is speaking here.³⁵⁴

³⁵² Schwartz, "The Futility of Preaching Moses (Acts 15,21)," 27. This is Schwartz's formulation of the view of J. K. L. Gieseler, "Über die Nazaräer und Ebioniten," *Archiv für alte und neue Kirchengeschichte* 4 (1818–1820), 311–12. His own view is slightly different.

³⁵³ See, e.g., Barrett, *Acts*, 727–28; Richard, "Creative Use," 44–48.

³⁵⁴ Haenchen, *Acts*, 448.

James' argumentation would crumble if it rested on the Hebrew text of Amos 9. The universalism that the brother of the Lord recommends in his speech, can only find Scriptural support in the Greek version of the OT, and it is highly unlikely that James spoke Greek at the conference of Jerusalem.³⁵⁵

"But is it likely that James, meeting in Jerusalem with fellow Jews (who happened also to be Christians) would use a form of the text that differed from the Hebrew?"³⁵⁶

Others have responded that it would have been entirely appropriate for James to use the Old Testament in Greek in a meeting with representatives of the church in Antioch.³⁵⁷ If the letter attributed to James is in fact from the same church leader, that letter may be seen as evidence of James' facility with Greek.³⁵⁸ Still others have argued that the argument does not depend on the OG, but arises from first-century interpretive practices. Sabine Nägele has suggested that this citation is "implicit midrash,"³⁵⁹ that is, an "interpretive paraphrase."³⁶⁰

When Lake and Cadbury remark that the LXX here is "apparently based on a misreading of the original Hebrew," and conclude that "It is incredible that a Jewish Christian could thus have used the LXX in defiance of the Hebrew," they entirely misunderstand the way in which Jewish exegesis of this period treated the biblical text, as the Dead Sea Scrolls in particular have now made clear to us. A Jewish Christian familiar both with the Hebrew and the LXX of this verse would not regard the latter as a misreading of the Hebrew.³⁶¹

³⁵⁵ Bovon, *Luke the Theologian*, 85. The citation is from Jacques Dupont, *Études sur les Actes des Apôtres* (Paris: Cerf, 1967), 270ff.

³⁵⁶ Barrett, *Acts*, 728.

³⁵⁷ Ådna, "James," 127; Witherington, *Acts*, 457.

³⁵⁸ Joseph B. Mayor, *The Epistle of St. James* (3d ed.; New York: Macmillan, 1912), i–lxv, cclx–cclxvii. "More attention should be paid to the various verbal similarities between what we find in this speech (and in the letter of vv. 23–29) and the Epistle of James." Witherington, *Acts*. (Witherington calls particular attention to Mayor's work.) For a recent assessment of the Greek of the letter, see Luke Timothy Johnson, *The Letter of James: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 37A; New York: Doubleday, 1994), 16–121. See also the succinct summary in Cadbury, "Speeches," 5:411.

³⁵⁹ Ådna, "James," 137; Nägele, *Laubhütte Davids*, 86. The term comes from Ellis, "Midrash," 62.

³⁶⁰ Ellis, "Midrash," 62.

³⁶¹ Bauckham, "James and the Gentiles," 160; "James and the Jerusalem Church," 455–456. Bauckham is here citing Foakes Jackson and Lake, eds., *Beginnings*, 4:176.

Bauckham concludes that although James' speech in its current form is a Lukan composition, its source "coheres well with what we know of the Jerusalem church under the leadership of James and his circle."³⁶²

Still others believe that the argument can in fact be made from the MT. The judgment of C.

C. Torrey is often cited:

But even our Masoretic Hebrew would have served the present purpose admirably, since it predicted that "the tabernacle of David," i.e. the church of the Messiah, would "gain possession of all the nations which are called by the name [of the God of Israel]." Cf. vs. 14, where we are told what this quotation was expected to prove: ὁ θεὸς ἐπεσκέψατο λαβεῖν ἐξ ἔθνων λαὸν τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ.³⁶³

J. W. Bowker has argued that the yelammedenu form of the speech suggests a Palestinian origin.

Masoretic Text says that the rebuilt house of David will possess the nations, LXX says that the rebuilt house of David will be the object of men's search. In either case they will be included in it, and either, therefore, would support James' argument.³⁶⁴

As we have seen, either form of the text would have been sufficient to make James' argument.

The text is cited in the LXX version rather than the Hebrew, although, since James was speaking Aramaic, he need not have rendered either version exactly. In either version the Gentiles will be brought within the orbit of the new Davidic kingdom. Practically all NT commentators agree that St. James correctly understands this prophecy when he sees its fulfillment in the conversion of the Gentiles.³⁶⁵

In the end, nothing in either the language of the speech or citation prevents us from holding that Luke's account represents substantially what James actually said at the council. Although the citation of the text in Acts 15 appears to be based upon the OG and the OG form of the text is

³⁶² Bauckham, "James and the Gentiles," 182.

³⁶³ Torrey, *Composition*, 39.

³⁶⁴ Bowker, "Speeches," 108. See the detailed analysis below.

³⁶⁵ Benson, "' . . . From the Mouth of the Lion': The Messianism of Amos," 210–11.

congenial to the argument made from it, the argument does not depend on the distinctive shape of the OG text, but can be made equally well from the MT.

4.5.7 Jews, Gentiles and the People of God

The issues of “Jewish rejection”³⁶⁶ and the “supersession” of Israel by a church understood as a Gentile entity are beyond the scope of this study. It is difficult, however, to entirely avoid reflecting on these questions while examining Acts 15.

The citation of Amos 9:11–12 in Acts 15 gives little support to “rejectionist” or “supersessionist” readings. The citation indicates that the centerpiece of God’s eschatological work is the restoration of the Davidic kingdom, a kingdom in which Jews who believe in Jesus as the Messiah, play a central role. It is by means of the kingdom, or as a result of God’s raising up of this kingdom (ὅπως ἔσται), that the nations will seek the Lord and be called by his name. There is no suggestion that this central role of the kingdom is only temporary. In the MT form of the citation, these Gentiles are “possessed,” or conquered and (if the interpretation of the text offered above is correct) not destroyed, but brought under the sway of the kingdom to enjoy the blessings God pours out through his Messiah. By applying to Gentiles terms that were previously applied pious Israelites (e.g., λαός, called by Yahweh’s name), the citation indicates that believing Gentiles are to be included among the people of God, not distinguished from them.³⁶⁷ The church is not the home of a Gentile religion, but through the promised Davidic Messiah, Gentiles who believe in Jesus belong to the God of Israel, the creator of all.

³⁶⁶ In the senses both of rejection of the gospel by many Jews and of the rejection by God of Jews who did not believe in Jesus.

³⁶⁷ Craig A. Evans argues that the incorporation of the Gentiles “is not at Israel’s expense but to its glory (Luke 2:32).” Evans, “Prophecy and Polemic,” 207.

This reading is supported by the larger context. Peter argues that God has now “made no distinction between us [Jews] and them [Gentiles]” (15:9). God treats believing Gentiles just as he does Jews who believe in Jesus—he has “cleansed their hearts by faith,” making the ceremonial cleansing of circumcision unnecessary (15:9). The language speaks not of the establishment of a rival people of God, but of the incorporation of believing Gentiles into the one people of God. The language reflecting God’s election and redemption of Israel (“signs and wonders,” 15:12; “visited the Gentiles, to take out of them a people for his name,” 15:14) should not be understood as implying that God is starting over by creating of a new entity, but of his extension of Israel’s election and blessing to believing Gentiles.

Now “David’s fallen tent,” i.e., David’s kingdom, is being reestablished so that all nations may seek the Lord (Acts 15:16f. = Amos 9:11, LXX; cf. Isa 45:22; Acts 28:26–28). The new nation is the new humanity.³⁶⁸

They do not enter by way of the old Israel, for she stands under condemnation and, like the rest of mankind, has need of repentance (Acts 2.38; 3.19; 13.46), but what they enter is Israel renewed and restored (15.14, 16–17).³⁶⁹

In Acts 15, at least, there is and there remains one people of God. The church does not replace Israel.³⁷⁰ Its very name, ἐκκλησία, is itself rich with Old Testament associations.³⁷¹

Thus, Jervell correctly observes that:

“Ein Volk aus den Völkern” ist hier nicht die Kirche aus Juden und Heiden. Israel ist und bleibt das Volk Gottes. Es gibt aber ein(e) Volk(smeng)e aus den Heidenvölkern, das jetzt nicht mehr zu den Völkern, sondern mit Israel zusammengehört. Zum Gottesvolk gehören von nun an auch Nicht-Juden, ohne dass sie durch Beschneidung

³⁶⁸ Goppelt, *Typos*, 118.

³⁶⁹ Franklin, *Christ the Lord*, 125.

³⁷⁰ “Luke does not consider the Gentile Christians as the new Israel, disqualifying the historical people of God.” Sandt, “Explanation,” 92.

³⁷¹ See, e.g., Edmund P. Clowney, *The Church* (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity, 2000), 30-32.

und Gesetz zu Israeliten werden. Die Kirche besteht aus dem erneuerten Israel und “einem Volk aus den Völkern.”³⁷²

4.6 Summary

Acts 15 offers an extended argument for the inclusion of the Gentiles among the people of God without the necessity of circumcision and the observance of the Mosaic law. This argument is advanced simultaneously on three levels. First, the narrative of the providential and Scriptural reasons advanced in the council is meant to lead readers to the same decision that the council itself reached. Second, the account of the council’s reaching a decision under the direction of the Spirit also serves to persuade Luke’s readers. Third, the narrative of Acts as a whole shows God’s blessing on the council’s decision in the joy with which it was received (15:31) and the subsequent success of the Gentile mission.

4.6.1 Text

The textual issues connected with this citation are complex. The OG either represents a lost Hebrew manuscript tradition, a misreading of the MT, or an interpretive rendering (the last is most likely). The New Testament citation appears to represent a free citation of the text. Nevertheless neither the OG or New Testament citation diverge at any essential points from the apparent intent of the MT. The argument does not, as is often suggested, depend particularly on the form of the OG text, but can be made from the MT as well. The citation of the text in Greek does not undermine the historicity of the speech or of the account of the council. There is no persuasive evidence that the words of Amos 9:11–12 are conflated with other texts.

³⁷² Jacob Jervell, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (KEK 3, 17th ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998). Cited by Ådna, “James,” 150-51, n. 78.

4.6.2 Hermeneutic

The speech of James is presented in good *yelammedenu* form. At the same time, we found no evidence for the suggestion that more imaginative first-century exegetical practices here serve to link Amos 9 to other texts by mere verbal correspondence. The text of Amos is used in a way that is consistent with its original contextual meaning.

The key to understanding James' use of Amos 9:11–12 in Acts 15:16–18 is recognizing the relation between the restoration of the Davidic kingdom and the ingathering of the Gentiles, in the Amos citation itself and in Old Testament expectation generally, as well as in Luke-Acts. James begins by characterizing the Peter's narrative of the events at Cornelius house as God's having taken from the Gentiles "a people for his name." This expression sets up the citation of Amos 9, where the same expression occurs in v. 11. The citation demonstrates that the reestablishment of the kingdom in Christ (accepted by all in the council) implies the incorporation of Gentiles among the people of God. In the context of Acts, the citation thus requires an intentional Gentile mission. The narrative indicates that God has already begun incorporating Gentiles through his providential working through Peter (Acts 10–11) and the ministry of Barnabas and Paul. This understanding of events is confirmed by the "agreement" of "the words of the prophets." This "agreement" is the agreement of prophecy with its expected fulfillment: what God through Amos announced, God has through Jesus—and through the preaching of Jesus by the apostles (not the preaching of Moses in the synagogue)—fulfilled. The church, therefore, must not hinder the divinely ordained coming of Gentiles to God by imposing an obligation that the Jews themselves had been unable to keep.

4.6.3 Purpose

The citation from Amos 9:11–12 is introduced at a critical juncture in the narrative of Acts to settle the question of the basis on which the Gentiles would be included among the people of God. The narrative of the council immediately follows the account of Paul’s first missionary journey, in which he and Barnabas found an obligation for an intentional Gentile mission in the prophecy of Isa 49:6: “I have set you to be a light for the Gentiles, that you may bring salvation to the uttermost parts of the earth” (13:47). Their journey is concluded with the summary that God “had opened a door of faith to the Gentiles” (14:27).

The centrality of this faith is the topic under discussion in Acts 15. Some had come from Jerusalem to Antioch “teaching the brethren, ‘Unless you are circumcised according to the custom of Moses, you cannot be saved’” (15:1). In Jerusalem, the implied obligation to the Mosaic law was made more explicitly: “It is necessary to circumcise them, and to charge them to keep the law of Moses” (15:5). James, however, makes it clear that what God did at Cornelius’ house where he “first visited the Gentiles, to take out of them a people for his name” was in agreement “with the words of the prophets,” particularly with Amos 9:11–12. The critical question is not circumcision (with its attendant obligation to keep the law), but God’s calling his name over Gentiles in covenant relationship and blessing. (Salvation is by grace.) Since the events at Cornelius’ house made it clear that God had cleansed the hearts of Gentiles by faith (15:9), the ceremonial cleansing of circumcision was unnecessary. (Salvation is also by faith.) To require that Gentile believers undergo circumcision and obey the law would be “testing God” and laying on them a burden that Jews themselves had not been able to bear (15:10). What was necessary was that the church not “trouble” Gentiles in such a way that would interfere with their addition to the people of God, for this would defeat the explicit purpose for which God sent his Messiah to restore the kingdom of David.

Where the citation of Isa 49:6 in Acts 13:47 established the necessity of an intentional Gentile mission, the citation of Amos 9:11–12 in Acts 15:16–17 establishes the necessity of accommodation in the matter of circumcision and the ceremonies of the Mosaic law. For the church, both the necessity of and the strategy for the Gentile mission are now established. The appropriateness of an intentional Gentile mission remained controversial for Jews who did not acknowledge Jesus as the Messiah (Acts 22:21–22).³⁷³

James' appeal to scripture enhances his authority before the council as he argues for the inclusion of the Gentiles by faith, without the obligations of circumcision and Mosaic law. Luke's inclusion of the citation in his work likewise enhances his authority as narrator. His argument does not rest on the citation alone. The narrative (both of the decision of the council and of the book as a whole) also supports the assertion that God has accepted Gentiles by faith (without circumcision and the law) and blessed both the church's intentional Gentile mission and the council's decision. Both citation and narrative address an important concern shared by Luke and his audience, and provide confidence that God has indeed accepted Gentiles into people of God without circumcision or obedience to the law of Moses.

The centerpiece of God's eschatological work in the citation is the reestablishment of the Davidic kingdom, which becomes the means by which Gentiles come to have the name of Yahweh called over them. In Acts 15, therefore, there is and there remains one people of God.

³⁷³ The related question of the obligation of Jews to the Mosaic law remained a matter of contention (Acts 21:20–25).

CHAPTER 5 ANTICIPATIONS OF THE GENTILE MISSION

5.1 Introduction

The key role played by Old Testament citations in establishing the legitimacy of the Gentile mission is clear from the foregoing examination of the citations in Acts 13:47; 15:16–18. These citations are introduced into contexts that are explicitly concerned with the Gentile mission for the purpose of addressing essential questions regarding that mission.

The survey of Old Testament citations in chapter 2 found two additional texts containing language that appeared to indicate the inclusion of the Gentiles in the promises of God. The citations of Joel 3:1–5 (Acts 2:17–21) and Gen 22:18 (Acts 3:25) figure prominently in the first two sermons in Acts and play a significant role in introducing major themes of the book of Acts.¹ In their immediate contexts, Peter cites these texts to establish his proclamation about Jesus. The Gentile mission had not yet begun and the implications of these citations for the Gentile mission are not made explicit at these early points in the narrative. The speeches of Acts, however, have two audiences: *in* the narrative, Peter addresses these sermons to Jewish audiences in Jerusalem; *through* the narrative, Luke addresses his readers.² What may be of little importance to (or even escape the notice of) one audience may still be a matter of importance to the other. While there is no indication in the narrative that Peter's original audience attended to the implications of these

¹ Hans F. Bayer, "The Preaching of Peter in Acts," in *Witness to the Gospel: The Theology of Acts* (ed. Ian Howard Marshall and David Peterson; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 260. Similarly the two speeches are "complimentary" and "we must view the two speeches together in order to understand Peter's message in its full scope," Tannehill, *Narrative Unity*, 2:58.

² "Luke does not place his speeches randomly but rather strategically, in order to provide his readers at key moments with an interpretation of the story he is narrating. In this sense his speeches are a form of authorial commentary." Johnson, "Idols," 10.

texts for Gentile ministry, Luke’s Gentile readers, with personal interest in the Gentile mission, would have readily seen themselves in the seemingly universal language of these citations. Although the immediate contexts do not draw out implications of these citations for the Gentile mission, these implications become clear in the larger context of the narrative of Acts and the overall pattern of Old Testament citations. The references to the Gentiles in the citations of Joel 3:1–5 and Gen 22:18 may be anticipatory rather than explicit, but their contribution to Luke’s grounding of the Gentile mission in the Old Testament is important. Because of their anticipatory character and because they do not present the complex textual and other issues raised by the citations in Acts 13:47; 15:16–18, examination of them will be more abbreviated.

5.2 All Flesh . . . Everyone Who Calls (Acts 2:17–21; Joel 3:1–5)

The quotation of Joel 3:1–5 in Acts 2:16–21 has been called “the most discussed explicit quotation in Ac”³ because of its programmatic significance as the introductory citation in the first Christian sermon recorded in Acts.⁴ The full citation is printed below, although only Joel 3:1b (Acts 2:17c), 3:5a (Acts 2: 21), and 3:5d (2:39) will be the focus of the present study.

Joel 3:1-5 MT	Joel 3:1-5 OG	Acts 2:17-21
וְהָיָה אֶחָד־יָמִים	1a καὶ ἔσται μετὰ ταῦτα	17a καὶ ἔσται ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις,
אֶחָד־יָמִים אֶחָד־יָמִים	b καὶ ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματός μου ἐπὶ πᾶσαν σάρκα	b λέγει ὁ θεός, c ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματός μου ἐπὶ πᾶσαν σάρκα,
וְנִבְּאוּ בְּנֵיכֶם וּבְנֹתֵיכֶם	c καὶ προφητεύσουσιν οἱ υἱοὶ ὑμῶν καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες ὑμῶν	d καὶ προφητεύσουσιν οἱ υἱοὶ ὑμῶν καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες ὑμῶν

³ Steyn, *Septuagint Quotations*, 72.

⁴ Robert Wall has argued that the citations from Joel 3 (Acts 2) and Amos 9 (Acts 15) play an important role in “organizing the entire composition” (i.e., Acts). Wall, “Israel,” 441. H. van de Sandt has argued that Joel plays a prominent role, not only in Acts 2, but also in other important texts in Acts. His intertextual argument, relying on slender verbal allusions, is ultimately too tenuous to be completely persuasive. Huub van de Sandt, “The Fate of the Gentiles in Joel and Acts 2: An Intertextual Study,” *ETL* 66 (1990): 55–77.

⁶ The same variation appears in manuscripts of Acts 2.

⁵ Some (e.g., JB, NEB) have amended 3:5b to 3:5c to provide the parallel "in Mount Zion . . . those who escape . . . and in Jerusalem survivors." Without manuscript support, this must be regarded as conjectural.

BHS lists no extant variants and no citations from Joel have been identified in the DSS.⁷ The OG textual tradition shows more variation. There are minor stylistic variants, such as the omission of *καὶ* (3:1b, 2a); the addition of *ἢ* following *πρὶν* in 3:4c;⁶ the insertion of *τῆν*

e	καὶ οἱ νεανίσκοι ἦμῶν ὀρθοί εἰσι ὄψοντα	d	καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἦμῶν ἐνπνια
f	καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἦμῶν ἐνπνια	e	καὶ οἱ νεανίσκοι ἦμῶν ὀρθοί εἰσι ὄψοντα
18a	καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τοὺς δούλους καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς δούλας ἦμῶν	2a	καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς δούλους καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς δούλας ἦμῶν
b	ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκεῖναις ἐκχεῶ ἅπῃ τοῦ πνεύματός μου,	b	ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκεῖναις ἐκχεῶ ἅπῃ τοῦ πνεύματός μου
c	καὶ προφητεῖσουσιν·	3a	καὶ δώσω τέρματα ἐν τῷ ὄρει καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς
19a	καὶ δώσω τέρματα ἐν τῷ ὄρει καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς	b	καὶ σημεῖα ἐπι τῆς γῆς καὶ τῶν οὐρανῶν
c	καὶ πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ πρὸς τὴν γῆν	b	καὶ ἡ σελήνη εἰς αἴμα καὶ ἡ σελήνη εἰς αἴμα
b	καὶ ἡ σελήνη εἰς αἴμα	c	πρὶν ἐλαθεῖν ἡμέραν καὶ πρὶν ἐλαθεῖν ἡμέραν καὶ πρὶν ἐλαθεῖν ἡμέραν καὶ πρὶν ἐλαθεῖν ἡμέραν
20a	ὁ ἥλιος ἕσται ὡς αἷμα καὶ ἡ σελήνη ἕσται ὡς αἷμα	4a	ὁ ἥλιος ἕσται ὡς αἷμα καὶ ἡ σελήνη ἕσται ὡς αἷμα
21	καὶ ἕσται παῶς ὡς ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἕσται ὡς ἄνθρωπος	5a	καὶ ἕσται παῶς ὡς ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἕσται ὡς ἄνθρωπος
c	καθὼς εἶπεν κύριος	c	καθὼς εἶπεν κύριος
d	κύριος προσκεκλήται	d	κύριος προσκεκλήται καὶ ἐν ἀγγελοῖς οὐδὲς

before ἡμέραν (3:4c);⁷ and the reading ὃς ἐὰν in place of ὃς ἄν (3:5a).⁸ Some manuscripts have the singular εὐαγγελιζόμενος for the plural εὐαγγελιζόμενοι (3:4d). Some read οὗς προκέκληται κύριος or οὗς κύριος προσκέκληκε for οὗς κύριος προσκέκληται (3:5d). Several appear to reflect the influence of Acts:⁹ the dative ἐνυπνίοις in place of the accusative ἐνύπνια in 3:1d (Acts 2:17f);¹⁰ the addition of μου to δούλους and δούλας in 3:2a (Acts 2:18a); the addition of καὶ προφητεύσουσιν at the end of 3:2 (Acts 2:18);¹¹ and additional words (underlined) to create the more poetic καὶ δώσω τέρατα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἄνω καὶ σημεῖα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κάτω in 3:3 (Acts 2:19). None of these variants involve 3:1b or 3:5a.

Only two minor variants appear in the portions of the text relevant to this study. In place of ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματός in Joel 3:1b (Acts 2:17c), some manuscripts read τὸ πνεῦμα.¹² In place of the aorist ἐπικαλέσῃται in Joel 3:5a (Acts 2:21), several manuscripts have the future indicative, ἐπικαλέσεται, and the original hand of Sinaiticus (alone) reads ἐπικαλήται (present). In neither case are the variants sufficiently well supported to put the text in doubt, nor do they make a significant difference in meaning. The OG text is substantially established.

⁷ The evidence for the article with the same phrase is divided also in 1:15; 2:1, 11 as well as in Acts 2:20c.

⁸ The variants ὅταν and ὃς (one manuscript each) seem clearly to be corruptions.

⁹ Of course, it may be that these readings predated Acts in the manuscripts that were available to Luke, but most editors regard them as efforts to conform the text of Joel to that of Acts.

¹⁰ In every other instance, the OG has the accusative in this cognate expression (Gen 37:5, 9, 10; Deut 13:2, 4, 6; Judg 7:3; Jer 23:25; 36:8 [MT 29:8]) with the exception of the genitive (by attraction?) in Gen 37:6. Only in Jer 36:8 does ἐνύπνια appear in the plural in this cognate expression (but see the plural in MT Gen 42:9; Dan 2:1).

¹¹ Although D and a small number of other Greek and Latin manuscripts omit this clause in Acts 2:18.

¹² The verb ἐκχεω with ἀπό appears in the OG only in Joel 3:1, 2. The construction with the accusative occurs regularly (see, e.g., Gen 9:6; Lev. 8:15; 1 Sam 25:31; Ps 13:3; 21:15; Isa 59:7; Jer 14:16; Hos 5:10; Amos 9:6). However, ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματός stands unchallenged in the MT of Joel 3:2b. Dillard attributes the reading to the influence of Num 11:17, 25. Raymond Bryan Dillard, "Joel," in *The Minor Prophets: An Exegetical and Expository Commentary* (ed. Thomas Edward McComiskey; 3 vols.; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1992), 295.

In his study of this text, Steyn identifies two differences between the MT and the OG and 11 between the OG and the text of Acts (eight additions, one substitution, one transposition, and one change of grammatical case).¹³ Most of these will be readily apparent in the text shown above. None involve Acts 2:17c (Joel 3:1b) or Acts 2:21 (Joel 3:5a),¹⁴ nor are any well attested variants found in the New Testament manuscript tradition for Acts 2:17c, 21.¹⁵

5.2.1 Joel 3:1–5

5.2.1.1 The Context of Joel 3:1–5

The prophecy of Joel provides few clues regarding either its author or the historical circumstances in which he prophesied. The book has been variously dated from the ninth century to as late as 200 B.C.¹⁶ “Happily, Joel’s message does not hinge on the date.”¹⁷ More challenging for the interpretation of the book is the debate over the situation that gave rise to the prophecy. The prophet’s description of the locust plague has been understood as a literal locust plague,¹⁸ as

¹³ Steyn, *Septuagint Quotations*, 77–90.

¹⁴ A detailed examination of the form of the entire text is beyond the scope of this study. Steyn observes that “previous studies of this quotation, although numerous, have not provided satisfactory explanation for all the textual changes between the Ac reading and that in existing manuscripts from the LXX.” Steyn, *Septuagint Quotations*, 76. It is better to understand the differences as reflecting a free citation rather than a distinctive original.

¹⁵ Eldon Epp has noted a number of variants in D that “universalize” the citation. Only *πάσας σάρκας* (only in the original hand of D) in 2:17c is part of the text considered here. However, it should be noted that the argument below runs directly counter to Epp’s assertion that it the Gentiles cannot be in view here because Peter is speaking to Jews and “that the Gentile mission first began later with Cornelius.” Epp, *Theological Tendency*, 66–70.

¹⁶ See, e.g., the survey of views presented in Dillard, “Joel,” 242–43. See also the summaries in Harrison, *Introduction*, 876–79; LaSor et al., *Survey*, 438–39.

¹⁷ LaSor et al., *Survey*, 439.

¹⁸ E.g., Leslie C. Allen, *The Books of Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, and Micah* (NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976), 29–31; Harrison, *Introduction*, 875–76; Hubbard, *Joel and Amos*, 21; Simon M. Lehrman, “Joel,” in *The Twelve Prophets: Hebrew Text, English Translation and Commentary* (ed. Abraham Cohen; Soncino Books of the Bible; Bournemouth, England: Soncino, 1948), 57–58; Stuart, *Hosea-Jonah*, 232–34.

invading armies,¹⁹ as apocalyptic imagery,²⁰ or as a combination of these.²¹ While important for the interpretation of the book as a whole, the identity of the locusts is not crucial for the interpretation of 3:1–5.

The overall flow of thought within the prophecy is clear, even if there is disagreement on the book's precise structure.²² Joel 1:1–20 describes the devastation of the current locust plague and calls for a response of repentance. Joel 2 speaks either of the locust plague in terms of the day of Yahweh or of the coming day of Yahweh in terms of the plague (2:1–11) and is followed by another call to repentance (2:12–17). The message then turns from judgment to restoration: material/economic (2:18–27) and military/political (with the destruction of Judah's enemies, 4:1–21), with Joel 3:1–5 between (although many mark the major division at 3:1).²³

Joel 3:1–5 begins with the words וְהָיָה אֲחֵרֵי־כֵן (“and it shall come to pass afterward”), indicating a temporal shift from the preceding verses.²⁴ The expression אֲחֵרֵי־כֵן occurs 45 times

¹⁹ Henderson characterizes this as “the more ancient opinion” and attributes it to “the Targum, the Jews whom Jerome consulted,” Ephraem the Syrian, Theodoret, Cyril of Alexandria, Hugh of St. Victor, Luther and others. Henderson, *Minor Prophets*, 91.

²⁰ Most notably by A. Merx. See LaSor et al., *Survey*, 440.

²¹ Henderson believes that the plague of chapter 1 is literal, while that of chapter 2 describes the destruction of Judah by its political enemies. Henderson, *Minor Prophets*, 91–92. So John Calvin, *Commentaries on the Twelve Minor Prophets* (Calvin's Commentaries 14; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1979; repr., Calvin Translation Society edition, Edinburgh, 1845–1856). Others see Yahweh's army in chapter 2. James L. Crenshaw, *Joel: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 24C; New York: Doubleday, 1995), 15, 116–17, 128–31; Dillard, “Joel,” 278. Still others find apocalyptic creatures in chapter 2, e.g., Robert H. Pfeiffer, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1941), 574; Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, 42.

²² See, e.g., the survey of views in Crenshaw, *Joel*, 29–34.

²³ Otto Eissfeld, *The Old Testament: An Introduction* (trans. Peter J. Ackroyd; New York: Harper & Row, 1965), 393–394; Ernst Sellin and Georg Fohrer, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1968), 426.

²⁴ W. VanGemeren denies that there is a temporal shift here, arguing for the presence of eschatological language in 2:17–27 and suggesting that this expression, as בַּיָּמִים הַהֵמָּה (“in those days,” v. 29) simply means “when.” Willem VanGemeren, *Interpreting the Prophetic Word* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1990), 123–124; “The Spirit of Restoration,” *WTJ* 50 (1988): 84–90.

in MT and is typically translated as “afterward” or “after this.”²⁵ The exact expression (with וְהָיָה) occurs only here, although the similar וְהָיָה אַחֲרָיִךְ occurs eleven times in narrative contexts in the MT.²⁶ David Chapman has argued that discourse analysis indicates the expression is “used to create major discourse level transitions.”²⁷ The precise nature of the transition is a matter of debate. Hubbard believes that it marks the transition from the repair of the old order to the inauguration of the new.²⁸ Achtemeier believes that the events of 3:1–5 do not take place soon after the events of chapter 2, but in “that indefinite time of the coming of the day of the Lord.”²⁹ Hubbard denies that these words “necessarily point to the end,” but admits that בְּיָמֵי הַהִמָּקָה (“in those days,” v. 29) provide “an eschatological touch.”³⁰ Dillard, who understands 2:1–11 to refer to an apocalyptic judgment on Judah, argues that 3:1–5 answers to that threat (as 2:18–27 has answered the temporal threat of 1:1–20).³¹ Chapman finds the proposed transitions (future to eschatological, physical to spiritual, prophetic to apocalyptic) to be oversimplifications and argues that the transition is best understood as one from expected to unexpected blessings.³²

²⁵ HALOT, s.v. אַחֲרָיִךְ. Raymond Dillard argues that אַחֲרָיִךְ “seems unambiguously to signify temporal sequence” and “it is hard to escape the fact that the prophet intends his readers to understand 3:1–5 [2:28–32] as sequential to 2:18–27.” Dillard, “Joel,” 294.

²⁶ Judg 16:4; 1 Sam 24:6; 2 Sam 2:1; 8:1; 10:1; 13:1; 15:1 (וְהָיָה אַחֲרָיִךְ); 21:18; 2 Kgs 6:24; 1 Chr 18:1; 19:1.

²⁷ David W. Chapman, “A Superabundance of Blessing: The Discourse Intent of Joel 3:1–5 and Its Canonical Implications” (M.A. thesis, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, 1996), 129.

²⁸ Hubbard, *Joel and Amos*.

²⁹ Elizabeth Achtemeier, “The Book of Joel: Introduction, Commentary, and Reflections,” in *NIB* (12 vols.; Nashville: Abingdon, 1996), 7:326.

³⁰ Hubbard, *Joel and Amos*, 68.

³¹ Dillard, “Joel.”

³² Chapman, “Superabundance,” 129.

The difference between the two stages is not that the first is material and the second spiritual but that the first is the restoration of old damage and the second is the inauguration of a new era in God's dealings with his people.³³

Joel 4:1 is marked by another temporal indicator: כִּי הִנֵּה בַיָּמִים הַהֵמָּה וּבְעֵת הַהִיא ("for behold, in those days and at that time"). Dillard sees this expression as a "somewhat similar chronological note" to 3:1.³⁴ Crenshaw notes that "in those days and at that time" occurs only three other times in the MT (Jer 33:15; 50:4, 20)³⁵ and does not appear to mark a temporal shift, but the introduction of another blessing: "not only will I [God] do this, but at the same time, I will also . . ." A similar transition can be seen in Joel 4:1:

For behold, in those days and at that time, when I restore the fortunes of Judah and Jerusalem, I will gather all the nations and bring them down to the valley of Jehoshaphat, and I will enter into judgment with them there.

Such a reading suggests that Joel 4 should be understood as closely associated with Joel 3. Joel 4:1, however, introduces a lengthy section on God's judgment on the nations, a theme at most alluded to in 3:1–5.³⁶ The primary object of God's action in chapter 4 is the nations, while in chapter 3 it is Judah. It is therefore best to understand Joel 3:1–5 as a distinct section within the message of restoration and salvation for Judah that began in 2:18.

Joel 3:1–5 (English Bible 2:28–32) can be divided into three sections.

³³ Hubbard, *Joel and Amos*, 68. In a like vein also Wolff: "Not only will earlier conditions be restored (v 23), the will be exceeded." Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, 65.

³⁴ Dillard, "Joel."

³⁵ Crenshaw, *Joel*.

³⁶ The darkening of the sun and moon in 3:4 is paralleled in 4:15, suggesting that there may be a relation between the events described (although 4:15 has the verb קָרַר instead of חָשַׁךְ). Some have suggested that the "deliverance" of the "survivors" in 3:5 presupposes the condemnation of chapter 4. It is not necessary, however, to look to chapter 4 for the danger. Darkness (חָשַׁךְ) appears in 2:2, the need for deliverance (פְּדוּתָא) in 2:3 and, in light of the severe devastation of the locust plague, survival is clearly a matter of concern. Wolff understands the escape to be from the cosmic catastrophes of 3:3–4. Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, 68.

Three strophes, each of three lines, which deal with the outpouring of God’s spirit in prophecy (vv. 28, 29), cosmic signs heralding the Day of Yahweh (vv. 30, 31), and the security of his people (v. 32). The first and second are spoken by Yahweh, the third by the prophet.³⁷

The original discourse intent of Joel 3:1-5 is to provide impetus for repentance and cause for hope to the people of Judah. It does this by adding, to the promise of the reversal of the judgment on Judah, the superabounding blessing of three promises: the immediate presence of God through His Spirit with all His people, portential signs which signal Yahweh’s impending judgment on the nations, and the promise of their assured deliverance from that judgment.”³⁸

Of these three sections, the first (“all flesh”) and the third (“everyone who calls” and “everyone whom the LORD calls”) are relevant to the present study. The apocalyptic signs of 3:3–4 appear to be concomitants of God’s action, rather than its primary content.

5.2.1.2 All Flesh (Joel 3:1b)

Joel 3:1-2 MT	Joel 3:1-2 OG	Joel 2:28-29 RSV
וְהָיָה אֶחָד־יָכֵן אֶשְׁפּוֹךְ אֶת־רוּחִי עַל־כָּל־בָּשָׂר	1a καὶ ἔσται μετὰ ταῦτα	28a “And it shall come to pass afterward,
וְנָבְאוּ בְנֵיכֶם וּבָנוֹתֵיכֶם זְקֵנֵיכֶם חֲלֹמוֹת יִחְלְמוּן בְּחֹזֵיכֶם הֲוִינֹת יֵרְאוּ	b καὶ ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματός μου ἐπὶ πᾶσαν σάρκα c καὶ προφητεύσουσιν οἱ υἱοὶ ὑμῶν καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες ὑμῶν d καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ὑμῶν ἐνύπνια ἐνυπνιασθήσονται e καὶ οἱ νεανίσκοι ὑμῶν ὄρασεις ὄψονται	b that I will pour out my spirit on all flesh; c your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, d your old men shall dream dreams, e and your young men shall see visions.
וְגַם עַל־הַעֲבָדִים וְעַל־הַשְּׂפָחוֹת	2a καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς δούλους καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς δούλας	29a Even upon the menservants and maidservants
בְּיָמֵי הַהֵמָּה אֶשְׁפּוֹךְ אֶת־רוּחִי	b ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματός μου	b in those days, I will pour out my spirit.

The first promise occurs is *וְהָיָה אֶחָד־יָכֵן אֶשְׁפּוֹךְ אֶת־רוּחִי עַל־כָּל־בָּשָׂר* (“that I will pour out my spirit on all flesh.”) in 3:1a, b, paralleled in a chiasm by *וְגַם עַל־הַעֲבָדִים וְעַל־הַשְּׂפָחוֹת* (“in those

³⁷ Allen, *Joel*, 97. So also Crenshaw, *Joel*, 170–71.

³⁸ Chapman, “Superabundance,” 200.

days, I will pour out my spirit”) in 3:2b. This outpouring appears to differ from that found in other Old Testament prophets. It is not for new obedience (Ezek 36:26–27) or for spiritual refreshment and renewal (Isa 32:15; 44:3).³⁹ The Spirit here brings revelation: prophecy (וְנִבְּאוּ), dreaming dreams (חֲלֹמוֹת חֲלֵמוֹת), and seeing visions (רְאוּיֹת רְאוּיֹת).⁴⁰ “In the Old Testament, the Spirit of God is preeminently the spirit of prophecy.”⁴¹ Many see here the fulfillment of Moses’ wish in Num 11:29 (“Would that all the LORD’s people were prophets, that the LORD would put his spirit upon them!”).⁴²

In what sense God’s people become a nation of prophets? Bewer believes that Joel has in view “the experience . . . of those ecstatic spiritual states which had always been regarded as caused by a, or the, Spirit of God.”⁴³ Wolff rightly dismisses this idea. Further,

there is no reference to proclamation, especially since all who are in view shall experience the pouring out. Much less can one think here of a promise of the spirit to Israel for the purpose of effecting the conversion and salvation of the nations of the world.⁴⁴

Rather, Wolff believes, the parallels to “prophecy” (i.e., “dream dreams” and “see visions”) suggest “the verb must be interpreted here to refer not to prophetic expression, but merely to the existence of prophets.” “It is the relationship to God, then, which has become completely new in

³⁹ Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, 66.

⁴⁰ There is no particular significance to the fact that it is young men who see visions and old men who dream dreams. The association of the forms of revelation with the groups who receive them appears merely “rhetorical.” Julius A. Bewer, “Commentary on Joel,” in *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Micah, Zephaniah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Obadiah and Joel* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1911), 122. So Crenshaw, *Joel*, 165.

⁴¹ Dillard, “Joel,” 294–295. He calls attention in particular to Num 11:25–29; 1 Sam 10:6–10; 18:10; 19:20–33; 1 Kgs 22:22–23 (2 Chr 18:21–22); 2 Kgs 2; 15; Neh 9:30; Ezek 13:3; Zech 7:12; 13:2.

⁴² So, e.g., Crenshaw, *Joel*, 171; Duane A. Garrett, *Hosea, Joel* (NAC 19A; Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 1997), 368.

⁴³ Bewer, “Joel,” 122.

⁴⁴ Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, 66.

the new creation through the outpouring of the spirit.” “Thus the new relationship to God would be similar to Jer 31:33–34: everyone will stand in a relationship of immediacy to God.” If this gift of prophecy does not necessarily include proclamation, it certainly includes “perception” of God and his truth.⁴⁵ Others suggest that “the dreams, visions, and prophecies serve to authenticate the presence of the Spirit and draw the individual into a direct experience with God”⁴⁶ and that “the gift of the Spirit enables its recipients to discern and declare the will of God.”⁴⁷ Wolff is likely correct in seeing a similarity to Jer 31:34 here (“they shall all know me, from the least of them to the greatest”). What all receive is an intimate and direct knowledge of God such as came previously only to prophets. This does not mean that some will not still possess a distinctive prophetic gift (Acts 11:27; 13:1; 15:32; 19:6; 21:9–10), just as God’s promise that Israel would be “a kingdom of priests” (Exod 19:6) did not eliminate a distinct priestly office (at least until the final fulfillment in the eschaton).

The expression in 3:1b that is of importance for the present study is the description of the recipients as *כָּל־בְּשָׂר* (“all flesh”). A few read the expression here as a reference to all humankind: Keil asserts that “‘all flesh’ signifies all men”⁴⁸ and Walter Kaiser understands the

⁴⁵ Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, 66–67. Wolff compares the use of “prophecy” here to express “immediacy to God,” with the similar use of “nation of priests” in Exod 19:5–6. He argues, less persuasively, that the content of this “perception” consists in “the certainty that ‘Yahweh is with us!’” and “the prophetic certainty of the coming acts of God on behalf of his people.”

⁴⁶ Garrett, *Hosea, Joel*, 368.

⁴⁷ Norman F. Langford, “The Book of Joel: Exposition,” in *IB* (ed. George A. Buttrick, et. al.; 12 vols.; New York: Abingdon, 1956), 6:752.

⁴⁸ Keil, *Minor Prophets*, 210. Keil argues, somewhat weakly, “it cannot be proved that the specification in vers. 2 and 3 is intended to exhaust the idea of ‘all flesh.’”

expression to be most often “a synonym for the ‘nations,’” arguing that “seldom if ever may ‘all flesh’ be reserved and restricted to all Israel.”⁴⁹ Most, however, limit the term here to Judah.

There can be little doubt in this context that Joel intends *all flesh* to refer to Israel alone—the phrase *all flesh* is explicated as *your* sons and daughters, slaves, young and old; the fortunes of Judah are contrasted to those of the Gentiles (4:1–17 [3:1–17]).⁵⁰

All flesh may mean all mankind, and we should interpret it thus, if the following context did not restrict it to the Jews.⁵¹

Here the following elaboration of the term, as well as the whole context of ch. 3, makes it clear that Joel is referring to the community of Judah.⁵²

All flesh could mean all mankind, as in Isa. 40:5, but the following possessives . . . show that the phrase here means all Israel.⁵³

Wolff notes that “concerning other nations a completely different message is coming (4:1 ff).”⁵⁴

Despite this agreement, it is much more likely that כָּל־בָּשָׂר (“all flesh”) is a universal reference. The expression appears 45 times in the MT. In six (Lev 4:11; 13:13; 15:16; Num 8:7; Ezek 10:2; Prov 4:22) it is joined with a pronominal suffix and refers to a body (e.g., “his body”). The remaining instances all appear to bear a universal sense, referring either to all living

⁴⁹ Walter C. Kaiser, Jr., “The Promise of God and the Outpouring of the Holy Spirit,” in *The Living and Active Word of God: Studies in Honor of Samuel J. Schulz* (ed. Morris Inch and Ronald Youngblood; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1983; repr., pages 89–100 (with revisions) in *The Uses of the Old Testament in the New*. Chicago: Moody, 1985), 119. Kaiser refers to the work of A. R. Hulst, “*Kol basar . . .*,” *Studies in the Book of Genesis, OTS 12* (1958): 47–49, which was not available to me. However, an analysis of the 44 instances of the expression outside Joel (Kaiser’s count of 32 instances must combine adjacent references) does not support that claim that in a majority of instances “the expression refers to Gentiles alone” in distinction from “all mankind.”

⁵⁰ Dillard, “Joel,” 295.

⁵¹ Bewer, “Joel,” 123.

⁵² Allen, *Joel*, 98.

⁵³ John A. Thompson, “The Book of Joel: Introduction and Exegesis,” in *IB* (ed. George A. Buttrick, et. al.; 12 vols.; New York: Abingdon, 1956), 6:752.

⁵⁴ Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, 67.

things (17 occurrences)⁵⁵ or to all humankind (21 occurrences, not counting Joel 3:1).⁵⁶ Many of the latter (particularly those in prophetic books) appear in contexts that explicitly include other nations. Examination of “everyone who calls on the name of the LORD” and “everyone the LORD calls” (Joel 3:5, below) will show similarly universal references. “All flesh” here means “all humankind.” Just as the promised blessings in Joel 3 vastly exceed the earlier devastation, so the recipients of those blessings vastly exceed Judah.

Nevertheless, even if we follow those who would limit the application of “all flesh” to Judah, the promised blessing will still include Gentiles.

The promise is dramatic, that the Spirit will be poured out without distinction: “sons . . . daughters . . . old men . . . young men . . . menservants and maidservants . . .”⁵⁷ Thus “*all* of God’s people will have *all* they need of God’s Spirit,” without “societal restrictions.”⁵⁸ “No exclusion will be made on the basis of gender, age or social station. . . .”⁵⁹ While the promise of material restoration in Joel 2 may focus on those devastated by the locust plague in Judah, the language must apply to faithful Jews anywhere (not only in Judah). Hubbard, while insisting that “Israel, not the whole world is in view,” still contends that in its broad extent, this promise

⁵⁵ All 12 occurrences in Gen 6–9 plus Lev 17:14 (3x); Num 18:15; and possibly Ps 136:25. In Gen 7:21–23, “all flesh” (כָּל־בְּרֵיתָא) is explicated as “birds, cattle, beasts, all swarming creatures that swarm upon the earth, and every man; everything on the dry land in whose nostrils was the breath of life.” Cp. Gen 6:17 (“all flesh in which is the breath of life . . . everything that is on the earth”) and Num 18:15 (“all flesh, whether man or beast”).

⁵⁶ Num 16:22; 27:16; Deut 5:26; Isa 40:5; 49:26; 66:16, 23, 24; Jer 12:12 (the sole negative, “no flesh”); 25:31; 32:27; 45:5; Ezek 20:48; 21:4–5; Zech 2:13; Ps 65:2; 145:21; Job 12:10; 34:15; Dan 4:9.

⁵⁷ These pairs are instances of merism. Raabe, “Particularizing,” 652. These appearance of these particulars with the seemingly universal “all flesh,” “everyone who calls,” and “everyone Yahweh calls” may be a positive correlate (in a context of blessing) of the particularizing of universals that Raabe finds in judgment oracles.

⁵⁸ Garrett, *Hosea, Joel*, 260–61.

⁵⁹ Hubbard, *Joel and Amos*, 69.

“readies the people for a new era of oneness, when superficial distinctions are set aside and even outcasts become core members of God’s new fellowship.”⁶⁰

There is more than preparation for that day. Servants (“menservants and maidservants,” 3:2) are particularly mentioned among those who receive the gift of the Spirit. We know little about the slave population in Judea at this (or any time in the biblical period), but it is clear that from an early point Israel held Gentile slaves.⁶¹

As for your male and female slaves whom you may have: you may buy male and female slaves from among the nations that are round about you. You may also buy from among the strangers who sojourn with you and their families that are with you, who have been born in your land; and they may be your property. You may bequeath them to your sons after you, to inherit as a possession for ever; you may make slaves of them, but over your brethren the people of Israel you shall not rule, one over another, with harshness. (Lev 25:44–46)

Walter Kaiser has argued that the promise indicates that “even Gentile slaves in Jewish households would benefit from this outpouring.”⁶² The inclusion of servants in the promise indicates the overflow of blessing to Gentiles.

In addition, there were apparently always Gentiles living within the borders of Israel: Rahab (Jos 6:25), Ruth, Doeg the Edomite (1 Sam 22:9), Araunah the Jebusite (2 Sam 24), Uriah the Hittite (2 Sam 11), Solomon’s wives (1 Kgs 11), and the “foreign” women married by some in the post-exilic community (Ezra 9–10; Neh 13:23–27). These were “strangers” (גֵּר) or “sojourners” (תּוֹשָׁבִים) recognized in Israel’s law.⁶³ They were provided certain protections and

⁶⁰ Hubbard, *Joel and Amos*, 69.

⁶¹ Since he had no sons, one of the descendants of Jerahmeel, son of Hezron, married his daughter to his Egyptian slave (1 Chr 2:34–35). Under Moses, Israel kept (as slaves? wives?) the conquered virgins of Midian (Num 31:18). Joshua enslaved the people of Gibeon (Jos 9). David made “servants” of defeated Moabites, Syrians, and Edomites (2 Sam 8). Israelites were enslaved in other lands, such as the slave girl in the house of Naaman (2 Kgs 5:2) and those captured in the raids described in Amos 1:6, 9.

⁶² Kaiser, “Promise,” 119.

⁶³ More than 50 occurrences.

were held generally to the same requirements as ethnic Israelites (Exod 12:49; Lev 24:22; Num 15:15–16). All in Judah (including Gentile slaves, “strangers,” and “sojourners”) would have suffered from the locust plague. Would not all in Judah benefit from the rain, locust-free growing season, and abundant harvests of 2:18–27? Then, would not those who called on the name of Yahweh also be included in the greater blessing of Joel 3:1–5?

5.2.1.3 Everyone Who Calls on the Name of the Lord (Joel 3:5a)

Joel 3:5 MT		Joel 3:5 OG		Joel 2:32 RSV
וְהָיָה כָּל אֲשֶׁר-יִקְרָא	5a	καὶ ἔσται πᾶς ὃς ἂν	32a	And it shall come to pass that
בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה יִקְלָט		ἐπικαλέσῃται τὸ ὄνομα		all who call upon the name of
		κυρίου σωθήσεται		the LORD shall be delivered;
כִּי בְהַר-צִיּוֹן	b	ὅτι ἐν τῷ ὄρει Σιών καὶ	b	for in Mount Zion and in
וּבִירוּשָׁלַם תִּהְיֶה פְּלִיטָה		ἐν Ἱερουσαλημ ἔσται		Jerusalem there shall be those
		ἀνασφζόμενος		who escape,
כַּאֲשֶׁר אָמַר יְהוָה	c	καθότι εἶπεν κύριος	c	as the LORD has said,
וּבְאֶרְצֵי-דִים אֲשֶׁר יִהְיֶה	d	καὶ εὐαγγελιζόμενοι	d	and among the survivors shall
קְרָא		οὓς κύριος		be those whom the LORD
		προσκέκληται		calls.

The opening וְהָיָה (“and it shall come to pass”) echoes וְהָיָה of 3:1a. As in 3:1–2, there is an *inclusio*: the clause וְהָיָה בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה יִקְרָא כָּל (“all who call upon the name of the LORD”) in 5a is balanced by וְהָיָה בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה יִקְרָא (“those whom the LORD calls”) in 5d.

Joel promises “escape” (פְּלִיטָה, 5b), that those who call on Yahweh “shall be delivered” (וְהָיָה בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה יִקְלָט, 5a),⁶⁴ whether from the effects of the locust plague (Joel 1), cosmic distress (Joel 3:3–4), or the coming judgment on the nations (Joel 4). Many see a similarity here with the unusual expression כַּאֲשֶׁר אָמַר יְהוָה (“as the LORD has said”), as an intended citation of Obad 17.⁶⁵

וּבִירוּשָׁלַם תִּהְיֶה פְּלִיטָה Joel 3:5b in Mount Zion and in Jerusalem there shall be those who escape [lit. there will be escape]

⁶⁴ The verb “indicates survival in the face of grave danger,” as 3x in Amos 2:14–15. Crenshaw, *Joel*, 169.

⁶⁵ Bewer, “Joel,” 124–25; Crenshaw, *Joel*, 169; Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, 68. Of course, the argument for a citation here also depends on the dating of these two books, both of which are difficult to date with any certainty.

וּבְהָרֵי צִיּוֹן תִּהְיֶה פְּלִיטָה Obad 17 but in Mount Zion there shall be those that escape
[lit. there will be escape]

Obadiah, like Joel, promised escape in Mount Zion in the יוֹם־יְהוָה, “the day of the LORD” (17), which not only threatened Edom, but “is near upon all the nations” (15).

The primary question is to whom Joel’s promise of escape is made. It is first of all, in 5a, made to אֲשֶׁר־יִקְרָא בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה (“all who call upon the name of the LORD”).⁶⁶

Invoking YHWH’s name implied both privilege and responsibility. To come under divine protection in a covenantal relationship meant surrendering to certain obligations of fealty, the worshipper agreeing to keep YHWH’s statutes and to render exclusive loyalty to him.⁶⁷

To call on the name of the Lord (v. 32) . . . means to worship God (Gen 12:8), to acknowledge that one belongs to God (Ps 105:1; Isa 12:4; 44:5; Zech 13:9), and to depend on God for ones’ life (Prov 18:10; Zeph 2:3).⁶⁸

“Call by the name of Yahweh” (קרא ב, Ex 33:19) means veneration through worship generally (Gen 12:8), especially the confessing of Yahweh among those of other faiths (Is 41:25; 44:5), worshiping him in the midst of the world of nations (Is 12:4; Ps 105:1; Zech 13:9).⁶⁹

Deliverance, then, is offered to all who give their allegiance and trust to Yahweh—salvation is by faith. This deliverance includes “not every Jew simply because he is a Jew, but every God-fearing Jew who trusts in Yahweh and calls on him for help”⁷⁰—salvation is by faith alone.

⁶⁶ In addition to texts cited in these quotations, note also Gen 4:26; 1 Kgs 18:24–26; 2 Kgs 5:11; Ps 75:2; 116:13; Zeph 3:9; Zech 13:9. The OG has the passive of ἐπικαλέω with ὄνομα in a number of texts where “the place which the LORD your God will choose” or “place his name” (בְּהָרֵי צִיּוֹן, בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה, seldom קרא), becomes “the place where his name is called;” see OG Deut 12:5, 11, 21, 26; 14:23, 24; 16:2, 6, 11; 17:8, 10; 26:2; 2 Chr 6:20.

⁶⁷ Crenshaw, *Joel*, 169. Similarly also Hubbard, *Joel and Amos*, 72; Stuart, *Hosea-Jonah*, 261.

⁶⁸ Achtemeier, “Joel,” 7:328. Curiously, in the “Reflection” section, Achtemeier adds that “to ‘call on the name of the Lord’ means, in the scriptures, to tell others what God has done (Ps 105:1; Isa 12:4).”

⁶⁹ Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, 68.

⁷⁰ Bewer, “Joel,” 124.

Might Gentiles be included in this deliverance if they call on the name of Yahweh? Duane Garrett notes an “implicit universality of ‘everyone’” here and understands the reference to Zion, not as a limiting salvation to Jews, but as requiring “[identification] with the God of Israel.”⁷¹ In at least two Old Testament texts, God’s wrath is directed “upon the nations that know thee not, and upon the peoples that call not on thy name” (Jer 10:25), “on the nations that do not know thee, and on the kingdoms that do not call on thy name” (Ps 79:6). In Isa 65:1, however, God extends his mercy אֶל-גּוֹי לֹא-קָרָא בְּשִׁמִּי (“a nation that did not call on my name”); although that nation is admittedly Israel, the text underscores the depth and extent of God’s mercy.

Throughout the Old Testament there are Gentiles who in essence call on the name of Yahweh,⁷² even if that exact expression is not used.⁷³ Boaz blessed the Moabite Ruth with words that indicate her allegiance to and trust in Yahweh: “The LORD recompense you for what you have done, and a full reward be given you by the LORD, the God of Israel, under whose wings you have come to take refuge!” (2:12; cp. 1:16 “your people shall be my people, and your God my God”). The Syrian general, Naaman, vowed that “henceforth your servant will not offer burnt offering or sacrifice to any god but the LORD” (2 Kgs 5:17). Solomon, in his prayer at the dedication of the temple, anticipates this very eventuality.

When a foreigner, who is not of thy people Israel [הַגֵּרִי אֲשֶׁר לֹא-מִעַמְּךָ יִשְׂרָאֵל], comes from a far country for thy name’s sake (for they shall hear of thy great name, and thy mighty hand, and of thy outstretched arm), when he comes and prays toward this house, hear thou in heaven thy dwelling place, and do according to all for which the foreigner calls to thee; in order that all the peoples of the earth may know thy

⁷¹ Garrett, *Hosea, Joel*, 369, n. 5.

⁷² Köstenberger and O’Brien, *Salvation*, 35.

⁷³ There does not seem to be a narrative text where the expression “to call on the name of Yahweh” is predicated of a Gentile or Gentiles, with the possible exception of the statement in Gen 12:8 that Abram “called on the name of the LORD.” (What exactly was Abram’s status at that point? Was he a Gentile?)

name and fear thee, as do thy people Israel, and that they may know that this house which I have built is called by thy name. (1 Kgs 8:41–43)

The prophets⁷⁴ and Psalms⁷⁵ speak of nations “turning to” Yahweh, presumably (if not explicitly) by “calling on his name.” It thus appears that Gentiles may share in the promised deliverance by calling on the name of the Yahweh. Yet, as Paul notes in Rom 10:14 (immediately following his citation of this expression from Joel 3:5), how will they believe if they have never heard and how will they hear unless someone is sent? Before Gentiles can call on the name of the Lord and share in God’s deliverance as he has promised, there will have to be an intentional mission to preach “the Lord” to Gentiles.

5.2.1.4 Everyone Whom the Lord Calls (Joel 3:5d)

Joel 3:5 MT		Joel 3:5 OG		Joel 2:32 RSV
וְהָיָה כָּל אֲשֶׁר יִקְרָא בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה יִקָּלֵט	5a	καὶ ἔσται πᾶς ὃς ἂν ἐπικαλέσῃται τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου σωθήσεται	32a	And it shall come to pass that all who call upon the name of the LORD shall be delivered;
כִּי בָּהָר־צִיּוֹן וּבְיְרוּשָׁלַם תִּהְיֶה פְּלִיטָה	b	ὅτι ἐν τῷ ὄρει Σιών καὶ ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ ἔσται ἀνασφύζομενος	b	for in Mount Zion and in Jerusalem there shall be those who escape,
כַּאֲשֶׁר אָמַר יְהוָה	c	καθότι εἶπεν κύριος	c	as the LORD has said,
וּבְשָׂרֵי־יָדַיִם אֲשֶׁר יְהוָה קָרָא	d	καὶ εὐαγγελιζόμενοι οὗς κύριος προσκέκληται	d	and among the survivors shall be those whom the LORD calls.

The text concludes with קָרָא יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר (“those whom the LORD calls”). RSV distinguishes two groups in 5d: “and among the survivors shall be those whom the LORD calls,” but most commentators and recent translations equate the survivors with “those whom the LORD calls.”⁷⁶

⁷⁴ E.g., Isa 14:2 (OG 13:2): “aliens will join them and will cleave to the house of Jacob.”

⁷⁵ E.g., Ps 22:27 (MT 22:28; OG 21:28): “All the ends of the earth shall remember and turn to the LORD; and all the families of the nations shall worship before him.”

⁷⁶ “‘Everyone who calls’ and the ‘survivors whom Yahweh will call’ are one and the same.” Stuart, *Hosea-Jonah*, 262. See NIV, Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, 68.

Although some believe that the text shows evidence of earlier editing,⁷⁷ our concern is with the text as it stood in the first century and that text seems secure.

There are surprisingly few instances in the MT where Yahweh is said to call anyone; far more often, people call (to) Yahweh. There appear to be only two instances of Yahweh's calling anyone in the sense of election or appointment to a task: Isa 49:1 ("The LORD called me from the womb."), and Exod 35:30–31 ("the LORD has called by name Bezalel . . . and he has filled him with the Spirit of God, with ability, with intelligence, with knowledge, and with all craftsmanship"). Yahweh's call communicates tender care, e.g., "called you like a wife forsaken" (Isa 54:6) or called by name (Isa 45:3). Most often, Yahweh calls out to someone, e.g., Adam in the garden (Gen 3:9), Moses from the burning bush (Exod 3:4), or Samuel in the tabernacle (1 Sam 3:4, 6, 8). In some cases the call is a summons (Ps 50:10), as when "the LORD called Moses to the top of the mountain, and Moses went up" (Exod 19:20), or Yahweh "called Aaron and Miriam; and they both came forward" (Num 12:5).⁷⁸ The reference is therefore probably not to election,⁷⁹ but to God's gracious invitation or summons to come to Zion in order to escape judgment.⁸⁰ While no MT text speaks explicitly of God's calling Gentiles to salvation from judgment, many speak of Gentiles coming to Jerusalem in allegiance to Yahweh.⁸¹ Their coming is the correlate of their having been called by Yahweh.

⁷⁷ Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, 68.

⁷⁸ See also Gen 22:11, 15; Exod 19:13; Lev 1:1; 2 Kgs 3:13; Ps 50:10; Isa 22:12; Zech 7:13. Instances of "calling to" are ultimately instances of summoning, as well.

⁷⁹ Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, 69.

⁸⁰ Wolff, curiously, argues that Israelites outside of Jerusalem are not in view. Bewer earlier and more sensibly argued "that the loyal Jews of the Dispersion are included among the true Yahweh worshippers is obvious. And although it is not directly stated it may be gathered . . . that they will all be summoned to Zion." Bewer, "Joel," 125; Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, 68–69.

⁸¹ Isa 2:2–4 (|| Mic 4:1–3); 25:6–8; 55:5; Jer 3:17; Zech 2:10–11; 8:20–23; 14:16; cp. Is 45:22.

5.2.1.5 Summary

Many commentators view the seemingly universal language in Joel 3:1b, 5a, d (“all flesh,” “all who call upon the name of the LORD,” “those whom the LORD calls”) as limited to Jews or to Judah. Like many others, Bewer holds that these expressions

have a universal ring and could later on, when the context was disregarded, be interpreted without much difficulty in a universalistic manner, *cf.* Rom. 10:13. But our authors would have been much astonished over such an interpretation.⁸²

David Chapman doubts we can be certain that Joel 3:5 included Gentiles, noting that, while the language sounds universal, the references to Zion and Jerusalem seem more restrictive.⁸³

We have found, however, that the universalism in Joel 3 is unavoidable. Even if Judah is primarily in view, the promises surely include faithful Jews in the Diaspora. Gentile slaves and sojourners in Judah would have shared in the affliction of the locust plague and the subsequent agricultural prosperity, and it is difficult to imagine that they would then be excluded from the greater blessing of Joel 3. The expressions “all flesh,” “everyone who calls on the LORD,” and “everyone the LORD calls” must be read in their full, universal sense. They indicate that the gift of the Spirit and deliverance will indeed include Gentiles who, in the future as in Israel’s past, will call on the name of Yahweh because they have been called by him.

5.2.2 The Expected Spirit

5.2.2.1 The Spirit in the Old Testament

The promise of the Spirit is less prominent than the Davidic kingdom as a feature of prophetic expectation. Nevertheless, the Spirit was understood to be a blessing of the age to

⁸² Bewer, “Joel,” 125.

⁸³ Chapman, “Superabundance,” 192–93.

come.⁸⁴ The first hint comes in Moses' wish (Num 11:29), "Would that all the LORD's people were prophets, that the LORD would put his spirit upon them!" Isaiah envisioned the Spirit resting in a special way on the promised servant-leader: "the Spirit of the LORD shall rest upon him" (11:2); "behold my servant . . . I have put my Spirit upon him" (42:1); "the Spirit of the Lord GOD is upon me, because the LORD has anointed me" (61:1, the text for Jesus' inaugural sermon in Luke 4). Both Isaiah and Ezekiel promised a broad outpouring of the Spirit on all God's people. The Spirit will be "poured out" "upon us" (Isa 32:15), "upon your descendants" (Isa 44:3), and "upon the house of Israel" (Ezek 38:29). This gift of the Spirit will be permanent and "shall not depart" (Isa 59:21). Ezekiel foresaw a time when God would "take out of your flesh the heart of stone," "put a new spirit within you, and cause you to walk in my statutes and be careful to observe my ordinances" (Ezek 11:19; 36:26, 27).

The prophets of Israel foretell the coming of the Suffering Servant and of the new age that the outpouring of the Spirit will inaugurate. The Spirit will be pre-eminently concentrated in the Messiah and He will wholly indwell the people of God who shall live in the eschatological period. The abiding presence of the Spirit will be, as Eichrodt has said, "the central wonder of the new aeon", in which He will no longer appear "start-wise" but He will exercise "an enduring influence on men". Here Incarnation and Pentecost and the new period in the history of redemption that shall be inaugurated by them are adumbrated.⁸⁵

The Spirit was understood as an eschatological gift in the apocryphal/pseudepigraphal and rabbinic literature.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ So, e.g., Garrett, *Hosea, Joel*, 368. Nearly a century ago, G. Vos outlined four dimensions of the relation of the Spirit and eschatology in the Old Testament: 1) The Spirit "by special manifestations of the supernatural, by certain prophetic signs, heralds the near approach of the future world." 2) The Spirit forms "the official equipment of the Messiah." 3) The Spirit "appears as the source of the future new life of Israel." 4) The Spirit "appears as the comprehensive formula for the transcendental, the supernatural." Geerhardus Vos, "The Eschatological Aspect of the Pauline Conception of the Spirit," in *Redemptive History and Biblical Interpretation: The Shorter Writings of Geerhardus Vos* (ed. Richard B. Gaffin, Jr.; Phillipsburg, N.J.: Presbyterian and Reformed, 1980), 95-97.

⁸⁵ Harry R. Boer, *Pentecost and Missions* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1961), 69.

⁸⁶ Vos, "Eschatological Aspect," 97-99.

The prophecy of Joel was taken up in Judaism and understood to refer to an outpouring of the Spirit in the age to come, when prophecy would cease to be confined to a few. Thus *Tanhuma* מִקֵּץ § 4 (96b). In this age prophecy has been for one in a thousand but in the age to come prophecy will be for every man; this appears to make prophecy universal, but it should perhaps be understood in the sense of *Tanhuma* בְּהַעֲלֵתָךְ § 28 (31a), where the new gift of prophecy is restricted to every Israelite (כָּל יִשְׂרָאֵל). Joel 3.1 is quoted in both these passages, but Num 11.29 was no doubt also influential.⁸⁷

Craig A. Evans and Darrell Bock call attention to midrashic texts that refer to Joel 3 and the association of Spirit with the coming age.⁸⁸ Vos summarizes these materials: “the Messiah becomes bearer of the Spirit not merely for the discharge of His own official functions, but also for the purpose of communicating the Spirit to others.”⁸⁹

5.2.2.2 The Spirit in Luke-Acts

When we turn to Luke-Acts, we find the Spirit everywhere. In the gospel, the Spirit is the agent of the conception of Jesus (1:35), fills John the Baptist (1:15) and his parents (1:41, 67), and reveals to Simeon that he will not die before seeing the Lord’s Christ (2:25–27). John promised that the one coming after him would baptize with the Holy Spirit (3:16). The Spirit descended from heaven on Jesus at the time of his baptism (3:22), led him into the desert to be tempted (4:1), and then empowered him for his ministry (4:14). Jesus claimed the Spirit’s anointing by citing Isa 61:1 in his inaugural sermon in Capernaum (4:18),⁹⁰ rejoiced in the Spirit (11:21), promised that the Father would give the Spirit to those who ask him (11:13), warned

⁸⁷ Barrett, *Acts*, 137.

⁸⁸ Bock, *Proclamation*, 346, n. 39; Evans, “Prophecy and Polemic,” 186–87.

⁸⁹ Vos, “Eschatological Aspect,” 98.

⁹⁰ Joel Green finds a number of important parallels between Jesus’ inaugural sermon in Luke 4 and Peter’s speech in Acts 2. Joel B. Green, “‘Proclaiming Repentance and Forgiveness of Sins to All Nations’: A Biblical Perspective on the Church’s Mission,” in *The Mission of the Church in Methodist Perspective: The World Is My Parish* (ed. Alan G. Padgett; Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen, 1992), 34. So also Dupont, “Salvation,” 20–24.

against blaspheming the Spirit (12:10), promised that the Spirit would give his followers the words they would need to testify to him (12:12). Finally, before his ascension, he promised his followers that they would soon be “clothed with power from on high” (24:49).

In Acts, the risen Jesus gave his apostles instructions “through the Holy Spirit” (1:2) and promised the Spirit’s power for witness (1:8). The Spirit spoke in the Old Testament scriptures (1:16; 28:25) and was the source of Jesus’ power to heal (10:38). The gift of the Spirit (11:16) at Pentecost, and particularly the praise of God in other languages, prompted the first post-ascension sermon (2:1–41), which argued from the evident fact of the outpouring of the Spirit that Jesus had in fact been enthroned as Lord and Christ (2:33–36). Believers received the Holy Spirit (2:38; 8:15; 9:31; 10:44–45, 47; 11:15; 13:52; 19:2, 6). Leaders were appointed by the Spirit (20:28), directed by the Spirit in their ministry (8:29, 39; 10:19; 11:12; 13:2, 4; 16:6–7; 19:21), and filled with the Spirit for witness (4:8, 31; 7:55; 9:17), service (6:3, 5; 11:24), revelation (11:28; 15:28; 20:22–23; 21:4), and miracles (13:9).

The prevalence of the Spirit in Luke-Acts and the place accorded the giving of the Spirit to Jesus in Luke 3 and (through Jesus) to the church in Acts 2 underscores the importance of the Spirit in Luke-Acts. Acts demonstrates the fulfillment of God’s promise to “pour out” his Spirit.

5.2.3 Acts 2:17-21

5.2.3.1 The Context of Acts 2:16–21

Acts 2 is familiar as the setting of the first proclamation of the good news following the death and resurrection of Jesus.⁹¹ On the day of Pentecost the Holy Spirit was poured out on the

⁹¹ Green speaks of “the central significance of Acts 2:1–41 for the Acts of the Apostles” and argues that it is “anticipated throughout the Lukan story.” Green, “Preaching Repentance,” 33. I. Howard Marshall characterizes it as “the first significant event in the story which he [i.e., Luke] has to tell in Acts and constitutes the beginning of the church’s mission.” Ian Howard Marshall, “The Significance of Pentecost,” *SJT* 30 (1977): 365. Tannehill calls it “one of the most carefully constructed speeches in Acts.” Tannehill, *Narrative Unity*, 2:41.

assembled company of believers (2:1–4).⁹² The sound (τῆς φωνῆς ταύτης)⁹³ drew a diverse crowd of holiday pilgrims,⁹⁴ who heard the believers “telling . . . the mighty works of God” in their own language. Some quickly concluded that the believers were drunk (2:5–13). Taking this accusation as his point of departure, Peter addressed the crowd, explaining that what they were witnessing was what Joel had promised (2:14–21). He argued that scripture demonstrated the necessity of Christ’s resurrection from the dead and that the evident gift of the Spirit proved “that God has made him both Lord and Christ, this Jesus whom you crucified” (2:22–36).⁹⁵

The benefits of the Spirit, repentance, release of sins, and probably also salvation through the name are viewed as consequences of Jesus’ exaltation and enthronement. As the one exalted to God’s right hand, Jesus is able to extend the benefits of his ministry to all Israel and the world. Thus we may say that God saves by establishing through Jesus the messianic reign, which is the time of salvation promised Israel in Scripture, a time of salvation that the Gentiles may share.⁹⁶

In response to Peter’s call to “repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the forgiveness of your sins,” about 3,000 believed (2:37–42).

⁹² “It is the unanimous conviction of the New Testament authors that Jesus inaugurated the last days or Messianic age, and that the final proof of this was the outpouring of the Spirit, since this was the Old Testament promise of promises for the end-time.” Stott, *Acts*, 73.

⁹⁵ Either of the blowing wind (2:2) or of their speaking in other tongues (2:4). The former view is that of Fitzmyer (*Acts*, 230), the latter that of Bruce (*Acts*, 54).

⁹⁴ “Jews, devout men from every nation under heaven” (2:5), “Parthians and Medes and Elamites and residents of Mesopotamia, Judea and Cappadocia, Pontus and Asia, Phrygia and Pamphylia, Egypt and the parts of Libya belonging to Cyrene, and visitors from Rome, both Jews and proselytes, Cretans and Arabians” (Acts 2:8–11a). Although they come from “every nation,” those present are described only as Jews. “Nevertheless, by enumerating their geographical places of origin, Luke has symbolized the universal scope of the gospel.” Green, “Preaching Repentance,” 36.

⁹⁵ Marshall terms this “the key point in the discourse. It is the fact that Jesus is the Lord.” Marshall, *Luke: Historian and Theologian*, 162. See also Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 248. The sermon as a whole appeals to royal, Davidic themes—“the key to the speech is that it presents the imagery of fulfillment for both Davidic and new covenant promise.” Darrell L. Bock, “Proclamation from Prophecy and Pattern: Luke’s Use of the Old Testament for Christology and Mission,” in *The Gospels and the Scriptures of Israel* (ed. Craig A. Evans and William Richard Stegner; JSNTSup 104; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 297. For a less persuasive study of Davidic themes in the Pentecost account, see O’Toole, “Davidic Covenant.”

⁹⁶ Tannehill, *Narrative Unity*, 2:40.

For Luke, Acts 2:17-21 functions to bridge from the prophetic tongues at Pentecost to an announcement of the advent of three new works of God: the outpouring of the Spirit, the presence of God’s signs and wonders, and the possibility of salvation.⁹⁷

The introductory formula indicates that the words of Joel are seen as prophecy being fulfilled on this occasion:⁹⁸ τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ εἰρημένον διὰ τοῦ προφήτου Ἰωήλ (“this is what was spoken by the prophet Joel”). The Pentecostal event is the fulfillment of prophecy.⁹⁹ Similarly, Marshall contends that “the event is regarded as falling into the pattern of promise and fulfillment, which is central to Luke’s theology of history.”¹⁰⁰ More specifically, “Peter finds the fulfillment of this prediction in the disciples of Jesus, as the true Israel . . .”¹⁰¹

5.2.3.2 All Flesh (Acts 2:17)

Acts 2:17c ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματός μου ἐπὶ πᾶσαν σάρκα.	Acts 2:17c RSV that I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh,	Acts 2:17c (author) I will pour out from my Spirit on all human kind.
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It is “upon all flesh” that God promises to “pour out” his Spirit. While many scholars view “all flesh” in Joel 3 as limited to the inhabitants of Judea, there are good reasons to see a broader reference in the expression. In the New Testament, the expression πᾶσα σὰρξ (“all flesh”)

⁹⁷ Chapman, “Superabundance,” 200.

⁹⁸ So Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 252. It must be noted that a number of dispensational commentators have denied that Joel 3 is fulfilled in Acts 2, particularly in light of the absence of a literal fulfillment of the cosmic signs of Joel 3:3–4 (Acts 2:19–20). See the evaluation of Kaiser, “Promise,” 112. Similar language occurs in (Matt 24:29 || Mark 13:24–25 and Luke 21:25; cp. Rev 6:12). More recently Daniel J. Trier has attempted to affirm the fulfillment of Joel 3 in Acts 2, while still allowing for future literal fulfillment of the cosmic signs. Daniel J. Treier, “The Fulfillment of Joel 2:28–32: A Multiple-Lens Approach,” *JETS* 40 (1997): 13–26. Regarding the cosmic signs, we would be wise to follow David A. Hubbard’s observation that “we should understand [vv. 19–20] as poetry . . . not as prose.” Hubbard, *Joel and Amos*, 71. Darrell Bock has noted, however, that the eschatological judgment has also not yet arrived and urged that we recognize “that the use of the Joel text in Acts 2 is open-ended, that is the fulfillment has begun with the outpouring of God’s Spirit but events are still to occur.” Bock, *Proclamation*, 168.

⁹⁹ Barrett, *Acts*, 135.

¹⁰⁰ Marshall, “Significance,” 367.

¹⁰¹ Toy, *Quotations*, 98.

appears in nine other texts, each time with a universal orientation. In five instances, it occurs as a negative, yielding the sense “no flesh” or “no one” (Matt 24:22; Mark 13:20; Rom 3:20; 1 Cor 1:29; Gal 2:16). The other four texts are these:¹⁰²

Luke 3:6	καὶ ὄψεται πᾶσα σὰρξ τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ.	and all flesh shall see the salvation of God.
John 17:2	καθὼς ἔδωκας αὐτῷ ἐξουσίαν πάσης σαρκός , ἵνα πᾶν ὃ δέδωκας αὐτῷ δώσῃ αὐτοῖς ζωὴν αἰώνιον.	since thou hast given him power over all flesh , to give eternal life to all whom thou hast given him.
1 Cor 15:39	Οὐ πᾶσα σὰρξ ἡ αὐτὴ σὰρξ ἀλλὰ ἄλλη μὲν ἀνθρώπων, ἄλλη δὲ σὰρξ κτηνῶν, ἄλλη δὲ σὰρξ πτηνῶν, ἄλλη δὲ ἰχθύων.	For not all flesh is alike, but there is one kind for men, another for animals, another for birds, and another for fish.
1 Pet 1:24	διότι πᾶσα σὰρξ ὡς χόρτος καὶ πᾶσα δόξα αὐτῆς ὡς ἄνθος χόρτου ἐξηράνθη ὁ χόρτος καὶ τὸ ἄνθος ἐξέπεσεν	for “ All flesh is like grass and all its glory like the flower of grass. The grass withers, and the flower falls”

In 1 Cor 15:39, the expression refers to “all creatures,” including human beings with animals, birds, and fish.¹⁰³ 1 Peter 1:24 cites Isa 40:6, where **πᾶσα σὰρξ** is contrasted with the power of Yahweh so that the superiority of God’s power over comparative human weakness is the guarantee of Judah’s promised deliverance.¹⁰⁴ In John 17:2, the expression refers to human beings and refers to all people, in contrast to those whom the Father gives to the Son.¹⁰⁵

The fourth, Luke 3:6, is particularly relevant. Each of the synoptics cites Isa 40 as a description and prophecy of the ministry of John the Baptist. Matthew and Mark cite only 40:3:

¹⁰² A related expression is found in an additional text, Rev 19:18: **σάρκας πάντων** (“the flesh of all”).

¹⁰³ Gordon D. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 782–83.

¹⁰⁴ Edward Gordon Selwyn, *The First Epistle of Peter: The Greek Text with Introduction, Notes and Essays* (2d ed.; London: Macmillan, 1947), 152. See also Pao, *Acts*, 48.

¹⁰⁵ Leon Morris, *The Gospel according to John: The English Text with Introduction, Exposition and Notes* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1971), 718.

“The voice of one crying in the wilderness: Prepare the way of the Lord, make his paths straight”¹⁰⁶ Luke alone continues the citation with the words of Isa 40:4–5.¹⁰⁷

Isaiah 40:4-5 MT	Isaiah 40:4-5 OG	Luke 3:5-6
כָּל־נְיָיִן וְנִשְׁבֵּן	4a πᾶσα φάραγξ πληρωθήσεται	5a πᾶσα φάραγξ πληρωθήσεται
וְכָל־הַר וְגִבְעָה וְכָל־צֶדֶן	b καὶ πᾶν ὄρος καὶ βουνὸς ταπεινωθήσεται.	b καὶ πᾶν ὄρος καὶ βουνὸς ταπεινωθήσεται.
וְהָיָה הָעָקֶב לְמִישׁוֹר	c καὶ ἔσται πάντα τὰ σκολιά εἰς εὐθείαν	c καὶ ἔσται τὰ σκολιά εἰς εὐθείαν
וְהָרְכָסִים לְבִקְעָה	d καὶ ἡ τραχεῖα εἰς πεδία'	d καὶ αἱ τραχεῖαι εἰς ὁδοὺς λείας'
וְנִגְלָה כְּבוֹד יְהוָה	5a καὶ ὀφθήσεται ἡ δόξα κυρίου	
וְרָאוּ כָל־בְּשָׂר וְיִהְיֶה	b καὶ ὄψεται πᾶσα σὰρξ τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ'	6a καὶ ὄψεται πᾶσα σὰρξ τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ.
כִּי פִי יְהוָה דִּבֶּר	c ὅτι κύριος ἐλάλησεν.	

While one could conceivably view כָּל־נְיָיִן as limited to the people of Judah (“Jerusalem”), as those to whom the prophecy is addressed and whose deliverance is promised, we have noted that the same expression in the immediately following verse (Isa 40:6, cited in 1 Pet 1:24) refers to human beings generally, contrasting human (not Jewish) weakness with the greater power of Yahweh’s promise. The expression in 40:5 must therefore refer to “all people,” including Gentiles.¹⁰⁸ To “see the salvation of God” is not merely to observe it, but to experience it.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ Matt 3:3; Mark 1:3. In the latter, Isa 40:3 is joined with the words of Exod 23:20 (and possibly Mal 3:1). The gospels substitute αὐτοῦ in place of the OG τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν (MT וְיִהְיֶה לְיָיִן וְנִשְׁבֵּן).

¹⁰⁷ Some believe there is also an echo of Isa 40:5 in Luke 2:30 (τὸ σωτήριον σου). Dupont, “Salvation,” 15.

¹⁰⁸ So Craig A. Evans, “The Prophetic Setting of the Pentecost Sermon,” in *Luke and Scripture: The Function of Sacred Tradition in Luke-Acts* (ed. Craig A. Evans and Jack T. Sanders; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 220.

¹⁰⁹ Some have argued that “seeing” “need not imply that all flesh will share in its benefits,” e.g., W. R. Hanford, “Deutero-Isaiah and Luke-Acts: Straightforward Universalism?,” *CQR* 168 (1967): 147. But see the use of the term in Isa 9:2; 33:17, 20; 35:2; 52:1 as well as John 3:3, where it is not a matter of merely observing (ιδεῖν, 3:3) the kingdom, but entering it (εἰσελθεῖν, 3:5; cp. BDAG, s.v. εἶδον, 4.) Motyer speaks here of the “double sense of observing and experiencing.” Motyer, *Prophecy*, 300. See also above on Isa 42:6, section 3.2.2.3.

Some believe that Luke has continued the citation from Isa 40 specifically to offer an early indication of God's plan for the nations. Jack T. Sanders writes, "That the Gentiles are the intended objects of God's salvation is announced at the outset by John the Baptist: 'All flesh will see the salvation of God' (Luke 3:6 = Isa 40:5)."¹¹⁰ J. Dupont writes:

Luke is the only evangelist, therefore, who continues the traditional quotation from Isaiah 40 at this point in his Gospel up to the words, "And all flesh will see the salvation of God." Similarly Luke is the only evangelist who continues the Gospel story by going on to narrate the missions of the apostles. . . .

By thus placing Isaiah 40:5 at the beginning of his Gospel story, and also drawing the conclusion of Acts from words that remind us of the same text, Luke betrays his strong interest in the idea that the salvation of God is manifested to all men. It seems reasonable to consider that interest one of the keys to his work: the history Luke wishes to trace is the history of God's salvation for all flesh.¹¹¹

Tannehill argues this quotation plays a programmatic role:

Since the quotation in Luke 3:4–6 relates John's work of preparing the way to the revelation of God's salvation for all flesh, his work receives a place in the divine purpose which underlies the whole narrative of Luke-Acts.¹¹²

If "all flesh" in Isa 40:5 refers to all human beings, Luke has in 3:6 introduced an anticipation of the Gentile mission early in the third gospel, using language that is then echoed in the citation of Joel 3:1 in Acts 2:17. Subsequent indications of the Gentile mission include the more explicit statements in Luke 24:47 ("that repentance and forgiveness of sins should be preached in his name to all nations") and Acts 1:8 ("you shall be my witnesses . . . to the end of the earth").

Peter's sermon focused on the accomplished gift of the Spirit, not on its recipients. His hearers, too, would have paid less attention to "all flesh" than to "I will pour out my Spirit."

¹¹⁰ Sanders, "Prophetic Use," 194–95.

¹¹¹ Dupont, "Salvation," 15–16.

¹¹² Tannehill, *Narrative Unity*, 1:52. Tannehill compares the programmatic role of this quotation to those in Luke 4:18–19 (Isa 61:1–2); Acts 2:17–21 (Joel 3:1–5); 13:47 (Isa 49:6), contending that "the way in which John's mission is introduced is formally parallel to the way in which the narrator introduces the missions of Jesus, Peter and the apostles, and Paul," each with a sermon including a scriptural quotation that has "a significance beyond the scenes in which they appear."

Nevertheless, the use of the expression in Joel 3 (and the Old Testament generally), the consistently universal use of *πᾶσα σὰρξ* in the New Testament, and the clear importance of the Gentile mission to Luke’s readers and the narrative of Luke-Acts indicate that Luke understands the gift of the Spirit in Acts 2:17c to include “all humanity,”¹¹³ even Gentiles.¹¹⁴ The subsequent narrative will bear this out (Acts 8:14–16; 10:44–45; 11:15–18). Not only does the citation from Joel 3:1 anticipate the reception of the Spirit by Gentiles, it requires it.

5.2.3.3 Everyone Who Calls

Acts 2:21 καὶ ἔσται πᾶς ὃς ἂν ἐπικαλέσῃται τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου σωθήσεται	Acts 2:21 RSV And it shall be that whoever calls on the name of the Lord shall be saved.	Acts 2:21 (author) And it will be that whoever will call on the name of the Lord will be saved.
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To “call on the name of the Lord” (*ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου*) occurs five other times in the New Testament as equivalent to belief in Jesus, i.e., “invoking him in faith.”¹¹⁵ Here as elsewhere, Old Testament texts with *ὁ κύριος* (“the Lord”) are applied to the Lord Jesus.¹¹⁶

Acts 9:14	καὶ ὧδε ἔχει ἐξουσίαν παρὰ τῶν ἀρχιερέων δησαί <u>πάντας τοὺς ἐπικαλουμένους τὸ ὄνομά σου.</u>	and here he has authority from the chief priests to bind <u>all who call upon thy name.</u>
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¹¹³ Green, “Preaching Repentance,” 37.

¹¹⁴ Tasker speaks of “God’s Spirit . . . poured out not only on Israel, but on ‘all flesh.’” Randolph V. G. Tasker, *The Old Testament in the New Testament* (2d rev. ed.; London: SCM, 1954), 67. Tannehill sees “a variation on the promises of worldwide salvation in Luke 2:30–32 and 3:6 (‘All flesh will see the salvation of God’).” See also Evans, “Prophetic Setting,” 220; Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 252. Less strongly, F. F. Bruce sees this expression as “looking forward (in Luke’s perspective) to the Gentile mission.” Bruce, *Acts (Greek, 3d ed.)*, 121.

¹¹⁵ Barrett, *Acts*, 139. Similarly, Conzelmann understands it as a technical term, Hans Conzelmann, *Acts of the Apostles* (trans. James A. Limburg, et al.; Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987), 20. The verb *ἐπικαλέομαι* without *τὸ ὄνομα* occurs in a similar sense in several other New Testament texts. Paul urged Timothy to “aim at righteousness, faith, love, and peace, along with τῶν ἐπικαλουμένων τὸν κύριον from a pure heart” (2 Tim 2:22). Peter warned that if we *εἰ πατέρα ἐπικαλεῖσθε* (1 Pet 1:17), we must face the one who judges impartially. The verb is used six times of Paul’s appeal to the emperor (for justice and deliverance), Acts 25:11, 12, 21, 25; 26:32; 28:19. Stephen *ἐπικαλούμενον καὶ λέγοντα* (RSV “prayed” [!], Acts 7:59) as he was being stoned. In 2 Cor 1:23 Paul uses the verb in the sense of summoning God as witness.

¹¹⁶ “In Acts 2 all the limits on Christology are broken as Jesus’ function is totally equated with that of God.” Bock, “Proclamation from Prophecy and Pattern,” 298.

Acts 9:21	ἐξίσταντο δὲ πάντες οἱ ἀκούοντες καὶ ἔλεγον οὐχ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ πορθήσας εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ <u>τοὺς ἐπικαλουμένους τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο</u> , καὶ ὧδε εἰς τοῦτο ἐληλύθει ἵνα δεδεμένους αὐτοὺς ἀγάγη ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς;	And all who heard him were amazed, and said, “Is not this the man who made havoc in Jerusalem of <u>those who called on this name</u> ? And he has come here for this purpose, to bring them bound before the chief priests.”
Acts 22:16	Ἀκαὶ νῦν τί μέλλεις; ἀναστὰς βάπτισαι καὶ ἀπόλουσαι τὰς ἀμαρτίας σου <u>ἐπικαλεσάμενος τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ</u> .	And now why do you wait? Rise and be baptized, and wash away your sins, <u>calling on his name</u> .
Rom 10:13	πᾶς γὰρ ὃς ἂν <u>ἐπικαλέσῃται τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου</u> σωθήσεται.	For, “ <u>every one who calls upon the name of the Lord</u> will be saved.”
1 Cor 1:2	τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ τῇ οὓσῃ ἐν Κορίνθῳ, ἡγιασμένοις ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, κλητοῖς ἁγίοις, <u>σὺν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐπικαλουμένοις τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ, αὐτῶν καὶ ἡμῶν</u>	To the church of God which is at Corinth, to those sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be saints together with <u>all those who in every place call on the name of our Lord Jesus Christ</u> , both their Lord and ours:

In Acts 9:14, 21, the expression is used by Ananias and the believers of Damascus concerning the authority given to Paul by the high priest in Jerusalem to imprison *τινας . . . τῆς ὁδοῦ ὄντας* (“any belonging to the Way,” 9:2) because of his antipathy toward *τοὺς μαθητὰς τοῦ κυρίου* (“the disciples of the Lord, 9:1), just as he had persecuted *τοῖς ἁγίοις σου . . . ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ* (“thy saints at Jerusalem”). In 1 Cor 1:2, the expression parallels *ἡγιασμένοις ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ* (“those sanctified in Christ Jesus”) and *κλητοῖς ἁγίοις* (“called to be saints”) as a description of *τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ τῇ οὓσῃ ἐν Κορίνθῳ* (“the church of God which is in Corinth”). In Acts 22:16, “calling on his name” is connected with baptism, a connection reinforced by the “name” shared by Acts 2:21 with 2:38.

μετανοήσατε, φησὶν, καὶ βαπτισθήτω ἕκαστος ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς ἄφεσιν τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν ὑμῶν καὶ λήμψεσθε τὴν δωρεὰν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος.	Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the forgiveness of your sins; and you shall receive the gift of the Holy Spirit.
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Rom 10:13 explicitly cites Joel 3:5a at the conclusion of an appeal regarding salvation by faith.

Because, if you confess with your lips that Jesus is Lord and believe in your heart that God raised him from the dead, you will be saved. For man believes with his heart and so is justified, and he confesses with his lips and so is saved. The scripture says, “No one who believes in him will be put to shame.” For there is no distinction between Jew and Greek; the same Lord is Lord of all and bestows his riches upon all

who call upon him. For, “every one who calls upon the name of the Lord will be saved.” (Rom 10:9–13)

Here Joel 3:5a is cited in support of (γὰρ) the sweeping claim that “there is no distinction between Jew and Greek; the same Lord is Lord of all and bestows his riches upon all who call upon him.” The salvation in view is the salvation from sin and God’s final judgment offered in Christ. Paul, at least understood Joel 3:5a to include Gentiles.¹¹⁷

In Acts 2:21, ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου is widely understood as an anticipation of the Gentile mission.

[It] emphasizes the universal character of the gospel and thus anticipates the incorporation of the Gentiles into the Christian community in the dramatic episodes of the remainder of Acts.¹¹⁸

The expression here bears its Old Testament sense of worshipping, confessing, and depending on the Lord. In its New Testament context, it anticipates the more focused sense of calling upon Jesus as savior,¹¹⁹ something that not only Jews, but (particularly in light of Rom 10:12–13) but Gentiles are expected to do.¹²⁰

5.2.3.4 Everyone the Lord Calls

Acts 2:39

ὑμῖν γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ ἐπαγγελία καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις ὑμῶν καὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς εἰς μακρὰν, ὅσους ἂν προσκαλέσθαι κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν.

Acts 2:39 RSV

For the promise is to you and to your children and to all that are far off, every one whom the Lord our God calls to him.

Acts 2:39 (author)

For the promise is for you and to your children and to all those far off, those whom the Lord our God called.

¹¹⁷ See further on both ἐπικαλέομαι and “the name” in Acts: Wall, “Israel,” 445–48.

¹¹⁸ Marion L. Soards, *The Speeches of Acts: Their Content, Context, and Concerns* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1994), 33.

¹¹⁹ Cp. Acts 3:16 (“by faith in his name”); 4:12 (“no other name under heaven given among men by which we must be saved”); 8:12 (“good news about the kingdom of God and the name of Jesus Christ”); 10:43 (“every one who believes in him receives forgiveness of sins through his name”).

¹²⁰ “Luke does not want to limit the quoted words only to the Jews assembled in Jerusalem: all human beings may call on the name of the Lord for salvation.” Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 254.

Commentators have noted that although the Joel citation ends in Acts 2:21 with Joel 3:5a, the words of 3:5d are picked up in Acts 2:39, οὗς κύριος προσκέκληται.¹²¹ The verb, προσκαλέομαι, occurs 29 times in the Greek New Testament, consistently in the sense of “summon” or “call to oneself.”¹²² With the exception of Jas 5:14 (“let him call for the elders”), it is not used outside of the gospels and Acts. It does not appear (unless here) to be used in a theological sense (as καλέω is used of God’s calling people to salvation, e.g., Rom 8:30; 1 Cor 1:9). It is used of calling to service in Acts 13:2; 16:10.

In context, “the promise” includes “the forgiveness of your sins” and “the gift of the Holy Spirit” (2:38).¹²³ Barrett, however, believes that “it would be a mistake to confine it . . . It covers the covenant into which God entered with his people, to which he continues to be faithful.”¹²⁴

The “everyone” to whom the promise is made is comprehensive. The expression εἰς μακράν refers to distance, as “children” refers to the future.¹²⁵ F. F. Bruce states that “the promise is not only to those distant in time, but also to those distant in place, even—as was soon

¹²¹ So, e.g., Barrett, *Acts*, 139, 156; Conzelmann, *Acts*, 20. Steyn identifies a number of similarities between the Joel quotation and Acts 2:38–41, including οἱ υἱοὶ ὑμῶν (2:17) and τοῖς τέκνοις ὑμῶν (2:39); τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου (2:21) and ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (2:38); σωθήσεται (2:21) and εἰς ἄφρασιν τῶν ἀβλαστῶν ὑμῶν (2:38), σώθητε (2:40); ὃς ἂν ἐπικαλέσῃται . . . κυρίου (2:21) and ὅσους ἂν προσκαλέσῃται κύριος (2:39); ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις (2:18) and ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ (2:41). Steyn, *Septuagint Quotations*, 127.

¹²² “To call to or notify in order to secure someone’s presence.” BDAG s.v. προσκαλέομαι.

¹²³ The noun appears nine times in Luke-Acts, eight of them with reference to the promise of God (the exception is the reference to the governor’s anticipated promise to transport Paul for trial in Acts 23:21). In addition to this text, it refers three times to the gift of the Spirit (“the promise of the [my] father,” Luke 24:49; Acts 1:4; “the promise of the Holy Spirit,” Acts 2:33); once to the exodus (Acts 7:17); twice to the coming of the Savior (Acts 13:23, 32 [but in the latter perhaps also the forgiveness of sins, 13:38]); and once to the resurrection (Acts 26:6, if this is to be understood in relation to 26:8 and Acts 24).

¹²⁴ Barrett, *Acts*, 155.

¹²⁵ Conzelmann, *Acts*, 22. LSJ lists both instances where the term refers to distance in space and to time, although distance predominates.

to appear—to Gentiles.”¹²⁶ The adverb μακρῶν is explicitly employed in OG texts referring to Gentile nations, as Mic 4:3; Joel 4:8; Zech 10:9; Isa 5:26. It is likewise employed in relation to the Gentiles in Acts 22:21 (“I will send you far away to the Gentiles,” ἐγὼ εἰς ἔθνη μακρῶν ἐξαποστελω σε) and Eph 2:13, 17 (ὁμοίως οἱ ποτε ὄντες μακρῶν ἐγενήθητε . . . εὐηγγελίσατο εἰρήνην ὑμῖν τοῖς μακρῶν) where the “far off” Gentiles are explicitly contrasted with the Jews who were “near.”¹²⁷ Calvin understands not “distance in terms of place but the distinction between Jews and Gentiles” in terms of proximity to God’s promises and kingdom.¹²⁸ Kaiser argues that “‘those who were afar off’ was merely a circumlocution for saying ‘Gentiles.’”¹²⁹ Fitzmyer, commenting on this verse, summarizes: “The future divine call of the Gentiles refers to reform of life, baptism, and the gift of the Spirit.”¹³⁰

Douglass Stuart rightly observes that, while Jerusalem is “the dominant subject” of Joel 3:5, Peter’s emphasis on “everyone who calls” and “everyone God calls”

is faithful to the impact of the verse in its context. Though spoken to encourage Jerusalemites at a time when the holy city was under attack, its real concern is future deliverance for a covenant people. “Everyone who calls” and the “survivors whom Yahweh will call” are one and the same—a broad constituency not limited to a single locale, by reason of the spirit and language of the oracle as a whole.¹³¹

¹²⁶ Bruce, *Acts (Greek, 3d ed.)*, 130.

¹²⁷ “That the same contrast is intended here with ὑμῖν . . . καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις ὑμῶν is probable, especially in view of Paul’s declaration that he was sent εἰς ἔθνη μακρῶν (Acts 22:21). To be more specific in Acts 2 was not within Luke’s plans.” Richard F. Zehnle, *Peter’s Pentecost Discourse: Tradition and Lukan Interpretation Peter’s Speeches of Acts 2 and 3* (SBLMS 15; Nashville: Abingdon, 1971), 124. Zehnle also sees the “near/far” contrast in Isa 57:19. Others, however, believe that Isa 57:19 referred originally to diaspora Jews, e.g., Goppelt, *Typos*, 118.

¹²⁸ Calvin, *Acts 14-28*, 83.

¹²⁹ Kaiser, “Promise,” 120.

¹³⁰ Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 267.

¹³¹ Stuart, *Hosea-Jonah*, 261–62.

5.2.4 The Use of Joel 3:1-5 in Acts 2:17-21

The citation of Joel 3 in Acts 2 plays a pivotal role in the development of the narrative of Acts. There are resonances from Joel 3 throughout the book of Acts. Most obviously, the Spirit is present and active, poured out (ἐκκέχυται)—even on Gentiles (10:45). Signs and wonders are done by Jesus and his followers (4:16, 22; 5:12; 6:8; 8:6, 13; 14:3; 15:12). Men and women prophesy (19:6; 21:9). Ananias (9:10), Cornelius (10:3), Peter (10:19; 11:5), and Paul (9:12; 16:9–10; 18:9) see visions (ὁράματα).¹³²

5.2.4.1 Text

Although the form of the citation differs at points from that found in Joel (MT and OG), there are no substantial differences relevant to the present study. The citations of Joel 3:1b (Acts 2:17c), Joel 3:5a (Acts 2:21), and Joel 3:5d (2:39) could equally be based on the MT or the OG.

5.2.4.2 Hermeneutic

Many believe that in Acts 2 the words of Joel are extended beyond their original meaning, because the seemingly universal language of Joel 3:1b, 5a, 5d is seen as limited by context to the inhabitants of Judah. Thus, e.g., John Thompson argues that “Peter, however, goes beyond Joel in extending the promise of the Spirit even to non-Israelite believers (Acts 2:39).”¹³³ “Luke adopts terms and phrases from Joel, but confers on them a different meaning and function,” or “even contradicts [their] original meaning.”¹³⁴ We have seen, however, that Gentiles are included in the promises in Joel 3:1–5, both in their original context and in their citation in Acts 2.

¹³² Evans, “Prophetic Setting,” 220. See also the less persuasive Sandt, “The Fate of the Gentiles.”

¹³³ Thompson, “Joel,” 6:753. In citing Joel 3:5a in Rom 10:13, “Paul understands that Joel spoke better than he knew.” Dillard, “Joel,” 295.

¹³⁴ Sandt, “The Fate of the Gentiles,” 58.

5.2.4.3 Purpose

While the Gentile mission is explicitly under discussion in Acts 13 and 15, this is not the case in Acts 2. The question here is the meaning of the phenomena that accompany the outpouring of the Spirit (the sound of wind, the tongues of flame, and speaking in tongues). Joel 3:1–5 is cited to demonstrate that, through the ascended Christ, God has fulfilled the eschatological promise of the Spirit. The explanation of these current events is found in the scriptures—“this is that,” i.e., “what was spoken by the prophet Joel” (τὸ εἰρημένον διὰ τοῦ προφήτου Ἰωήλ). Adducing additional scriptures, Peter demonstrated the necessity that the Christ would suffer and be raised, moving to the conclusion that “God has made him both Lord and Christ, this Jesus whom you crucified” (2:36). The outpouring of the Spirit shows this is true: “being therefore exalted at the right hand of God, and having received from the Father the promise of the Holy Spirit, he has poured out this which you see and hear” (2:33).

This initial and programmatic¹³⁵ proclamation of the gospel in Acts leads to the command to “repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the forgiveness of your sins” with the promise that “you shall receive the gift of the Holy Spirit” (2:38)—you, your children, and even πᾶσιν τοῖς εἰς μακρὸν (“all that are far off”). Both at the beginning of the speech (2:17, 21) and at its end (2:39) there are indications in the language of Joel 3 of the coming offer of salvation to the Gentiles through the Gentile mission. In fact, an intentional and effective Gentile mission is essential in order for God’s promise through Joel to be fulfilled.

It has been objected that Peter could not have had the Gentiles in mind at this early point, given his own later hesitancy regarding the Gentiles.

He [Peter] could never have thought that the Gentiles were excluded from the church or from salvation. There was no such exclusion, even under the restrictive

¹³⁵ See the echoes of this sermon in the later sermons of Acts, especially in chapters 3; 10; 13.

institutions of the old economy. All of the Gentiles in the world might have shared the privileges of the Jews, by complying with the prescribed conditions. Peter’s error consisted in believing that these conditions still existed under the gospel, or in other words, that Gentiles must become Jews before they could be Christians. Of this error he was not yet disabused; but there was nothing in it to prevent his applying the expressions here recorded to the Gentiles.¹³⁶

At Pentecost . . . this *idea* of a universal mission begins to become a reality. This is not to say that innovation in the notion and experience of God’s people came easily. Luke narrates just the opposite . . . But with Pentecost the die had been cast.¹³⁷

While this may not have been evident to the crowd in Jerusalem, Luke’s Gentile readers would read the account with keen interest in their place as Gentiles among the people of God. By appealing to Old Testament prophecy, Luke assured his readers of “the truth concerning the things of which [they have] been informed” (Luke 1:4). In this pivotal announcement at the beginning of Acts, the salvation brought by the risen Christ is described in the broad language of Joel 3:1b, 5a, d (“all flesh,” “everyone who calls,” “everyone God calls”). This not only explains the puzzling phenomena that accompanied the gift of the Spirit, but demonstrates that God’s promised blessing was always meant to include Gentiles, and that the extension of the promised blessings to them is a necessary consequence of the death, resurrection, and ascension of Christ.

5.3 All the Families of the Earth (Acts 3:25; Genesis 22:18)

The citation of Gen 22:18 in Acts 3:25 is the other Old Testament citation that anticipates the Gentile mission. This sermon, too, plays a significant role in developing the narrative.

Genesis 22:18 MT

Genesis 22:18 OG

Acts 3:25

- 25a ὑμεῖς ἐστε οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν
προφητῶν
b καὶ τῆς διαθήκης ἧς
διέθετο ὁ θεὸς πρὸς τοὺς
πατέρας ὑμῶν

¹³⁶ Alexander, *Acts*, 87.

¹³⁷ Green, “Preaching Repentance,” 37.

<p>וְיָגוּ בְּלִבָּם כָּל־בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל וְיִרְאֻהוּ וְיִלְבָּשׁוּ־בְּעֵינֵיהֶם וְיִרְאֻהוּ</p>	<p>18a καὶ ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν τῷ σπέρματί σου πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τῆς γῆς</p> <p>b ἀνθ' ὧν ὑπήκουσας τῆς ἐμῆς φωνῆς</p>	<p>c λέγων πρὸς Ἀβραάμ· d καὶ ἐν τῷ σπέρματί σου ἐνευλογηθήσονται πᾶσαι αἱ πατριαὶ τῆς γῆς.</p>
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The initial challenge posed by the citation is the question of the Old Testament text being cited. The promise to Abraham (and the patriarchs) appears five times in Genesis, none corresponding exactly to the citation in Acts 3:25.

Acts 3:25	καὶ ἐν τῷ σπέρματί σου [ἐν]ευλογηθήσονται πᾶσαι αἱ πατριαὶ τῆς γῆς.
Gen 12:3	καὶ ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν σοὶ πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς
Gen 18:18	καὶ ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν αὐτῷ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τῆς γῆς
Gen 22:18	καὶ ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν τῷ σπέρματί σου πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τῆς γῆς
Gen 26:4	καὶ ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν τῷ σπέρματί σου πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τῆς γῆς
Gen 28:14	καὶ ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν σοὶ πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐν τῷ σπέρματί σου

Steyn notes that the two principal differences between the citation and the OG are the transposition of ἐνευλογηθήσονται and the substitution of πᾶσαι αἱ πατριαὶ τῆς γῆς for πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τῆς γῆς or πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς.¹³⁸ No New Testament manuscripts support the OG and no OG manuscripts support the reading in Acts. The differences must be attributed either to Luke or to an otherwise unattested textual tradition.

The source of πᾶσαι αἱ πατριαὶ τῆς γῆς is difficult. The MT employs two Hebrew expressions in different occurrences of the promise, כָּל־בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל (‘‘all the families [or ‘‘tribes’’] of the earth,’’ OG πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς) in Gen 12:3; 28:14 and כָּל־בְּנֵי־הָאָרֶץ (‘‘all the nations of the earth,’’ OG πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τῆς γῆς) in Gen 18:18; 22:18; 26:4.¹³⁹

¹³⁸ Steyn, *Septuagint Quotations*, 154–56. A third, although minor, difference would be introduced if we were to follow the few manuscripts that read εὐλογηθήσονται (A* B ψ and several miniscules) or ἐπευλογηθήσονται (C) in place of ἐνευλογηθήσονται. Bock dismisses the matter as ‘‘of little ultimate significance . . . since the verbs mean virtually the same thing [and] the basic meaning of the text is not altered by the textual choice.’’ Bock, *Proclamation*, 196.

¹³⁹ Bruce believes that ‘‘once again the Gk. of an OT quotation is closer to MT than is LXX.’’ Bruce, *Acts (Greek, 3d ed.)*, 146. Both πατριαὶ and φυλή translate כָּל־בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל, the former about two dozen times and the latter

	MT	RSV
12:3	וַנְבָרְכֶם כָּךְ כָּל מִשְׁפָּחַת הָאֲדָמָה	and by you all the families of the earth shall bless themselves
18:18	וַנְבָרְכֶם בּוֹ כָּל גּוֹי הָאָרֶץ	and all the nations of the earth shall bless themselves by him
22:18	וְהַתְבָּרְכֶם בְּזַרְעֵךְ כָּל גּוֹי הָאָרֶץ	and by your descendants shall all the nations of the earth bless themselves
26:4	וְהַתְבָּרְכֶם בְּזַרְעֵךְ כָּל גּוֹי הָאָרֶץ	and by your descendants shall all the nations of the earth bless themselves
28:14	וַנְבָרְכֶם כָּךְ כָּל־מִשְׁפָּחַת הָאֲדָמָה וּבְזַרְעֵךְ	and by you and your descendants shall all the families of the earth bless themselves

The presence of ἐν τῷ σπέρματί σου in Acts 3:25 inclines Steyn¹⁴⁰ and others¹⁴¹ to conclude that the citation is more similar to Gen 22:18; 26:4 than to Gen 12:3; 18:18; 28:14.¹⁴² In context, Gen 12:3; 18:18 speak of Abraham as the one by/in whom the nations will be blessed (not his σπέρμα) and 28:14 speaks of Jacob and his σπέρμα. Because Gen 26:4 is addressed to Isaac and speaks of Isaac’s σπέρμα, Gen 22:18 is the most likely source of the citation.

Barnabas Lindars has persuasively argued that “the quotation is thus in a stylized form, and not to be interpreted in any single context.”¹⁴³ In other words, it is the promise itself rather than a particular instance of it (a particular text) to which appeal is made. As a result, we cannot on the

about three dozen (out of about 300 instances of מִשְׁפָּחָה). The OG most often renders מִשְׁפָּחָה by δῆμος (over 100 times), although more than a dozen terms are used. For φυλή (which more often translates מִשְׁבֵּט or שִׁבְטֵי), see Gen 10:5, 18, 20, 31; 32; 24: 4, 38, 40, 41; 28:14; 36:40; Jos 21:38; 1Kgs 9: 21; 10:21; 20:6, 29; Amos 3:1, 2; Mic 2:3; Nah 3:4; Zech 12:12, 13, 14; Ezek 20:32. For πατριά (which most often translates כֹּהֵן or כְּהֵנִי-חַבֵּה), see Lev 25:10; Deut 29:18; 2 Chr 6 (10 times); Ps 21:27; 95:7; 106:41; Jer 2:4; 3:14; 25:9. The most common use of πατριά in the OG is for families or tribes within Israel, but see αἱ πατριάι τῶν ἐθνῶν in Ps 21:28 OG (22:28 MT); 95:7 OG (96:7 MT) || 1 Chr 16:28. The expression αἱ πατριάι τῆς γῆς does not appear in the OG. In secular Greek, πατριά refers generally to family (or clan) or lineage (LSJ), as in the only other New Testament occurrences: Luke 2:4 of the “lineage” of Joseph and the seemingly universal “every family in heaven and on earth” (Eph 3:15).

¹⁴⁰ Steyn, *Septuagint Quotations*, 153.

¹⁴¹ Barrett, “Luke/Acts (1988),” 238; Bock, *Proclamation*, 195; Eynde, “Children of the Promise,” 472; Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 291.

¹⁴² Others disagree. Apart from ἐν τῷ σπέρματί σου, “the remainder clearly represent πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς” of 12:3. Dodd, *According to the Scriptures*, 43. Gen 22:18; 26:4 “does not provide such a close parallel, but seems to be the source of the phrase ἐν τῷ σπέρματί σου.” Lindars, *New Testament Apologetic*, 208.

¹⁴³ Lindars, *New Testament Apologetic*, 208.

basis of the citation, reliably draw connections from the context of any of particular occurrence of the promise, e.g., from the offering of Isaac in Gen 22 to the suffering of Christ, and there are no indications that Peter (or Luke) does so. The citation may be based on either the MT or OG.¹⁴⁴

5.3.1 The Blessing in Genesis

As noted, the promise to Abraham regarding the nations appears with very similar wording five times in the book of Genesis: 12:3; 18:18; 22:18; 26:4; 28:14. The first is the foundational statement.¹⁴⁵ It occurs first at the point virtually all commentators view as beginning a major section of the book.¹⁴⁶ The repetition of the promise in the subsequent chapters indicates its central role in the narrative that follows. In 18:18, it immediately follows the promise of the imminent birth of Isaac and sets the stage for Abraham's intercession (as a channel of blessing?) for the hypothetical righteous of Sodom. In 22:18, it is reaffirmed following Abraham's demonstration of his willingness to sacrifice Isaac. In 26:4, Yahweh assures Isaac that the promise includes God's care during a time of famine. Finally, God renews the promise at Bethel as Jacob flees from his home and the wrath of his brother Esau (28:14).

The promise in Gen 12:2–3 has a number of facets: descendants (“a great nation”), fame (“a great name”), protection (“bless those who bless you, and him who curses you I will curse”), land, blessing (“I will bless you”), being a blessing to others (“you will be a blessing”), and a central role in God's plan to bless all nations. While these are interconnected and mutually dependent, the last of these is cited in Acts 3:25 and will be the focus of this examination.

¹⁴⁴ Steyn, *Septuagint Quotations*, 156.

¹⁴⁵ Many commentators do not bother to comment on the promise in these repeated occurrences.

¹⁴⁶ Gerhard von Rad, for example, presents this text as the climax of the primeval history and the beginning of the patriarchal narrative. Gerhard von Rad, *Genesis* (trans. John H. Marks; OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1961).

This “blessing” is a familiar *crux interpretum*.¹⁴⁷ A full treatment is beyond the scope of the present study. The difficulty is the translation of the verb בָּרַךְ.¹⁴⁸ In 12:3; 18:18; 28:14 the verb occurs in the *nipʿal*, while in Gen 22:18; 26:4 it occurs in the *hitpaʿel*. Both may be translated as reflexives (“bless oneself”), although the *nipʿal* may have a passive sense (“be blessed”).¹⁴⁹ The otherwise similar expressions would seem to require a common translation and most scholars have proposed a single translation for all five texts. The OG renders both forms of the verb with the future passive ἐνευλογηθήσονται. The OG is followed in this by early versions.¹⁵⁰ More recently, many have argued for a reflexive sense, i.e., that nations would say “may we be blessed like Abraham.”¹⁵¹ Delitzsch argues that the existence of “an unambiguous passive” in the *puʿal* indicates that the *nipʿal* (occurring in MT only in Gen 12:3; 18:18; 28:14) should be understood as reflexively as the more common *hitpaʿel*.¹⁵² Others still see the passive as the more likely rendering.¹⁵³ Gerhard Wehmeier has shown that the context in both Gen 12:3 and 18:18 militates against a reflexive sense.¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁷ Westermann writes of “the long discussion about the translation of נִבְרַךְ as it continues to sway now one way, now another.” “This constant change of direction indicates an uncertainty which has not yet been overcome.” Claus Westermann, *Genesis 12–36: A Commentary* (trans. John J. Scullion; Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1985), 151.

¹⁴⁸ The central idea of “blessing” is of God’s “manifesting his favor and grace” toward men, resulting in “well-being, prosperity.” *IDB*, s.v. “blessedness.” The term appears five times in Gen 12:2–3, Rad, *Genesis*, 159.

¹⁴⁹ So, e.g., GKC, §39f.

¹⁵⁰ Wenham and Westerholm cite the *Vg*, *Tg. Onk.*, Sir 44:21, and Gal 3:8.

¹⁵¹ *HALOT* proposes “to wish on oneself a blessing like that of (cf. Gn 48:20), with בָּ of the person compared” for the *nipʿal* and “1. to wish a blessing on oneself (on one another?) to be blessed . . . with בָּ . . . 2. to bless oneself.”

¹⁵² Franz Delitzsch, *New Commentary on Genesis* (trans. Sophia Taylor; 2 vols.; Clark’s Foreign Theological Library 36–37; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1899), 1:379. So also Bruce Vawter, *On Genesis: A New Reading* (New York: Doubleday, 1977), 177.

¹⁵³ “The translation ‘be blessed’ is preferable because it sets forward the idea of ‘to be a blessing.’ It also corresponds more closely with the original declaration, ‘I will bless.’” Gerhard Ch. Aalders, *Genesis* (2 vols.; BSC; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1981), 1:269–70. See also Oswald T. Allis, “The Blessing of Abraham,” *PTR* 25 (1927):

The difference between the *nip'al* and the *hitpa'el* may be less than it appears.

God will bless those whom Abraham blesses, and it shall come to pass that at last all the families of the earth shall wish and seek to participate in the blessing of which he is the vehicle, which is the same as to say that they shall be actually blessed in him.¹⁵⁵

G. Wenham believes that in 12:3 the *nip'al* is best understood as a middle (“find blessing”).

Already it has been stated that Abram will be a blessing, which presupposes both the passive sense, “Abram has been blessed,” and the reflexive sense, men will use his name in blessing one another. Then it was stated that all individuals who bless Abram will themselves be blessed. Finally, this clause brings the passage to a triumphant and universal conclusion: “all the families of the earth will find blessing in you.”

Finally it should be noted that even if a reflexive “bless themselves” is preferred here, it would also carry the implications of a middle or passive. For if those who bless Abram are blessed, and all families of the earth bless Abram, then it follows that “all families will be blessed/find blessing in him.”¹⁵⁶

Waltke concludes simply that “in either case, God mediates his blessing to the nations through Abraham.”¹⁵⁷ Kaiser concludes that Abraham “was the medium and agency through whom the divine blessing would come.”¹⁵⁸

263–98; Christopher Wright Mitchell, *The Meaning of BRK “To Bless” in the Old Testament* (SBLDS 95; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 31–35; Rad, *Genesis*, 155–56.

¹⁵⁴ Wehmeier argues from the contrast in number in 12:3 (“I will bless *those*” vs. “I will curse *him*”) that “what is expected to be the normal action is expressed by the plural, that others bless Israel and consequently receive blessings themselves. . . . Hence the context does not favor the reflexive understanding of the Nif'al.” In 18:18, he argues that “a statement that the nations *wished* to participate in Abraham’s blessing would be quite out of place here. It is only because they *receive* blessing through Abraham that the patriarch’s role is so important.” Gerhard Wehmeier, “The Theme ‘Blessing for the Nations’ in the Promises to the Patriarchs and in Prophetic Literature,” *Bangalore Theological Forum* 6 (1974): 5–6.

¹⁵⁵ Delitzsch, *Genesis*, 1:379.

¹⁵⁶ Gordon J. Wenham, *Genesis* (2 vols.; WBC 1–2; Waco: Word, 1987–1994), 1:277–78. Another recent advocate for a middle sense for both *nip'al* and *hitpa'el* is Keith N. Grüneberg, *Abraham, Blessing and the Nations: A Philological and Exegetical Study of Genesis 12:3 in its Narrative Context* (BZAW 332; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2003), 242.

¹⁵⁷ Bruce K. Waltke and Cathi J. Fredricks, *Genesis: A Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2001), 206. Westermann, terms the controversy “otiose.” He concludes that “the reflexive translation is saying no less than the passive or receptive” and “there is no opposition between the passive and reflexive.” Westermann, *Genesis 12–36: A Commentary*, 152. “It is, however, hermeneutically wrong to limit such a programmatic saying, circulating in such exalted style, to only *one* meaning (restrictively).” Rad, *Genesis*, 160.

Although *כָּל־שִׁבְטֵי הָאָרֶץ* (12:3; 28:14) could conceivably be translated “all the tribes of the land” (i.e., all of Israel),¹⁵⁹ the parallel *כָּל־גּוֹיֵי הָאָרֶץ* (18:18; 22:18; 26:4) more probably refers to Gentiles, in contrast to Abraham’s “seed” (*בְּיִצְחָק*). The promise is thus a universal one.¹⁶⁰ This was apparently the view of Nachmanides.¹⁶¹ Von Rad states that “Abraham is assigned the role of a mediator of blessing in God’s saving plan, for ‘all the families of the earth.’”¹⁶²

In one of the oldest strata of the O.T. we find a concept which rightly can be termed universalistic. The Yahwist clearly indicates that from the very beginning God is interested in mankind as a whole, and not only concerned about Israel. The choosing of Israel serves the purpose that God’s plan with the world might be carried out. . . . the line of thinking which has been opened by the Yahwist, has never completely ceased to be effective in Israel.¹⁶³

Blessing for the world was a vision fitfully seen at first (it disappears between the patriarchs and the kings, apart from a reminder of Israel’s priestly role in Ex. 19:5, 6). Later, it reappeared in the psalms and prophets, and perhaps even at its faintest it always imparted some sense of mission to Israel; yet it never became a programme of concerted action until the ascension.¹⁶⁴

Should there have been “a programme of concerted action?” Did the promise to Abraham include an obligation to actively communicate blessing to the nations? Some have argued that it

¹⁵⁸ Kaiser, *Messiah*, 48.

¹⁵⁹ Alexis Léonas, “A Note on Acts 3,25–26: The Meaning of Peter’s Genesis Quotation,” *ETL* 77 (2000): 159. Haenchen suggests the presence of an echo of Ezek 30:5 (*בְּנֵי אֶרֶץ*, lit. “sons of the land,” *ΟΓ τῶν υἱῶν τῆς διαθήκης μου*), but this seems highly unlikely.

¹⁶⁰ “Not every individual is promised blessing in Abram but every major group in the world will be blessed.” Wenham, *Genesis*, 278.

¹⁶¹ “Not only the families of Canaan, but the families of all the earth shall be blessed through thee.” Abraham Cohen, *The Soncino Chumash: The Five Books of Moses with Haphtaroth* (Soncino Books of the Bible; London: Soncino, 1947), 60.

¹⁶² Rad, *Genesis*, 156.

¹⁶³ Wehmeier, “Blessing for the Nations,” 12.

¹⁶⁴ Derek Kidner, *Genesis: An Introduction and Commentary* (TOTC; Downers Grove, Ill.: Inter-Varsity, 1967), 114.

was.¹⁶⁵ Grüneberg, however, believes that Abraham was given a promise, not a commission, and that he (and his descendants) would bless the nations, as models or pioneers of the way of blessing.¹⁶⁶ Brueggemann believes the idea is “not that Israel has a direct responsibility to do something for others, but that the life of Israel under the promise will energize and model a way for other nations to receive a blessing from this God.”¹⁶⁷ It appears that the idea of an intentional mission to Gentiles was offensive to some Jews who did not believe in Jesus (Acts 22:21–22). Nevertheless, the citation of Isa 49:6 in Acts 13:47 makes it clear that Luke believed an active and intentional Gentile mission had now been commanded by God.

The fact that the promise to Abraham is repeated five times in Genesis indicates its importance. Yahweh promised not only that Abraham will be blessed, but that he and his “seed” will be a blessing to all peoples. At the heart of Old Testament particularism is the promise that God’s choice of Abraham and his descendants was for the purpose of blessing the world.

5.3.2 The Expected Blessing

The name of Abraham occurs 29 times outside of Genesis in the MT. Yahweh’s covenant with him is the basis of his acts on behalf of Israel and the guarantee of his continued mercy.¹⁶⁸

And God heard their groaning, and God remembered his covenant with Abraham, with Isaac, and with Jacob. (Exod 2:24)

¹⁶⁵ So Kaiser, *Mission*, 9, 62–63, 74. So also David Filbeck, *Yes, God of the Gentiles, Too* (Wheaton, Ill.: Billy Graham Center, Wheaton College, 1994), 65, 130–32; Robert Martin-Achard, *A Light to the Nations: A Study of the Old Testament Conception of Israel’s Mission to the World* (trans. John Penney Smith; Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1962), 23.

¹⁶⁶ Grüneberg, *Abraham*, 244. Similarities between the promise to Abraham and the language of Isa 42, lead Goldingay to assert that neither Abraham nor Israel was called to preach to Gentiles. Goldingay, *Isaiah*, 241.

¹⁶⁷ Walter Brueggemann, *Genesis* (IBC; Atlanta: John Knox, 1982), 120. Similarly Köstenberger and O’Brien, *Salvation*, 28–36.

¹⁶⁸ Exod 2:24; 6:3; 32:13; Lev 26:42; Deut 9:27; 29:13; Josh 24:2, 3; 2 Kgs 13:23; Isa 29:22; 41:8; 51:2; Mic 7:20; cf. Isa 63:16; Ezek 33:24.

Remember Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, thy servants, to whom thou didst swear by thine own self, and didst say to them, 'I will multiply your descendants as the stars of heaven, and all this land that I have promised I will give to your descendants, and they shall inherit it for ever.' (Exod 32:13)

The land of Canaan is “the land which he swore to your fathers, to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, to give you” (Exod 6:8; 33:1; Num 32:11; Deut 1:8; 6:10; 9:5; 30:20; 34:4). Yahweh is known as the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (Exod 3:6, 15, 16; 4:5, 1 Kgs 18:36). Abraham plays a similar role in the later chapters of Genesis, where he is mentioned in 22 verses following the account of his death in Gen 25. The promise to Abraham does not appear to be explicitly connected with the prophets' expectation of eschatological blessing for the Gentiles.¹⁶⁹

A mixed picture of the promise to Abraham regarding the nations appears in available intertestamental materials.

The blessing of the nations through Abraham's offspring is also explicitly mentioned in early Judaism but plays a less significant role, probably due to the political and social situation of most Jews in the first century C.E., in Palestine and in the Diaspora.¹⁷⁰

The promise is cited in Sirach, but there is no elaboration on its meaning or application.

Therefore the Lord assured him by an oath that the nations would be blessed [ένευσλογηθῆναι ἔθνη] through his posterity; that he would multiply him like the dust of the earth, and exalt his posterity like the stars, and cause them to inherit from sea to sea and from the River to the ends of the earth. (Sir 44:21)

While some texts positively enumerate intellectual and spiritual blessings, which come to the nations through Abraham, others see the blessing as wrested from Israel by Gentile

¹⁶⁹ Unless the בְּרָכָה (“blessing”) in on Egypt and Assyria in Isa 19:24–25 is meant to evoke Gen 12:2.

¹⁷⁰ Jeffrey S. Siker, *Disinheriting the Jews: Abraham in Early Christian Controversy* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1991), 20.

exploitation.¹⁷¹ Other study has found that second temple traditions regarding Abraham vary between exclusivism and universalism.¹⁷²

Abraham figures prominently in Luke-Acts, mentioned 22 times.¹⁷³ The promise to Abraham figures is the basis for his mercy to his people (Luke 1:55, 73). The promise figures as well in Stephen's speech, Acts 7:17; cp. "our fathers," Acts 13:17, 32;¹⁷⁴ 26:6). God is identified as the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (Luke 20:37; Acts 3:13; 7:32; cp. "God of our fathers," Acts 5:30; 22:14). When Jesus comes bringing healing and restoration, it is specifically to an unnamed "daughter of Abraham," who released from her sickness (Luke 13:16) and to a son of Abraham, the chief tax collector, Zacchaeus (Luke 19:9). "Abraham's bosom" is the place of eternal blessing (Luke 16:22, 23, 24, 25, 29, 30; cp. the presence of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob "in the kingdom," 13:28). Apart from Acts 3:25, there appears to be no other explicit reference to blessing of the nations through Abraham.¹⁷⁵ Jeffrey P. Siker has argued that in Abraham texts in the gospel, Luke consistently downplays physical descent and highlights God's mercy to the outcasts who repent, while in Acts those who receive the promise are those who worship God

¹⁷¹ At least some of this material is later and may have been shaped in response to Christian appropriation of this promise. Evans, "Prophecy and Polemic," 192; Witherington, *Acts*, 188.

¹⁷² Brawley cites an unpublished 1997 Fuller Ph.D. dissertation that was not available to me: P. Choi, *Abraham Our Father: Paul's Voice in the Covenant Debate of the Second Temple Period*. Robert L. Brawley, "Abrahamic Traditions and the Characterization of God in Luke-Acts," in *The Unity of Luke-Acts* (ed. Jozef Verheyden; BETL 142; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1999).

¹⁷³ Including the genealogy in Luke 3 and references to the Jews as descendants of Abraham (e.g., Luke 3:8; Acts 13:26).

¹⁷⁴ Dahl rightly notes that "what God promised to the fathers" here "cannot refer exclusively to God's promise to the patriarchs, but must include both the promise given to David and later prophecies," but these later promises "reiterate and unfold" the foundational promise to Abraham. Dahl, "Abraham," 148.

¹⁷⁵ This remains true even when texts such as those referring to "the fathers" are taken into account.

(7:7) from all nations (3:25; 13:47).¹⁷⁶ Thus, although Abraham figures somewhat more prominently in the gospel than in Acts, Siker correctly notes that in the work as a whole

Luke-Acts uses Abraham in order to show that Gentile Christians have a legitimate claim to Abraham as their father, on the same terms as Jews, and thus they have a share in the promise to Abraham along with the Jews.¹⁷⁷

5.3.3 Acts 3:25

Acts 3:25	Acts 3:25 RSV	Acts 3:25 (author)
ὕμεῖς ἐστε οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν προφητῶν	25a You are the sons of the prophets	You are sons of the prophets
καὶ τῆς διαθήκης ἧς διέθετο ὁ θεὸς πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ὑμῶν	b and of the covenant which God gave to your fathers,	and of the covenant which God made to your fathers
λέγων πρὸς Ἀβραάμ·	c saying to Abraham,	when he said to Abraham,
καὶ ἐν τῷ σπέρματί σου ἐνευλογηθήσονται πᾶσαι αἱ πατριαὶ τῆς γῆς.	d ‘And in your posterity shall all the families of the earth be blessed.’	“And in your seed all the peoples of the earth will be blessed.”

5.3.3.1 The Context of Acts 3:25

At the conclusion of the Pentecost account, Luke summarized the life of the early church.

And they devoted themselves to the apostles’ teaching and fellowship, to the breaking of bread and the prayers.

And fear came upon every soul; and many wonders and signs were done through the apostles. And all who believed were together and had all things in common; and they sold their possessions and goods and distributed them to all, as any had need. And day by day, attending the temple together and breaking bread in their homes, they partook of food with glad and generous hearts, praising God and having favor with all the people. And the Lord added to their number day by day those who were being saved. (Acts 2:42–47)

The subsequent account illustrates many of the elements of this summary: “giving” (3:6),

“attending the temple together” (3:1), “wonders and miraculous signs” (3:7), “praising God”

¹⁷⁶ Siker, *Disinheriting the Jews*, 103–27.

¹⁷⁷ Siker, *Disinheriting the Jews*, 103.

(3:8, 9), “the apostles’ teaching” (see 3:12–26), “fear” (3:10), “wonder and amazement” (3:11), and “the Lord added to their number” (4:4, “many . . . believed, and the number grew”).

Acts 3 records the first miracle in Acts and the beginning of conflict between the church and the religious leaders in Jerusalem.¹⁷⁸ On their way into the temple, Peter and John encountered an apparently well-known cripple who regularly begged alms from those passing by (3:1–10). When healed through the name of Jesus, the cripple responded with joy and followed Peter and John into the temple, “walking and leaping and praising God” (3:8, 9). His actions drew the attention of those nearby, who recognized him as the former cripple (3:10). The man’s exuberance, together with the “wonder and amazement” of those closest to the healing, attracted a crowd (3:11). Provided with another opportunity to address an uncomprehending crowd (cp. 2:14), Peter began to speak. The message was apparently terminated by the arrival of temple officials (4:1) who arrested Peter and John (4:3). Following an abbreviated hearing the next day before a frustrated tribunal (before whom Peter again preached) Peter and John were instructed “not to speak or teach at all in the name of Jesus” (4:18), an admonition they declined to accept (4:19–20, 31, 33). The church’s responded by praying for boldness and power (4:24–30).

As in his Pentecost sermon, Peter began with the (mis)perception of the crowd. It was not Peter or John, who had healed the cripple, but it was Jesus whom they had killed and God had raised and glorified (3:11–16). Even this horrible offense, committed in ignorance (3:17), was not outside the plan of God: “But what God foretold by the mouth of all the prophets, that his Christ should suffer, he thus fulfilled” (3:18). Peter therefore called his hearers to “repent . . . and turn again” with three related ends in view: “that your sins may be blotted out, that times of

¹⁷⁸ Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 275–76; Marshall, *Acts*, 86. Both Fitzmyer and Marshall see this conflict section continuing through chapter 5. It may be more accurate to say that it continues through the scattering of the church from Jerusalem in Acts 8:1.

refreshing¹⁷⁹ may come from the presence of the Lord, and that he may send the Christ appointed for you, Jesus” (3:19–20). This call is followed by a warning that anyone who does not listen to the prophet “like Moses” will be cut off (3:21–22, citing Deut 18: 15, 19 and possibly Lev 23:29; the former is also cited in 7:37). Not only Moses who spoke about this, but (echoing the assertion of 3:18) “all the prophets who have spoken, from Samuel and those who came afterwards, also proclaimed these days” (3:24). This message that the prophets proclaimed is for Peter’s hearers: “You are the sons of the prophets and of the covenant which God gave to your fathers” (3:25a). This covenant is explicated by the citation of the promise to Abraham (3:25–26). The main point of Peter’s message to his Jewish audience is that Jesus is the Messiah promised to their fathers (specifically to Abraham, Moses and Samuel). Luke’s account, if not the sermon itself, ends at this point, apparently with the arrival of temple officials, who proceed to arrest Peter and John (4:1–3).¹⁸⁰ Nevertheless, many responded favorably to the message and believed (4:4).¹⁸¹

5.3.3.2 The Interpretation of Acts 3:25

In Acts 3:25, the phrase ἐν τῷ σπέρματί σου (“in your posterity” [lit. “seed”]) has been brought forward to the beginning of the citation (following initial καὶ). Steyn attributes the transposition to the desire to emphasize ἐν τῷ σπέρματί σου.¹⁸² The focus of the sermon has

¹⁷⁹ “The expression as such occurs only here, and its specific meaning is not clear.” Johnson, *Acts*, 69. Nevertheless, “the healing of the lame man brackets the reference to the Abrahamic covenant in 3,25 in such a fashion that it is a concrete instance of the times of refreshing and the blessing of all the families of the earth (3,19–20. 25).” Brawley, “Abrahamic Traditions,” 126.

¹⁸⁰ Barrett finds that “the speech ends abruptly,” but does not believe it “is unfinished.” Barrett, *Acts*, 214.

¹⁸¹ Brueggemann’s suggestion that “the juxtaposition of Acts 2 and 3 is parallel to the structure of Gen. 11:1–9 (alluded to in Acts 2) and Gen. 12:1–4 (quoted in Acts 3)” is too subtle. Brueggemann, *Genesis*, 120.

¹⁸² Steyn, *Septuagint Quotations*, 154–55.

been the promised Christ.¹⁸³ Peter's argument is that it is through Christ, the "seed," that the promised blessing comes. The "seed" of Abraham is here associated with the prophet like Moses (3:22) and "his servant" (3:26), who was earlier identified as "his servant, Jesus" (3:13), "the Holy and Righteous One" (3:14), "the Author of life" (3:15), and "his Christ" (3:18, 20).

Although in Genesis the "seed" is commonly understood as a collective referring to Abraham's (or Isaac's or Jacob's) offspring, it is here it is applied as a singular, to the individual, Jesus.¹⁸⁴ Some see a sort of double reference, in which Luke has narrowed the term in the promise from the Jewish people to Jesus.¹⁸⁵ It is commonly noted that the same term from same text is employed similarly by Paul in Gal 3:16.¹⁸⁶ It could perhaps more profitably be seen as yet another instance of typological interpretation.

The second distinctive reading in the citation is *πᾶσαι αἱ πατριαὶ τῆς γῆς* ("all the families of the earth") where the OG has *πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τῆς γῆς* ("all the nations of the earth," 22:18; 26:4; 18:18) or *αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς*, ("all the families ["tribes"] of the earth," 12:3; 28:14). Because of the absence of significant textual support for *αἱ πατριαὶ* in the OG or for *τὰ ἔθνη* or *αἱ φυλαὶ* in the New Testament, most commentators understand this to be a conscious

¹⁸³ Hans F. Bayer, "Christ-Centered Eschatology in Acts 3:17–26," in *Jesus of Nazareth: Lord and Christ: Essays on the Historical Jesus and New Testament Christology* (ed. Joel B. Green and Max Turner; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 236–250.

¹⁸⁴ Eynde, "Children of the Promise," 472. Admittedly, other instances of *σπέρμα* in Luke-Acts appear to be understood as collective (Luke 1:55; Acts 7:5, 6; 13:23; and probably Luke 20:28.)

¹⁸⁵ The term here would then function in a "twofold way: not just generically of all the Jewish people, but more specifically as a reference to an individual descendant of Abraham, the risen Christ." Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 291. So also Siker, *Disinheriting the Jews*, 119–20.

¹⁸⁶ Bruce, *Acts (Greek, 3d ed.)*, 146; Marshall, *Acts*, 96. The use of Gen 22:18 in Galatians has attracted greater attention than on its use here. See the survey of hermeneutical approaches in Clifford John Collins, "Galatians 3:16: What Kind of Exegete Is Paul?," *TynBul* 54 (2003): 76–79. See also Frederick F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Galatians: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982); Ernest De Witt Burton, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians* (ICC; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1921).

adaptation by the author.¹⁸⁷ Some have suggested the influence of Ps 21:28 OG,¹⁸⁸ “all the ends of the earth shall remember and turn to the LORD; and all the families of the nations (παῖσαι αἱ πατριαὶ τῶν ἔθνων, כָּל-לְבָבוֹת עַמְּוָלָה) shall worship before him.” However, παῖσαι αἱ πατριαὶ τῶν ἔθνων is not the expression in Acts 3:25 and no satisfactory ground for allusion to this text has been adduced. It has also been suggested that παῖσαι αἱ πατριαί here reflects the author’s own translation of כָּל לְבָבוֹת עַמְּוָלָה (Gen 12:3).¹⁸⁹ While this may be true, it is not the most persuasive explanation.¹⁹⁰ It is more likely that Luke has chosen a “neutral” term that would include Jews (τὰ ἔθνη most often designation other nations, not including the Jews).

Luke probably consciously changed the ἔθνη to πατριαί. This was probably done either to include the Jews (to whom this speech seems explicitly to be addressed), or because Luke could not refer explicitly to the Gentiles, as did Gn 22:18, without a clear reference to the gentile mission, which at this stage in the story still lies in the future.¹⁹¹

Luke has replaced the τὰ ἔθνη of the Septuagint with αἱ πατριαί, thus indicating that the Jews are included among those who shall be blessed in the “posterity” of Abraham, i.e., the Christ Jesus.¹⁹²

Thus, “if it is accepted that the speech was addressed to *Jews*, and that τὰ ἔθνη means the *Gentiles* in Ac, the change makes sense.”¹⁹³ The expression, παῖσαι αἱ πατριαὶ τῆς γῆς (“all

¹⁸⁷ Unless this represents an otherwise unattested reading in the OG, although this seems unlikely. Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 291; Steyn, *Septuagint Quotations*, 155–156.

¹⁸⁸ MT 22:28; RSV 22:27.

¹⁸⁹ It is not true that αἱ πατριαί is often used by the OG to render כָּל-לְבָבוֹת עַמְּוָלָה as claimed by Léonas, “Acts 3,25–26,” 152. See also Eynde, “Children of the Promise,” 472.

¹⁹⁰ Steyn, *Septuagint Quotations*, 156. We noted above that πατριαί only occasionally translates כָּל-לְבָבוֹת עַמְּוָלָה.

¹⁹¹ Steyn, *Septuagint Quotations*, 157.

¹⁹² Dahl, “Abraham,” 149.

¹⁹³ Steyn, *Septuagint Quotations*, 156. So also Fitzmyer: “The Greek version of Genesis that Luke was using may have substituted it *patriai*, ‘families,’ for *ethnē*, ‘nations,’ but, more likely, Luke himself has substituted it for the latter term, which he normally uses for ‘Gentiles.’” Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 291.

the families of the earth”), is then intended specifically to include Israel in addition to the Gentiles. The focus at this point in the narrative is on fulfillment of the promise to Israel.

The following verse (3:26) applies the promise and concludes the speech.

ὕμῖν πρῶτον ἀναστήσας ὁ θεὸς τὸν
παῖδα αὐτοῦ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτὸν
εὐλογοῦντα ὑμᾶς ἐν τῷ ἀποστρέφειν
ἕκαστον ἀπὸ τῶν πονηριῶν ὑμῶν.

God, having raised up his servant, sent him
to you first, to bless you in turning every
one of you from your wickedness.

“His servant” (τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ) echoes 3:13 (“his servant, Jesus”), but may also refer to Moses (often referred to as Yahweh’s servant¹⁹⁴) and the prophet like him (3:22–23). The “raising up” (ἀναστήσας) of the servant is not a reference to the resurrection,¹⁹⁵ but echoes the promise that God would “raise up” (ἀναστήσει) the prophet like Moses (3:22).¹⁹⁶ The purpose for which God raised up his servant was “to bless you” (εὐλογοῦντα ὑμᾶς), that is, to fulfill the promise to Abraham (εὐλογηθήσονται, 3:25). The blessing is obtained by ἐν τῷ ἀποστρέφειν ἕκαστον ἀπὸ τῶν πονηριῶν ὑμῶν (“turning every one of you from your wickedness”), i.e., repentance (3:19–20).¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁴ See section 3.2.1.

¹⁹⁵ As contended by Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 291; Tannehill, *Narrative Unity*, 2:56. Nor does it refer to the servant’s “appointment” as suggested by Léonas, “Acts 3,25–26,” 160. The verb is already present in 3:22 from the OG of Deut 18:18. It is used in the sense of “cause to appear for a role or function,” BDAG, s.v. ἀνίστημι, 4 (although BDAG assigns this verse to def. 2, “to raise up by bringing back to life,” with def. 4 present only as wordplay).

¹⁹⁶ L. T. Johnson finds that “the Mosaic imagery is obvious.” Johnson, *Acts*, 70–71. Similarly (of coming “on to the stage of history,” or of “raising up” a leader) Barrett, *Acts*, 213; Bruce, *Acts (Greek, 3d ed.)*, 88. The *hif’il* of $\square\eta\pi$ is commonly translated by ἵστημι (or one of its compounds) or ἐγείρω. Also “raised up” (OG ἀνίστημι) are a priest (to replace Eli, 1 Sam 2:35), David’s throne (2 Sam 3:10), David’s “seed” (2 Sam 7:12), the king (Deut 28:36, καθίστημι), and the judges (e.g., Judg 2:16, ἐγείρω) evil (2 Sam 12:11, ἐξεγείρω).

¹⁹⁷ Barrett understands the infinitive in an active transitive sense: God (or the servant) “turns you from your wickedness.” Barrett, *Acts*, 214. If so, it is part of the promise; if not, it reinforces the command to repent (3:19).

“First” (πρῶτον) again brings the Gentiles into view. God has not sent his servant only to ὑμῖν (“you”) Jews,¹⁹⁸ but to ὑμῖν πρῶτον (“to you first”).¹⁹⁹ “First” suggests “second,”²⁰⁰ a subsequent stage in the work of the servant, that the promise to Abraham “will be realized for others at a later stage.”²⁰¹ Steyn concludes that “the πρῶτον in v. 26 clearly suggests that the circle is wider than Jews alone.”²⁰² Barrett’s careful discussion is worth quoting at length:

πρῶτον implies that the offer of messianic salvation made to the Jews as heirs of the prophets and inheritors of the covenant (see above, v. 25) will be followed by another—to the Gentiles. Other ways of taking it, such as that Jesus was the first to be raised from the dead (cf. 1 Cor. 15.20), or that he was raised before the parousia took place, have little to commend them. . . . πρῶτον must then be taken closely with ὑμῖν: It was initially but not exclusively for your benefit that God sent his Servant; that is, the first sending will turn out not in the first instance but eventually to be of benefit not only to Jews but to Gentiles also: to the Jew first and also to the Greek (Rom 1:16). . . . The relation between Judaism and the Christian church is a question that is frequently raised in Acts and one that cannot be adequately considered on the basis of one passage. The present passage does however suggest that for Luke the question was not a difficult one. It is God’s intention to have a newly constituted people of which the original heirs of the covenant and Gentiles, newly called through the Gospel, may be members. For both there is only one way into the inheritance: Jesus the Messiah.²⁰³

The appearance of “servant” in this context is interesting as well. In Isa 49:6, God expanded the commission of his “servant” from the “trifling” task of “rais[ing] up the tribes of

¹⁹⁸ That Jews are in view is evident from the beginning of 3:25: “You (emphatic, ὑμεῖς ἐστε) are the sons of the prophets and of the covenant which God gave to your fathers, saying to Abraham.”

¹⁹⁹ The word πρῶτον here may anticipate its occurrence in 13:46: “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.” The citation of Isa 49:6 immediately follows.

²⁰⁰ Eynde, “Children of the Promise,” 472.

²⁰¹ Dupont, “Salvation,” 23. Similarly, Fitzmyer speaks of a “note of universalism” provided by the citation and indicates that “this quotation in Peter’s speech foreshadows the spread of the Christian message to non-Jewish families as well.” Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 291.

²⁰² Steyn, *Septuagint Quotations*, 156.

²⁰³ Barrett, *Acts*, 213.

Jacob and . . . restor[ing] the preserved of Israel” by making him “a light to the nations, that my salvation may reach to the end of the earth.” Here in Acts 3:26 is the same two-stage process: the servant is sent first for the seed of Abraham, and then for “all the families of the earth.” Even after Paul “turns to the Gentiles” (Acts 13:46), he continues to repeat this process, going “to the Jew first,” and only after encountering rejection there, “also to the Greek” (Rom 1:16).

The promise to bless “the families of the earth” through Abraham, then, is a promise of salvation through Jesus for both Jews and Gentiles.

Peter’s point is that the messianic blessing, though destined first for the Jews (3:26), must extend to all nations: the risen Christ is a principle of salvation for the Gentiles, too.²⁰⁴

It is generally agreed that there is a reference to the future Gentile mission in the phrase *πάσαι αἱ πατριάι τῆς γῆς* and allusion to it implied in the use of *ὑμῶν πρῶτον* (v. 26).²⁰⁵

This is not to say that this assertion was explicitly understood by Peter’s audience or developed further at this point in the narrative. Marshall believes “the reference to the Gentiles is at this stage a quiet hint (contrast 13:46).”²⁰⁶ Witherington finds that “here and in v. 26 the blessing of the Gentiles is clearly alluded to, but only in connection with Jews or following blessing given to Jews. Luke is masterfully preparing for later developments in his narrative.”²⁰⁷ It does not even mean that Peter or other apostles clearly understood the implications at this time.

It may have taken the apostles some time to fully realize the implications of the missionary imperative, but there it is. Peter was primarily concerned with the Jews.

²⁰⁴ Dupont, “Apologetic,” 135.

²⁰⁵ Wilson, *Gentile Mission*, 219.

²⁰⁶ Marshall, *Acts*, 96.

²⁰⁷ Witherington, *Acts*, 188.

The gospel was preached to them first. Soon it would reach far beyond the boundaries of Judaism “to all the peoples on earth.”²⁰⁸

Nevertheless, in light of the later progress of Luke’s narrative, it is impossible to imagine that Luke or his audience would have been oblivious to the implications of the language used here, particularly in light of the repeated assertion that the Old Testament prophesied the Gentile mission (e.g., Luke 24:47) and the considerable attention paid to that mission in the narrative. As a Gentile believer, Theophilus would have welcomed this early indication in the narrative of Acts that, because Jesus came in fulfillment of God’s promise to Abraham, the promised blessing is not only for Jews, but for Gentiles like him as well. Further, the fulfillment of God’s promise and purpose requires that Gentiles receive the blessing promised. If the blessing comes by faith (16), knowledge (17), repentance (19, 26), and hearing (22–23), then the message of and about the servant/seed must be intentionally announced to Gentiles.

5.3.4 The Use of Genesis 22:18 in Acts 3:25

5.3.4.1 Text

Although the citation appears to be based on the OG, there are no significant differences between the OG and the MT, and the argument could be made equally well from either. The author has emphasized the “seed” by bringing the expression ἐν τῷ σπέρματί σου forward in the citation. In addition, the apparently more inclusive wording πᾶσαι αἱ πατριαὶ τῆς γῆς appears in place of the OG πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τῆς γῆς, where τὰ ἔθνη would typically be understood as a reference to Gentiles only, while Peter wished to include Jews.

²⁰⁸ Polhill, *Acts*, 137.

5.3.4.2 Hermeneutic

Acts 3 understands the promise to Abraham as a promise that God would act to bring blessing to all nations (including Gentiles) through an individual. There has been substantial disagreement concerning correct understanding of the promise as it appears in Genesis: whether God promised to act, whether Gentiles are included, and whether the seed through whom the blessing will come is an individual. The present study has shown that there is good reason to understand the promise in Genesis in substantially the same terms as in Acts 3: that God did promise to act, that Gentiles are included, and that the seed through whom the blessing comes is ultimately an individual. The interpretation of the promise to Abraham in Acts 3:25 is therefore consistent with a proper understanding of the promise in its original context.

5.3.4.3 Purpose

The argument in Acts 3 is based on the promise to Abraham as the foundation of all the promises God made “to our fathers” (1:55, 72) “by the mouth of his holy prophets from of old” (1:70). To support this claim, Peter appeals to the foundational promise of the Old Testament, the promise to Abraham. Sabine van den Eynde has noted that Luke attributes promises made to Moses as part of the promise to Abraham.²⁰⁹ Similarly, R. L. Brawley has underscored the way in which Luke connects the promises to David to the promise to Abraham.²¹⁰ Such studies reinforce the understanding that we gain from the Old Testament narrative itself that the promise

²⁰⁹ E.g., in Acts 7:7, the promise that Israel will serve God in the land (λατρεύσουσιν) owes more to Exod 3:12 than Gen 15:13–14. Eynde, “Children of the Promise,” 473.

²¹⁰ Thus, although the announcement to Mary is made in terms of the promise to David (1:30–33), the Magnificat speaks of God’s mercy to Abraham (1:55, cp. 37). Zachariah also moves from David (1:69) to Abraham (1:73). “Not only the Davidic Messiah, but also the prophet like Moses is a particular way God moves the Abrahamic covenant toward its term.” Brawley, “Abrahamic Traditions,” 112–13, 125.

to Abraham is the basis of God's subsequent redemptive work.²¹¹ In his influential study of "The Story of Abraham in Luke-Acts," Nils Dahl has observed that, unlike Paul or the author of Hebrews, Luke does not point to Abraham's faith. Instead "God's word to Abraham is seen as the beginning of a history in which partial realizations are interconnected with new promises, until the coming of the Righteous One, of whom all the prophets spoke (cf. [Acts] 7:52)." Two conclusions of Dahl's study are particularly worth noting. First, Dahl finds the use of Abraham in Luke-Acts to be "a confirmation of Paul Schubert's thesis that 'proof-from-prophecy' is a main theological and literary device of the work." Second,

Salvation of Gentiles was from the beginning envisaged by God and included as part of his promises to Israel. Luke does not claim that the church has replaced Israel as the people of God, nor does he call Gentile believers Abraham's children. Gentiles are saved as Gentiles. Luke takes care to adduce prophecies that really spoke of them. This "proof-from-prophecy" has a double function: to prove the legitimacy of the Gentile mission and Gentile churches, and to prove that Jesus is the Anointed One of whom the prophets spoke.²¹²

As in Acts 2, Luke here cites the Old Testament to demonstrate that "the things which have been accomplished among us" (*τῶν πεπληροφορημένων ἐν ἡμῖν πραγμάτων*, Luke 1:1) have happened just as God had foretold. Gentiles are included in the promises of God that were made to the fathers and have been fulfilled in Jesus. Both the narrative of Acts as a whole and the particular accounts of each of Paul's missionary visits follow the pattern inherent in the promise to Abraham—"to the Jew first and also to the Greek." This "proof from prophecy" assures Theophilus, and Luke's other readers, of the truth of the message they have believed, particularly that by fulfilling the promise to Abraham in Jesus, God extended his blessing to all the families of the earth.

²¹¹ See section 5.3.2 above.

²¹² Dahl, "Abraham," 144, 152, 151.

5.4 Summary

The citations of Joel 3:1–5 in Acts 2:17–21 and Gen 22:18 in Acts 3:25 are not made explicitly to address questions related to the Gentile mission. The former is cited to explain the puzzling phenomena that accompanied the eschatological outpouring of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost, although it also indicates that salvation, forgiveness, and the Spirit will be given to Gentiles as well as Jews. The latter is cited, as the foundational promise of the Old Testament, as part of Peter’s assertion that what “all the prophets” proclaimed (3:18, 24) has been fulfilled in Jesus, while also connecting the “seed” of Abraham, the expected Messiah (Christ), and the prophet like Moses, to the promised blessing for Israel and “all the families of the earth.” These citations thus play an important role in the first two sermons of Acts that in turn shape the rest of the narrative.²¹³ In particular, the seemingly universal language of Joel 3 and the promise to Abraham anticipate the later explicit treatment of the Gentile mission. The speeches in Acts have two audiences: *in* the narrative, Peter addresses these sermons to Jewish audiences in Jerusalem; *through* the narrative, Luke addresses his readers. Although these indications of the universal extent of God’s work in Jesus appear to have gone unnoticed by Peter’s original hearers in Jerusalem, Luke’s Gentile readers would have noted with great interest and satisfaction these early testimonies to the inclusiveness of God’s plan.

5.4.1 Text

There are no significant differences between the OG and the MT in the relevant portions of the citation of Joel 3:1–5 in Acts 2:16–21, although other portions of the citation suggest that the OG lies behind the citation. Acts 3:25 comes closest to the language of Genesis 22:18 of all the

²¹³ Tannehill finds the two speeches “complimentary” and argues that “we must view the two speeches together in order to understand Peter’s message in its full scope.” Tannehill, *Narrative Unity*, 2:58.

statements of the promise to Abraham, although it is likely that the appeal is to the promise itself, rather than any particular form of it. Neither the forms of the citations nor the arguments based on them depend particularly on either the OG or the MT.

5.4.2 Hermeneutic

Both citations are employed with respect for their original contexts. Joel spoke of an outpouring of God's Spirit that would come at a time after the material restoration of the people from the locust plague. God promised Abraham "seed" through whom all nations would be blessed. At Pentecost, Peter announced that the phenomena seen and heard by the crowd were evidence that the awaited Spirit had at last been given. In the subsequent sermon in the temple, Peter announced that the time of blessing promised to Abraham had begun. In both texts, the eventual inclusion of the Gentiles among God's people can legitimately be seen in the Old Testament original. The fulfillment of both promises requires the proclamation of the gospel to the nations. While these implications are not made explicit at this point in the narrative, the later narrative and Luke's evident interest in Gentile mission support the assertion that an intentional Gentile mission is anticipated in these citations.

Both texts employ a Christocentric hermeneutic. The outpouring of the Spirit promised by Joel is cited as evidence of the resurrection and enthronement of Jesus as "both Lord and Christ" (2:36). In Acts 3, Peter associates the expected Messiah (Christ), the prophet like Moses, the servant, and the "seed" of Abraham with the risen Jesus who had restored the lame man in token of the restoration of all things (3:21, cf. 3:19). This hermeneutic is applied to texts from all of "the law of Moses and the prophets and the psalms." The coming of Jesus in fulfillment of these promises requires inclusion of the Gentiles for their intended consummation, just as the coming

of the servant demands an intentional Gentile mission and the restoration of the kingdom in Jesus necessitates accommodations to insure the unhindered extension of God's name over Gentiles.

Both texts develop the ecclesiology of Acts. In Acts 2, the Spirit poured out by the enthroned Christ is given not only to Israel, but to "all flesh," to "everyone who calls on the name of the Lord," and to "everyone whom the Lord calls." In Acts 3, the promise of blessing through Abraham is for "all the families of the earth," even though it is sent to Jews "first."

5.4.3 Purpose

Both citations are employed as "proof from prophecy." Peter cited Joel 3:1-5 with the explicit statement that "this is what was spoken by the prophet Joel" (2:16) and employed the citation as part of his demonstration of the resurrection, ascension, and enthronement of Jesus as the Messiah. Similarly, in Acts 3:26, Peter demonstrated that God offers the promised blessing through Abraham to his audience through the identification of the Messiah/prophet/servant/seed promised in Gen 22:18 and "all the prophet" with Jesus. In both cases the Old Testament is cited to demonstrate that "this is that," to prove from prophecy that Jesus is the Christ and that through him God is extending his promised blessings both to Peter's hearers and Luke's readers.

The citation of both texts is a rhetorical strategy that advances the author's purpose. In Acts 2, Peter connects the phenomena of Pentecost to the promised outpouring of the Spirit in order to persuade his hearers that "God has made him both Lord and Christ, this Jesus whom you crucified." In Acts 3, he connects the covenant with Abraham and other promises to announce that "all the prophets . . . proclaimed these days" of blessing through the name of Jesus. In both cases, the goal is the hearers' repentance (2:38; 3:19) as a response to Peter's message. The citations presume acceptance of scripture's authority and enhance Peter's own authority.

In light of the larger narrative of Acts, we have seen that these citations also include indications that God will pour out his Spirit on Gentiles and include Gentiles in the blessing promised to Abraham. Luke's two-track argument joins the authority of the cited texts with the providentially directed course of the narrative. The effectiveness of this strategy depends on his audience's acceptance of the authority of the Old Testament.

Finally, Peter's citations from the Old Testament in Acts 2 and 3 play a key role in these first two sermons which themselves play a central role in introducing major themes of the book. Although explicit implications for the Gentile mission are not drawn from these citations where they occur in the narrative, recognition of the dual audiences (the crowds of Jews in Jerusalem, the Gentile readers of Luke's narrative) indicates their larger function. The presence of language anticipating the Gentile mission at this early point in his work highlights this as one of Luke's primary concerns in Acts and demonstrates that one of the issues concerning which Theophilus needs assurance is the place of the Gentiles in the promises and among the people of God.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

This study has confirmed the importance of the Old Testament in the development of key themes in Luke-Acts. The many appeals to the Old Testament play a prominent role in the development of the narrative and of central themes in Luke-Acts.

Chapter 2 surveyed Luke's appeals to the Old Testament. There are 14 statements in which Luke summarizes Old Testament teachings (e.g., Luke 24:44–49), 78 explicit Old Testament citations identified in the text of NA²⁷ and/or UBS⁴ (48 of which are marked by an introductory formula). The summary statements all speak of fulfillment of prophecy in relation to the coming of Christ. Of the citations, 42 of the 78 texts identified by NA²⁷ and/or UBS⁴ (29 of the 48 citations marked with an introductory formula) are employed in prophetic contexts, referring the prophecies either to present or future fulfillments. (The remaining citations refer to provisions of the law, historical events, or doctrinal teachings.) The scripture summaries and the explicit citations highlight five themes: the suffering, death, resurrection, and exaltation of the Messiah; the coming of eschatological blessings; God's judgment; the rejection of Christ by many Jews; and the offer of forgiveness to all (Jew or Gentile) who believe in Jesus. This survey of the scripture summaries and the explicit citations is one of the contributions of the present study.

Christopher Stanley's work on Old Testament citations in Paul,¹ suggested that authors generally appeal to authority for matters under dispute. It appears that these five themes in Luke's use of the Old Testament offer a window into concerns shared by Luke and his readers,

¹ See sections 1.4 and 2.3.

and particularly into the areas in which Theophilus was in need of greater “certainty” (ἀσφάλειαν). It is clear from elsewhere in the New Testament that Jesus’ crucifixion was a major issue. His resurrection was widely doubted and his Messiahship denied. Both the summaries and the explicit citations evidence a substantial concern to demonstrate that all had in fact gone according to God’s plan for the Messiah.

The New Testament also indicates that the rejection of Jesus by so many Jews raised serious questions. Acts indicates that the Gentile mission and the Gentiles’ place in the church was a matter of controversy, both within the church and between the church and the synagogue. If Theophilus were in fact a Gentile, one of his chief concerns would have been that Gentiles like himself properly share in the people and promises of God. That Luke-Acts is concerned to demonstrate that Jesus is the Christ and that ecclesiology is one of its authors’ major concerns are not new findings, but the evidence that the scripture summaries and explicit citations offer in support of these contentions is another contribution of this study.

The survey of explicit citations identified four texts that speak to the Gentile mission and the inclusion of Gentiles among the people of God. Two are introduced explicitly in connection with disputes over the Gentile mission: the citation of Isa 49:6 in Acts 13:47 and the citation of Amos 9:11–12 in Acts 15:16–18. Two other citations are introduced earlier in Acts primarily to address other questions, but also anticipate the Gentile mission: the citation of Joel 3:1–5 in Acts 2:16–21 and the citation of Gen 22:18 in Acts 3:25. Because of the explicit connection to the Gentile mission, as well as special issues related to each, Acts 13:47 and 15:16–18 were examined in greater detail. The diverse sources of these four Old Testament texts (Genesis, Isaiah, Joel, and Amos), the central prophetic themes they invoke (the promise to Abraham, the

Servant, the Spirit, and the kingdom), and the centrality of the characters who cite them (Peter, Paul, and James) indicate the importance of the Gentile mission to the author.

Findings regarding each of these texts have previously been summarized under the rubrics of text, hermeneutic, and purpose. These rubrics will synthesize our findings.

6.1 Text

It is generally agreed that Luke's citations come from the OG, except when he quotes from memory or is indebted to another source. Darrell Bock has refined the textual question by distinguishing the form of the text cited and the argument that is based upon that cited text.² A particular citation may appear closer to the OG than the MT, but it is another question whether the argument made from that text requires the distinctive readings of the OG. For those who regard the MT as authoritative, this is a distinction of some importance.

In the citation of Isa 49:6 in Acts 13:47, there were no well-attested variants in the MT or New Testament texts. Although Luke's wording exactly reproduces the OG, it omits the OG text where the latter apparently adds to the MT. Whether the form of the citation in Acts 13 represents a fresh rendering of the MT, or an OG manuscript closer to the MT than most extant OG manuscripts, the form of the text cited in the New Testament does not significantly diverge from the MT or OG.

The situation in Acts 15:16–18 (Amos 9:11–12) is quite different. The MT, the OG, and the New Testament citation diverge significantly. The New Testament citation seems clearly to be based upon, even if adapted from, the OG. Suggestions that the citation contains allusions to other Old Testament texts do not seem well substantiated. Despite the differences from the MT, neither the OG nor the citation in Acts 15 diverge from the sense of the original words of Amos. The

² Bock, *Proclamation*, 48.

argument in Acts 15 does not, as has often been suggested, depend particularly on the form of the OG text.³ The argument can be made equally well from the MT, the citation of the OG in Acts 15:16–18 does not constitute a valid argument against the historicity of the speech or of Luke’s the account of the council.

There are fewer textual issues in the citations from Joel and Genesis. Both citations reflect the wording of the OG, although the OG does not differ significantly from the MT in the portions studied here. There is no particular dependence on distinctive OG readings in the arguments made from either text.

These findings, particularly in light of the frequent claims that the citation of Amos 9:11–12 in Acts 15:16–18 is dependent entirely on the OG, suggest that similar claims regarding other citations in Luke-Acts deserve further study.

6.2 Hermeneutic

These four citations are used in a way that is congruent with their meaning in their original contexts. Luke did not disregard or distort the original sense of the Hebrew text (even when the words of the citation appear to come from the OG). There is no evidence that meanings were found in wordplay or linguistic ambiguities, or that texts were linked merely on the basis of catchwords. Although these findings relate directly only to these four texts, the conclusion is important because these citations have often been seen as representative of an imaginative and arbitrary hermeneutic. The fact that such a view cannot be sustained in the case of these citations suggests that this view may be profitably reconsidered in the case of other citations as well.

Luke consistently employs a Christocentric hermeneutic, stated clearly in Luke 24:44: “everything written about me in the law of Moses and the prophets and the psalms must be

³ As a result, the use of the OG does not argue against the essential historicity of Luke’s account of the council.

fulfilled.” The varied sources of these four citations (Genesis, Isaiah, Joel, and Amos) and the varied prophetic themes they evoke (the promise to Abraham, the Servant, the Spirit, and the kingdom) demonstrate that Luke indeed understands all of the Old Testament to be about Christ.

This may not initially appear to be the case in the citation of Isa 49:6 in Acts 13:47, where the prophecy of Isaiah, “I have set you to be a light for the Gentiles, that you may bring salvation to the uttermost parts of the earth,” is applied to Paul and Barnabas. Examination of the whole of Luke-Acts, however, found that this text is in at least two other places applied to Jesus (Luke 2:30; Acts 26:23; and possibly Acts 1:8). The suggestion that New Testament authors felt no need of consistency seemed too superficial a response to accept without further investigation. In fact, the New Testament indicates an intimate connection between Christ and his church. The application of the text to Paul and Barnabas is not without a connection to Christ. While several rationales have been used to explain that relationship in Acts 13, Richard Davidson’s understanding of appropriated/ecclesiological fulfillment of types provided a conceptual framework that helps us understand how a Christological text might be applied to Christ’s apostolic messengers on behalf of the church. By this means, Luke uses “proof from prophecy” to demonstrate the necessity of an intentional mission to the Gentiles. The cited text is employed in a manner consistent with its original context.

Similarly, despite the variations in the form of the citation in the OG and the New Testament, the citation of Amos 9:11–12 in Acts 15 is used in a manner consistent with its original contextual meaning. There is no plausible evidence of allusions to other prophetic texts, nor is the text applied by fanciful exegetical strategies. A Christocentric hermeneutic is again employed. The reestablishment of the Davidic kingdom is the centerpiece of God’s eschatological work. That this has been accomplished through the ministry (including the death

and resurrection) of Christ is assumed and becomes the key to understanding the application of the text of Amos. James' argument from Amos 9 is that this reestablishment of the kingdom necessarily implies the inclusion of the Gentiles among the people of God—as Gentiles, not as converts to Judaism. Although God's acceptance of the Gentiles was first called to the church's attention through God's directing Peter to the house of Cornelius, James finds it confirmed in the words of Amos.

Joel 3 and Genesis 22:18 are also employed in ways that are congruent with and respectful of their original contexts. Both citations are applied to present circumstances by means of a Christ-centered hermeneutic. The fact of the outpouring of the Spirit (as promised by Joel) serves primarily as evidence of the enthronement of Jesus as “Lord and Christ” but the larger narrative of Acts indicates that the outpouring of the Spirit on “all flesh” is meant here to include the Gentiles, (as it does in Joel). The promised blessing to Abraham is now being made available to all who call on the name of Jesus, even Gentiles. The extension of eschatological blessing to the Gentiles is evident in both of these citations in their original contexts.

Although it is often asserted that these citations disregard their original contexts or distort their original meanings, the opposite is true. Each citation displays awareness of and respect for the meaning of the text in its original context. This suggests that other citations may be profitably reexamined to see whether they display a similar respect for the original context.

6.3 Purpose

Luke appeals to the Old Testament as “proof from prophecy.” The characters in Luke's narrative encounter new and sometimes puzzling situations, which they come to understand with the aid of the Old Testament. In particular, they argue that the new things happening are simply what God had foretold in scripture—“this is that” that God had promised. By citing these Old

Testament texts, the speakers claim the authority of scripture to their arguments. By recording these appeals to scripture, Luke also claims the authority of the divine interpretation of these events for his own narrative. Both the speakers' and the narrator's strategies depend on their audience's acceptance of the authority of the scripture to which they appeal. Luke's argument, however, does not rely on scripture alone. The narrative of God's pouring out the Spirit on the household of Cornelius and the providentially directed and blessed ministry of Paul to Gentiles join with these Old Testament citations to confirm God's salvation of Gentiles and the legitimacy of the church's Gentile mission. The effort to view citations as rhetorical strategies demonstrates how the citations function in their contexts in Acts and may be a fruitful avenue to pursue in the study of other citations in Luke-Acts and elsewhere in the New Testament.

The survey of scripture summaries and explicit citations (chapter 2) indicated that Gentiles and the Gentile mission are of considerable concern to Luke and, presumably, to his audience as well. The four citations examined demonstrate the centrality of that concern. By these citations, Luke seeks to address the concerns he believed Theophilus had. The study of explicit citations as indications of an author's concerns may be a useful approach for further study in Luke-Acts and elsewhere in the New Testament.

The citation of Isa 49:6 in Acts 13:47 marks a turning point in the book of Acts. The chapter begins with the commissioning of Paul and Barnabas "for the work to which [God] called them" (13:2). Although that work is not specified explicitly at this time, earlier hints suggest what the subsequent narrative confirms: God has sent Paul to preach the gospel to Gentiles. The initial ministry recorded in Acts 13 is new only in its geography. Paul's sermon in Pisidian Antioch is addressed to Jews and "Gentiles who worship God" (13:16). Yet when Paul and Barnabas encounter opposition from many Jews on the next sabbath, they condemn their

detractors as demonstrating themselves “unworthy of eternal life” and declare their own intention to “turn to the Gentiles” (13:46), citing Isa 49:6 as justification for this new development in their preaching. Just as Paul and Barnabas share with the Isaianic servant a degree of frustration and futility in their God-given ministry to Israel, like the servant they receive a broader mission to be light to the nations. Their subsequent ministry will be summarized as God’s having “opened a door of faith to the Gentiles” (14:27), even as it continues to follow the pattern of “to the Jew first” in every town they visit. Although the mission of Acts 13–14 is not the direct cause of the controversy that led to the Jerusalem council in Acts 15, it is the narrative precursor to the council, and the subsequent account three times records the testimony of Barnabas and Paul regarding their work among the Gentiles (15:3, 4, 12). The citation of Isa 49:6 in Acts 13:47 thus plays a pivotal role, not only demonstrating the necessity of an intentional mission to Gentiles, but in setting the stage for the final decision of the church regarding the way in which the Gentiles are to be included among the people of God.

The application of this text that is elsewhere applied to Jesus appears to be made possible by an appeal to a typological or redemptive-historical union between Christ and his followers (Richard Davidson’s “ecclesiastical/appropriated typology”). His mission is theirs, and particularly belongs his appointed, apostolic representatives such as Paul and Barnabas. What Paul and Barnabas do, therefore, in turning to the Gentiles is simply what God had announced through Isaiah. The appeal to Isa 49:6 is thus an appeal to “proof from prophecy.”

The account of Acts 15 clarifies the means by which Gentiles are to be included among the people of God. The narrative of the Spirit’s direction of the council, the case made by speakers during the council, and the citation demonstrate the acceptance of the Gentiles by faith alone (without circumcision or obedience to the ceremonial provisions of the law). The citation of

Amos 9:11–12 appears to be the deciding argument in the council’s deliberations. God’s providential directing of Peter to the house of Cornelius (supplemented by accounts of “what God had done through” Barnabas and Paul “among the Gentiles,” 15:12) is confirmed by James’ appeal to the words of Amos. This is what God had said would happen—the appeal is to “proof from prophecy.” Coming on the heels of the citation of Isa 49:6 in Acts 13:47, the citation of Amos 9 powerfully settles the question of the means of Gentile inclusion. For James, for the council, and (so far as the narrative of Acts is concerned) for the church, salvation is by grace, through faith, without circumcision or the Mosaic law. (The Gentile mission remained controversial for Jews who had not acknowledged Jesus as the Messiah, Acts 22:21–22, as did the obligation of Jews who believed in Jesus to keep the law.) The Gentile mission is caused by widespread Jewish rejection of Jesus or the gospel, but was announced by God “from of old.” Preaching to Jews continued, but even to the end of the narrative, many Jews reject the message, while many Gentiles believe. Believing Gentiles do not replace Israel, but are welcomed into the restored kingdom of David and submit to the rule of Yahweh and his anointed (“Christ”).

Peter’s citations of Joel 3 and Genesis 22:18 are both instances of “proof from prophecy.” Neither is introduced explicitly for the purpose of legitimating the Gentile mission, but the language of both texts (“all flesh,” “everyone who calls,” “everyone God calls,” “all the families of the earth”) in their original contexts and in the larger narrative of Acts anticipates that mission. Both citations are rhetorical strategies that appeal to the authority of the Old Testament to enhance the authority of the speaker, as well as of Luke as narrator. Both depend for their effectiveness on the audiences’/readers’ acceptance of the authority of scripture explicitly for purposes other than the legitimization of the Gentile mission. While the implications of these citations for the Gentile mission are not developed at this point in the narrative, it is difficult to

imagine either that Luke did not have the Gentile mission in mind or that early readers would not have noticed these references in light of their awareness of “the rest of the story.” The cumulative effect is to provide Gentile readers like Theophilus with assurance of their place in the promises, program, and people of God.

APPENDIX 1

SCRIPTURE SUMMARIES IN LUKE-ACTS

Underlined text indicates the general reference to the Old Testament. *Bold italic* text marks the content of the Old Testament teaching. References given in bold type indicate texts of particular clarity and importance.

Reference	NA ²⁷	RSV
Luke 1:68–75	<p>Εὐλογητὸς κύριος ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ, ὅτι <u>ἐπεσκέψατο καὶ ἐποίησεν λύτρωσιν τῷ λαῷ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἤγειρεν κέρασ σωτηρίας ἡμῖν ἐν οἴκῳ Δαυὶδ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ, καθὼς ἐλάλησεν διὰ στόματος τῶν ἁγίων ἀπὸ αἰῶνος προφητῶν αὐτοῦ. σωτηρίαν ἐξ ἐχθρῶν ἡμῶν καὶ ἐκ χειρὸς πάντων τῶν μισούντων ἡμᾶς, ποιῆσαι ἔλεος μετὰ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν καὶ μνησθῆναι διαθήκης ἁγίας αὐτοῦ. ὄρκον ὃν ὤμοσεν πρὸς Ἀβραάμ τὸν πατέρα ἡμῶν, τοῦ δοῦναι ἡμῖν ἀφόβως ἐκ χειρὸς ἐχθρῶν ρυσθέντας λατρεύειν αὐτῷ ἐν ὁσιότητι καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ πάσαις ταῖς ἡμέραις ἡμῶν.</u></p>	<p>“Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, for <i>he has visited and redeemed his people, and has raised up a horn of salvation for us in the house of his servant David, as he spoke by the mouth of his holy prophets from of old, that we should be saved from our enemies, and from the hand of all who hate us; to perform the mercy promised to our fathers, and to remember his holy covenant, the oath which he swore to our father Abraham, to grant us that we, being delivered from the hand of our enemies, might serve him without fear, in holiness and righteousness before him all the days of our life.</i></p>
Luke 18:31–33	<p>Παραλαβὼν δὲ τοὺς δώδεκα εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς· ἰδοὺ ἀναβαίνομεν εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ, καὶ <u>τελεσθήσεται πάντα τὰ γεγραμμένα διὰ τῶν προφητῶν τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδοθήσεται γὰρ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν καὶ ἐμπαιχθήσεται καὶ ὑβρισθήσεται καὶ ἐμπτυσθήσεται καὶ μαστιγώσαντες ἀποκτενοῦσιν αὐτόν, καὶ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ ἀναστήσεται.</u></p>	<p>And taking the twelve, he said to them, “Behold, we are going up to Jerusalem, and <u>everything that is written of the Son of man by the prophets will be accomplished. For he will be delivered to the Gentiles, and will be mocked and shamefully treated and spit upon; they will scourge him and kill him, and on the third day he will rise.</u>”</p>
Luke 21:20–24	<p>“Ὅταν δὲ ἴδητε <u>κυκλουμένην ὑπὸ στρατοπέδων Ἱερουσαλήμ, τότε γινώτε ὅτι ἤγγικεν ἡ ἐρήμωσις αὐτῆς.</u> τότε οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ φευγέτωσαν εἰς τὰ ὄρη καὶ οἱ ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῆς ἐκχωρεῖτωσαν καὶ οἱ ἐν ταῖς χώραις μὴ εἰσερχέσθωσαν εἰς αὐτήν, ὅτι <u>ἡμέραι ἐκδικήσεως αὐταῖ εἰσιν τοῦ πλησθῆναι πάντα τὰ γεγραμμένα.</u> οὐαὶ ταῖς ἐν γαστρὶ ἐχούσαις καὶ ταῖς θηλαζούσαις ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις· <u>ἔσται γὰρ ἀνάγκη μεγάλη ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ὀργὴ τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ, καὶ πεσοῦνται στόματι μαχαίρης καὶ αἰχμαλωτισθήσονται εἰς τὰ ἔθνη πάντα, καὶ Ἱερουσαλήμ ἔσται πατουμένη ὑπὸ ἐθνῶν, ἄχρι οὗ πληρωθῶσιν καιροὶ ἐθνῶν.</u></p>	<p>But when you see <i>Jerusalem surrounded by armies, then know that its desolation has come near.</i> Then let those who are in Judea flee to the mountains, and let those who are inside the city depart, and let not those who are out in the country enter it; for these are <u>days of vengeance, to fulfil all that is written.</u> Alas for those who are with child and for those who give suck in those days! For <i>great distress shall be upon the earth and wrath upon this people; they will fall by the edge of the sword, and be led captive among all nations; and Jerusalem will be trodden down by the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles are fulfilled.</i></p>

Luke 24:25–27

καὶ αὐτὸς εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς· ὦ ἀνόητοι καὶ βραδεῖς τῇ καρδίᾳ τοῦ πιστεῦν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν οἷς ἐλάλησαν οἱ προφῆται· οὐχὶ ταῦτα ἔδει παθεῖν τὸν χριστὸν καὶ εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ; καὶ ἀρχάμενος ἀπὸ Μωϋσέως καὶ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν προφητῶν διερμήνευσεν αὐτοῖς ἐν πάσαις ταῖς γραφαῖς τὰ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ.

Luke 24:44–49

Εἶπεν δὲ πρὸς αὐτούς· οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι μου οὓς ἐλάλησα πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔτι ὧν σὺν ὑμῖν, ὅτι δεῖ πληρωθῆναι πάντα τὰ γεγραμμένα ἐν τῷ νόμῳ Μωϋσέως καὶ τοῖς προφήταις καὶ ψαλμοῖς περὶ ἐμοῦ. τότε διήνοιξεν αὐτῶν τὸν νοῦν τοῦ συνιέναι τὰς γραφάς· καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὅτι οὕτως γέγραπται παθεῖν τὸν χριστὸν καὶ ἀναστῆναι ἐκ νεκρῶν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ κηρυχθῆναι ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ μετάνοιαν εἰς ἅφεςιν ἁμαρτιῶν εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη. ἀρχάμενοι ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ ὑμεῖς μάρτυρες τούτων. καὶ [ἰδοὺ] ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ πατρὸς μου ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς· ὑμεῖς δὲ καθίσατε ἐν τῇ πόλει ἕως οὗ ἐνδύσησθε ἐξ ὕψους δύναμιν.

Acts 3:18–26

ὁ δὲ θεός, ὃ προκατήγγειλεν διὰ στόματος πάντων τῶν προφητῶν παθεῖν τὸν χριστὸν αὐτοῦ, ἐπλήρωσεν οὕτως μετανόησατε οὖν καὶ ἐπιστρέψατε εἰς τὸ ἐξαλειφθῆναι ὑμῶν τὰς ἁμαρτίας, ὅπως ἂν ἔλθωσιν καιροὶ ἀναψύξεως ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ἀποστείλῃ τὸν προκεχειρισμένον ὑμῖν χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, ὃν δεῖ οὐρανὸν μὲν δέξασθαι ἄχρι χρόνων ἀποκαταστάσεως πάντων ὧν ἐλάλησεν ὁ θεὸς διὰ στόματος τῶν ἁγίων ἀπ’ αἰῶνος αὐτοῦ προφητῶν. Μωϋσῆς μὲν εἶπεν ὅτι προφήτην ὑμῖν ἀναστήσει κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὑμῶν ὡς ἐμέ· αὐτοῦ ἀκούσεσθε κατὰ πάντα ὅσα ἂν λαλήσῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς. ἔσται δὲ πᾶσα ψυχὴ ἣτις ἐὰν μὴ ἀκούσῃ τοῦ προφήτου ἐκείνου ἐξολεθρευθήσεται ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ. καὶ πάντες δὲ οἱ προφῆται ἀπὸ Σαμουὴλ καὶ τῶν καθεξῆς ὅσοι ἐλάλησαν καὶ κατήγγειλαν τὰς ἡμέρας ταύτας. ὑμεῖς ἐστε οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ τῆς διαθήκης ἧς διέθετο ὁ θεὸς πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ὑμῶν λέγων πρὸς Ἀβραάμ· καὶ ἐν τῷ σπέρματί σου [ἐν]ευλογηθήσονται πᾶσαι αἱ πατριαὶ τῆς γῆς. ὑμῖν πρῶτον ἀναστήσας ὁ θεὸς τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτὸν εὐλογοῦντα ὑμᾶς ἐν τῷ ἀποστρέφειν ἕκαστον ἀπὸ τῶν πονηριῶν ὑμῶν.

And he said to them, “O foolish men, and slow of heart to believe all that the prophets have spoken! Was it not *necessary that the Christ should suffer these things and enter into his glory?*” And beginning with Moses and all the prophets, he interpreted to them in all the scriptures the things concerning himself.

Then he said to them, “These are my words which I spoke to you, while I was still with you, that everything written about me in the law of Moses and the prophets and the psalms must be fulfilled.” Then he opened their minds to understand the scriptures, and said to them, “Thus it is written, that the Christ should suffer and on the third day rise from the dead, and that repentance and forgiveness of sins should be preached in his name to all nations, beginning from Jerusalem. You are witnesses of these things. And behold, I send the promise of my Father upon you; but stay in the city, until you are clothed with power from on high.”

But what God foretold by the mouth of all the prophets, that his Christ should suffer, he thus fulfilled. Repent therefore, and turn again, that your sins may be blotted out, that times of refreshing may come from the presence of the Lord, and that he may send the Christ appointed for you, Jesus, whom heaven must receive until the time for establishing all that God spoke by the mouth of his holy prophets from of old. Moses said, ‘*The Lord God will raise up for you a prophet from your brethren as he raised me up. You shall listen to him in whatever he tells you. And it shall be that every soul that does not listen to that prophet shall be destroyed from the people.*’ And all the prophets who have spoken, from Samuel and those who came afterwards, also proclaimed these days. 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 families of the earth 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 7:52	τίνα τῶν προφητῶν οὐκ ἐδίωξαν οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν; καὶ ἀπέκτειναν τοὺς προκαταγγείλαντας περὶ τῆς ἐλεύσεως τοῦ δικαίου, οὐ νῦν ὑμεῖς προδότες καὶ φονεῖς ἐγένεσθε.	Which of <u>the prophets</u> did not your fathers persecute? And they killed <u>those who announced beforehand the coming of the Righteous One</u> , whom you have now betrayed and murdered,
Acts 10:43	τούτῳ πάντες οἱ προφῆται μαρτυροῦσιν ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν λαβεῖν διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ πάντα τὸν πιστεύοντα εἰς αὐτόν.	To him <u>all the prophets bear witness</u> that <u>every one who believes in him receives forgiveness of sins through his name</u> .
Acts 13:27–29	οἱ γὰρ κατοικοῦντες ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες αὐτῶν τοῦτον ἀγνοήσαντες καὶ τὰς φωνὰς τῶν προφητῶν τὰς κατὰ πᾶν σάββατον ἀναγινωσκομένας κρίναντες ἐπλήρωσαν καὶ μηδεμίαν αἰτίαν θανάτου εὐρόντες ἤτήσαντο Πιλάτον ἀναιρεθῆναι αὐτόν. ὡς δὲ ἐτέλεσαν πάντα τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένα, καθελόντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου ἔθηκαν εἰς μνημεῖον.	For those who live in Jerusalem and their rulers, because they did not recognize him nor understand <u>the utterances of the prophets which are read every sabbath</u> , fulfilled these by <u>condemning him</u> . Though they could charge him with nothing deserving death, yet they asked Pilate to <u>have him killed</u> . And when they had fulfilled <u>all that was written of him</u> , they took him down from the tree, and laid him in a tomb.
Acts 17:2–3	κατὰ δὲ τὸ εἰθὸς τῷ Παύλῳ εἰσῆλθεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπὶ σάββατα τρία διελέξατο αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν, διανοίγων καὶ παρατιθέμενος ὅτι τὸν χριστὸν ἔδει παθεῖν καὶ ἀναστῆναι ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ χριστὸς [ὁ] Ἰησοῦς ὃν ἐγὼ καταγγέλλω ὑμῖν.	And Paul went in, as was his custom, and for three weeks he argued with them from <u>the scriptures</u> , explaining and proving that <u>it was necessary for the Christ to suffer and to rise from the dead</u> , and saying, “ <u>This Jesus</u> , whom I proclaim to you, <u>is the Christ</u> .”
Acts 18:28	εὐτόνως γὰρ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις διακατηλέγχετο δημοσίᾳ ἐπιδεικνύς διὰ τῶν γραφῶν εἶναι τὸν χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν.	for he [Apollos] powerfully confuted the Jews in public, showing by <u>the scriptures</u> that <u>the Christ was Jesus</u> .
Acts 24:14–15	ὁμολογῶ δὲ τοῦτό σοι ὅτι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἦν λέγουσιν αἵρεσιν, οὕτως λατρεύω τῷ πατρῷ θεῷ πιστεύων πᾶσι τοῖς κατὰ τὸν νόμον καὶ τοῖς ἐν τοῖς προφήταις γεγραμμένοις, ἐλπίδα ἔχων εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἦν καὶ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι προσδέχονται, ἀνάστασιν μέλλειν ἔσεσθαι δικαίων τε καὶ ἀδίκων.	But this I admit to you, that according to the Way, which they call a sect, I worship the God of our fathers, believing <u>everything laid down by the law or written in the prophets</u> , having <u>a hope in God</u> which these themselves accept, that <u>there will be a resurrection of both the just and the unjust</u> .
Acts 26:22–23	ἐπικουρίας οὖν τυχῶν τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄχρι τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης ἕστηκα μαρτυρόμενος μικρῷ τε καὶ μεγάλῳ οὐδὲν ἔκτός λέγων ὧν τε οἱ προφῆται ἐλάλησαν μελλόντων γίνεσθαι καὶ Μωϋσῆς, εἰ παθητὸς ὁ χριστὸς, εἰ πρῶτος ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν φῶς μέλλει καταγγέλλειν τῷ τε λαῷ καὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.	To this day I have had the help that comes from God, and so I stand here testifying both to small and great, saying nothing but <u>what the prophets and Moses said would come to pass</u> : that <u>the Christ must suffer, and that, by being the first to rise from the dead, he would proclaim light both to the people and to the Gentiles</u> .
Acts 28:23	Ταξάμενοι δὲ αὐτῷ ἡμέραν ἤλθον πρὸς αὐτόν εἰς τὴν ξενίαν πλείονες οἷς ἐξετίθετο διαμαρτυρόμενος τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, πείθων τε αὐτοὺς περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἀπὸ τε τοῦ νόμου Μωϋσέως καὶ τῶν προφητῶν, ἀπὸ πρωῆς ἕως ἑσπέρας.	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 <u>the kingdom of God</u> and trying to convince them <u>about Jesus both from the law of Moses and from the prophets</u> .

APPENDIX 2

EXPLICIT OLD TESTAMENT CITATIONS IN LUKE-ACTS

Bold italics indicates the text cited from the Old Testament. Underlining indicates an introductory formula.
 • indicates a text marked as a citation only in NA²⁷; ° indicates a text marked as a citation only in UBS⁴.
 Key to Prophetic texts: C=Christological, J=Judgment, R=Rejection, S=Soteriological, U=Universal.

Luke-Acts	Source	RSV	Use
Luke 1:15•	Num 6:3; Lev 10:9	for he will be great before the Lord, and <i>he shall drink no wine nor strong drink</i> , and he will be filled with the Holy Spirit, even from his mother's womb.	Legal
<u>Luke 2:23</u>	Exod 13:2, 12, 15	(<u>as it is written in the law of the Lord</u> , " <i>Every male that opens the womb shall be called holy to the Lord</i> ")	Legal
<u>Luke 2:24</u>	Lev 5:11•; 12:8	and to offer a sacrifice <u>according to what is said in the law of the Lord</u> , " <i>a pair of turtledoves, or two young pigeons.</i> "	Legal
<u>Luke 3:4–6</u>	Isa 40:3–5	<u>As it is written in the book of the words of Isaiah the prophet</u> , " <i>The voice of one crying in the wilderness: Prepare the way of the Lord, make his paths straight. Every valley shall be filled, and every mountain and hill shall be brought low, and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough ways shall be made smooth; and all flesh shall see the salvation of God.</i> "	Prophetic (S) Prophetic (J) Prophetic (U)
<u>Luke 4:4</u>	Deut 8:3	And Jesus answered him, " <u>It is written</u> , ' <i>Man shall not live by bread alone.</i> '"	Legal
<u>Luke 4:8</u>	Deut 6:13; 10:20•	And Jesus answered him, " <u>It is written</u> , ' <i>You shall worship the Lord your God, and him only shall you serve.</i> '"	Legal
<u>Luke 4:10–11</u>	Ps 91:11–12	"for <u>it is written</u> , ' <i>He will give his angels charge of you, to guard you,</i> ' and ' <i>On their hands they will bear you up, lest you strike your foot against a stone.</i> '"	Other
<u>Luke 4:12</u>	Deut 6:16	And Jesus answered him, " <u>It is said</u> , ' <i>You shall not tempt the Lord your God.</i> '"	Legal
<u>Luke 4:17–19</u>	Isa 61:1–2 // Isa 58:6•	and there was given to him <u>the book of the prophet Isaiah</u> . He opened the book and found the place where <u>it was written</u> , " <i>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 to the captives and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty those who are oppressed, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord.</i> "	Prophetic (C) Prophetic (S)
Luke 7:22•	Isa 29:18•; 35:5, 6°; 42:18•; 26:19•	And he answered them, "Go and tell John what you have seen and heard: <i>the blind receive their sight</i> , the lame walk, lepers are cleansed, and <i>the deaf hear, the dead are raised up</i> , the poor have good news preached to them."	Prophetic (S)
<u>Luke 7:27</u>	Exod 23:20•; Mal 3:1	<u>This is he of whom it is written</u> , ' <i>Behold, I send my messenger before thy face, who shall prepare thy way before thee.</i> '	Prophetic (S)

Luke 8:10°	Isa 6:9	he said, "To you it has been given to know the secrets of the kingdom of God; but for others they are in parables, so that <i>seeing they may not see, and hearing they may not understand.</i> "	Prophetic (J) Prophetic (R)
Luke 9:54•	2 Kgs 1:10, 12	And when his disciples James and John saw it, they said, "Lord, do you want us to <i>bid fire come down from heaven and consume them?</i> "	Other
<u>Luke 10:26–27</u>	Deut 6:5	He said to him, " <u>What is written in the law?</u> How do you read?" And he answered, " <i>You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your strength, and with all your mind.</i> "	Legal
<u>Luke 10:27</u>	Lev 19:18	"and <i>your neighbor as yourself.</i> "	Legal
Luke 12:35•	Exod 12:11	" <i>Let your loins be girded</i> and your lamps burning."	Legal
Luke 12:53•	Mal 7:6	they will be divided, father against son and <i>son against father</i> , mother against daughter and <i>daughter against her mother</i> , mother-in-law against her daughter-in-law and <i>daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law.</i> "	Prophetic (J) Prophetic (R)
Luke 13:19•	Ps 104:12 [103:12 LXX]	It is like a grain of mustard seed which a man took and sowed in his garden; and it grew and became a tree, and <i>the birds of the air made nests in its branches.</i>	Other <i>or</i> Prophetic (S)
Luke 13:27•	Ps 6:8 [6:9 MT, LXX]	But he will say, "I tell you, I do not know where you come from; <i>depart from me, all you workers of iniquity!</i> "	Prophetic (J) Prophetic (R)
Luke 13:35	Ps 118:26	Behold, your house is forsaken. And I tell you, you will not see me until you say, " <i>Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord!</i> "	Prophetic (C)
<u>Luke 18:20</u>	Exod 20:12–16; Deut 5:16–20	You know <u>the commandments</u> : " <i>Do not commit adultery, Do not kill, Do not steal, Do not bear false witness, Honor your father and mother.</i> "	Legal
Luke 19:38	Ps 118:26	saying, " <i>Blessed is the King who comes in the name of the Lord!</i> Peace in heaven and glory in the highest!"	Prophetic (C)
<u>Luke 19:46</u>	Isa 56:7	saying to them, " <u>It is written</u> , ' <i>My house shall be a house of prayer</i> .'"	Prophetic (S)
<u>Luke 19:46•</u>	Jer 7:11	"but you have made it a <i>den of robbers.</i> "	Prophetic (J)
<u>Luke 20:17</u>	Ps 118:22	But he looked at them and said, " <u>What then is this that is written</u> : ' <i>The very stone which the builders rejected has become the head of the corner</i> '?"	Prophetic (C)
<u>Luke 20:28</u>	Deut 25:5	and they asked him a question, saying, "Teacher, <u>Moses wrote for us that</u> <i>if a man's brother dies</i> , having a wife but <i>no children, the man must take the wife and raise up children for his brother.</i> "	Legal
<u>Luke 20:37</u>	Exod 3:6	But that the dead are raised, even <u>Moses</u> showed, <u>in the passage about the bush</u> , where he <u>calls</u> <i>the Lord the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob.</i>	Doctrinal
<u>Luke 20:42–43</u>	Ps 110:1	For <u>David himself says in the Book of Psalms</u> , " <i>The Lord said to my Lord, Sit at my right hand, till I make thy enemies a stool for thy feet.</i> "	Prophetic (C) Prophetic (J)
Luke 21:26•	Isa 34:4	men fainting with fear and with foreboding of what is coming on the world; <i>for the powers of the heavens</i> will be shaken.	Prophetic (J)
Luke 21:27	Dan 7:13, 14•	And then they will see <i>the Son of man coming in a cloud</i> with power and great glory.	Prophetic (C)

<u>Luke 22:37</u>	Isa 53:12	For I tell you that this <u>scripture must be fulfilled</u> in me, “ <i>And he was reckoned with transgressors</i> ”; for what is written about me has its fulfilment.	Prophetic (C)
Luke 22:69°	Ps 110:1	But from now on <i>the Son of man shall be seated at the right hand of the power of God.</i>	Prophetic (C)
Luke 23:30	Hos 10:8	Then they will begin <i>to say to the mountains, ‘Fall on us’; and to the hills, ‘Cover us.’</i>	Prophetic (J) Prophetic (R)
Luke 23:34•	Ps 22:19	And Jesus said, “Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do.” <i>And they cast lots to divide his garments.</i>	Prophetic (C)
Luke 23:46	Ps 31:5 [31:6 MT; 30:6 LXX]	Then Jesus, crying with a loud voice, said, “Father, <i>into thy hands I commit my spirit!</i> ” And having said this he breathed his last.	Prophetic (C)
<u>Acts 1:20</u>	Ps 69:25 [69:26 MT; 68:26 LXX]	For <u>it is written in the book of Psalms</u> , ‘ <i>Let his habitation become desolate, and let there be no one to live in it</i> ’	Prophetic (J)
<u>Acts 1:20</u>	Ps 109:8	and ‘ <i>His office let another take.</i> ’	Prophetic (J)
<u>Acts 2:16–21</u>	Joel 2:28–32 [3:1–5 LXX]	but <u>this is what was spoken by the prophet Joel</u> : “And in the last days <i>it shall be</i> , God declares, that <i>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 vapor 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.</i> ”	Prophetic (S) Prophetic (J) Prophetic (U)
<u>Acts 2:25–28</u>	Ps 16:8–11 [15:8–11 LXX]	For <u>David says</u> concerning him, “ <i>I saw the Lord always before me, for he is at my right hand that I may not be shaken; therefore my heart was glad, and my tongue rejoiced; moreover my flesh will dwell in hope. For thou wilt not abandon my soul to Hades, nor let thy Holy One see corruption. Thou hast made known to me the ways of life; thou wilt make me full of gladness with thy presence.</i> ”	Prophetic (C)
Acts 2:30°	Ps 132:11	Being therefore a prophet, and knowing that God <i>had sworn</i> with an oath <i>to him that he would set one of his descendants upon his throne.</i>	Prophetic (C)
<u>Acts 2:31</u> °	Ps 16:10	<u>he foresaw and spoke</u> of the resurrection of the Christ, that <i>he was not abandoned to Hades, nor did his flesh see corruption.</i>	Prophetic (C)
<u>Acts 2:34–35</u>	Ps 110:1 [109:1 LXX]	For <u>David</u> did not ascend into the heavens; but <u>he himself says</u> , “ <i>The Lord said to my Lord, Sit at my right hand, till I make thy enemies a stool for thy feet.</i> ”	Prophetic (C)
Acts 3:13	Exod 3:6	<i>The God of Abraham and of Isaac and of Jacob, the God of our fathers</i> , glorified his servant Jesus, whom you delivered up and denied in the presence of Pilate, when he had decided to release him.	Doctrinal
<u>Acts 3:22</u>	Deut 18:15–16	<u>Moses said</u> , “ <i>The Lord God will raise up for you a prophet from your brethren as he raised me up. You shall listen to him in whatever he tells you.</i> ”	Prophetic (C)

<u>Acts 3:23</u>	Deut 18:19	<i>“And it shall be that every soul that does not listen to that prophet.”</i>	Prophetic (J)
<u>Acts 3:23</u>	Lev 23:29	<i>“shall be destroyed from the people.”</i>	Prophetic (J) Prophetic (R)
<u>Acts 3:25</u>	Gen 22:18; 26:4	You are the sons of the prophets and of the covenant which God gave to your fathers, <u>saying to Abraham</u> , <i>“And in your posterity shall all the families of the earth be blessed.”</i>	Prophetic (S) Prophetic (U)
<u>Acts 4:11°</u>	Ps 118:22	<u>This is the stone which was rejected by you builders, but which has become the head of the corner.</u>	Prophetic (C) Prophetic (R)
Acts 4:24•	2 Kgs 19:15; Isa 37:16 // Neh 9:6; Exod 20:11; Ps 146:6	And when they heard it, they lifted their voices together to God and said, <i>“Sovereign Lord, who didst make the heaven and the earth and the sea and everything in them</i>	Doctrinal
<u>Acts 4:25–26</u>	Ps 2:1–2	<u>“who by the mouth of our father David, thy servant, didst say by the Holy Spirit, ‘Why did the Gentiles rage, and the peoples imagine vain things? The kings of the earth set themselves in array, and the rulers were gathered together, against the Lord and against his Anointed’”</u>	Prophetic (J) Prophetic (R)
Acts 7:3	Gen 12:1	and said to him, <i>“Depart from your land and from your kindred and go into the land which I will show you.”</i>	Historical
Acts 7:5	Gen 17:8; 48:4	yet he gave him no inheritance in it, not even a foot’s length, but promised <i>to give it to him in possession and to his posterity after him</i> , though he had no child.	Historical
Acts 7:6–7	Gen 15:13–14; Exod 2:22•	And God spoke to this effect, that <i>his posterity would be aliens in a land belonging to others, who would enslave them and ill-treat them four hundred years. “But I will judge the nation which they serve,”</i> said God, <i>“and after that they shall come out.”</i>	Historical
Acts 7:7°	Exod 3:12	<i>“and worship me in this place.”</i>	Historical
Acts 7:18	Exod 1:8	till <i>there arose over Egypt another king who had not known Joseph.</i>	Historical
Acts 7:27–28	Exod 2:14	But the man who was wronging his neighbor thrust him aside, saying, <i>“Who made you a ruler and a judge over us? Do you want to kill me as you killed the Egyptian yesterday?”</i>	Historical
Acts 7:30°	Exod 3:2	<i>“Now when forty years had passed, an angel appeared to him in the wilderness of Mount Sinai, in a flame of fire in a bush.</i>	Historical
<u>Acts 7:31–32</u>	Exod 3:6	When Moses saw it he wondered at the sight; and as he drew near to look, <u>the voice of the Lord came</u> , <i>“I am the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham and of Isaac and of Jacob.”</i> And Moses trembled and did not dare to look.	Historical
<u>Acts 7:33</u>	Exod 3:5	<u>And the Lord said to him</u> , <i>“Take off the shoes from your feet, for the place where you are standing is holy ground.”</i>	Historical
<u>Acts 7:34</u>	Exod 3:7–8, 10	<i>“I have surely seen the ill-treatment of my people that are in Egypt and heard their groaning, and I have come down to deliver them. And now come, I will send you to Egypt.”</i>	Historical

Acts 7:35	Exod 2:14	This Moses whom they refused, saying, " <i>Who made you a ruler and a judge?</i> " God sent as both ruler and deliverer by the hand of the angel that appeared to him in the bush.	Historical
Acts 7:37	Deut 18:15	This is the Moses who said to the Israelites, " <i>God will raise up for you a prophet from your brethren as he raised me up.</i> "	Historical
Acts 7:40	Exod 32:1, 23	saying to Aaron, " <i>Make for us gods to go before us; as for this Moses who led us out from the land of Egypt, we do not know what has become of him.</i> "	Historical
<u>Acts 7:42–43</u>	Amos 5:25–27	But God turned and gave them over to worship the host of heaven, <u>as it is written in the book of the prophets</u> : " <i>Did you offer to me slain beasts and sacrifices, forty years in the wilderness, O house of Israel? And you took up the tent of Moloch, and the star of the god Rephan, the figures which you made to worship; and I will remove you beyond Babylon.</i> "	Historical
<u>Acts 7:49–50</u>	Isa 66:1–2	Yet the Most High does not dwell in houses made with hands; <u>as the prophet says</u> , " <i>Heaven is my throne, and earth my footstool. What house will you build for me, says the Lord, or what is the place of my rest? Did not my hand make all these things?</i> "	Historical
<u>Acts 8:32–33</u>	Isa 53:7–8	Now <u>the passage of the scripture</u> which he was reading was this: " <i>As a sheep led to the slaughter or a lamb before its shearer is dumb, so he opens not his mouth. In his humiliation justice was denied him. Who can describe his generation? For his life is taken up from the earth.</i> "	Prophetic (C)
<u>Acts 13:22°</u>	Ps 89:20	And when he had removed him, he raised up David to be their king; of whom <u>he testified and said</u> , " <i>I have found in David the son of Jesse</i> "	Historical
<u>Acts 13:22°</u>	1 Sam 13:14	" <i>a man after my heart, who will do all my will.</i> "	Historical
<u>Acts 13:33</u>	Ps 2:7	this he has fulfilled to us their children by raising Jesus; <u>as also it is written in the second psalm</u> , " <i>Thou art my Son, today I have begotten thee.</i> "	Prophetic (C)
<u>Acts 13:34</u>	Isa 55:3	And as for the fact that he raised him from the dead, no more to return to corruption, <u>he spoke in this way</u> , 'I will give you the holy and sure blessings of David.'	Prophetic (C)
<u>Acts 13:35</u>	Ps 16:10	Therefore <u>he says also in another psalm</u> , " <i>Thou wilt not let thy Holy One see corruption.</i> "	Prophetic (C)
<u>Acts 13:40–41</u>	Hab 1:5	Beware, therefore, lest there come upon you <u>what is said in the prophets</u> : " <i>Behold, you scoffers, and wonder, and perish; for I do a deed in your days, a deed you will never believe, if one declares it to you.</i> "	Prophetic (J) Prophetic (R)
<u>Acts 13:47</u>	Isa 49:6	For <u>so the Lord has commanded us, saying</u> , " <i>I have set you to be a light for the Gentiles, that you may bring salvation to the uttermost parts of the earth.</i> "	Prophetic (U)
Acts 14:15•	Exod 20:11; Ps 146:6	Men, why are you doing this? We also are men, of like nature with you, and bring you good news, that you should turn from these vain things to a living God <i>who made the heaven and the earth and the sea and all that is in them.</i>	Doctrinal

<u>Acts 15:15-17</u>	Amos 9:11-12	And with this <u>the words of the prophets agree, as it is written</u> , " <i>After this I will return, and I will rebuild the dwelling of David, which has fallen; I will rebuild its ruins, and I will set it up, that the rest of men may seek the Lord, and all the Gentiles who are called by my name, says the Lord, who has made these things.</i> "	Prophetic (S) Prophetic (U)
<u>Acts 15:18</u> *	Isa 45:21	<i>known from of old.</i>	Prophetic (S)
<u>Acts 23:5</u>	Exod 22:28 [22:27 MT, LXX]	And Paul said, "I did not know, brethren, that he was the high priest; for <u>it is written</u> , ' <i>You shall not speak evil of a ruler of your people.</i> '"	Legal
<u>Acts 28:25-27</u>	Isa 6:9-10	So, as they disagreed among themselves, they departed, after Paul had made one statement: " <u>The Holy Spirit was right in saying to your fathers through Isaiah the prophet</u> : ' <i>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.</i> ' Let it be known to you then that this salvation of God has been sent to the Gentiles; they will listen."	Prophetic (J) Prophetic (R)

APPENDIX 3

INTRODUCTORY FORMULAS FOR OLD TESTAMENT CITATIONS

Key to Prophetic texts: C=Christological, J=Judgment, R=Rejection, S=Soteriological, U=Universal.

Luke—Acts	Source	Greek Text (NA27)	RSV	Use
Luke 2:23	Exod 13:2, 12, 15	γέγραπται ἐν νόμῳ κυρίου	as it is written in the law of the Lord	Legal
Luke 2:24	Lev 5:11*; 12:8	κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον ἐν τῷ νόμῳ κυρίου	according to what is said in the law of the Lord	Legal
Luke 3:4–6	Isa 40:3–5	ὡς γέγραπται ἐν βίβλῳ λόγων Ἡσαΐου τοῦ προφήτου	As it is written in the book of the words of Isaiah the prophet	Prophetic (S) Prophetic (U)
Luke 4:4	Deut 8:3	γέγραπται	It is written	Legal
Luke 4:8	Deut 6:13; 10:20*	γέγραπται	It is written	Legal
Luke 4:10–11	Ps 91:11–12	γέγραπται	it is written	Other
Luke 4:12	Deut 6:16	εἴρηται	It is said	Legal
Luke 4:17–19	Isa 61:1–2 // Isa 58:6*	βιβλίον τοῦ προφήτου Ἡσαΐου . . . γεγραμμένον	the book of the prophet Isaiah . . . it was written	Prophetic (C) Prophetic (S)
Luke 7:27	Exod 23:20*; Mal 3:1	οὗτός ἐστιν περὶ οὗ γέγραπται	This is he of whom it is written	Prophetic (S)
Luke 10:26–27	Deut 6:5	ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τί γέγραπται	What is written in the law?	Legal
Luke 10:27	Lev 19:18	<i>see Luke 10:26; Deut 6:5</i>	<i>see Luke 10:26; Deut 6:5</i>	Legal
Luke 18:20	Exod 20:12–16; Deut 5:16–20	τάς ἐντολάς	the commandments	Legal
Luke 19:46	Isa 56:7	γέγραπται	It is written	Prophetic (S)
Luke 19:46*	Jer 7:11	σεε Λυκε 19:46; Ισα 56:7	<i>see Luke 10:26; Deut 6:5</i>	Prophetic (J)
Luke 20:17	Ps 118:22	τί οὖν ἐστιν τὸ γεγραμμένον τοῦτο	What then is this that is written	Prophetic (C)
Luke 20:28	Deut 25:5	Μωϋσῆς ἔγραψεν ἡμῖν	Moses wrote for us that	Legal
Luke 20:37	Exod 3:6	Μωϋσῆς . . . ἐπὶ τῆς βάλτου	Moses . . . in the passage about the bush . . . calls	Doctrinal
Luke 20:42–43	Ps 110:1	αὐτὸς γὰρ Δαυὶδ λέγει ἐν βίβλῳ ψαλμῶν	David himself says in the Book of Psalms	Prophetic (C) Prophetic (J)
Luke 22:37	Isa 53:12	τὸ γεγραμμένον δεῖ τελεσθῆναι	scripture must be fulfilled	Prophetic (C)
Acts 1:20	Ps 69:25 [69:26 MT; 68:26 LXX]	γέγραπται γὰρ ἐν βίβλῳ ψαλμῶν	it is written in the book of Psalms	Prophetic (J)
Acts 1:20	Ps 109:8	<i>see Acts 1:20; Ps 69:25</i>	<i>see Acts 1:20; Ps 69:25</i>	Prophetic (J)
Acts 2:16–21	Joel 2:28–32 [3:1–5 LXX]	τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ εἰρημένον διὰ τοῦ προφήτου Ἰωήλ	this is what was spoken by the prophet Joel	Prophetic (S) Prophetic (U)
Acts 2:25–28	Ps 16:8–11 [15:8–11 LXX]	Δαυὶδ γὰρ λέγει	David says	Prophetic (C)
Acts 2:31°	Ps 16:10	προϊδὼν ἐλάλησεν	he foresaw and spoke	Prophetic (C)
Acts 2:34–35	Ps 110:1 [109:1 LXX]	Δαυὶδ . . . λέγει δὲ αὐτός	David . . . he himself says	Prophetic (C)
Acts 3:22	Deut 18:15–16	Μωϋσῆς μὲν εἶπεν	Moses said	Prophetic (C)

Luke–Acts	Source	Greek Text (NA27)	RSV	Use
Acts 3:23	Deut 18:19	<i>see Acts 3:22; Deut 18:15–16</i>	<i>see Acts 3:22; Deut 18:15–16</i>	Prophetic (J)
Acts 3:23	Lev 23:29	<i>see Acts 3:22; Deut 18:15–16</i>	<i>see Acts 3:22; Deut 18:15–16</i>	Prophetic (J) Prophetic (R)
Acts 3:25	Gen 22:18; 26:4	ὁ θεὸς . . . λέγων πρὸς Ἀβραάμ:	God . . . saying to Abraham	Prophetic (S) Prophetic (U)
Acts 4:11°	Ps 118:22	οὗτός ἐστιν	This is	Prophetic (C) Prophetic (R)
Acts 4:25–26	Ps 2:1–2	ὁ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου στόματος Δαυὶδ παιδὸς σου εἰπῶν	who by the mouth of our father David, thy servant, didst say by the Holy Spirit	Prophetic (J) Prophetic (R)
Acts 7:31–32	Exod 3:6	ἐγένετο φωνὴ κυρίου	the voice of the Lord came	Historical
Acts 7:33	Exod 3:5	εἶπεν δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ κύριος	And the Lord said to him	Historical
Acts 7:34	Exod 3:7–8, 10	<i>see Acts 7:33; Exod 3:5</i>	<i>see Acts 7:33; Exod 3:5</i>	Historical
Acts 7:42–43	Amos 5:25–27	καθὼς γέγραπται ἐν βίβλῳ τῶν προφητῶν	as it is written in the book of the prophets	Historical
Acts 7:49–50	Isa 66:1–2	καθὼς ὁ προφῆτης λέγει	as the prophet says	Historical
Acts 8:32–33	Isa 53:7–8	ἡ δὲ περιοχὴ τῆς γραφῆς	the passage of the scripture . . . was this	Prophetic (C)
Acts 13:22°	Ps 89:20	εἶπεν μαρτυρήσας:	he testified and said	Historical
Acts 13:22°	1 Sam 13:14	<i>see Acts 13:22; Ps 89:20</i>	<i>see Acts 13:22; Ps 89:20</i>	Historical
Acts 13:33	Ps 2:7	ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ ψαλμῷ γέγραπται τῷ δευτέρῳ:	as also it is written in the second psalm	Prophetic (C)
Acts 13:34	Isa 55:3	οὕτως εἶρηκεν	he spoke in this way	Prophetic (C)
Acts 13:35	Ps 16:10	καὶ ἐν ἑτέρῳ λέγει:	he says also in another psalm	Prophetic (C)
Acts 13:40–41	Hab 1:5	τὸ εἰρημένον ἐν τοῖς προφήταις	what is said in the prophets	Prophetic (J) Prophetic (R)
Acts 13:47	Isa 49:6	οὕτως γὰρ ἐντέταλται ἡμῖν ὁ κύριος:	so the Lord has commanded us, saying	Prophetic (U)
Acts 15:15–17	Amos 9:11–12	συμφωνοῦσιν οἱ λόγοι τῶν προφητῶν καθὼς γέγραπται:	the words of the prophets agree, as it is written	Prophetic (S) Prophetic (U)
Acts 15:18•	Isa 45:21	<i>see Acts 15:15–17; Amos 9:11–12</i>	<i>see Acts 15:15–17; Amos 9:11–12</i>	Prophetic (S)
Acts 23:5	Exod 22:28 [22:27 MT, LXX]	γέγραπται	it is written	Legal
Acts 28:25–27	Isa 6:9–10	καλῶς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐλάλησεν διὰ Ἡσαΐου τοῦ προφήτου πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ὑμῶν	Holy Spirit was right in saying to your fathers through Isaiah the prophet	Prophetic (J) Prophetic (R)

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