IDENTITY, MEMORY, AND PROTOTYPICALITY IN EARLY CHRISTIANITY: PETER, PAUL, AND RECATEGORIZATION IN THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

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For Darla

and our children,
Bailey, Ethan, Kenedee, and Lucy

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	*American Anthropologist*
AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	*Anchor Bible Dictionary*
Ag. Ap.	Josephus' *Against Apion*
Ant.	Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities*
AP	*American Psychologist*
ARC	*ARC: Journal of the Faculty of Religious Studies*
ARS	*Annual Review of Sociology*
ASR	*American Sociological Review*
AusPhy	*Australian Psychologist*
BAGD	Baur, Arndt, Gingrich, Danker. *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* 3rd edition
BCT	*Bible and Critical Theory*
Bib	*Biblica*
BJSP	*British Journal of Social Psychology*
BTB	*Biblical Theology Bulletin*
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CBR	*Currents in Biblical Research*
CI	*Critical Inquiry*
CIJ	*Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum*
CJT	*Canadian Journal of Theology*
CP	*Cognitive Psychology*
CTM	*Currents in Theology and Mission*
Decalogue, Philo	*Decal.*
EGT	*Expositor's Greek Testament*
EJSP	*European Journal of Social Psychology*
ERSP	*European Review of Social Psychology*
HA	*History & Anthropology*
HR	*Human Relations*
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
Ign. *Eph.*	Ignatius, *To the Ephesians*

Int	*Interpretation*
IvEph	*Die Inschriften Von Ephesos*
IRM	*International Review of Mission*
JAAR	*Journal of the American Academy of Religion*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JBR	*Journal of Bible and Religion*
JCSD	*Journal of College Student Development*
JEP	*Journal of Experimental Psychology*
JEx	*Journal of Extension*
JP	*Journal of Personality*
JPSP	*Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
JRH	*Journal of Religious History*
JSHJ	*Journal for the Study of the Historical Jesus*
JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism*
JSNT	*Journal for the Study of the New Testament*
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament: Supplement Series
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
J. W.	Josephus, *Judean War*
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LNTS	Library of New Testament Studies
NGC	*New German Critique*
NI	*Narrative Inquiry*
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NT	*Novum Testamentum*
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
Organ. Dynam.	*Organizational Dynamics*
ÖTK	Ökumenischer Taschenbuch-kommentare
RBL	*Review of Biblical Literature*
SA	*Scientific American*
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLSP	Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers
SC	*Social Cognition*
SF	*Sociological Forum*
SIG	*Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*

SPPC	*Social and Personality Psychology Compass*
ST	*Sociological Theory*
SwJT	*Southwestern Journal of Theology*
TDNT	Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, Abridged Edition
TNTL	Tyndale New Testament Lecture
TRu	*Theologische Rundschau*
TSK	*Theologische Studien und Kritiken*
TZT	*Tübinger Zeitschrift für TheologieI*
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen Zum Neuen Testament
ZNW	*Zeitschrit für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche*

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INTRODUCTION

The central thesis of this study is that the narrative of Acts attempts the recategorization of Judean and non-Judean Christ followers[1] and those on either side of the debate over non-Judean inclusion in the Christ movement into a common ingroup by presenting Peter and Paul as prototypical of a common superordinate Christian identity in the midst of diversity and conflict within the Christ movement in the last decade of the first century C.E. This common superordinate Christian identity, which I argue the audience constructs through interaction with the Acts narrative, is both inclusive and exclusive. First, it is inclusive in that it unites Christ-followers across cultural/ethnic boundaries by establishing the superordinate identity markers (boundaries) intended to unite ethnically and culturally diverse Christ followers into a common identity. Second, this superordinate common Christian identity is exclusive

[1] There is currently debate among scholars concerning the proper terminology for what we once called Jews and Gentiles. Since it is not the primary focus of this study, let me simply state that I will use the terms "Judean" and "non-Judean" in order to highlight the ethnic distinctions being made with the terms Ἰουδαῖος and ἔθνος. Similarly, I will refer to "Christ-followers" and the "Christ-following community" or "Christ group" rather than the anachronistic "Christian." This term remains anachronistic even though Acts 11:26 employs the term Χριστιανούς since it appears early on to have been a term used by outsiders and is not reflective of what modern interpreters think if when using the term "Christian." For consistency, when a quoted author uses "Jews," "Gentiles," or "Christians" with reference to the first century, I will substitute Judean and non-Judean in brackets, except when they occur in the title of a book or article. For a discussion of this issue, see Philip Esler, *Conflict and Identity in Romans: The Social Setting of Paul's Letter* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2003), 12-13; Steve Mason, "Jews, Judaeans, Judaizing, Judaism: Problems of Categorization in Ancient History," *JSJ* 38 (2007): 457-512; and John H. Elliott, "Jesus the Israelite Was Neither a 'Jew' nor a 'Christian': On Correcting Misleading Nomenclature," *JSHJ* 5 (2007): 119-54.

in that it distinguishes between distinctly Christian belief and practice on the one hand and Judean and Greco-Roman belief and practice on the other. This Christian identity is centered on the common belief that Jesus is the resurrected Messiah. Moreover, two common boundary crossing rituals are established: baptism in the name of Jesus and being filled with the Holy Spirit. Additional intermittent identity markers will also emerge as the narrative progresses, such as the proper use of possessions, opposition/violence against the Christ group, genuine miracles performed by Christ group members, and inclusive table fellowship. This common identity is rooted in the prophetic tradition of ancient Israel through Jesus of Nazareth and now offered to all humanity without cultural distinction.

In Chapter One, I locate the present study's focus on the prototypicality of Peter and Paul in Acts by reviewing the study of Peter and Paul in Acts through three methodological phases, the historical quest, the literary quest, and a new identity-forming quest. I propose that recent studies of Peter and Paul in Acts using narrative and reader-response criticisms can contribute to our understanding of the identity-forming work of early Christian narratives. Then, in Chapter Two, I examine various approaches to understanding early Christian identity formation and conclude that a new method is needed that addresses both the socio-cultural context of early Christianity as well as the literary nature of early Christian texts. This leads to the development in Chapter Three of a methodology I call a narrative-identity model, which highlights connections between several different methodological approaches in

an attempt to understand how early Christian narratives function as identity-forming stories. To accomplish this, I bring together various methodologies including Social Identity, Social Memory, and Narrative theories.

In Chapter Four, we turn our attention to the historical and narrative context of Luke-Acts. I argue that Luke-Acts was written in the late 90s or early 100s C.E. in an urban setting in Western Asia Minor. Among other things, I maintain that Luke expects his audience to be familiar with and involved in the conflict over the inclusion of non-Judean Christians. In the first section of Chapter Five, I establish a plot analysis of Acts that serves as the framework for the remainder of the project. My plot analysis sets forth four narrative blocks in Acts, each of which is the focus of each of the four remaining chapters. The remainder of Chapter Five focuses on the first narrative block (1:1-8:1a) and the process by which Peter becomes recognized as a prototype of Christ group identity. Chapter Six addresses the second narrative block (8:1b-12:25), in which Peter, the prototypical Christ group member, affirms the inclusion of Samaritans and non-Judeans. Chapter Seven focuses on the third narrative block (13:1-19:20) in which Paul emerges as the leader and prototype of the Christ group and a common Christ group identity is confirmed. Finally, Chapter Eight deals with the fourth narrative block (19:21-28:31) in which the accusation that Paul has abandoned Judean customs and teachers other Judeans to do the same is addressed by Paul through defense speeches from Jerusalem to Rome. I conclude with a summary of the argument that the narrative Acts seeks to establish a common

Christ group identity among those on opposing sides of the debate over non-Judean inclusion, recalling briefly how the characters of Peter and Paul are portrayed to achieve the goal of a unified Christ group identity that transcends ethnicity and cultural distinctions.

CHAPTER ONE:
PETER AND PAUL IN LUKE-ACTS

The question of the relationship between the characterization of Peter and Paul in Acts and the construction of Christian identity in the late first century C.E. has been neglected in previous scholarship. As the following review will show, previous work on Peter and Paul in Acts has been engaged in a search for the *historical* Peter and Paul and, therefore, on a historical reconstruction of early Christianity or on *theological* interpretations which portray Peter as the primary leader of the earliest Jerusalem Christ community who was either (1) diametrically opposed to or (2) instrumental in the inclusion of non-Judeans[1] in the Christ movement. These studies, likewise, argue that Acts portrays Paul as a missionary and theologian who is the chief proponent of non-Judean inclusion and, therefore, either (1) in direct opposition to or (2) in partnership with Peter.

While historical criticism has been the dominant method of interpretation, there has also been a search for the *literary* Peter and Paul. Nevertheless, despite an

[1] On the use of "Judean" and "non-Judean" in the present study, see p. 1 nt. 1 above.

increasing interest in literary analyses of Luke-Acts over recent decades,[2] and given the clear emphasis and parallelism between these two characters in Acts and recent interest in early Christian identity formation, a thorough narrative treatment of Luke's portrayal of them both with regard to their roles in the formation of early Christian identity seems to be an obvious omission. Thus, the need remains for a search for Peter and Paul as prototypical of a common Christian identity.

The Quest for the Historical Peter and Paul

Although it was John Lightfoot (1602-1675) [3] who first recognized that Acts, rather than following all the apostles, was really the Acts of two apostles, Peter and Paul,[4] the modern search for the historical Peter and Paul began when Ferdinand Christian Baur (1792-1860) developed Lightfoot's insight concerning the role of Peter and Paul in the early church. Ironically, Baur, the founder of what became known as the Tübingen School of New Testament criticism, never wrote a book on Acts nor was

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[2] For example, H. J. Cadbury, *The Style and Literary Method of Luke* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1920); Robert Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts: A Literary Interpretation 2 Vol* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1986, 1990); W. S. Kurz, "Narrative Approaches to Luke-Acts," *Bib* 68, (1987): 203-19; W. S. Kurz, *Reading Luke-Acts: Dynamics of Biblical Narrative* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1993); Charles Talbert, *Reading Acts* (New York: Crossroad, 1997).

[3] Despite Stuehrenburg's objection that the study of Acts in the first fifteen centuries often gets "short shrift" (100), I am skipping the pre-Reformation period because none of the works from that period affects directly the approach taken here. Nevertheless, Stuehrenburg's bibliographic article is a helpful resource for pre-Reformation studies of Acts. "The Study of Acts before the Reformation: A Bibliographic Introduction" in *NT* 29, no. 2 (1987): 100-36.

[4] John Lightfoot, *Commentary Upon the Acts of the Apostles* (London, 1645). Lightfoot divided the book into two parts; chapters 1-12 focus on the church and gospel among the Judeans and have the Apostle Peter as their chief character while chapters 13-28 focus on the church and gospel among the Non-Judeans and have Paul as their chief character.

he primarily an exegete; rather he was a theologian and church historian. Yet, in his groundbreaking New Testament work *"Die Christuspartei in Der Korinthischen Gemeinde,"*[5] Baur challenged the notion that the early church was uniform in doctrine and practice, arguing rather that it was marked by severe conflict between two groups, a Judean (Petrine) group and a non-Judean (Pauline) group. Although Baur does not discuss Acts in this essay, the framework of conflict between these two groups of early Christ-followers is foundational to his approach to Acts, which he set forth in an article on Romans in 1836.[6] To bolster his argument that Romans was a polemical writing against the Judean-Christians in Rome, Baur points to Acts, which he asserts was written by a Paulinist to defend Paul and the mission to the non-Judeans against the criticism of a Judean Christ party. Two years later, portraying Paul as a loyal Judean who was yet opposed by strict Christ-following Judeans, Baur asserted that Acts "is the apologetic attempt of a Paulinist to facilitate and bring about the

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[5] F. C. Baur, *"Die Christuspartei in Der Korinthischen Gemeinde,*" *TZT* 4 (1831): 61-206. Reprinted in *Ferdinand Christian Baur, Ausgewählte Werke in Einzelausgaben,* Vol. 1, ed. Klaus Scholder, (Stuttgart: Frommann, 1963), 1-146. Though Johann Semler has proposed a similar division in the early church, Baur was the first to apply this perspective to the book of Acts. See Johann Semler, *Abhandlung Von Freier Untersuchung Des Canon*, 4 vols, (Halle, 1771-75).

[6] F. C. Baur, "Über Zweck und Veranlassung des Römerbriefs und die damit zusammenhängenden Verhältnisse der römischen Gemeinde," *TZT* 9 (1836): 59-178.

rapprochement and union of the two opposing parties by representing Paul as Petrine as possible and, on the other hand, Peter as Pauline as possible."[7]

Baur's assertion that Acts was an attempt to resolve divisions between two warring parties in early Christianity caused Peter-Paul parallels to become a focus of scholarly attention. Matthias Schneckenburger appears to have been the first to have worked out the details of the parallels between Peter and Paul in Acts.[8] Schneckenburger, who follows Baur's emphasis on the apologetic purpose of Acts, lists six such parallels:

Peter	Paul	Scene
3:1-10	14:8-13	Healing of a disabled person
5:1-11	13:6-12	Confronting deceitfulness
5:15	19:12	Sick healed by contact with shadow or cloth
8:9-24	13:6-12 [16:16-18; 19:13-19]	Confronting magicians
9:32-35	28:7-10	Healing of bedridden men
9:36-43	20:7-12	Bringing dead back to life

Table 1: Schneckenburger's Parallels of Peter and Paul in Acts

[7] F. C. Baur, "Über der Ursprung des Episcopats in der christlichen Kirche. Prüfung der neuesten von Hrn. Dr. Rother hierüber aufgestellten Ansicht" *TZT* 11 (1838), 1-185. Translated in Kümmel, *The New Testament: History of the Investigation of its Problems* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1972), 133. Also see Baur's *Paulus, Der Apostel Jesu Christi; Sein Leben Und Wirken, Seine Briefe Und Seine Lehre. Ein Beitrag Zu Einer Kritischen Geschichte Des Urchristenthums* (Leipzig: Fues, 1866); English translation: *Paul: The Apostle of Jesus Christ, His Life and Works, His Epistles and Teachings: A Contribution to a Critical History of Primitive Christianity* (2 vols.; London: Williams and Norgate, 1873).

[8] Schneckenburger, *Über Den Zweck Der Apostelgeschichet: Zugleich Eine Erganzung Der Neueren Commentare* (Bern: Fisher, 1841).

Schneckenburger also sees 5:13, 10:25-26; 14:15, 28:6 as parallels where others pay respect to the two and 8:14-17, 19:1-7 as parallels of their laying on of hands in connection with the reception of the Holy Spirit.[9] Schneckenburger focused his attention on Paul, whom he regarded as one who fulfilled the requirements of the Law and showed respect for the leadership in the Jerusalem community, including Peter, who was in agreement with Paul on the mission to the non-Judeans.[10]

In 1846, Albert Schwegler comprehensively applied Baur's views to Christian literature from the first three centuries C.E. in an extensive work that would become known as the classic description of the Tübingen position on early Christianity.[11] Adopting Schneckenburger's list of parallels, Schwegler asserts that Acts portrays Peter and Paul as apostles to the non-Judeans, Paul to the non-Judeans in general and Peter to Cornelius, with both of their callings resting upon visionary experiences. He sums up the portrayals of Peter as "Paulinization" and "dejudaization" and of Paul as

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[9] Ibid., 52-58.

[10] Ibid., 91-92. Baur subsequently followed Schneckenburger with his own study in which he agrees with four of Schneckenburger's sets of parallels but modifies two others.[10] Baur agreed that 3:1-10, 14:8-13; 5:15, 19:12; 8:9-24, 13:16-18; and 9:32-35, 28:7-10 represent parallels between Peter and Paul. Baur adds the prison escapes in 5:17-26, 12:1-19, and 16:25-34 as parallels. He also disagrees with Schneckenburger's connection of Peter's laying on of hands on the people of Samaria with Paul's laying hands on the disciples of John the Baptist, maintaining that the latter is more a parallel with Peter's conversion of Cornelius. Baur further notes that references to speaking in tongues set up a parallel series between Peter and Paul, though his references do not exactly correspond to his parallels (2:4, 2:11, 10:46, 19:6).

[11] Albert Schwegler, *Das nachapostolische Zeitalter in den Hauptmomenten seiner Entwicklung* (2 vols.; Tübingen, 1846).

"Petrinization" and "judaization."[12] That is, Peter and Paul are each portrayed as less Judean/Pauline and more non-Judean/Petrine, respectively.[13]

Several critiques of the Tübingen School's reconstruction followed, continuing the quest for the historical Peter and Paul. Michael Baumgarten's (1812-1889) three-volume study on Acts,[14] among other things, criticized the Tübingen position for failing to take into account the social implications for being, and indeed ceasing to be, a follower of the Judean religion. Baumgarten argued that for Paul to demand that Judeans forsake their Judean identity would have been implausible and that Paul must have certainly made some accommodations. Accordingly, Baumgarten argues that Acts portrays Paul as one free from external things and guided by an "inner discernment," for "if all things are allowable then circumcision is no exception; for such an exception would itself be a restriction of the principle of liberty."[15]

Perhaps the most effective critique of the Tübingen School, however, came from one of Baur's own students. Albrecht Ritschl[16] was committed to the use of

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[12] Ibid., 2.76-81, 99.

[13] Eduard Zeller, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (Stuttgart: Mèacken, 1854); English edition: *The Contents and Origin of the Acts of the Apostles, Critically Investigated*. Trans. Joseph Dare. 2 vols. (London: Williams & Norgate, 1875), 320-35. Zeller's treatment of the Peter-Paul parallels combines Schneckenburger's and Baur's lists, adding little to the discussion.

[14] Michael Baumgarten, *Die Apostelgeschichte; Oder Der Entwickelungsgang Der Kirche Von Jerusalem Bis Rom* (3 vols.; Halle: Schwetschke und Sohn), 2.185.

[15] „lediglish von dem innern Urteil. Wenn demnach also alles gestattet ist, so darf auch die Deschneidung nicht ausgenommen werden, als wäre deses Ausnahme vielmehr schon eine Beschränkung der Freiheit." Ibid., 2.188. Translation from Gasque, 329.

[16] Albrecht Ritschl, *Die Entstehung Der Altkatholischen Kirche: Eine Kirchen Und Dogmengeschichtliche Monographie* (2nd ed.; Bonn: A. Marcus, 1857).

historical method, but his study of the data led him to reject Baur's reconstruction as both too simplistic and too complex. It was too simplistic because it failed to make allowances for diversity within both non-Judean and Judean Christianity and too complex because it failed to come to terms with the essential unity in apostolic Christianity. Ritschl's disagreement with his teacher can be seen decisively in his discussion of Acts 15, where he claims that the decision made by the Jerusalem council was primarily sociological, not theological as Baur had suggested. Rather than focusing primarily on the compromise between two theological parties, the decision made social interaction between Judean and non-Judean Christ-followers possible.[17] Ritschl, therefore, understands Peter and Paul as affable apostles of differing expressions in an otherwise unified Christ movement, thus diminishing Baur's strict division between the two.

The Tübingen School's historical reconstruction understood early Christianity as consisting of two conflicting groups, one of Judean ethnicity and represented by the Apostle Peter and the other of non-Judean ethnicity and represented by Paul. This reconstruction portrayed Peter as a strict Judean legalist and Paul as the liberal universalist, with Paul's interpretation eventually gaining prominence. Critics of this view, however, attempted to soften this perceived divide by emphasizing the sociological implications of such a rigid separation.

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[17] Ibid., 128-40.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, German biblical scholars were beginning to focus on the "Quest for the Historical Jesus," displacing somewhat the quest for the historical Peter and Paul.[18] Attention to parallelism in Luke-Acts shifted to the parallels between Jesus and Peter or Jesus and Paul.[19] In the mid-twentieth century, attention turned again to Peter and Paul. Two articles in particular focused on the historical Peter: Frank Beare's "The Sequence of Events in Acts 9-15 and the Career of Peter," and Charles Nesbitt's "What Did Become of Peter?"[20]

Joseph Sanders examined the relationship between Peter and Paul from Paul's conversion in chapter nine until his separation from Barnabas in chapter fifteen.[21] In

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[18] There are some notable nineteenth century British scholars who studied Peter and Paul in Acts including James Smith, *The Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul: With Dissertations on the Life and Writings of St. Luke and the Ships and Navigation of the Ancients* (London: Longmans Green, 1848); William J. Conybeare and John Saul Howson, *The Life and Epistles of St. Paul* (2 vols.; London,1852; New York: Schribner's, 1855); Joseph Barber Lightfoot, "Discoveries Illustrating the Acts of the Apostles" in *Essays on the Work Entitled Supernatural Religion* (New York: Macmillan, 1893); Ibid., "The Acts of the Apostles" in *A Dictionary of the Bible, Comprising Its Antiquities, Biography, Geography, and Natural History, with Numerous Illustrations and Maps* (ed. William Smith; Hartford: J. Murray, 1893); William M. Ramsay, *The Cities of St. Paul, Their Influence on His Life and Thought, The Cities of Eastern Asia Minor* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1908); *St. Paul, the Traveller and the Roman Citizen* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1896); Richard J. Knowling, "The Acts of the Apostles" in *EGT* (ed. W. Robertson Nicoll; Edinburgh, 1900), 1-554; Richard B. Rackham, *The Acts of the Apostles: An Exposition*, Oxford Commentaries (London: Methuen, 1901).

[19] For example, Bruno Bauer, *Die Apostelgeschichte Eine Ausgleichung Des Paulinismus Und Des Judenthums Innerhalb Der Christlichen Kirche* (Berlin: Gustav Hempel, 1850), 9-21; R. Morgenthaler, *Die Lukanische Geschichtsschreibung Als Zeugnis: Gestalt Und Gehalt Der Kunst Des Lukas* (Vol. 2. Zurich: Zwingli, 1949), 1. 163, 182-83; M. D. Goulder, *Type and History in Acts* (London: SPCK, 1964), 65-66, 72-97; Charles H. Talbert, *Literary Patterns, Theological Themes, and the Genre of Luke-Acts* (Missoula, Mont.: Scholars' Press, 1974).

[20] Beare, "The Sequence of Events in Acts 9-15 and the Career of Peter," *JBL* 62 (1943): 295-306; Nesbitt, "What Did Become of Peter?" *JBR* 27 (1959): 10-16.

[21] "Peter and Paul in Acts," *NTS* 2 (1955) 133-43. Robert Morgenthaler, *Die Lukanische Geschichtsschreibung Als Zeugnis: Gestalt Und Gehalt Der Kunst Des Lukas* (Vol. 2. Zurich: Zwingli, 1949) examines parallels in Luke-Acts but focuses almost exclusively on Jesus-Paul parallels. Also see, Susan Praeder, "Jesus-Paul, Peter-Paul, and Jesus-Peter Parallelisms in Luke-Acts: A History of Reader Response," *The Society of Biblical Literature 1984 Seminar Papers* (SBLSP 23*;* Missoula, Mont.: Scholars, 1984), 23-39, who provides a helpful, though brief, overview of the various Jesus-Peter-Paul parallels since the time of Baur.

his attempt to reconcile the differences between Luke's account in Acts and Paul's account in Galatians, Sanders portrays Peter as one who

> [o]n occasion . . . was willing to forego his [Judean] prejudices and eat with [non-Judeans], but when he saw that this scandalized [Judean Christ-followers] more rigid than himself he quite understandably preferred the risk of offending [non-Judeans] to the certainty of offending his fellow [Judeans].[22]

Paul, who eventually realized that his inflexibility with regard to those who maintained Judean boundaries, "was compelled to visit Jerusalem in order to reach a settlement with James."[23]

While supplemented with theological and ecclesiological data, Oscar Cullmann's *Peter: Disciple, Apostle, Martyr*[24] focuses primarily on the historical Peter and his role in the early church, especially the church in Rome. In his chapter on Acts, Cullmann essentially traces the narrative of Peter in Acts as it relates to his leadership in the Jerusalem community and his abrupt departure after chapter twelve.[25] In those early chapters, Peter "prompts the choice of the twelfth disciple," "presides over the little group of believers," "explains . . . the miracle of Pentecost," "defends the cause of the Gospels," exercises church discipline, "holds court in the name of God," and "thereby occupies a *leading* role" in the early community," "standing at its head."[26] Furthermore, Peter "occasionally went . . . to the missionary

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[22] Ibid., 139.
[23] Ibid., 142.
[24] Cullmann, *Peter: Disciple, Apostle, Martyr* (Trans. Floyd V. Filson; London: SCM, 1962).
[25] Cullmann does acknowledge that Peter returns for the council in chapter fifteen but maintains that 12:17 marks Peter's transition away from Jerusalem. Ibid., 39.
[26] Ibid., 33-35.

district of Samaria."[27] Cullmann argues that, because of his imprisonment and subsequent liberation, Peter left his role as leader of the Jerusalem community in favor of missionary work in undisclosed locations.[28] Peter's departure from Jerusalem, according to Cullman, was not a result of conflict over his missionary activity among non-Judeans.

In contrast, Marin Hengel's presentation of Peter departs radically from the Tübingen appraoch and Cullmann.[29] Contrary to the picture of Peter as the spokesperson of the Judean Christ community that practiced stringent adherence to the Law and who was, therefore, Paul's chief opponent, Hengel argues that Peter took a mediating position with regard to Judean customs in the Christ community. Hengel characterizes Peter's mediating position as tolerant, liberal, and broad-minded with regard to "the strict standpoint of the Judaists," whose perspective he "never shared."[30] In contrast to Cullman, Hengel argues that Peter's position on non-Judean inclusion may have led to the decline of his influence in the Jerusalem community and his eventual departure from Jerusalem.

The search for the historical Peter and Paul as leaders of two antithetical movements within early Christianity represented by the Tübingen School, continued with Robert Brawley's "avowed revisionist attempt to reclaim some of the seminal

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[27] Ibid., 40

[28] Ibid., 41-42.

[29] Hengel, *Acts and the History of Earliest Christianity* (trans. John Bowden; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979; trans. of *Zur urchristilichen Geschichtsschreibung*, Stuttgart: Verlag, 1979), 81-91, 92-98.

[30] Ibid., 97.

features of" dormant nineteenth-century concepts related to Paul in Acts.[31] Discarding the notion that Luke portrays Paul as entirely rejecting the Judeans in Acts, Brawley asserts that Paul's portrait intended to counter anti-Paulinism from Judean and non-Judean sectors of early Christianity, thus legitimating Paul's mission. Following the conclusions of the Tübingen School, Brawley concludes that Luke's Paul, therefore, is thoroughly Judean and is presented in Acts in such as way as to reconcile Judean and non-Judean Christ followers.

Similarly, Michael Goulder's *St. Paul Versus St. Peter: A Tale of Two Missions* is a reappraisal of Baur's theory of an early Christianity divided between two opposing groups.[32] Examining Peter and Paul in the New Testament in general, Goulder presents Paul as a liberal with commonsense and Peter as a rigid conservative who was typical of the Jerusalem community. According to Goulder, Peter and Paul agreed on the significance of Jesus, but little else. While Goulder presents a wealth of information on the undeniable conflict in the New Testament, he argues, incorrectly I believe, that the debate between the two groups represents the whole of early Christianity.

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[31] Robert Brawley, "Paul in Acts: Lucan Apology and Conciliation," in *Luke-Acts, New Perspectives from the Society of Biblical Literature Seminar* (ed. Charles H. Talbert; New York: Crossroad, 1984), 129. Later, Brawley explored Luke-Acts in light of Narrative Criticism and develops a helpful chapter on Peter and Paul, see *Centering on God: Method and Message in Luke-Acts* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1990), 139-158.

[32] Michael D. Goulder, *St. Paul Versus St. Peter: A Tale of Two Missions* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1995).

Transitioning from the Historical Quest to the Literary Quest

Despite the continued influence of the Tübingen School,[33] Source and Form Criticism in New Testament studies initiated interest in the literary aspects of the New Testament texts. In 1966, W. C. Van Unnik referred to Luke-Acts as "one of the great storm centers of New Testament scholarship,"[34] due in some respects, to the shift in emphasis from a search for the historical Peter and Paul toward a search for a *literary* Peter and Paul, in which Luke is viewed as a theologian who shaped his sources to fit his own theological agenda.[35] For example, Ernest Haenchen, in his commentary on Acts, argued that Luke's entire second volume is influenced by the problem of a mission to the non-Judeans without regard for the Judean Law and is, therefore, concerned with the breaking of the continuity with the history of salvation, thus cutting the Christ movement off from the tolerance Haenchen understood Judaism to enjoy within the Roman Empire. Luke's solution to this problem, according to Haenchen, was to demonstrate that the "instigators and leaders of the Christian

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[33] The search for the historical Paul continued well into the late twentieth century as a paper presented at the 1974 meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature demonstrate. Mattill, "A Spectrum of Opinion on the Value of Acts as a Source for the Reconstruction of the Life and Thought of Paul," *SBL Seminar Papers* (1974), II, 63-83.

[34] W. C. Van Unnik, "Luke-Acts: A Storm Center in Contemporary Scholarship" in *Studies in Luke-Acts: Essays Presented in Honor of Paul Schubert* (ed. Keck and Martyn; Nashville: Abingdon, 1966), 16.

[35] Although this was essentially the argument of the Tübingen School, their emphasis was on historical reconstruction and not Luke's theological agenda as represented in his redaction of sources.

mission," thus, Peter and Paul, "far from falling away from their Jewish faith, in fact held fast to it."[36]

Despite this interest in literary analysis, the quest for the historical Peter and Paul was not entirely abandoned. A couple of examples illustrates how emerging literary analysis was used as a means to historical reconstruction. First, Philipp Vielhauer's well-known essay "On the 'Paulinism' of Acts" further modifies the historical quest by raising the question of Luke's theological portrayal of Paul. Vielhauer argues that Luke "portrays Paul as a missionary and thereby also as a theologian,"[37] but focuses primarily on Paul's role as theologian, especially on the speeches and statements related to natural theology, law, Christology, and eschatology. Vielhauer concludes that Luke depicts Paul as one proclaiming an earlier Christology than represented in his letters[38] and as one who replaced the idea of Judeans as God's special people with the idea of humanity's natural immediacy for God.[39]

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[36] Haenchen, *Die Apostolgeschichte* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1959; English edition, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary*, Bernard Noble and Gerald Shinn; Philidelphia: Westminster, 1971), 100. Also important for Form and Redaction approaches to are Dibelius, *The Book of Acts: Form, Style, and Theology* (ed. K. C. Hanson; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2004; repr. of *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles*; trans. Mary Ling; New York; Scribner's, 1956; trans. of *Aufsèatze Zur Apostelgeschichte*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1951) and Conzelmann, *Die Mitte Der Zeit: Studien Zur Theologie Des Lukas* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1954).

[37] Philipp Vielhauer, "On the 'Paulinism' of Acts," in *Studies in Luke Acts* (ed. by Leander E. Keck, Paul Schubert and J. Louis Martyn; Nashville: Abingdon, 1966), 33-50.

[38] Ibid., 43-44. Vielhauer arrives at this conclusion based on comparison of Acts 13:13-43 and 26:22ff. with Rom. 1:3ff. and 1 Cor. 15:3ff.

[39] Ibid., 49-49.

Next, Brown, Donfried, and Reumann's *Peter in the New Testament* is the product of the National Dialogue between Lutheran and Roman Catholic Theologians who appointed these editors to review the "history leading to the emergence of the papacy in the Western Church."[40] The study approaches Peter primarily from a historical perspective, though the editors realize, nevertheless, that "Luke's picture of Peter and Paul as the two chief figures in early church history . . . reflects Luke's skill as a theological writer."[41] The authors emphasize Peter as the one "named first in the post-resurrectional list of the Eleven," "a preacher," "a miracle worker," an "object of miraculous divine care," and one who played "a significant role in the election of Matthias."[42] These authors, following Cullman, note that Peter held a "prominent role in the Jerusalem church" and was "a missionary and a spokesman."[43] They especially emphasize that Peter's role in bringing non-Judeans into the church was not the same as that of Paul,[44] though they recognize that Peter did have a decisive role in the Jerusalem council because "he cites as a precedent for the admission of the [non-Judeans] his own conversion of Cornelius."[45]

Despite their alleged interest in literary analysis, these two studies demonstrate the hold that the historical critical approach had on scholarship in the early 1970s.

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[40] Brown, et al, *Peter in the New Testament* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1973), 2.
[41] Ibid., 10.
[42] Ibid., 41-42.
[43] Ibid., 42.
[44] Ibid., 43. Peter's role is viewed as different because before in the narrative Philip converts a Hellenist and an Ethiopian.
[45] Ibid., 50.

These studies do indicate, however, that the literary turn in Lukan studies was changing the dominant questions scholars were asking; rather than asking if Luke was a trustworthy historian, scholars began to ask why Luke formulated his material the way that he had.[46] Beginning with Haenchen, whose commentary "marked the end of one era and the beginning of another,"[47] attention to historical reconstruction declined while focus on Luke as a creative editor/theologian increased as scholars undertook the search for the *literary Peter and Paul*.

The Search for the Literary Peter and Paul

One expression of the literary turn was anticipated in the work of H. J. Cadbury who, in 1927, in his chapter on language and style in *The Making of Luke-Acts*, addresses the "parallelism between the careers of [Luke's] heroes, especially Jesus,

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[46] Along with Source, Form, and Redactional studies, this literary approach to Acts also spawned interest in the speeches in Acts. There has been a general interest in the theological function of the speeches of Acts since at least the time of Eichhorn, *Einleitung in Das Neue Testament* (Leipzig: Weidmann, 1810), 36-43, specific focus on the speeches in Acts seems to have begun in the mid-twentieth century starting with Ridderbos, *The Speeches of Peter in the Acts of the Apostles* (TNTL; London: Tyndale, 1961) who maintained that the speeches should not generally be viewed as a record of the literal words of the apostles but "as illustrations of apostolic preaching in various characteristic situations" and thus reflect the basic form of the kerygma in the late first century. Peter is portrayed in Acts as the first great witness who laid the foundation for the developing Christ movement. Other important works on the speeches of Acts include Since Ridderbos, additional treatments of the speeches in Acts by John Kilgallen, "'With Many Other Words' (Acts 2,40): Theological Assumptions in Peter's Pentecost Speech." *Bib* 83 (2002): 71-87; "Did Peter Actually Fail to Get a Word In?: (Acts 11:15)" *Bib* 71 (1990): 405-10; "Peter's Argument in Acts 15" in *"Il Verbo Di Dio Áe Vivo": Studi Sul Nuovo Testamento in Onore Del Cardinale Albert Vanhoye, S.I*, ed. Josâe Enrique Aguilar Chiu and Albert Vanhoye, (Roma: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 2007), 233-247; Marion Soards *The Speeches in Acts: Their Content, Context, and Concerns* (Louisville: John Knox, 1994).

[47] Steve Walton, "Acts," in *The Face of New Testament Studies: A Survey of Recent Research* (ed. Scot McKnight and Grant R. Osborne; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2004), 229.

Peter and Paul."[48] He gives specific attention to the "balancing of the careers of Peter and Paul," listing five parallels that are somewhat different from his predecessors:

Peter	Paul	Scene
3:2	14:8	Healing of a disabled person
9:36ff.	20:7ff.	Bringing dead back to life
5:15	19:12	Sick healed by contact with shadow or cloth
12:6ff.	16:25ff.	Prison escape
8:18ff.	13:6ff.	Confronting magicians

Table 2: Cadbury's Parallels of Peter and Paul in Acts
The Making of Luke-Acts, 232.

Interestingly, though he does recognize Luke's penchant for parallelism throughout, Cadbury raises the matter only to reject the author's deliberate structuring: "That the writer introduced this parallelism in order to give the apostles equal ranking seems quite unlikely."[49]

In contrast to Cadbury, Teruo Kobayashi's 1962 doctoral dissertation, "The Role of Peter According to the Theological Understanding of Paul, Mark, and Luke-Acts," includes discussion on the parallel images of Peter and Paul in Acts in which

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[48] H. J. Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts* (New York: Macmillan, 1927), 231; *The Book of Acts in History* (New York: Harper, 1955).
[49] Ibid., 232.

he maintains that Luke portrays Peter and Paul in the same manner in Acts.[50] He treats parallels in relation to their function of strengthening Christ followers, performing miracles, and mediating the Holy Spirit. Furthermore, both at first opposed Christ (Luke 22:33; Acts 8:1; 9:1) and soon after became powerful witnesses for Christ (Acts 2:14; 9:19-20). Kobayashi concludes, therefore, that "Luke intends to illustrate the equality and uniqueness of the charisma of Peter and Paul."[51]

Likewise, Hisao Kayama argues in his 1971 doctoral dissertation, "The Image of Paul in the Book of Acts," that the parallels between Paul and Peter, and between these two and Jesus, are intended by Luke to illustrate the continuity between Jesus and his apostles, and particularly between Paul and Peter.[52] Utilizing Source and Form Criticism, Kayama proposes to examine Paul as "he was interpreted and portrayed according to the theologies of his interpreters" by seeking the theological traditions to which Luke had access and analyzing how these sources led to his presentation of Paul in Acts. Kayama, therefore, examines Paul's self-understanding as reflected in the Pauline epistles and the interpretations of Paul in the deutero-Pauline literature. When he addresses the question of the portrayal of Paul in Acts, Kayama argues that Paul is depicted in Acts, not as an apostle, but as one under the mediation of the Jerusalem community, thus placing Paul in continuity of the

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[50] Kobayashi, "The Role of Peter According to the Theological Understanding of Paul, Mark, and Luke-Acts,"(Ph.D. Dissertation), Drew University, 1962, 309-21.

[51] Ibid., 320.

[52] Kayama, "The Image of Paul in the Book of Acts,"(Ph.D. diss., Claremont Graduate School and University Center, 1971), 13.

redemptive history of the people of God. After Peter's disappearance from Acts, Paul takes over the mission to the non-Judeans which had been initiated by Peter. Kayama observes that the parallels of Paul and Peter in Acts attempt to portray them in the same way that Jesus is portrayed in Luke's Gospel, namely as θεῖος ἀνήρ.

In *Petrus im Neuen Testament*, Peter Dschulnigg discusses Peter's character by examining sixteen different scenes in Acts.[53] Dschulnigg concludes the chapter by summarizing the central aspects of Peter's character in Acts. The apostle is portrayed as the chief Apostle and leading spokesman in Jerusalem (Acts 1-5). Furthermore, Peter stands out from the other apostles as a miracle worker and by uncovering false developments (*Fehlentwicklingen*; e.g., Ananias and Sapphira; Simon the magician). He is the initiator of the missionary movement into three areas (Jerusalem, Samaria, and Caesarea) and he takes the decisive step of expanding the Christ-movement outside its Judean boundaries. Dschulnigg concludes, "the speaker of the Messiah's confession in the circle of the apostles becomes the announcer of Jesus the Messiah in Jerusalem, Samaria and Caesarea."[54]

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[53] Peter Dschulnigg, *Petrus im Neuen Testament* (Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1996). The sixteen scenes are listed concisely in the Inhaltsverzeichnis, xi.

[54] Ibid., 116. „Der Sprecher des Messiasbekenntnisses im Kreis der Apostel wird zum Verkünder des messias Jesus in Jerusalem, Samarien and Cäsarea."

Along with Source, Form, and Canonical approaches to both Peter and Paul in Acts,[55] there have been some notable literary works that have examined Paul's portrayal in Acts in light of ancient and modern literary techniques. First, John Lentz emphasizes the comparison of characters pervasive in ancient literature and in doing so, argues that Acts portrays Paul "as a man of high social status and moral virtue" who "possesses high social credentials and personifies what would have been recognized, by the first reader/hearer of Acts, as the classical cardinal virtues."[56] Lentz examines social status in the ancient Mediterranean alongside the description of Paul as a Greek, Roman, and Pharisee. He argues that Luke depicts Paul as a person of high social status "who could be held up as an example to those of high social status to imitate and for those of low social status to claim."[57]

Likewise, Blake Shipp has addressed the literary function of the repetition of Paul's Damascus Road experience.[58] Critical of modern rhetorical studies represented by the work of George Kennedy, Shipp describes a need to correct the

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[55] Perhaps the most complete Source and Form critical study of Paul in Acts is that of Stanley Porter, *Paul in Acts*, (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2001); repr.; *Paul of Acts: Essays in Literary Criticism, Rhetoric, and Theology* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999). Although he claims that "this series of studies concentrates first and foremost upon how Paul is depicted as a literary character . . . in Acts." He does, nevertheless, present Paul as a skilled orator and healer. Porter's argument that the depiction of Paul in Acts is not at odds with that of the epistles distracts from the stated literary concern of the study.

[56] Lentz, *Luke's Portrait of Paul*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 3.

[57] Ibid., 172. Also see, Jerome H. Neyrey, "Luke's Social Location of Paul: Cultural Anthropology and the Status of Paul in Acts" in *History, Literature, and Society in the Book of Acts*, ed. Ben Witherington, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 279.

[58] Shipp, *Paul the Reluctant Witness: Power and Weakness in Luke's Portrayal* (Eugene, Or.: Cascade, 2005).

"historical and philosophical anachronisms in the method."[59] Following R. Dean Anderson's critique, Shipp notes that "Kennedy at no point . . . instructed his readers as to how ancient rhetoric informed and influenced the construction of the New Testament texts by their authors."[60] Arguing that one must first assess Hellenistic education in order to determine what, if any, rhetorical training the New Testament authors had, Shipp argues that Theon's *progymnasmata* provides a helpful guide for understanding Paul's portrayal in Acts, which concisely stated is a complete transformation from one who resists Christ-followers' proclamation of Jesus as Messiah to one overcome by the power of Jesus and changed into an empowered witness for the gospel.[61]

In addition to these ancient techniques, modern literary theory has been employed in analyzing Peter and Paul in Acts. For example, Marie-Eloise Rosenblatt makes an argument similar to that of Kayama and Kobayashi, namely that Luke "establishes a harmonious relationship between Peter and Paul" by the literary

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[59] Ibid., 25; George A. Kennedy, *New Testament Interpretation through Rhetorical Criticism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984).

[60] Shipp, 132; R. Dean Anderson, *Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul* (rev. ed.; Leuven: Peeters, 1999).

[61] Though he does not focus on Peter and/or Paul, Richard P. Thompson, *Keeping the Church in Its Place: The Church as Narrative Character in Acts* (New York: T & T Clark, 2006) utilizes ancient literary theory in an attempt to understand the role of the church in Acts. Thompson focuses on characterization in the ancient narrative as background for reading the character of the church in Acts. [61] He traces the development of the church through three major sections: first, the Jerusalem church (1:1-8:3); then the churches in and beyond Jerusalem (8:4-12:25); and finally the church in the Roman Empire (13:1-28:31). Thompson concludes that the church as a character in Acts consists of individuals among whom God is at work to proclaim God's message of universal salvation to the ends of the earth. In contrast to the church, unbelieving Judeans have rejected God's Messiah and now oppose the gospel's message of total inclusion.

technique of doubling.[62] By linking Paul with Peter, and thus with Jesus, Rosenblatt argues, "Paul's leadership and his convictions as a missionary have validity."[63] Luke, thus, legitimizes Paul and his missionary activity by emphasizing Peter and Paul's shared roles as witnesses to the resurrection and as preachers of the gospel. Further, "Luke tightens the relationship between Peter and Paul by describing both of them as initiators of the outreach to the [non-Judeans]" which was prompted by "their reception of inaugural visions which reorient and clarify the mission of each witness."[64]

Moreover, Pheme Perkins combines "insights derived from newer literary studies ... with the results of historical-critical interpretation" to present a portrait of Peter as an "ecclesial centrist."[65] In her treatment of Peter in Acts, Perkins maintains that the portrayal of Peter is consistent throughout Acts and that consistent characterization follows closely the ministry of Jesus in Luke's Gospel. While Peter is "usually the spokesperson" and "is clearly the central character among the apostles in Jerusalem," he "does not enjoy supremacy over the other apostles" and "always acts with others from the apostolic group."[66] Rejecting the Tübingen position of

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[62] Rosenblatt, *Paul the Accused: His Portrait in the Acts of the Apostles*, (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1995), 11. Andrew C. Clark's *Parallel Lives: The Relation of Paul to the Apostles in the Lucan Perspective* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 2001) demonstrates that verbal echoes, thematic agreements and sequence serve to control Luke's parallels but otherwise does not advance either methodological approach or interpretations of Peter and Paul in Acts.

[63] Ibid.

[64] Ibid., 14; 15.

[65] Perkins, *Peter: Apostle for the Whole Church*, (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1994), 54.

[66] Ibid., 95. cf. 89

conflicting Petrine and Pauline groups, Perkins argues that Peter should be viewed as a source of unity in the apostolic testimony.

Another aspect of literary approaches to the study of the New Testament emerged in the late 1970s as scholars began to ask what difference it makes to take seriously the narrative character of the gospels. Narrative Criticism, as it was eventually dubbed by David Rhoads in 1980,[67] initially focused on the gospels.[68] Luke Timothy Johnson's dissertation on the literary function of the possession narratives in Luke-Acts[69] helped initiate narrative critical studies of Acts. Influenced by these early approaches, Robert Tannehill was "the first to apply narrative criticism systematically to Luke-Acts as a whole."[70] More recently, William Kurz provides perhaps the best overview of the narrative method in relation to Luke-Acts by discussing the methodology and its applicability to the text of Luke-Acts.[71]

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[67] "Narrative Criticism and the Gospel of Mark," *JAAR* 50 (1982): 411-34 was originally delivered in 1980 at the final meeting of the SBL Seminar on Mark.

[68] During the 1970s, the SBL Seminar on Mark was instrumental in the development of Narrative Criticism. Rhoads cites Thomas Boomserhine, Joanna Dewey, Robert Fowler, Norman Peterson, Robert Tannehill, and Mary Ann Tolbert as particularly influential members of the seminar. For an example of some of the earliest published work, see David Rhoads and Donald Michie. *Mark as Story: An Introduction to the Narrative of a Gospel* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1982); Jack Dean Kingsbury, *The Christology of Mark's Gospel* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983); R. Alan Culpepper, *Anatomy of the Fourth Gospel: A Study in Literary Design* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983).

[69] *The Literary Function of Possessions in Luke-Acts*, SBLDS 39 (Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1977). This seems to have been the first narrative critical work on Luke-Acts, although Johnson uses the more generic term *literary approach* since the term *Narrative Criticism* had not yet been coined.

[70] Steve Walton, "Acts," in *The Face of New Testament Studies*, 232. Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts: A Literary Interpretation. Vol. 2: The Acts of the Apostles*.

[71] William S. Kurz, *Reading Luke-Acts: Dynamics of Biblical Narrative* (Louisville: Westminster/ John Knox, 1993). Also see his "Narrative Approaches to Luke-Acts," *Bib* 68 (1987): 203-19 and "Narrative Models for Imitation in Luke-Acts" in *Greeks, Romans, and Christians: Essays in Honor of Abraham J. Malherbe* (ed. David L. Balch, Everett Ferguson and Wayne A. Meeks; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990), 171-89.

The only narrative work, however, that treats the characters of both Paul and Peter in Acts is Thomas Phillips's "Narrative Characterizations of Peter and Paul in Early Christianity." Phillips "compare[s] the Peter and the Paul of the canonical Acts with the Peter and the Paul of the non-canonical, apocryphal Acts"[72] in order to examine the apparent incongruity between the accounts of Peter's financial resources. Despite this rather limited scope, the summary of the characters in the canonical Acts offers a slightly broader picture. Phillips says:

> On the one hand, according to Acts, Peter participates in the Jerusalem community's highly structured system of caring for the needy within its ranks (2:42-45). Peter is apparently without significant financial resources of his own; he has no silver or gold (3:6) and he never serves as a benefactor in his own right. He does temporarily serve as an agent in charge of distributing the community's benefactions (4:32-35; 5:1-11), but he soon relinquishes even this role as inconsistent with his apostolic calling (6:1-6). Thus, Peter is characterized as an apostle, a Christian leader, who is, by his own choice, impoverished and the beneficiary of other persons' generosity. On the other hand, Paul claims to have supported both himself and his traveling companions (20:34). Whereas Peter, as an apostle, has gifts laid at his feet, Paul was a benefactor who distributed funds which he has earned with his own hands (20:35). He is not merely an agent in charge of the community's benefactions. Paul is characterized as a self-supporting benefactor, whose final trip to Jerusalem was motivated by the desire to give offerings and alms to his people (24:17). In fact, Paul was apparently in possession of significant financial resources because he could underwrite the considerable costs associated with the fulfillment of a Nazarite vow (21:23-26), could give the wealthy Roman governor Felix reason to hope for a bribe (24:26), and could support himself throughout his two year Roman imprisonment (28:30). Thus, Paul is characterized as a self-supporting and generous person with a considerable amount of money at his disposal. This characterization of Paul stands in stark contrast to the characterization of Peter as one who lived within

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[72] Phillips, "Narrative Characterizations of Peter and Paul in Early Christianity." *ARC* 30 (2002): 139.

> a community which was sustained by the generosity of others and as one who possessed no economic resources of his own.[73]

The restricted focus on the financial aspects of the two characters, though interesting, stops short of providing a comprehensive character analysis. Philip's work is, nevertheless, a helpful step toward the narrative critical approach taken in the present study.

The search for the literary Peter and Paul, however, raised a new question, namely, how the audience constructs Peter and Paul as characters in the narrative and the anticipate effect of that construction upon the audience. A few recent studies that have examined various aspects of characterization in Luke-Acts have asked about the response expected of Luke's readers.[74] First, John Darr's *On Character Building* examines two characters (John the Baptist and Herod) and one character group (Pharisees) to demonstrate that readers of Luke-Acts create the characters as they move through the narrative.[75] To accomplish this, Darr employs Wolfgang Iser's form of reader-oriented criticism to develop an approach to reading biblical narratives that

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[73] Ibid., 140. For a treatment of Peter and Paul in Acts with a pastoral emphasis, see David Spell, *Peter and Paul in Acts* (Eugene, Or.: Wipf and stock, 2006).

[74] Since these studies do not address Peter and Paul, but other characters in Acts, they serve only as examples of the emerging interest in characterization in Acts.

[75] Darr, *On Character Building: The Reader and the Rhetoric of Characterization in Luke-Acts (*Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1992). Darr argues that, while John the Baptizer serves as an example to the reader of preparing for the coming of the Lord, neither he nor his disciples recognize Jesus during his ministry, creating a tension that is not resolved until Paul meets the disciples of John in Ephesus in Acts 19. The Pharisees exhibit the negative values of pride, love of money, injustice, hypocrisy, lack of repentance, murmuring, and illustrate how the proud, mighty, and rich are humbled. Thus the reader is persuaded to reject the Pharisees' system of values. In agreement with Greco-Roman stories of tyrants pitted against philosophers and with the biblical tradition of kings verses prophets, Herod plays the role of tyrant/king and Jesus of philosopher/prophet. The reader who is to witness to God's salvation in Jesus, will necessarily confront various tyrannical powers.

involves the complex interaction between reader, text, and extratext.[76] Crucial to this approach is that readers are shaped as they interact with the text's rhetoric and construct its characters. Likewise, Steven Sheeley's doctoral dissertation examines the narrative asides in Luke-Acts, which, he argues, aid in the development of themes and narrators while guiding readers into correct interpretation of the events recorded.[77]

Moreover, William H. Shepherd's revised doctoral dissertation employs Darr's method by arguing that a character is "created by both text and reader;" that is, "[t]he character is both generated by the text and constructed by the reader."[78] Shepherd emphasizes Iser's theory that texts contain "gaps" that must be filled in by the reader "with necessary literary, social, cultural, psychological, historical and other kind of information in order to understand the text."[79] Shepherd fills in these gaps in order to construct the Holy Spirit as a character that functions as the narrative symbol for reliability: the reliability of prophetic figures who speak under the Spirit's inspiration, the reliability of the narrative as indicated by the care with which it shows the work of the Spirit behind and through its plot, and for the reliability of God. Recently, Ju Hur

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[76] Iser, *The Implied Reader: Patterns of Communication in Prose Fiction from Bunyan to Beckett* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974); *The Act of Reading: A Theory of Aesthetic Response* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978). Darr also mentions Stanley Fish in places, though his approach is slightly different that Iser's. Fish, *Is There a Text in This Class? The Authority of Interpretive Communities* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980).

[77] Steven M. Sheeley, *Narrative Asides in Luke-Acts* (JSNTSup 72; Sheffield: JSOT, 1992).

[78] William H. Shepherd, *The Narrative Function of the Holy Spirit as a Character in Luke-Acts* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994), 80.

[79] Ibid., 81; Iser, *The Act of Reading*, 169.

has sought to supplement Shepherd's work by extending the character study into an analysis of the overall plot of Luke-Acts.[80] Rather than focusing on the Spirit as a character that is a symbol for reliability, Hur argues that the Holy Spirit provides the "divine frame of reference" which serves to give narrative reliability to the plot of Luke-Acts.[81] Both of these studies emphasize that the audience should find assurance and comfort in the dependability of the Spirit.

S. John Roth's revised doctoral dissertation examines the blind, lame and poor in Luke-Acts, arguing these marginalized characters should be understood together as a character type that is to be interpreted in the context of the Septuagint.[82] Roth's most helpful chapter, entitled "An Audience-Oriented Literary Approach to Reading Luke-Acts," offers an overview of Reader-Response Criticism, character analysis, and most helpful, constructing the authorial audience. Following Darr's emphasis on reader, text, and extratext, Roth maintains that the authorial audience of Luke-Acts would have constructed the character types of blind, lame, and poor in the text of Luke-Acts by utilizing its knowledge of these character groups in the Septuagint. Thus, when Luke portrays Jesus and his followers as bringing salvation to this

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[80] Hur, *A Dynamic Reading of the Holy Spirit in Luke-Acts* (JSNTSup; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001).

[81] Ibid., 279.

[82] S. John Roth, *The Blind, the Lame, and the Poor: Character Types in Luke-Acts* (JSNTSup; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 25-26.

character group, the authorial audience should understand this as bolstering Jesus' messianic credentials established in the Septuagint.

Focusing primarily on the interaction between text and reader, William Campbell discusses the "We" passages in Acts (16:10-17; 20:5-21:18; 21:19-26:32; 27:1-28:16). He argues that the author of Acts uses the first-person plural to establish the narrator as a character with whom the reader is to bond and whose narrative the reader is encouraged to view more positively.

> The 'we' character's primary role is to replace Barnabas as Paul's companion and witness in urgent times, to defend Paul's credibility in the story in ways that the apostle himself cannot, and to provide reassurance that Paul carries out God's directives as charged in spite of obstacles constructed by human characters or by nature" [83]

Since Paul is distrusted by some and viewed as a threat by others, argues Campbell, Paul needs a trustworthy character to support his reliability. The narrator of Acts first uses the character of Barnabas for this role, but after Barnabas and Paul part ways, the narrator enters the narrative to fulfill this role. Thus, by focusing attention on the literary role of the "we," Campbell emphasizes the function of the "we" and eschews connecting the "we" with the real author of Acts, thereby enhancing attention on the message of the narrative.

The works of Darr and those who followed him have opened the way to character studies in Luke-Acts that also emphasize the desired impact on the authorial

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[83] William S. Campbell, *The "We" Passages in the Acts of the Apostles: The Narrator as Narrative Character* (Atlanta: SBL, 2007), 90.

audience. Their work has stimulated a small number of narrative and reader-response approaches to Peter and Paul in Acts that emphasize character development and the interaction between the text and the reader. These approaches, to which we now turn, provide a basis the for approach of the present study to search for the *identity-forming* role of Peter and Paul in Acts.

The Quest for the Identity-Forming Peter and Paul

There have been several recent studies, employing narrative theory with an emphasis on the interaction of reader and text in analyses of Peter or Paul in Acts, that point toward the approach taken in the present study in that they seek to understand how the characters of Peter and Paul in Acts help to shape the identity of Luke's audience. First, Denton Lotz argues that the Peter/Cornelius narrative is the author's attempt to convince the audience to accept an identity not based solely on ethnicity, but on a broader basis of shared beliefs and practices. Peter is thus portrayed as one whose understanding of God was challenged and who thereby gained "a larger vision of his Christian faith in the mission of the church for the whole world."[84] Although he does not explicitly state that he uses an audience-oriented approach, Lotz emphasizes how the audience, interacting with the Peter/Cornelius narrative, can, like Peter, come to a wider understanding of those whom God accepts.

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[84] Lotz, "Peter's Wider Understanding of God's Will - Acts 10:34-48." *IRM* 77 (1988): 201.

David A. Handy, unlike Lotz, explicitly employs reader-response combined with narrative criticism to emphasize the identity formation of the audience. He argues that Luke left key gaps in the repetitions of the Cornelius story in order to draw the audience into the narrative and require active participation in the story itself.[85] By exploring two major literary features of the Cornelius narrative, namely the echoes of biblical texts and repetition, Handy convincingly argues that by disclosing "new clues with each recounting of Cornelius' vision" Luke attempts to create suspense and maintain the audience's interest and involvement, thus allowing them to experience a similar struggle to understand God's inclusion of the non-Judeans that the characters in the story have. For Handy, Acts portrays Peter as one who puzzles over the meaning of the vision and the subsequent events in Acts 10, thus drawing readers into the story so that they too are puzzled at the inclusion called for by God.

Finally, in his doctoral dissertation, Vaughn CroweTipton uses literary and sociological methods in an analysis of the text of Acts in Codex D.[86] His methodology focuses on audience-oriented investigation of the Petrine narratives of Codex Bezae. Echoing the arguments of others, Tipton argues that Peter functions as a paradigmatic figure who witnesses to the gospel (Rosenblatt, Bayer, Hansen) and

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[85] Handy, "The Gentile Pentecost: A Literary Study of the Story of Peter and Cornelius (Acts 10:1-11:18)," Ph.D. Dissertation (Union Theological Seminary in Virginia, 1998).

[86] Vaughn CroweTipton's doctoral dissertation, "Ad Theophilum: A Socio-Rhetorical Reading of Peter in Acts in Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis" Ph.D. Dissertation (Baylor University, 1999), 23.

redefines of the people of God from an exclusive ethnic group to an inclusive group transcending ethnic boundaries (Lotz, Handy), and whom the audience is invited to emulate.

While these approaches have pointed toward the interaction between the text and the audience, the nature of this interaction – what happens to the audience in the identity-forming process – remains elusive and needs further exploration.

Conclusion

The studies in the preceding review have revealed three quests for Peter and Paul in Acts. The search for the *historical* Peter and Paul focused on reconstructing early Christianity in which Tübingen scholars maintained that Peter and Paul were the leaders of two opposing groups in early Christianity. Critics of this approach softened the division between Peter and Paul by focusing on how each was depicted in Acts, rather than reconstructing the whole of early Christianity. These critiques led to a literary turn in Lukan scholarship which brought about the search for the *literary* Peter and Paul in Acts. This approach focused on the text of Acts itself rather than attempting to reconstruct early Christianity as the historical search had done. Literary studies emphasized that Acts portrays Paul as missionary and theologian as the Christ movement spread beyond the bounds of Jerusalem and Judaism, with some emphasis on Paul's Judean-ness in Acts which serves to highlight the continuity of Pauline Christianity with Jesus and the original twelve disciples. Furthermore, since, in Acts,

Peter is open to boundary modification, he is in essential agreement with Paul and, therefore, comes into conflict with traditional Judean Christ followers in the Jerusalem community.

More recent literary-based work, in a search for an *identity-forming* Peter and Paul, has raised the question of the anticipated impact of the narrative on Luke's audience. While four recent studies have taken this approach to Peter or Paul individually in Acts, there remains a need to pursue this approach in a full discussion of Peter and Paul in Acts and with special attention to the dynamics of the text's identity-forming work.

CHAPTER TWO:
APPROACHES TO EARLY CHRISTIAN IDENTITY

I closed the previous chapter by noting that narrative and audience-oriented approaches are emerging in scholarly discussions of Peter and Paul in Acts. Also surfacing is the related question of the text's role in shaping the identity of early Christ-followers. The relationship between narrative, audience, and identity formation, however, remains underdeveloped and needs much greater attention. In this chapter, I will address some of the ways early Christian identity has been addressed in previous discussions, focusing primarily upon four approaches that emphasize identity in relation to ethnicity, theology, social processes, and narrative processes. The chapter will conclude by suggesting a way forward that combines the strengths of these previous approaches. We will then be ready, in the following chapter, to elaborate on this combination by drawing connections between narrative and identity formation.

Identity and Ethnicity: The Internal Struggle for Supremacy

The earliest modern approaches to understanding early Christian identity focused on the relationship between Judean and non-Judean Christ-followers and their struggle for supremacy in the nascent Christ movement. This approach focused on

identity in terms of ethnicity and ethnic distinctions made between groups. Identity, therefore, was addressed by examining ethnic identity markers, especially circumcision, and the conflict it created.

The pioneer of this perspective, mentioned in the previous chapter, was F. C. Baur, who argued that the early church was marked by severe conflict along ethnic lines; that is, between a Judean (Petrine) group and a non-Judean (Pauline) group. Baur argued that the split between these two groups began with the conflict involving the Hellenists and the Hebrews, which culminated in the execution of Stephen.[1] The tension between these groups, according to Baur, escalated in the conflict over ethnic identity markers, particularly purity regulations concerning meals and circumcision. Acts 10-11 highlights the tension related to Judeans eating with non-Judeans and Acts 15 depicts the conflict over circumcision, which Baur argues is between an ethnically Judean third party on one side and Peter and Paul on the other. The purpose of this characterization, Baur suggests, was to conceal the real conflict over Judean ethnic identity that existed between Peter and Paul, as illustrated in Galatians 2.

Baur's hypothesis sparked scholarly interest in the conflict between Judean and non-Judean Christ-followers and continues to influence scholars of Christian origins. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Baumgarten argued that Baur's view failed to account for the sociological aspects of changing religious/ethnic groups and Ritschl

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[1] Baur, *The Church History of the First Three Centuries* (trans. Allan Menzies; London: Williams and Norgate, 1878), 44-46; trans. of *Geschichte der christlichen Kirche* (Vol. 1, 1853).

maintained that it failed to acknowledge greater diversity within both non-Judean and Judean Christianity. For Baumgarten, there was much more involved than simply rejecting or embracing certain ethnic customs; anticipating future approaches, he argued that the social implications of such a shift must also be considered. For Ritschl, early Christian identity could not be understood merely in terms of ethnicity nor could it be limited to two traditions.

More recently, scholars have attributed to Baur's theory the denigration of Judean identity in the period of early Christianity that persisted into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. William S. Campbell notes that "he [Baur] contributed enormously to the tendency in the Paulinism of the last century and a half to denigrate the image of Judaism in the New Testament."[2] Furthermore, Shawn Kelley argues that,

> For Baur, Christianity, despite its origins in the East, is the Western religion. Consequently, his task is to define the essence of Christianity by purging it of anything that smacks of Judaism or the Orient, of nationalism, legalism, and particularism.[3]

This perspective, exacerbated by the work of Ferdinand Weber,[4] notes Campbell, "had the long-term effect of depicting Judaism in a negative light."[5]

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[2] Campbell, *Paul and the Creation of Christian Identity* (LNTS; New York: T & T Clark, 2006), 16.

[3] Kelley, *Racializing Jesus: Race, Ideology, and the Formation of Modern Biblical Scholarship* (London: Routledge, 2002), 76.

[4] Weber, *Jüdische Theologie Auf Grund Des Talmud* (Leipzig: Dörffling und Franke, 1897). Weber portrayed Judaism as a legalistic religion in contrast to Christianity.

[5] Campbell, *Paul and the Creation of Christian Identity*, 16.

The negative view of Judaism resulting from Baur's reconstruction, centered as it was in antithesis to Pauline Christianity, was challenged by George Foot Moore in his 1921 article in which he noted this negative shift in perspective concerning Judaism[6] and set forth his own constructive presentation entitled *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era*.[7] This reassessment was elaborated decades later in the work of E.P. Sanders, who examined the prevailing view of Paul as opposed to anything Judean in relation to the Reformation era hermeneutics of Luther.[8] James D.G. Dunn aptly describes Sanders' argument:

> Sanders' basic claim is not so much that Paul has been misunderstood as that the picture of Judaism drawn from Paul's writings is historically false, not simply inaccurate in part but fundamentally mistaken. . . . The problem focuses on the character of Judaism as a religion of salvation. For rabbinic specialists the emphasis in rabbinic Judaism on God's goodness and generosity, his encouragement of repentance and offer of forgiveness is plain. Whereas Paul seems to depict Judaism as coldly and calculatingly legalistic, a system of 'works' righteousness, where salvation is *earned* by the *merit* of good *works*. Looked at from another angle, the problem is the way in which Paul has been understood as the great exponent of the central Reformation doctrine of justification by faith. . . . If Stendahl cracked the mould of twentieth-century reconstructions of Paul's theological context, by showing how much it had been determined by Luther's quest for a gracious God, Sanders has broken it altogether by showing how different these reconstructions are from what we know of first-century Judaism from other sources. [9]

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[6] Moore, "Christian Writers on Judaism," *HTR* 14 (1921): 197-254.

[7] Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era: The Age of the Tannaim* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927; repr., New York: Schocken Books, 1971).

[8] Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism: A Comparison of Patterns of Religion* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977); *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983); *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition* (3 Vol.; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980).

[9] Sanders, *Jesus, Paul, and the Law: Studies in Mark and Galatians* (Louisville: Westminster/ John Knox, 1990), 185-6.

Nevertheless, Dunn criticized Sanders' presentation of Paul as "only a little better than the one rejected."[10] While Sanders recovered Paul's Judean ethnic identity, he maintained that Paul abandoned this identity in favor of being "in Christ."

Dunn maintains that Paul did not reject his ethnic identity nor did he criticize the Law. Rather, Dunn argues that Paul was critical of the misuse of the Law that created social barriers, which Paul refers to as "the works of the law":

> 'works of the law' are nowhere understood here, either by his [Judean] interlocutors or by Paul himself, as works which *earn* God's favor, as merit-amassing observances. They are rather seen as *badges:* they are simply what membership of the covenant people involves, what mark out the [Judeans] as God's people;...in other words, Paul has in view precisely what Sanders calls 'covenantal nomism.' And what he denies is that God's justification depends on 'covenantal nomism,' that God's grace extends only to those who wear the badge of the covenant.[11]

Paul, according to Dunn, does not reject these ethnic identity markers; rather he objects to their use in maintaining an exclusive ethnic purity.

This discussion of Paul and his relation to Judaism is important for our study since this understanding of Paul revived the Judean aspect of early Christian identity. This perspective spawned further studies of the relation between early Christianity and its Judean and Hellenistic context, thus influencing the way scholars addressed the question of early Christian identity. Rather then merely examining ethnicity and the ethnic conflict involved in the formation of early Christian identity, scholars

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[10] Ibid., 187.
[11] Ibid., 194.

began to realize that much more was involved in the process of identity formation than negotiating ethnicity. One of the most influential approaches to understanding early Christian identity focused on the role of theology in identity formation and maintenance.

Identity and Theology: The Quest for "Orthodoxy" and "Heresy"

One factor that emerged in the early twentieth century was the definition of identity in terms of right belief, that is, along the lines of theological "orthodoxy" and "heresy." Following Ritschl's criticism that early Christianity could not be limited to two traditions nor understood solely in terms of ethnicity, Walter Bauer argued that early Christianity was far more diverse in terms of theology. In his monumental study that would change the landscape of the study of early Christianity, Bauer claimed that in some regions the original expression of Christianity would later become labeled as "heresy."[12] Thus, the sense of "orthodoxy" and "heresy" was not present from the beginning of the Christ movement. Rather, there existed many diverse expressions of the Christ-following community, most of which would eventually be subsumed into an "orthodox" expression. According to this view, Christian identity was closely connected with correct theology, which became the determining factor of one's identity; if one did not believe rightly, she or he was labeled deviant and an outsider.

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[12] Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity* (trans. Robert A. Kraft and Gerhard Krodel; Philadelphia Fortress Press, 1971); trans. of *Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzerei im ältesten Christentum* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1964; repr. of 1934).

Unfortunately, Bauer examined mainly second-century expressions of Christian identity, leaving the question of unity and identity in the New Testament unanswered. Ironically, the first study to apply Bauer's theory to the New Testament writings would come in the same year as the first English translation of Bauer's work.

Robinson and Koester's *Trajectories through Early Christianity* attempted to apply Bauer's model to the writings of the New Testament.[13] Essentially agreeing with Bauer's assessment of early Christianity, Robinson and Koester provide evidence for several distinct lines of development in the New Testament. These lines of development constitute diverse identities within the New Testament writings such as Johannine, Judean, Pauline, post-Pauline, etc. Like Bauer, Robinson and Koester maintain that "orthodoxy" grew out of this original diversity.

Likewise, James D. G. Dunn's *Unity and Diversity in the New Testament* examines the New Testament perspectives on topics including the use of the Hebrew Bible, worship, ministry, and sacraments.[14] While Dunn agrees that early Christian identity was very diverse in specific beliefs, he departs from the previously mentioned studies in that he identifies a central "unifying element," which Dunn concludes, is "the conviction that the wandering charismatic preacher from Nazareth

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[13] Robinson and Koester, *Trajectories through Early Christianity*(Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971).

[14] Dunn, *Unity and Diversity in the New Testament: An Inquiry into the Character of Earliest Christianity,* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1977; repr. London: SCM Press, 1990, 2006).

had ministered, died and been raised from the dead to bring God and man [*sic*] finally together."[15]

Despite Dunn's argument for a central unifying element, this emphasis on a wider diversity than originally envisioned by Baur added breadth to studies of early Christian identity. While ethnic identities were certainly important to the earliest Christ-followers, these identities may have caused certain groups to emphasize certain beliefs that may have been divergent from other Christ-following groups. Thus, social location and social processes began to surface as important factors in understanding early Christian identity.

Identity and Social Processes: Social-Scientific Approaches to Identity

With social location and processes becoming important in studies of early Christianity, scholars began to understand that identity formation was much more than a matter of maintaining ethnic boundaries and the negotiation of diverse beliefs; identity formation is a complex process that is shaped by various social factors. The earliest sociological approaches to early Christianity focused on describing the social context in which Christianity developed and may be represented in the important works of E.A. Judge[16] and H.C. Kee,[17] for example.

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[15] Ibid., 369.

[16] Judge, "The Social Identity of the First Christians: A Question of Method in Religious History." In *Social Distinctives of the Christians in the First Century: Pivotal Essays* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2008; repr. from *JRH* 11:2 (1980): 201-17).

[17] Kee, *Christian Origins in Sociological Perspective: Methods and Resources* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1980).

Although it has proven extremely helpful in understanding the context of the ancient world, social description did not produce a more complete understanding of the process of identity formation. Sensing a need to analyze social processes, some scholars began to employ various models and perspectives from cultural anthropology and social psychology.[18] For example, Jack Sanders' *Schismatics, Sectarians, Dissidents, Deviants* employs deviance theory in an examination of the relationships between Judeans and Christ-followers before 135 C.E. Deviance theory, Sanders notes, asserts that the "control of deviance is a form of boundary maintenance brought on by external or internal changes that cause an identity crisis."[19] He concludes that "mainstream Judaism . . . struck out at the deviant Christians in order to preserve its boundaries, its self identity as a culture."[20] Of course, one could wonder if there was a "mainstream Judaism" as well as argue that the Christ-followers also struck out against the deviant Judeans who did not accept their message.[21]

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[18] This shift from social description to the use of social-scientific models was signaled by John G. Gager, *Kingdom and Community: The Social World of Early Christianity* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1975). Though they are different in focus, these two approaches are by no means mutually exclusive. Indeed, social description will play an important role in chapter four on the historical/cultural context of Luke-Acts while approaches using social-scientific models are crucial for the development of our method in the following chapter. For a detailed bibliography of the Social-Scientific method see, John H. Elliott, *What Is Social-Scientific Criticism?* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 138-74.

[19] Sanders, *Schismatics, Sectarians, Dissidents, Deviants: The First One Hundred Years of Jewish-Christian Relations* (Valley Forge: Trinity, 1993), 133.

[20] Ibid., 150.

[21] See, for example, Marcel Simon, *Verus Israel: A Study of the Relations between Christians and Jews in the Roman Empire, 135-425* (trans. H. McKeating; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986); trans. of *Verus Israel; étude sur les relations entre chrétiens et juifs dans l'Empire romain, 135-425* (Paris : E. de Boccard, 1948). Miriam S. Taylor, *Anti-Judaism and Early Christian Identity: A Critique of the Scholarly Consensus* (Leiden: Brill, 1995) argues that the conflict between Judaism and Christianity was of symbolic nature that was "divorced from social reality." (5)

Most significant for the present study is Philip Esler, who pioneered the use of the Social Identity Approach (SIA) in biblical interpretation.[22] SIA, which will be discussed in detail in the following chapter, involves social differentiation based on group membership and includes consideration of salient group norms, boundaries, and rituals. Esler employed various aspects of this method in studies of Galatians, Romans, and the Gospel of John.[23]

In his study of Galatians, Esler focuses on intergroup processes and the distinctions made between ingroup and outgroup members.[24] He holds that Paul's main purpose in Galatians is to create and to maintain the identity of the Christ-following group. Since the Christ-following group that Paul addressed consisted of both Judeans and non-Judeans, the identity had to be expressed through boundary-making with these two groups.[25] Thus, Paul is less an author of a theology of freedom than an architect of group identity in that he draws identity boundaries between Judean outgroups and his ingroup readers.

In contrast, Esler's study of Romans focuses on intragroup processes and the developing of a common ingroup identity.[26] Esler's thesis is that there existed within

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[22] Esler uses the title Social Identity Theory. The discussion of this theory in the following chapter will clarify why I choose to refer to Social Identity Approach.

[23] Esler's works on Galatians and Romans will be discussed here while his work on the Gospel of John will be discussed in the following section.

[24] Philip Esler, *Galatians* (London: Routledge, 1998).

[25] Esler relies here on Fredrik Barth's suggestion that ethnic identity was not an essence, but found expression through boundary-making. Fredrik Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries. The Social Organization of Culture Difference* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company), 1969.

[26] Esler, *Conflict and Identity in Romans: The Social Setting of Paul's Letter* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2003).

the Roman congregations quite a high level of conflict between Judean and non-Judean Christ-followers after the former returned to Rome following the edict of Claudius.[27] Paul's epistle to the Romans, then, represents his attempt to create a common ingroup identity among both Judean and non-Judean Christ-followers. The goal was not to force each subgroup to forsake its own cultural identity;[28] rather the goal was to widen the scope of Christian group identity to encompass both. The individual subgroup boundaries would become more permeable while the common group identity superseded each subgroup.

Following Esler, other studies explored the implications of SIA on New Testament epistles, two of which are particularly notable.[29] First, Matthew Marohl employs SIA in his examination of the letter to the Hebrews in an attempt to ascertain the addressees and purpose of the homily.[30] Marohl argues correctly that the addressees understood themselves as a distinct social group noting the use of "us" and "them" throughout the letter. He further notes that the author relates both the ingroup ("us") and the outgroup ("them") to faith; the ingroup is "faithful" and the outgroup is

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[27] I will discussion the edict of Claudius more fully in Chapter Four.

[28] In fact, such a move would have likely resulted in the failure. Esler, 143. I will elaborate on this in a discussion of common ingroup identity in chapter two.

[29] Three other studies may also be noted. Anne Faulkner, "Jewish Identity and the Jerusalem Conference: Social Identity and Self-categorization in the Early Church Communities," *ESharp* 6 (2005). Online: http://www.gla.ac.uk/media/media_41174_en.pdf cited September 15, 2008; Aaron Kuecher "The Spirit And the 'Other': Social Identity, Ethnicity and Intergroup Reconciliation in Luke-Acts" (Ph.D. diss., University of St. Andrews, 2008); J. Brian Tucker, "You Belong to Christ Paul and the Formation of Social Identity in 1 Cor 1-4" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Wales Lampeter, 2009).

[30] Marohl, *Faithfulness and the Purpose of Hebrews: A Social Identity Approach* (Eugene: Pickwick, 2008).

"unfaithful." Marohl examines the comparison of Moses and Jesus in terms of a shared life story and prototypicality, concluding that the author of Hebrews integrates the addressees and Jesus into a shared life story (narrative) in which Jesus is prototypical of their shared common identity, faithfulness. He concludes that the purpose of Hebrews is best understood in terms of social creativity in response to the crisis of the addressees' shared negative social identity. By limiting the addressee's possibility for social mobility by urging them not to "fall away," the author offers social creativity in the form of a symbolic outgroup with whom the addressees are to compare themselves, namely the unfaithful.

Finally, Minna Shkul's recently completed doctoral dissertation at the University of Sheffield employs SIA to demonstrate how Ephesians established early Christian identity.[31] Shkul reviews literature on social remembering and reputation construction and applies these in an examination of how the text of Ephesians uses the reputations of Christ and Paul to legitimize the community, explaining non-Israelite inclusion into the people of God, reforms of Judean culture, and contours of the early Christian identity.

These studies show that Social-Scientific models, particularly SIA, have proven beneficial in examining the processes involved in early Christian identity formation. What has largely gone unaddressed, however, is the embedding of these

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[31] Minna Shkul "Reading Ephesians: Exploring Social Entrepreneurship in the Text" (Ph.D. diss., University of Sheffield, 2008), forthcoming from T & T Clark. The abstract of the dissertation is available at http://www.helsinki.fi/teol/hyel/rimi/pdf/Shkul_Diss_abstract.pdf.

processes in the narratives of the early Christian movement. With the exception of Shkul's work, scholars have largely neglected modern literary theory when considering social categorization and identity formation in early Christianity.[32]

This is not to say, however, that no one has raised the question of the connection between texts and early Christian identity. Despite the neglect of literary aspects in many social-scientific approaches, some interest has emerged recently in the role of texts in the shaping of early Christian identity. These approaches, which we turn to now, emphasize the ways that audiences and texts interact to form identity.

Identity and the Narrative Process: Texts in Identity Formation

The notion that the texts of the New Testament served, at least in part, to form the identity of early Christian communities is a relatively new approach in New Testament scholarship. Two scholars in particular are notable.

In *Matthew and the Margins*, Warren Carter asserts that "the gospel is an identity-forming . . . narrative."[33] This identity is centered in Christ-followers' "allegiance to Jesus as God's agent" but is not something created anew; rather, "the gospel continues something that is already underway for the gospel's audience."[34] The gospel's audience is assumed to have been familiar with "Jewish scriptures,

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[32] A possible exception to this is Esler and Piper's emphasis on the characterization of Mary, Martha, and Lazarus in the Gospel of John. Nevertheless, the authors engage modern literary theory only nominally.

[33] Warren Carter, *Matthew and the Margins: A Sociopolitical and Religious Reading* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 2000), 8. Also, see Carter, *Households and Discipleship: A Study of Matthew 19-20* (JSNT; Sheffield: JSOT, 1994).

[34] Ibid., 8.

traditions, and piety" and, therefore, the gospel builds upon an existing identity to shape a distinctive identity of Jesus followers. Carter concludes that the "gospel seeks, then, to define the identity and way of life of the community of disciples by presenting its distinctive origin, governance, deeds, and practices which are to mark its everyday life."[35] The author, according to Carter, accomplishes this purpose by means of naming, central focus, claims of exclusive revelation, rituals and associations, social organization, invective against opponents, apocalyptic eschatology, and definitions of origin, governance, and practices.[36]

Like Carter, Judith Lieu maintains that texts played an important role in the formation of early Christian identity. She notes that "without continuity there can be no identity," thus stories "construct identity through their poetics."[37] Identity is shaped, therefore, as stories from the past are re-interpreted to meet the needs of the present and future. In this regard, texts "shape and are shaped by communities' dynamic self-understanding."[38] Moreover, "the same history can be used differently by different claimants, while different histories may be reconciled with each other in a single text or author."[39] Thus, Christ-followers continued to use the stories of ancient Israel to shape their identity. Like Carter, Lieu acknowledges that this

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[35] Ibid., 14.
[36] Ibid., 9-11.
[37] Lieu, *Christian Identity in the Jewish and Graeco-Roman World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 62; 27..
[38] Ibid., 27.
[39] Ibid., 27, 97. Lieu also discusses the difficulties of speaking of an early Christian identity in *Neither Jew nor Greek?: Constructing Early Christianity* (New York: T & T Clark, 2002), 191-209.

identity-forming activity builds upon existing identities to shape a distinctive identity of Christ-followers.[40]

More recently, Philip Esler and Ronald Piper noted in their study of the Gospel of John that "[b]y focusing on Lazarus, Martha, and Mary as prototypical Christ-followers, we inevitably enter the question of characterization in the Fourth Gospel."[41] Esler and Piper, therefore, hint at the potential combination of prototypicality (one aspect of the Social Identity Approach) and narrative theory. Regrettably, however, their engagement of narrative theory is nominal at best, focusing as it does on the works of Martyn, Culpeper, and Hakola rather than engaging non-biblical narrative critics.[42] Despite the lack of interaction with modern literary theory, however, Esler and Piper successfully make the connection between characters in literature and prototypes/social memory from SIA noting that, in John 11:1-12:19, the characters of Lazarus, Mary, and Martha are "prototypes of the identity of Johannine Christ-followers in the first century CE."[43]

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[40] Texts construct a world; they do this out of the multiple worlds, including textual ones, that they and their authors and readers already inhabit and experience as 'reality'; that new world itself becomes part of subsequent 'reality' within and out of which new constructions may be made." Ibid., 61.

[41] Esler, *Lazarus, Mary and Martha: Social-Scientific Approaches to the Gospel of John* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2006), 18.

[42] J. Louis Martyn, *History and Theology in the Fourth Gospel* (New York: Harper & Row, 1968; repr., 1979, 2003); R. Alan Culpepper, *Anatomy of the Fourth Gospel: A Study in Literary Design* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983); Raimo Hakola, "A Character Resurrected: Lazarus in the Fourth Gospel and Afterwards" in *Characterization in the Gospels: Reconceiving Narrative Criticism* (ed. David M. Rhoads and Kari Syreeni, 223-63; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999).

[43] Ibid., 43.

This emerging interest in the role of texts in the formation of early Christian identity has identified several elements. With the exception of Esler and Piper, these works, however, focus primarily on the narrative and so divert attention from the social processes of identity formation. Esler and Piper do just the opposite; they focus primarily on the social processes and thus relegate the discussion of narrative to a small number of references. What is needed, therefore, is an approach that will bring together these elements to develop an integrated method for understanding how the narratives of the New Testament helped to form the identity of the early Christ-followers.

A Way Forward: A Narrative-Identity Model

Each of the approaches mentioned above has contributed substantially to the discussion of early Christian identity formation. The earliest approaches served to highlight the importance of ethnic markers such as food and meal customs and circumcision but failed to recognize other social factors that were involved. Social-scientific approaches address the larger social phenomena but neglect the role of narratives in identity formation. Recent works that highlight the role of narrative have identified several helpful elements of narrative that help shape identity but so focus on the text that they neglect the social processes.

This gap in scholarship drives the concern of the present study to bring together theories of narrative and social identity into a coherent method that will help us

understand better how the narratives of the New Testament function in the process of identity formation. Thus, the central methodological question of the present study is: can connections between the Social Identity Approach and Narrative Theory be established that bring together the insights of these two methods in order to understand better how identity formation takes place in the interaction between audience and text? In the following chapter, after an overview of each of these theories, I will develop connections that, I argue, make such a combination possible. By combining these theories, I will set forth the Narrative-Identity model that focuses on the narrative elements of the text and the interaction between text and reader through the insights of various approaches to social identity.

CHAPTER THREE:
A NARRATIVE-IDENTITY MODEL

In the first two chapters we noted that despite recent works on Peter and Paul in Acts that have raised the question of the expected impact of the narrative on the Lukan audience, there remains a need to pursue this approach in a full discussion of Peter and Paul in Acts and with special attention on the role of the interaction between text and audience in early Christian identity formation. In this chapter, I will draw together theories of social identity and memory and narrative by highlighting the important contribution of social memory and prototype studies. The resulting method can serve as a helpful model for understanding the interaction between text and audience and its identity-forming work. This chapter is framed by discussions of the development of social identity theory in the first section and narrative theory in the third. The two theories are linked by drawing connections between the two through theories of social memory and prototypes in the second section. In the final section of this chapter, I will bring these diverse theories together to form a Narrative-Identity model for biblical interpretation.

The phrase "narrative identity" was coined by Paul Ricoeur in his landmark work *Time and Narrative*.[1] Later, Ricoeur defined narrative identity more explicitly as "the kind of identity that human beings acquire through the mediation of the narrative function."[2] This narrative identity is developed through interaction with the narrative in a three-fold process: prefiguration (the preunderstanding the reader/hearer brings to the text), configuration (the author's construction of the text and the readers' interaction with the narrative world of the text), and refiguration (the fusion of the world of the text and the world of the reader).[3] Narrative identity, then, is constructed in the process of engaging a narrative with a certain pre-existing identity based upon a reader's preunderstanding and reconfiguring that identity based upon interaction with the narrative. We may develop Ricoeur's model of narrative identity more fully by exploring it in terms of social identity and memory as well as narrative theory.

The Social Identity Approach

The Social Identity Approach is an umbrella term encompassing two related fields of identity theory, Social Identity and Self-Categorization Theories. As subsets

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[1] Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative*, (Trans Kathleen McLaughlin and David Pellauer; 3 vols.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 3.244-48; trans. of *Temps et Récit* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1983-1985).

[2] "Narrative Identity" in *On Paul Ricoeur: Narrative and Interpretation* (ed. David Wood; New York: Routledge, 1991), 188.

[3] For a more thorough overview of this process see Dan R. Stiver, *Theology after Ricoeur: New Directions in Hermeneutical Theology* (Louisville: Westminister John Knox, 2001), 66-70.

of social psychology,[4] these theories emerged in the twentieth century, especially during and after World War II, as concern increased for understanding how people and groups interact with other people and groups. Early attempts to explain these social processes focused on prejudice and determined that discrimination was the result of an irrational manifestation of individual frustration.[5]

Predecessors to the Social Identity Approach

The Social Identity Approach emerged as a methodological approach after several decades of academic exploration into the relation between the individual and society and the development of a person's personal and social identities. One of the most significant early attempts was the work of George H. Mead, who, rather than examining human experience in terms of individual psychology, describes how the individual mind and self arises out of the social process. For Mead, psychology had "dealt with various phases of social experience from the psychological standpoint of individual experience."[6] Mead asserts that since the individual is the product of

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[4] Social Psychology is generally subdivided into two distinct areas of expertise; psychologists who address social issues are normally interested in the individual while sociologists are typically interested in group processes. See William H. Sewell, "Some Reflections on the Golden Age of Interdisciplinary Social Psychology," *Annual Review of Sociology* 15 (1989): 1-16. Despite the differences in method and outcome between sociologically oriented and psychologically oriented social psychology, this field is sometimes referred to as a bridge between sociologists and psychologists. For example see H. Andrew Michener, John D. Delamater, and Daniel J. Myers, eds. *Social Psychology*, 5 ed. (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 2004), 5.

[5] For example, Dollard, Doob, Miller, Mowrer, and Sears, *Frustration and Aggression* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1939).

[6] Mead, *Mind, Self & Society from the Standpoint of a Social Behaviorist* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934), 1. Mead was also one of the formative thinkers concerning the formulation of the past to solve present problems in "The Nature of the Past" in *Essays in Honor of John Dewey* (ed. John Coss; New York: Henry Holt & Company, 1929) 235-42.

society, with identity arising out of the social experience, individual experience is best understood within the context of social order. World War II renewed and strengthened the desire to understand these processes. One major study published after that war focused on unresolved conflict as the source of deviant group behavior.[7] Another significant pioneer in this area of study, Henri Tajfel (whom we shall discuss below), was also impacted by World War II.

A major step toward the development of SIA was the work of Leon Festinger in his 1954 theory of social comparison.[8] Perhaps better known for his theory of cognitive dissonance,[9] Festinger also developed a theory of social comparison, asserting that most people learn about and evaluate themselves by comparison with other people. According to Festinger, social comparison may flow in either an upward or downward direction, depending upon the perceived status of the person(s) with whom the individual compares him/herself.

Also influential in the development of SIA was the Realistic Conflict Theory proposed by Muzafer Sherif.[10] The theory posits that limited resources lead to conflict, prejudice, and discrimination among groups that seek common resources. To prove the theory, Sherif divided a Boy Scout camp into two groups, the Eagles and

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[7] Theodor W. Adorno, *The Authoritarian Personality* (New York: Harper, 1950).

[8] Leon Festinger, "A Theory of Social Comparison Processes," *HR* 7 (1954): 117-40.

[9] Leon Festinger, *A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance* (Evanston, Ill.: Row, 1957). Also see his *Conflict, Decision, and Dissonance*, Stanford Studies in Psychology (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1964).

[10] Muzafer Sherif, *Intergroup Conflict and Cooperation: The Robbers Cave Experiment* (Norman: University Book Exchange, 1961).

the Rattlers. After helping each group to become cohesive, he introduced competitive games and other conflicts. Sherif explains the results:

> The groups exhibited in word and deed repeated hostility toward one another; they standardized unflattering attitudes and stereotypes toward one another. . . . The state of friction was produced systematically through the introduction of conditions of rivalry and frustration perceived by the subjects as stemming from the other group. By the end of Stage 2, as we have seen, the intergroup friction was crystallized in some unfavorable stereotypes and in the repeatedly expressed desire to have nothing more to do with the other group.[11]

Once the two groups had reached this stage of intergroup bias and discrimination, Sherif notes "the main objective of our study could be undertaken, namely the reduction of intergroup friction."[12]

After several attempts to reduce tension through mere informal contact with one another did not work, Sherif introduced a series of common, superordinate goals to bring the two warring groups together. For several days, members of both groups met these common, superordinate goals with increasing cooperation and the reduction of intergroup conflict. Sherif concludes,

> When groups in a state of friction are brought into contact under conditions embodying superordinate goals the attainment of which is compelling but which cannot be achieved by the efforts of one group alone, they cooperate toward the common goal.

and

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[11] Ibid., 151.
[12] Ibid.

> Cooperation between groups necessitated by a series of situations embodying superordinate goals will have a cumulative effect in the direction of reduction of existing tension between groups.[13]

Sherif's hypotheses continue to be highly influential since their conclusions were shaped by real-life situation in contrast to many of the experiments later carried out by social identity theorists. This groundbreaking study helped to set the stage for the development of Social Identity Theory

Social Identity Theory

In the early 1970s, armed with Sherif's data, Henri Tajfel began publishing studies concerning group processes and his ideas on social identity.[14] These studies culminated in 1979 when Tajfel and his former student John C. Turner published "The Social Identity Theory of Intergroup Behavior." Rejecting previous attempts to understand intergroup conflict in terms of unequal distribution of objective resources, Tajfel argued that simply recognizing that one belongs to a specific group is "sufficient to trigger intergroup discrimination favoring the in-group."[15] Thus, people

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[13] Ibid., 183.

[14] Henri Tajfel, M. G. Billig, R. P. Bundy, and Claude Flament, "Social Categorization and Intergroup Behavior," *EJSP* 1 (1971): 149-78; "La Catégorisation Sociale" in *Introduction à la Psychologie Sociale* (ed. Serge Moscovici: Paris: Larousse, 1972), 271-302; Tajfel and M. G. Billig. "Social Categorization and Similarity in Intergroup Behavior," *EJSP* 3 (1973): 27-52. Tajfel, who was of Polish-Jewish heritage, survived a series of Nazi concentration camps between 19040-1945 by pretending do be of a different ethnic group; he pretended to be French. After the war, he returned home to discover that the rest of his family and close friends did not survive as he had. It is widely believed that this shaped his interest in group processes and identity. See John C. Turner, "Henri Tajfel: An Introduction" in *Social Groups and Identities: Developing the Legacy of Henri Tajfel* (ed. W. P. Robinson; Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, 1996), 2-3.

[15] Henri Tajfel and John C. Turner, "The Social Identity Theory of Intergroup Behavior" in *Psychology of Intergroup Relation* (ed. William G. Austin and Stephen Worchel: Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole, 1986), 13.

categorize themselves into groups that attempt to establish a positive sense of value by distinguishing their group (ingroup) from other groups (outgroup). Members derive positive group (and self) value by making clear distinctions between ingroup and outgroup, distinctions that view the outgroup in a negative manner and the ingroup more favorably.[16] Social Identity Theory (SIT), then, represents a further development of Festinger's social comparison theory, in which Tajfel applied to social groups the same principles that Festinger theorized regarding the individual.

Tajfel defines social identity as the "aspects of an individual's self-image that derive from the social categories to which he [*sic*] perceives himself [*sic*] as belonging."[17] In a later work, Tajfel adds to this definition, noting that social identity "derives from his [*sic*] knowledge of his [*sic*] membership of a group together with the value and emotional significance attached to the membership."[18] This further definition describes three facets of social identity: (1) Cognitive – recognition of belonging to the group, (2) Evaluative – recognition of the value attached to the group, and (3) Emotional – attitudes group members hold toward insiders and outsiders. The theory, then, concerns itself with the way group members understand themselves as part of the group and differentiate their group from other groups in order to achieve a positive social identity.

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[16] Ibid., 17. Also see B. Mullen, R. Brown, and C. Smith, "Ingroup Bias as a Function of Salience, Relevance, and Status: An Integration," *EJSP* 22 (1992), 103-122.

[17] Tajfel and Turner, 16.

[18] Henri Tajfel, "Interindividual Behavior and Intergroup Behavior," in *Differentiation between Social Groups: Studies in the Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations* (London: Academic, 1982), 63.

Self-Categorization Theory

While Social Identity Theory focuses on intergroup relations or processes that take place between groups, Self-Categorization Theory focuses on the processes that take place within groups and between subgroups within a superordinate group. Self-Categorization Theory was developed by John C. Turner who, after Tajfel's death in 1982, expanded the basic tenants of Social Identity Theory to incorporate intragroup processes. By focusing more attention on identity as operative within different levels of inclusiveness, Turner and his colleagues advanced a more thorough treatment of processes within, rather than between, groups than was possible with Social Identity Theory.

In *Rediscovering the Social Group*, Turner and colleagues argue that identity operates on different levels, depending on the accessibility and fit.[19] Turner notes three levels of self-categorization important for the shaping of identity: superordinate identity (self as human being), social ingroup identity (group identity), and subordinate identity (personal identity). Within the intermediate level (group identity), there exists the possibility of smaller sub-groups. As one of these aspects of a person's or group's identity becomes more salient, the others become less salient. Thus, social identity is a fluid construct rather than a static condition; individuals and

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[19] John C. Turner, *Rediscovering the Social Group: Self-Categorization Theory*, (New York: Blackwell, 1987).

groups may emphasize one aspect of their identity while downplaying the others. For example, of particular interest for the present study is *social identity salience*, which states that when social identity is salient, group membership serves to guide individual and group behavior.[20] Furthermore, when group identity is salient, ingroup members categorize themselves in terms of an ingroup prototype, about which more will said below, that represents the identity and expected behavior of the group. This understanding of social identity salience and ingroup prototypicality would prove crucial for the development of the theory of a common superordinate ingroup identity.

Within this general framework of social identity theory, there are three related aspects that will be particularly important for the theory developed in this chapter and for the subsequent discussion of the Acts narrative: 1) boundaries and boundary-crossing rituals, 2) the common superordinate identity, and 3) prototypicality.

Boundaries and Rituals

Simply put, boundaries define limits. Achille Varzi describes various types of boundaries:

> There is a boundary (a surface) demarcating the interior of a sphere from its exterior; there is a boundary (a border) separating Maryland and Pennsylvania. Sometimes the exact location of a boundary is unclear or otherwise controversial (as when you try to trace out the margins of Mount

[20] P. J. Oaks, "The Salience of Social Categories" in Turner, *Rediscovering the Social Group: Self-Categorization Theory*, 117-141; Turner, "Social categorization and the Self-Concept: A Social-Cognitive Theory of Group Behavior" in Lawler, ed. *Advances in Group Processes* (Vol. 2; Greenwich, Conn.: JAI, 1984), 77-122; Turner, P. J. Oakes, S.A. Haslam, and C.A. McGarty, "Self and Collective: Cognition and Social Context," *PSPB* 20 (1994): 454-63.

> Everest, or even the boundary of your own body). Sometimes the boundary lies skew to any physical discontinuity or qualitative differentiation (as with the border of Wyoming, or the boundary between the upper and lower halves of a homogeneous sphere). But whether sharp or blurry, natural or artificial, for every object there appears to be a boundary that marks it off from the rest of the world. Events, too, have boundaries — at least temporal boundaries. Our lives are bounded by our births and by our deaths; the soccer game began at 3pm sharp and ended with the referee's final whistle at 4:45pm.[21]

With reference to social identity, boundaries serve as identity markers, helping to differentiate between ingroup and outgroup.[22] In short, "boundaries . . . define who is in and who is out."[23] Boundaries correspond to what social identity theorists call group norms, which maintain and enhance group identity.[24]

Lamont and Molnár show that the study of boundaries was already employed in the works of Durkheim, Marx, and Weber.[25] The study of the interrelationship between identity and boundaries originated with Fredrik Barth's introduction to *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, in which he took two prior theoretical propositions – the bounded ethnic group and the management of identity – and brought them together for the first time.[26] Barth argues that

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[21] Achille Varzi, "Boundary," *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (March 2008)*, cited October 16, 2008. Online: http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2008/entries/boundary.

[22] Tajfel and Turner, "The Social Identity Theory of Intergroup Behavior," 16-17; Marilynn Brewer and Brown Rupert, "Intergroup Relations" in *The Handbook of Social Psychology* (ed. Daniel Todd Gilbert, Susan T. Fiske and Gardner Lindzey: Boston: McGraw-Hill, 1998), 554- 94.

[23] Fiona Bowie, *The Anthropology of Religion: An Introduction* (Malden: Blackwell, 2000).

[24] Brown, *Group Processes*, 56-63.

[25] Michèle Lamont and Virág Molnár, "The Study of Boundaries in the Social Sciences," *ARS* 28 (2002): 167-68; Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life: A Study in Religious Sociology* (New York: Macmillan, 1915); Karl Marx, "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon," *Die Revolution* (1852; repr. *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte,* 1869); Max Weber, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology* (New York: Bedminster, 1968).

[26] Fredrik Barth, ed., *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1969).

> categorical ethnic distinctions do not depend on an absence of mobility, contact and information, but do entail social processes of exclusion and incorporation whereby discrete categories are maintained *despite* changing participation and membership in the course of individual life histories.[27]

Thus, just as identity is fluid in the common ingroup identity approach, boundaries are also subject to modification depending upon the context. These shifting identities and boundaries must be understood in relation to the identities and boundaries "through and against which they are created."[28]

One of the most influential scholars on the issue of boundaries was the British anthropologist Mary Douglas. In her landmark book *Purity and Danger*, Douglas rejects the traditional notion that external purity boundaries serve merely as hygiene stipulations; Douglas states, "it is one thing to point out the side benefits of ritual actions, and another thing to be content with using the by-product as a sufficient explanation."[29] For her, uncleanness, or dirt, is merely matter out of place within an ordered system; thus, this out-of-place matter must be excluded if proper order is to be maintained. Margins and boundaries represent the division between the clean and the unclean, or in SIT terms, that which belongs in the system and that which must be excluded. In the study of Christian origins, this is most clearly reflected in insistence upon circumcision and certain food laws on the part of some Judeans and Christians,

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[27] Ibid., 9.

[28] Sylvia Fuller, "Creating and Contesting Boundaries: Exploring the Dynamics of Conflict and Classification," *SF* 18 (2003): 3.

[29] Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concept of Pollution and Taboo* (New York: Praeger, 1966; repr., Routledge, 2005), 37. References in this study refer to the 2005 edition.

In her chapter on "External Boundaries," Douglas critiques two major interpretations of public rituals performed on a human body, insisting that these rituals represent threatened or weak boundaries in a bounded social system. Douglas asserts, "[t]he body is a model which can stand for any bounded system. Its boundaries can represent any boundaries which are threatened or precarious."[30] Furthermore,

> [m]argins are dangerous. If they are pulled this way or that the shape of fundamental experience is altered. Any structure of ideas is vulnerable at its margins. We should expect the orifices of the body to symbolise its specially vulnerable points.[31]

The emphasis on bodily boundaries, then, represents a perceived danger to the community's boundaries. Accordingly, Douglas concludes, "when rituals express anxiety about the body's orifices the sociological counterpart of this anxiety is a care to protect the political and cultural unity of the minority group."[32]

If boundaries serve to define who is in and who is out of the group, what processes are in place for someone who wants to join a group? If identities require boundaries, boundaries require boundary-crossing customs for newcomers. Anthropologists refer to these boundary-crossing customs as rituals, which, according to Bobby Alexander, is "a performance, planned or improvised, that effects a transition from everyday life to an alternative context within which the everyday is

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[30] Ibid., 115.
[31] Ibid., 121.
[32] Ibid., 124.

transformed."[33] Rituals include a wide variety of rites; accordingly, Catherine Bell has categorized rituals into six broad types: 1) commemorative rites, 2) rites of exchange/communion, 3) rites of affliction, 4) rites of feasting/fasting, 5) political rites, and 6) rites of passage, illustrated below.[34]

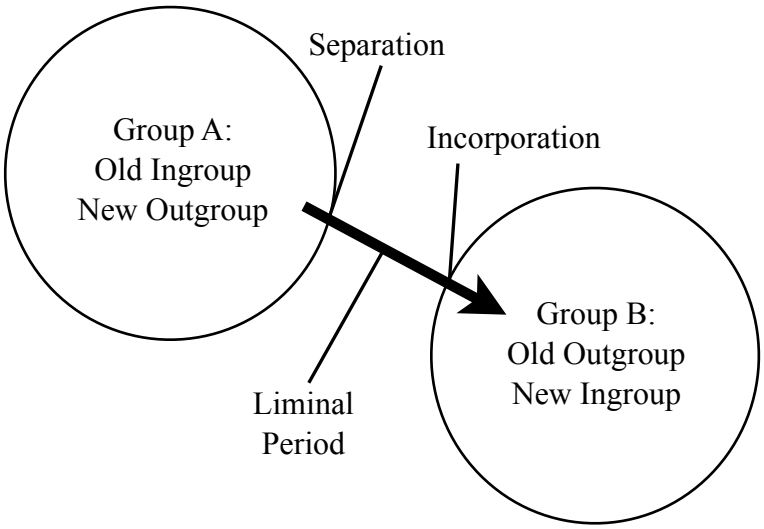

Figure 1: Rites of Passage
Adapted from Lamoreaux, *BTB* 38 (2008): 122-34.

Arnold van Gennep's groundbreaking book, *Les rites de passage*, introduced the study of initiation into a group as a rite of passage. Victor Turner later elaborated upon Van Gennep's model in his book *The Ritual Process*.[35] Van Gennep and Turner both divide initiation rites into three distinct but related stages: the separation stage, the liminal stage, and the stage of incorporation. Van Gennep illustrated these stages

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[33] Bobby Alexander, "Ritual and Current Studies of Ritual: Overview" in *Anthropology of Religion: A Handbook* (ed. Stephen D. Glazier: Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1997), 139.

[34] Catherine M.Bell, *Ritual Perspectives and Dimensions* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 94.

[35] Arnold van Gennep, *Les rites de passage* (Paris: Emile Nourry, 1909). The English edition, *The Rites of Passage* (London: Routledge, 1960) is referred to here. Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Chicago: Aldine, 1969).

of initiation by describing initiation into several of the totem groups of Australia in which the initiate is considered dead during the second (liminal) stage and later "resurrected and taught how to live."[36] The first stage involves separation from the group and movement toward the new group or status. The last phase is marked by the reentry into society, or incorporation into the new group, with the new status. The liminal phase is the period in between, when one loses status and identity. To anticipate the argument of later chapters, baptism in the name of Jesus and being filled with the Holy Spirit are understood as the primary boundary crossing rituals for the Christ group depicted in Acts.

Developing a Common Ingroup Identity

In 1981, Turner proposed a theory that emphasized "redrawing group boundaries so that those who were once classified as outgroupers can be regarded as fellow ingroupers with a larger superordinate category."[37] This view, known as recategorization, was at odds with the prevailing contact hypothesis developed by Gordon Allport in 1954, who advocated conflict reduction by prolonged contact between two opposing groups with some form of cooperative activity.[38] Brewer and Miller added to Allport's theory by suggesting that during the time of contact,

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[36] Gennep, 74-5.

[37] Dora Capozza and Rupert Brown, *Social Identity Processes: Trends in Theory and Research* (London: SAGE, 2000), xiv; John C. Turner, "The Experimental Social Psychology of Intergroup Behavior" in *Intergroup Behavior* (ed. John C. Turner and Howard Giles: Oxford: Blackwell, 1981), 66-101.

[38] Gordon W. Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice* (Cambridge: Addison-Wesley, 1954).

boundaries between the two groups become less rigid and eventually dissolve altogether.[39] This process, known as decategorization, is illustrated in figure two below.

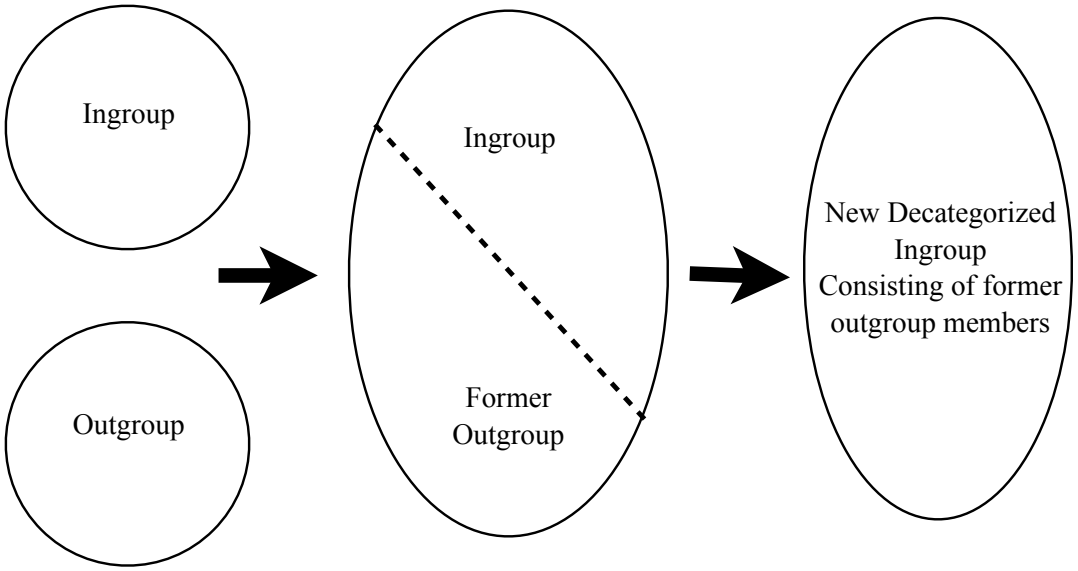

Figure 2: Decategorization Model of Reducing Intergroup Bias

With Turner's approach as a starting point, Samuel Gaertner, and others, offered another solution. Rather than eliminating the boundaries altogether, Gaertner et al. suggested that boundaries should be redrawn to bring the two identities into one superordinate identity so that ingroupers and outgroupers recognize their commonality and view one another as members of the same group while maintaining some elements of their subgroup identity.[40] Figure three below illustrates this model.

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[39] Norman Miller and Marilynn Brewer, eds. *Groups in Contact: The Psychology of Desegregation* (Orlando: Academic, 1984).

[40] John F. Dovidio, Samuel L. Gaertner, and A. Validizic, "Intergroup Bias: Status Differentiation and a Common Ingroup Identity," *JPSP* 75 (1998): 109-20.

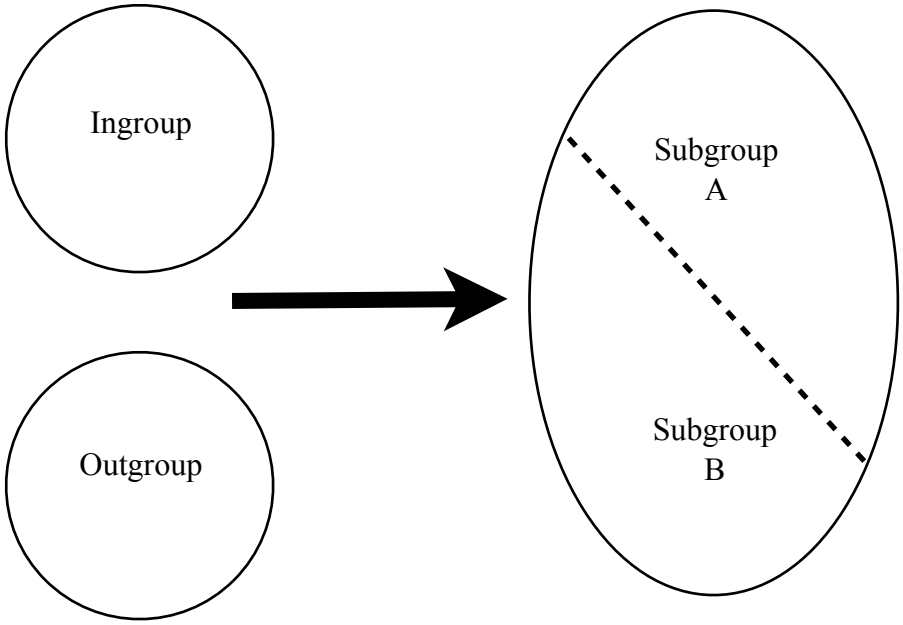

Figure 3: Recategorization Model of Reducing Intergroup Bias

This theory, the Common Ingroup Identity Model, first took shape in a 1993 article[41] and later received a book length treatment.[42] Subsequent studies have examined the role of leadership in the recategorization process, emphasizing that the leaders of a recategorization attempt must 1) be "one of us," 2) exemplify what makes "us" better than "them," and 3) stand up for the superordinate group.[43] According to these criteria

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[41] Samuel L. Gaertner, John F. Dovidio, Phyllis A. Ansatasio, Betty Bachman, and Mary C. Rust,,"The Common Ingroup Identity Model: Recategorization and the Reduction of Intergroup Bias," *ERSP* 4 (1993): 1-26.

[42] Samuel L. Gaertner and John F. Dovidio, *Reducing Intergroup Bias: The Common Ingroup Identity Model* (Philadelphia: Psychology, 2000). Also see Samuel L. Gaertner, John F. Dovidio, Jason A. Nier, Brenda A. Banker, Christine M. Ward, Melissa Houlette, and Stephanie Loux. "The Common Ingroup Identity Model for Reducing Intergroup Bias: Progress and Challenges" in *Social Identity Processes: Trends in Theory and Research* (ed. Dora Capozza and Rupert Brown: London: Sage, 2000), 133-48.

[43] S. A. Haslam and Michael J. Platow, "Your Wish is Our Command: The Role of Shared Social Identity in Translating a Leader's Vision into Follower's Action" in Hogg and Terry, ed. *Social Identity Processes in Organizational Contexts* (Philadelphia: Psychology Press, 2001) 218-28.

for recategorization leadership, we may identify three elements crucial for the recategorization process: 1) establish superordinate identity boundaries that define "us," 2) emphasize superordinate commonality while contrasting the new ingroup with a new outgroup, and 3) represent superordinate group in social competition with new outgroups. Leaders of recategorization attempts, therefore, must created a sense of commonality between differing subgroups while allowing each to maintain its own particular salient features and differentiating between the new superordinate group and new outgroups. The requirement that leaders embody the identity of the group and demonstrate ingroup qualities has led many social identity theorists to suggest that ingroup prototypicality is the basis of leadership.[44] To, again, anticipate the argument of later chapters, Peter and Paul both serve in the Acts narrative as leaders of the recategorization process and thus as prototypical of the Christ group's identity.

Prototypicality and Social Memory

In our discussion of self-categorization I noted that when group identity is salient, that is when group identity takes prominence over personal identity, ingroup members categorize themselves in terms of an ingroup prototype that represents the identity and expected behavior of the group. In the process of recategorization, when two subgroups are recategorized into a common superordinate ingroup identity, these prototypical ingroup members serve as leaders in the recategorization process. We

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[44] Hogg, "Social Identification, Group Prototypicality, and Emergent Leadership" in *Social Identity Processes in Organizational Contexts*, 197-212.

must now elaborate on ingroup prototypicality and its relation to group identity processes.

In their study of why people join groups, Hogg, Hohmann, and Rivera offer a definition of an ingroup prototype:

> According to social identity theory, people cognitively represent social groups as fuzzy sets of attributes that define one group and distinguish it from relevant other groups. Called prototypes, these fuzzy sets not only describe the group's attributes but also, very importantly, prescribe how one should think, feel, and behave as a member of the group. Psychologically identifying with a group involves a cognitive process of categorizing oneself as a group member. The consequence of this self-categorization process is that one actually sees oneself and the world through the lens of the prototype – one's perceptions, attitudes, feelings, and behaviors are configured and dictated by the group's prototype.[45]

Prototype theory itself was developed in the 1970s by Eleanor Rosch, who argued that there exists a range of possibilities within categories. For example, when asked to rate different types of fruit according to how well they exemplify the group, most respondents judge oranges as better examples than figs or mangoes. The orange, therefore, is more prototypical of the category *fruit*, whereas the mango and the fig are more marginal, but fruits nonetheless.[46]

Following Rosch, Eliot R. Smith and Michael A. Zarate argue that a prototype is a representation of a person that embodies the identity of the group, though the prototype is not an actual or current member of the group but an ideal image of the

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45 Michael A. Hogg, Zachary P. Hohman, and Jason E. Rivera, "Why Do People Join Groups? Three Motivational Accounts from Social Psychology," *SPPC* 2, no. 3 (2008): 1273-4.

46 "Cognitive Representation of Semantic Categories" *JEP* 104 (1975): 192-233. Also see her "Natural Categories," *CP* 4 (1973): 328-50 and "Principles of Categorization" in *Cognition and Categorization* (ed. Rosch and Lloyd; Hillsdale, N.J.: Erlbaum, 1978).

group's character.[47] Smith and Zarate's study has been criticized, however, for presenting too static a description of group prototypes, since their study suggests that the group prototype is a fixed character to which group members must seek to imitate. This approach seems at odds with Rosch's original proposal, namely that there is a range of prototypicality within a given category. Matthew Marohl summarizes this critique with reference to the book of Hebrews,

> [I]f faith was the central tendency of the ingroup, a member who exemplified faith may be understood to have been a faith prototype. Further, to exemplify faithfulness, one must be faithful in the same manner as the prototype.[48]

Oakes, Haslam, and Turner reasserted Rosch's theory by arguing that there is an "internally *graded structure*" within groups, with the best example of the group serving as the prototype, thus, "[c]ategory membership requires a certain level of similarity to the prototype."[49] The prototype is, then, the best, but not necessarily the only, representative of the group. Prototypes, therefore, refer to "judgments of degree of prototypicality."[50]

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[47] "Exemplar and Prototype Use in Social Categorization," *SC* 8 (1990): 245-46. Alternatively, an exemplar refers to an actual person who was a member of the group and represents the group's identity. For the purpose of the present study, this distinction matters little since actual members of the group from the past (exemplar) may be idealized in terms of their embodiment of group identity (prototype). To emphasize this idealization, I will keep the term *prototype* while not passing judgment concerning the prototype's historicity.

[48] *Faithfulness and the Purpose of Hebrews: A Social Identity Approach* (Eugene: Pickwick, 2008), 133.

[49] Oakes, Haslam, and Turner, "The Role of Prototypicality in Group Influence and Cohesion: Contextual Variation in the Graded Structure of Social Categories" in *Social Identity: International Perspectives* (ed. S. Worchel, J. F. Morales, D. Paez and J. C. Deschamps; Thousand Oaks: Sage, 1998), 75.

[50] Rosch, "Principles of Categorization," 40.

These prototypical ingroup members "are perceived to best embody the behaviors to which other, less prototypical, members are conforming."[51] While their conclusions where challenged due to the static nature of their concept of prototype, Smith and Zarate's emphasis on an ingroup prototype as an idealized person from the past that embodies the identity of the group is helpful in an analysis of biblical narratives. These prototypical ingroup members from the past must be remembered and commemorated in various ways for their prototypical status to remain effective. This remembering and commemoration of prototypical ingroup members may be elaborated upon by using the insights of social memory theory.[52] The pioneer of social memory studies was Maurice Halbwachs, who analyzed the structure and dynamics of group influences as they relate to memory of individuals who belong to the group.[53] Halbwachs concluded that the social environment is indispensable for memory itself, that is, individuals can remember only in relation to some group context.

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[51] Hogg, "Social Identification, Group Prototypicality, and Emergent Leadership" in *Social Identity Processes in Organizational Contexts*, 202.

[52] *Social memory* is used throughout this study as synonymous with *collective memory* and *cultural memory*. For an explanation of these terms and why *Social Memory* is preferred, see Jeffrey K. Olick and Joyce Robbins "Social Memory Studies: From "Collective Memory" To the Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices" *ARS* 24 (1998): 111-12.

[53] Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); trans. of *Les Cadres Sociaux De La Mémoire* (trans. Lewis A. Coser: Paris: F. Alcan, 1925). Also see Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory* (New York: Harper & Row, 1980); trans. of *La Mémoire Collective. Ouvrage Posthume Publié* (trans. F.J. Ditter, V.Y. Ditter: Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1950). For an overview and recent developments especially with reference to biblical studies, see Jeffery K. Olick, "Products, Processes, and Practices: A Non-Reificatory Approach to Collective Memory," *BTB* 36 (2006): 5-14.

Following Halbwachs, Jan Assmann has noted a transition period between what he understands as two phases of memory.[54] The first phase is termed *communicative memory* and is characterized by the face-to-face circulation of foundational memories. These memories are shared among those who experienced the originating events and thus serve as "eyewitnesses." Yet, this type of memory "cannot sustain group-constitutive remembrances beyond the three to four generations able to claim living contact with the generation of origins."[55] This limitation forces the emergent community into a "crisis of memory" in which the community moves into the second phase, beginning to form what Assmann calls *cultural memory*, which focuses on the past and thus comprises a

> body of reusable texts, images, and rituals specific to each society in each epoch, whose "cultivation" serves to stabilize and convey that society's self-image. Upon such collective knowledge, for the most part (but not exclusively) of the past, each group bases its awareness of unity and particularity.[56]

As the period of *communicative memory* passes, groups tend to find ways to remember those prototypical ingroup members from the past that serve the needs of the group in its current situation.

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[54] Assmann, *Das Kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung Und Politische Identität in Frühen Hochkulturen* (Munich: Beck, 1992); *Religion Und Kulturelles Gedächtnis: Zehn Studien* (Munich: Beck, 2000); "Cultural Memory: Script, Recollection, and Political Identity in Early Civilizations" *Historiography East & West* 1, no. 2 (2003): 154-77; Assmann and John Czaplicka "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity" *New German Critique*, no. 65 (1995): 125.

[55] Alan Kirk, "Social and Cultural Memory" in *Memory, Tradition, and Text: Uses of the Past in Early Christianity* (ed. Alan Kirk and Tom Thatcher; Atlanta: SBL, 2005), 5-6

[56] Jan Assmann, "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity," *NGC*, 65 (1995): 132.

Barry Schwartz has demonstrated that prototypical figures from the past may be reinterpreted to address present needs and future direction in his studies of the post-Civil War characterization of George Washington and the depiction of Abraham Lincoln during World War II.[57] Rather than being completely reinterpreted, however, Schwartz notes that memories of past historical figures are not entirely precarious "but a stable image upon which new elements are intermittently superimposed."[58] That is, memory of prototypical ingroup members is a series of "ongoing processes of construction in narrative form."[59]

Ironically, however, "remarkably few social identity theorists have considered the ways in which intra- or intergroup processes may unfold and transform over time."[60] Condor asserted that this was due to the lack of attention given to the idea that social groups are an ongoing process. Such neglect resulted in static constructions of social groups and group behavior. Likewise, Marco Cinnirella has noted the "need for a theory of social identity which adequately encompasses the temporal nature of identity maintenance and the quest for coherence amongst past,

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[57] "Social Change and Collective Memory: The Democratization of George Washington" *ASR* 56, 2 (1991): 221-36; "Memory as a Cultural System: Abraham Lincoln in World War II" *ASR* 61, 5 (1996): 908-27.

[58] Schwartz, "Social Change and Collective Memory," 234.

[59] Olick and Robbins, "Social Memory Studies," 122. Also see, Jerome S. Bruner, *Acts of Meaning* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990) and Craig J. Calhoun, *Social Theory and the Politics of Identity* (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1994).

[60] Susan Condor, "Social Identity and Time" in *Social Groups and Identities: Developing the Legacy of Henri Tajfel* (ed. W. P. Robinson; Boston: Butterworth-Heinemann, 1996), 292.

present and future identities."[61] He develops the idea of "possible social identities" which

> include conceptualizations of the social categories and groups an individual might have been a member of in the past, and could become a member of in the future. In addition, they also represent predictions about how existing social group memberships might change over time, and thoughts about how groups might have been in the past. Thus possible social identities can pertain to potential group memberships (both past and future), as well as current group memberships and thoughts about how these might have been different in the past and could develop in the future. [62]

Furthermore, Cinnirella hypothesizes that "[s]ocial groups will create shared life stories or narratives of the group which tie past, present and predicted futures into a coherent representation." That is to say, ingroup members will re-interpret the past, present, and future of the group to make its identity more compatible with new situations and future directions.[63] This reinterpretation is very often accomplished by appealing to a prototypical ingroup member from the past. Thus, prototypicality and group memory play an important role in the construction and maintenance (including future reconstructions) of group identity and, therefore, social memory studies provide a crucial link between social identity and narrative theory.[64]

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[61] Marco Cinnirella, "Exploring Temporal Aspects of Social Identity: The Concept of Possible Social Identities," *EJSP* 28 (1998): 227-8. Ironically, few social identity theorists have incorporated Cinnirella's argument but it has been employed by several biblical scholars. For example, Santiago Guijarra, "Cultural Memory and Group Identity in Q," *BTB* 37, (2007): 90-100; Marohl, *Faithfulness and the Purpose of Hebrews*; Esler, *Conflict and Identity in Romans*; Esler and Piper *Lazarus, Mary and Martha*.

[62] Cinnirella, "Exploring Temporal Aspects of Social Identity," 230.

[63] Ibid., 235-36.

[64] For a recent study that employs social memory in biblical interpretation, see Ritva H. Williams, *Stewards, Prophets, Keepers of the Word: Leadership in the Early Church*. Peabody: Hendrickson, 2006).

Identity, Memory, and Prototypicality

Before moving on to Narrative Theory, we should pause to summarize the relationship between social identity, social memory, and prototypicality. Social identity is constructed by differentiating between ingroups and outgroups and is often rooted in group norms which consist, in part, of shared beliefs and practices. To embody their identity, groups attribute the role of prototype to some ideal person(s) from the past through the vehicle of social memory. Prototypical ingroup members, and thus the identity of the group, are not static but are capable of change depending upon the situation of the group as the group remembers its prototypical figures in new ways. In short, "[g]roup prototypes and exemplars from the past tell members who they are, what they should believe and who they should become."[65]

This process of reinterpreting prototypical ingroup members from the past in order to address present group situations may be especially useful in the process of recategorizing two groups (or subgroups) into a common superordinate identity. The prototypical ingroup members serves as the leaders of the recategorization process by creating a sense of commonality between differing groups (or subgroups) while allowing each to maintain its own particular salient features and differentiating between the new superordinate group and new outgroups. These elements raised by the Social Identity Approach will be helpful as we engage in a narrative critical

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[65] Esler, *Lazarus, Mary and Martha*, 37.

analysis of Acts, looking for clues as to how identity emerges between the interaction of the prototypical figures of Peter and Paul and the audience. Again, to anticipate later chapters, I will argue that the narrative of Acts attempts the recategorization of two subgroups of Christ followers that are divided over the issue of non-Judean inclusion without requiring circumcision and Torah observance. It remains for us, however, to establish a theory of narrative that will correspond to this blend of social-scientific models.

Narrative Theory

Narrative Theory has its roots in Aristotle's work on *Poetics*. There Aristotle identified the major components and functions of tragic and epic poetry.[66] While there are some minor differences between epic and tragedy, their basic form and function are the same.[67] What is said below, therefore, of tragedy is also applicable to epic. This will be important for the discussion of the genre of Luke-Acts in the following chapter.

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[66] Excellent detailed definitions of both terms may be found in Harmon and Holman. *A Handbook to Literature* (8th ed.; Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 2000) 521-23; 188-89. There, a tragedy "recounts a causally related series of events in the life of a person of significance, culminating in an unhappy catastrophe, the whole treated with dignity and seriousness." (522) An epic poem is "a long narrative poem in elevated style presenting characters of high position in adventures forming an organic whole through their relation to a central heroic figure and through their development of episodes important to the history of a nation or race."(188)

[67] Epic unfolds in a narrative form while a tragedy depends on drama, though, in the end, Aristotle thinks tragedy is superior. Moreover, Aristotle discusses epic in *Poetics* 23-24. Περὶ δὲ τῆς διηγηματικῆς καὶ ἐν μέτρῳ μιμητικῆς, ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς μύθους καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς τραγῳδίαις συνιστάναι δραματικοὺς καὶ περὶ μίαν πρᾶξιν ὅλην καὶ τελείαν ἔχουσαν ἀρχὴν καὶ μέσα καὶ τέλο, "We come now to the art of representation which is narrative and in metre (i.e., epic). Clearly the story must be constructed as in tragedy, dramatically, round a single piece of action, whole and complete in itself, with a beginning, middle and end." *Poetics* 23.1 (Fyfe, LCL).

In chapter six of *Poetics*, Aristotle discusses the different components of epic/tragedy including, plot, character, diction, thought, spectacle, and lyric poetry. Aristotle thinks that the structure of events, or plot, is most important since a story consists of action, not state of being, and without action there could be no story. Beginning in chapter thirteen, Aristotle addresses the question of how a story accomplishes its purpose. He maintains that epic/tragedy should not depict a person's falling from prosperity to adversity through evil or depravity, but through error. This character is someone for whom the reader should have sympathy, and, thus, whose plight can affect the reader emotionally. Chapters six and thirteen of *Poetics*, therefore, correspond to the two major aspects of Narrative Theory, componetial and functional analysis.

Componential and Functional Aspects of Narrative

In his 2006 article on the history of narrative theory, Patrick C. Hogan notes, "Aristotle undertook two sorts of analysis in the *Poetics*," namely, componential analysis and functional analysis.[68] Componential analysis refers to the elements and operations that compose the narrative, such as language, character, setting, and plot, as well as the selection of these events and their relation to one another. Functional analysis, on the other hand, refers to the purpose(s) the components serve and how

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[68] Patrick C. Hogan, "Continuity and Change in Narrative Study: Observations on Componential and Functional Analysis," *NI* 16 (2006): 66-7.

they relate to the purpose(s) of the plot. Furthermore, Hogan notes that Aristotle divides the purposes of narrative into two categories, emotional and ethical.

Hogan goes on to say that all subsequent writers have shared this general approach to narrative, with varying emphases on componential/functional analysis and emotional/ethical purposes. For example, modern literary theory has shown "a strong bias toward subsuming all literary analyses under overarching ethical or political functions."[69] Thus, the range of functional issues examined in narrative theory has expanded, including ideological critiques such as Marxism, feminism, post-colonialism, sexuality, disability, etc.[70]

Likewise, modern scholars have elaborated on Aristotle's componential analysis by adding the elements of implied author/reader. The Formalist approach to literary criticism pressed componential analysis even further by stressing the features inherent in the text such as grammar, syntax, and literary devices. Formalism was a highly influential school of literary criticism in Russia during the early decades of the twentieth century and in the United States after the First World War.[71] Because of

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[69] Ibid., 68.

[70] Hogan notes what he thinks to be the most significant contribution: "One very striking trend in contemporary narrative study — which is to say, narrative theory as it has developed distinctively over the last fifteen years or so — is the move to a more empirically well-supported and rigorous cognitive architecture, drawn from cognitive neuroscience. Related to this, and drawing on the model of contemporary linguistics, contemporary narrative study has broadened the range of data subjected to componential and functional analysis. Specifically, it has moved beyond the classics of the Euro-American canon — and the postcolonial, Europhone works that have been influenced by that canon — to include literary works from a wide range of traditions" (69).

[71] Note especially Vladimir Propp, *Morphology of the Folktale*, 2d ed. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1968; Russian original published in 1928). Most notable among U.S. Formalist were René Wellek and Austin Warren, *Theory of Literature* (New York: Harcourt, 1949; repr., 1956, 1962).

their focus on the literary forms in the text itself, formalist methods are often linked with structuralism, especially in the fields of linguistics and anthropology. The formalist focus on the features within the text itself came under criticism for ignoring the text's historical-cultural background. For example, Leon Troktsky claims that "the methods of formal analysis are necessary, but insufficient"[72] because they neglect the social world with which the individuals who write and read literature are bound up.

> The form of art is, to a certain and very large degree, independent, but the artist who creates this form, and the spectator who is enjoying it, are not empty machines, one for creating form and the other for appreciating it. They are living people, with a crystallized psychology representing a certain unity, even if not entirely harmonious. This psychology is the result of social conditions.[73]

About the same time, a similar method known as New Criticism was on the rise in Britain and the United States.

Like formalism, New Criticism focused attention on the text itself while rejecting the influence of extra-textual sources such as the historical-cultural background, authorial intention, and the effect upon the reader.[74] New Criticism faced similar challenges for being "uninterested in the human meaning, the social function and effect of literature" and "unhistorical," for "it isolates the work of art

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[72] Leon Trotsky, *Literature and Revolution* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1924; repr., 1957), 180. This reference is to the 1957 edition.

[73] Ibid., 171.

[74] William K. Wimsatt, "The Intentional Fallacy" and "The Affective Fallacy" in *The Verbal Icon: Studies in the Meaning of Poetry* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1954), 3-19, 21-39. Originally published in *Sewanee Review*, 54 (1946): 468-488. Also influential was John Crowe Ransom, *The New Criticism* (Norfolk, Conn.: New Directions, 1941) and William Empson, *Seven Types of Ambiguity* (London:Chatto and Windus 1930; repr., 1947; New York: Noonday, 1955; Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1961).

from its past and its context."[75] It is important to mention, however, that two important facets of New Criticism were formative for Narrative Theory: (1) texts are viewed as organic wholes, a unity that should be understood on its own terms and (2) the emphasis on a close reading of the text.[76]

Hogan seems justified, therefore, in saying, "[t]he broad framework of narrative theory has remained largely the same since its inception."[77] The componential and functional aspects of narrative theory persisted and served as an important point of reference for an influential English work in narrative theory by Seymour Chatman, who distinguishes between story, or the content (events, actions, characters, etc.) of the narrative and the discourse, or how (arrangement, emphasis) the narrative is presented.[78] This dichotomy is perhaps better illustrated by noting the five major aspects of narrative to be addressed in this study. The *setting* refers to the context of the story. This refers both to the context within the world of the text and the historical/cultural location in which the text is embedded. The *narrator* is story-teller that is embedded in the text. The narrator is not the author, but the implied author or the perspective from which the story is told. *Rhetoric* refers to the various conventions that the author may use to achieve his/her purpose, for

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[75] René Wellek, "The New Criticism: Pro and Contra." *CI* 4 (1978): 611-24.

[76] James L. Resseguie, *Narrative Criticism of the New Testament: An Introduction* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2005), 22.

[77] Hogan, 66.

[78] Seymour B. Chatman, *Story and Discourse: Narrative Structure in Fiction and Film* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978). Chatman's notion of story and discourse related directly with Hogan's componential and functional analyses, respectively.

example, persuading, legitimating, or confirming. The *plot* is the way events in the narrative are arranged and combined. Chatman notes that not all events in the story are equal. Some, which he calls *kernels*, are key events that move the narrative forward while other events, which he calls *satellites*, are subordinate events that elaborate the *kernel*. I will use this approach in discussing the plot of Acts in chapters 5-8 below. While each of these elements will prove important, the focus of this study will be upon both *plot* and *character*.

Character Analysis

Critical of those who treat character as merely a function of the plot, Chatman argues that Todorov and Barthes followed the suggestion of Henry James, who maintained that character and plot cannot be separated. In the oft quoted phrase, James states, "What is character but the determination of incident? What is incident but the illustration of character?"[79] One of Chatman's major contributions is his rebuttal of the structuralist conception of character. Rather than a static component of the narrative, characters are "autonomous beings" that are "reconstructed by the audience from evidence announced or implicit in an original construction and communicated by the discourse."[80] Chatman calls this evidence a "paradigm of traits" that readers obtain as they read the text and which they revise as they encounter new

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[79] Henry James, "The Art of Fiction" in *Partial Portraits* (London: Macmillan, 1888), 375-408. Originally published in Longman's Magazine 4 (September 1884). See also Wallace Martin, *Recent Theories of Narrative* (Ithaca: Cornell Uni. Press, 1986), 116.

[80] Chatman, 119.

evidence. Baruch Hochman convincingly states that "Chatman makes an elaborate case for the affinity between characters in literature and people in life, and for the similarity between the ways we retrieve them, conceptualize them and respond to them."[81]

Hochman thinks, however, that Chatman is too restrictive. Where Chatman confines the link between characters in literature and real people within the text itself, Hochman argues that

> What links characters in literature to people in life, as we fabricate them in our consciousness, is the integral unity of our conception of people and of how they operate. I, indeed, want to go further than Chatman by holding that there is a profound congruity between the ways in which we apprehend characters in literature, documented figures in history, and people of whom we have what we think of as direct knowledge in life.[82]

Therefore, not only do readers construct their image of characters by what they perceive in the text, as Chatman argued, but also by combining this information with their own knowledge and experience of people. Accordingly, Hochman concludes,

> our retrieval, or reading out, of character is guided by our consciousness of what people are and how people work. To read character adequately we must heighten our consciousness of the reciprocity between character in literature and people in life.[83]

Although characters and people are different because they live in different worlds, readers come to know characters in much the same way they come to know people, though interaction and revision.

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[81] Baruch Hochman, *Character in Literature* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), 35.
[82] Ibid., 36.
[83] Ibid., 59.

Interaction between Reader and Text as Identity Formation

This interaction between character and reader, and thus the production of meaning, is the central concern in reader-response criticism. While narrative critics focus on aspects of the text, others, especially reader-response, or audience-oriented, approaches focus on the acts of reading and the oral/aural means of communication.[84] For example, Wolfgang Iser maintains that, "[r]eading is not a direct 'internalization', because it is not a one-way process" but rather "a dynamic *interaction* between text and reader."[85] Thus, the reader, or audience,[86] is not passively receiving information but is actively involved the production of meaning. The audience interactions with the text by anticipating and revising their expectations and opinions and filling in gaps in the narrative. It is within this interaction that "something happens to the reader;" that is, within the interaction, the audience is guided to change its viewpoint.[87]

Interest in the interaction between narrative and audience has spread beyond the scope of literary theory recently as social scientists have begun to emphasize the role narrative plays in the formation of identity.[88] The debate is primarily between

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[84] See the recent work of David Rhoads on performance criticism, "Performance Criticism: An Emerging Methodology in Second Testament Studies--Part I," *BTB* 36 (2006): 118-33; "Performance Criticism: An Emerging Methodology in Second Testament Studies--Part II," *BTB* 36 (2006): 164-84.

[85] Iser, *The Act of Reading: A Theory of Aesthetic Response* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), 107. Emphasis original.

[86] While the original audience of Acts likely heard the story, we cannot rule out reading as a means of engaging this text. I will, therefore, refer to audience and audience-oriented analysis when discussing the readers/hearers and their responses to the narrative.

[87] Iser, *The Act of Reading,* 152

[88] For an overview of Martin Cortazzi, *Narrative Analysis* (London: Falmer, 1993). For the influence of narrative in theology, see Stanley Hauerwas and L. Gregory Jones, eds. *Why Narrative? Readings in Narrative Theology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989).

those who argue that narratives created identities while others maintain that readers create identities based upon their own experience and knowledge.[89] The question, stated more explicitly, is whether the narrative or the reader/hearer creates identity. Critical of these dualistic viewpoints, Shelley Day Slater has called for an integrative approach to the link between "stories" and "selves." She seeks to "theorize a 'narrative subject' in such a way as to take account of the determining power of language but without losing sight of the significance of specifically psychic relations."[90] Thus, identity is formed in the interaction between text and audience.

Such an integrative approach is at the heart of Paul Ricoeur's theory of narrative identity, mentioned above, in which he argues that identity is shaped through audience's engagement with the narrative in a three-fold process. First, prefiguration refers to the preunderstanding the audience brings to the text and thus corresponds to the audience's social memory. Second, configuration refers to both the author's construction of the text (using various components of narrative theory) and the audience's interaction with the text. This portion of the process may involve contesting memories and evaluating new information. Third, refiguration refers to the fusion of the audience's previous social memory and identity with the information

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[89] For an overview of the debate see Peter Redman, "The Narrative Formation of Identity Revisited: Narrative Construction, Agency and the Unconscious" *NI* 15, (2005): 27-8. For the theory that narratives create identity see Judith Butler, *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits Of "Sex"* (New York: Routledge, 1993). For the theory that readers create their identity see Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire, and the Imagining of Masculinities* (London: Routledge, 1994).

[90] Shelley Day Sclater, "What Is the Subject?" *NI* 13 (2003): 317-30.

presented in the configuration process.[91] Thus, narrative identity is constructed, and reconstructed, during the interaction between the audience, whose present identity has been constructed by its social memory, and the text, which reinforces previous identity and memory or seeks to counter and reform identity and memory. This process will be described again when the narrative-identity model is presented later in this chapter.

Moreover, as I mentioned earlier in this chapter, "[s]ocial groups will create shared life stories' or narratives of the group which tie past, present and predicted futures into a coherent representation."[92] Maggie Kirkman has recently noted the importance of cultural memory in the construction of narrative identity. In her discussion of this relatively recent trend, Kirkman summarizes the argument made by Stephen Crites:

> It is the continuity of memory which contributes to the certainty of one's self, even though that self can exist only in relation to others. The continuity of memory operates through narrative to construct a coherent identity, appropriating the past and anticipating the future.[93]

Kirkman continues, "[N]arrative identity is developed in interaction with its social and cultural contexts."[94] Thus, identity can be formed in the same manner in which

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[91] For a more thorough overview of this process see Dan R. Stiver, *Theology after Ricoeur: New Directions in Hermeneutical Theology* (Louisville: Westminister John Knox, 2001), 66-70.

[92] Cinnirella, "Exploring Temporal Aspects of Social Identity: The Concept of Possible Social Identities," 235-36. See pp. 74 above.

[93] Kirkman, "What's the Plot? Applying Narrative Theory to Research in Psychology" *AusPhy* 37 (2002): 32; Stephen Crites, "Storytime: Recollecting the Past and Projecting the Future" in *Narrative Psychology: The Storied Nature of Human Conduct* (ed. Theodore R. Sarbin: New York: Praeger, 1986), 152-73.

[94] Kirkman, "What's the Plot?" 32.

readers come to know characters in literature: by interaction with the narrative in combination with cultural memory, that is, their own experience and knowledge.

Concerning the power of story to form and legitimize identity, James H. Liu and János László have recently argued that social representations of history are "stories of events with a temporal structure that can be related thematically from a particular point of view" and thus should be "approached as *narratives*."[95] Consequently, "In the case of historical narratives, these stories reflect group identity on the one hand, and connect individuals to the group on the other" and may be revised according to the identity needs of the group.[96] Liu and László then isolate two key priorities of narrative, narrative perspective and the ability to generate empathy, to help understand the relationship between the recipients of the narrative and the culture that generated the narrative. Narrative perspective is viewed as a "relational concept between the producer and the recipient of narrative" that

> establishes a *surface structure empathy hierarchy* that influences how the reader or listener constructs the meaning of the narrated event and opens the way for *participatory affective responses*.[97]

Thus, these narratives invite participation from the recipients by attempting to create empathy for the characters. The hope is that

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[95] James H. Liu and János László, "Narrative Theory of History and Identity: Social Identity, Social Representations, Society and the Individual" in *Social Representations and Identity: Content, Process, and Power* (ed. Gail Moloney and Iain Walker: New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 95, emphasis original.

[96] Ibid., 95, 97.

[97] Ibid., 96.

> [t]he reader, viewer, or listener . . . participates vicariously in the narrative to the extent that he [*sic*] shows empathy for the point of view expressed and the characters and situations depicted.[98]

In this way, "narrative connects individuals to a collective through symbols, knowledge and meaning."[99] This collective memory "goes back to the supposed origins of the group" and "objectifies memories that have proven to be important to the group, encodes these memories into stories, preserves them as public narratives, and makes it possible for new members to share group history."[100]

At this point, the connections between the study of social identity, memory, and narrative theories are beginning to emerge. Group identity is grounded its social memory and may include shared formative narratives, beliefs, and practices, and are often embodied in a prototypical ingroup member from the past. The memory of this prototypical ingroup member becomes the chief character in the group's formative narrative history and personifies the shared identity of that group. As new situations emerge, the group may remember/reinterpret the prototypical ingroup member in a new light in order to address the new context. This connection between social identity, social memory, and narrative theory has led to the development of a narrative-identity model, which will be delineated after the following overview of several important predecessors.

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[98] Ibid., 98.
[99] Ibid., 87.
[100] Ibid., 88.

Combining Narrative and Social-Scientific Approaches in Biblical Studies

This study is certainly not the first attempt to wed narrative theory and social-scientific criticism in the study of the Bible. Most notably, David Rhoads, who coined the title *Narrative Criticism* in New Testament studies,[101] has attempted to combine these two methods in his work on the Gospel of Mark.[102] Likewise, Vernon Robbins has argued for the cooperation of social-scientific and literary studies, maintaining that "[r]hetoric provides a socially and culturally oriented approach to texts, forming a bridge between the disciplines of social-scientific and literary criticism."[103] These interdisciplinary approaches to biblical interpretation have led to other studies that employed both Social-Scientific and Narrative Theories.[104] There are three studies,

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[101] David M. Rhoads, "Narrative Criticism and the Gospel of Mark," *JAAR* 50 (1982): 411-34. This paper was originally presented in 1980 at the Society of Biblical Literature's Seminar on Mark.

[102] On the integration of Social-Science and Narrative Criticism, Rhoads notes that "[s]ocial-science criticism helps to clarify the common assumptions made by author and hearers in the act of communication." Rhoads, *Reading Mark: Engaging the Gospel* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2004), 38. Thus, the use of social science models can help the narrative critic understand better the ancient Mediterranean culture embedded into the stories we interpret.

[103] "Social-Scientific Criticism and Literary Studies: Prospects for Cooperation in Biblical Interpretation" in *Modelling Early Christianity: Social-Scientific Studies of the New Testament in Its Context* (ed. Philip F. Esler: New York: Routledge, 1995), 277.

[104] For example, David B. Gowler, "A Socio-Narratological Character Analysis of the Pharisees in Luke-Acts" (PhD diss., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1983); now published as *Host, Guest, Enemy, and Friend: Portraits of the Pharisees in Luke and Acts* (New York: Lang, 1991). A similar approach is taken by B. J. Syiemlieh, *God's Favourites: A Socio-Narrative Analysis of the Characters in the Lukan Infancy Narratives (Luke 1.5-2.52)* (Delhi: Indian Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 2006). Gowler's work provides a thorough treatment of the narrative aspect of characterization supplemented by selected categories such as honor/shame, patron/client relationships, purity rules, and kinship, which were first introduced to biblical scholars by Bruce Malina, *The New Testament World: Insights from Cultural Anthropology* (Atlanta: John Knox, 1981; repr., 1993, 2001). References in this work are to the 2001 edition. Gowler rightly points out the need for an integration of Social-Scientific and Narrative Criticism and his work provides a helpful first step in that direction. Also see James M. Arlandson, *Women, Class, and Society in Early Christianity: Models from Luke-Acts* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1997) and William S. Kurz, "The Beloved Disciple and Implied Readers: A Socio-Narratological Approach," *BTB* 19 (1989): 100-07.

however, that have contributed most significantly to the Narrative-Identity theory developed in the present study.

First, John Darr's 1987 dissertation argues for the combination of literary and socio-cultural methods in relation to his study of the importance of Herod in Luke's narrative.[105] Darr bases his argument for the integration of literary and socio-cultural methods on three assumptions:

1. Literature functions rhetorically.
2. Meaning is produced by the dynamic interaction of both the rhetorical strategies of the text and the interpretive structures of its reader.
3. The particular historical, social, linguistic and literary environment in which a work was first produced and read remains significant for its subsequent interpretation.[106]

Thus, for Darr, "reading is a complex activity entailing the interaction of *reader*, *text*, and *extratext*."[107] Darr focuses on the rhetorical structure of the text, particularly character development, in chapter three and extratextual features, such as the socio-cultural scripts in the ancient Mediterranean, in chapter four. His integration of socio-cultural aspects with literary theory takes scholarship a step further than previous work by focusing on the social phenomenon of conflict between a charismatic philosopher and a tyrannical ruler that he shows were prevalent in the ancient Mediterranean.[108]

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[105] John A. Darr, *Herod the Fox: Audience Criticism and Lukan Characterization* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic 1998). Also see Darr, *On Character Building: The Reader and the Rhetoric of Characterization in Luke-Acts* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1992).

[106] Darr, *Herod*, 20-21.

[107] Ibid., 50.

[108] Ibid., 92-136.

Another major step forward in the integration of Social-Scientific and Narrative Criticism was the publication of Warren Carter's 1991 doctoral dissertation. *Households and Discipleship: A Study of Matthew 19-20* focuses on the narrative function of household structure in the formation of an understanding of discipleship.[109] Carter employs an interdisciplinary method combining audience-oriented criticism,[110] historical criticism, and social scientific criticism to argue that the series of pericopes in Matthew 19-20 reveals four standard aspects of household codes (the rule of husband over wife, of father over children, of master over slave, and the task of acquiring wealth) which are intended to be subverted, forming an alternative household structure. The structure "forms an integral part of a coherent understanding of discipleship gained by the audience through hearing the Gospel narrative," an understanding which is "best identified by Victor Turner's concept of . . . liminality."[111] Thus, Carter employs audience-oriented criticism as well as Turner's model to argue that:

> Matthaean discipleship is to be marked by a transition from the call of Jesus to the new world fully instigated at his return, by an anti-structure existence which opposes hierarchical social structures, and by an existence on the margins of society as social participants yet as those with a different focus and lifestyle.[112]

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[109] Warren Carter, *Households and Discipleship: A Study of Matthew 19-20*, JSNTSup (Sheffield: JSOT, 1994).

[110] Carter uses the term *audience-oriented* to refer to the narrative theory of Booth, Chatman, and Iser and the theory's application to Gospel studies by Kingsbury.

[111] Ibid., 9.

[112] Ibid.

Carter's study develops what had been lacking in interdisciplinary approaches, namely an interdisciplinary method that successfully combines Narrative Criticism and a specific Social-Scientific model.

Another step toward the approach developed in the present study is Esler and Piper's recent work on John's Gospel, which was described in the previous chapter.[113] There I mentioned that while Esler and Piper state that "[b]y focusing on Lazarus, Martha, and Mary as prototypical Christ-followers, we inevitably enter the question of characterization in the Fourth Gospel,"[114] their engagement of narrative theory is nominal at best.[115] Nevertheless, the important connection between the Social Identity Approach and Narrative Theory through prototypes and social memory demonstrated by Esler and Piper point toward the Narrative-Identity model, which will now be presented.

The Narrative-Identity Model

Early in this chapter, I noted that it was Paul Ricoeur who coined the phrase "narrative identity," which he defined as "the kind of identity that human beings

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[113] *Lazarus, Mary and Martha: Social-Scientific Approaches to the Gospel of John* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2006). For the discussion of this work in the previous chapter, see page 49 above

[114] Ibid., 18.

[115] Rather than engaging literary analysis, Esler and Piper refer to biblical scholarship that employs narrative criticism, including R. Alan Culpepper, *Anatomy of the Fourth Gospel: A Study in Literary Design* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983) and Raimo Hakola, "A Character Resurrected: Lazarus in the Fourth Gospel and Afterwards" in *Characterization in the Gospels: Reconceiving Narrative Criticism* (ed. David M. Rhoads and Kari Syreeni, 223-63; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999).

acquire through the mediation of the narrative function."[116] For Ricoeur, identity emerges as one engages a narrative in the three-fold process of prefiguration, configuration, and refiguration. The Narrative-Identity model presented here builds upon this framework by incorporating the insights of social identity and social memory theorists along with a focus on character and plot from narrative theory. As a heuristic framework, the Narrative-Identity model is intended to help interpreters better understand the identity-forming capacity and identity-forming process of texts. Moreover, the Narrative-Identity model focuses on the identity-forming work of the group's narrative, particularly the prototypical ingroup members from the past that serve as major characters in the group's formative narrative, and on the process of recategorization in which prototypical ingroup members are reinterpreted by their presentation in the narrative to help construct a common superordinate identity while allowing subgroups to maintain salient ingroup features. Briefly recalling Ricoeur's three-fold process in relation to social identity and social memory will help prepare for the explicit presentation of the model to follow.

Ricoeur's first stage of *prefiguration* refers to the preunderstanding the audience brings to the text and thus corresponds to the audience's social memory, which includes prototypical figures from the past that embody the group's identity. The second stage, *configuration*, refers to both the author's construction of the text

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[116] "Narrative Identity" in *On Paul Ricoeur: Narrative and Interpretation* (ed. David Wood; New York: Routledge, 1991), 188. See pages 53 above.

and the audience's interaction with the text and involves either affirming or contesting memories and identities by evaluating new information. The third stage, *refiguration*, refers to the fusion of the audience's previous social memory and identity with the information presented during the configuration process.[117] Thus, narrative identity is constructed, and reconstructed, during the interaction between the audience, whose present identity has been constructed by its social memory, and the text, which reinforces previous identity and memory or seeks to counter and reform identity and memory.[118] We may now elaborate upon each of these stages as they relate to the Narrative-Identity model.

The *prefiguration* stage refers to the social identity and memories already constructed by the audience. This stage also includes all the information and experiences of the audience and, therefore, focuses on the historical and cultural knowledge and experiences of those who lived during the time of the text's writing. Also included in this preunderstanding is knowledge of the historical and cultural knowledge of the time narrated in the text if it is different from the time and place of composition. For early Christian writings, this stage addresses facets commonly associated with historical criticism and adds newer facets by elaborating upon social

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[117] For a more thorough overview of this process see Dan R. Stiver, *Theology after Ricoeur: New Directions in Hermeneutical Theology* (Louisville: Westminister John Knox, 2001), 66-70.

[118] Granted, this is not an automatic process. Some audience members may become "resisting readers" who refuse to interact with the narrative in such a transformative way. In spite of these potential resisting persons, the narrative, and thus the implied author, aims for interaction that will result in transformation. For more on the concept of a "resisting reader" see Fetterley, Judith. *The Resisting Reader: A Feminist Approach to American Fiction* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978).

and cultural factors. In the following chapter, we shall discuss the historical and cultural contexts of Luke's writings. The *configuration* stage focuses on the text itself and the way the author constructed, and how the audience interacts with, the narrative. The *refiguration* stage refers to the fusing of previous memories and identities with the information gained from the narrative in the *configuration* stage. This fusion may result in reformed group memories and a reformed group identity or the re-affirmation of previous memories and identities. This narrative-identity forming process should not be understood, however, as a linear process. Rather, these three stages continuously interact as the audience works through and interacts with the narrative.

The Narrative-Identity model assumes the presence of three worlds that are involved in the interpretative process: the world of the interpreter, the world behind the text, and the narrative world of the text.

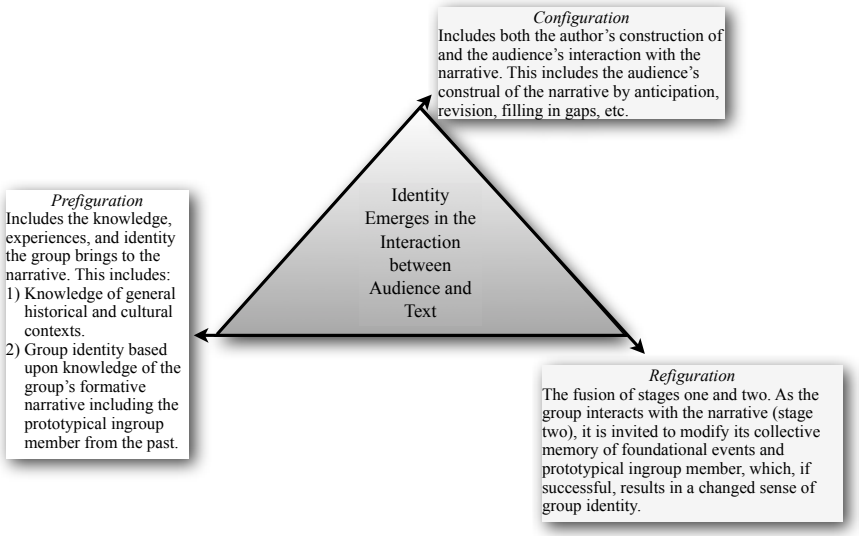

Figure 4: The Narrative-Identity Model for Biblical Interpretation

Since the narrative world of the text is embedded in the historical/cultural world in which the text was written and received, attention to historical and cultural context (*prefiguration* stage) is an important part of this approach. Within the world of the text, the implied author constructs the narrative by use of plot, setting, characters, etc.; modern narrative theory is used here to examine the structure and function of the narrative components including plot, setting, narrator, characters, etc (*configuration* stage). Likewise, the authorial audience engages the text in a reciprocal process in which the audience reads/hears the narrative and makes certain judgments which may then be refined as the audience continues along in the narrative (*configuration* and *refiguration* stages); audience-oriented and social identity/memory approaches are employed here to help understand better the process of interaction and identity formation.

To summarize, the narrative-identity model is chiefly interested in the way that identity is shaped through the interaction between the narrative and the audience. By understanding the shared knowledge and experiences of the author and audience and by examining the text of Acts in terms of the audience's interaction with it, we may gain insight into how the text of Acts affirms or contests social memory and identities present in the audience in an effort to construct or reconstruct its identity. Before discussing the narrative of Acts, we must first locate the narrative in its historical/cultural and narrative contexts.

CHAPTER FOUR:
THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT AND NARRATIVE WORLD OF LUKE-ACTS

The first readers/hearers of Acts came to the story with a certain amount of historical and cultural knowledge, referred to by Ricoeur as *preunderstanding*. This *preunderstanding* includes historical and cultural knowledge along with the audience's identity derived from social memories about its prototypical ingroup members from the past. Before attempting to analyze the identity-forming process at work in the interaction between the audience and the characters of Peter and Paul in Acts, we must first locate the narrative of Luke-Acts[1] within this historical and cultural context. While discussing this context, we also seek to identify the knowledge, including the social memory and possible identities, that the author assumes of the audience. The present chapter will, therefore, identify as closely as possible the historical and cultural context of the real and narrative worlds of the text along with the author and audience implied by the text and context of Luke-Acts.

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[1] In this chapter, the reader will note that I have begun using the title "Luke-Acts" more often than in previous chapters, a shift which invites some clarification. While this work is concerned specifically with the characterization of Peter and Paul in Acts, discussions of historical context and narrative world cannot ignore the first half of Luke's work. In referring to "Luke-Acts," I reject recent attempts to disprove the unity of Luke's two volumes and affirm the narrative unity of the Gospel and Acts and the necessity of addressing the Gospel, if ever so briefly, in this study on Acts. There is a significant bibliography on the topic of the unity of Luke-Acts and cannot be fully addressed here. For a recent discussion of the issue see Michael F. Bird, "The Unity of Luke-Acts in Recent Discussion" *JSNT* 29 (2007): 425-48.

The Author Implied by Luke's Narrative

Like the other canonical Gospels, Luke-Acts is anonymous. Several early Christian traditions, however, attribute these two volumes to a person named Luke. The earliest evidence comes from the late second or early third century C.E. manuscript of Luke's gospel, P75, which ends with the title Ευαγγελιον Κατα Λουκαν.[2] From about the same period, the Muratorian Canon not only cites Luke as the author of the Gospel but of the Acts of the Apostles as well:[3]

> *tertio evangelii librum secundo lucan. lucas iste medicus . . . nem proftetur acta aute omniu apostolorum sub uno libro scribta sunt lucas obtime theofi le comprindit quia sub praesentia eius sincula*
>
> The third book of the Gospel is that according to Luke. Luke, the well-known physician . . . Moreover, the acts of all the apostles were written in one book. For 'most excellent Theophilus' Luke compiled the individual events that took place in his presence.[4]

To these testimonies we may add that of Irenaeus, who, in the same period, recorded in *Against Heresies* that Luke was the author of both the Gospel and Acts.[5] There is also a prologue to Luke's gospel from the end of the second century that states Luke

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[2] Rodolph Kasser, ed., *Papyrus Bodmer XIV: Evangiles De Luc Et Jean* (2 vols. Cologny-Genève: Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, 1962), 75.

[3] F. F. Bruce thinks this attribution may be an anti-Marcionite exaggeration since Marcion thought Paul to be the only legitimate apostle. Bruce, *The Book of the Acts* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988), 5, nt. 8.

[4] Hans Lietzmann, ed., *Das Muratorische Fragment Und Die Monarchianischen Prologue Zu Den Evangelien* (Berlin: 1933), lines 2-3, 34-36.

[5] See 3.1.1 and 3.14.1.

was a physician and companion of Paul from Antioch in Syria.[6] By the late second century, therefore, traditions exist that name Luke, physician and companion of Paul, as the author of both the Third Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles. More important for the present study, however, is the author that is implied by the text itself. Internal textual evidence of Luke-Acts must be examined to determine characteristics of the implied author.

Authors reveal only certain aspects of themselves in their writings, which, referred to as the narrator, comprise the persona developed by the author to tell her/ his story. For example, the narrator developed by the author tells the story from a particular point of view, which may be first, second, or third-person and may indicate complete or limited omniscience. The narrator of Luke-Acts begins both volumes with a first-person prologue which is quickly abandoned in favor of a limited omniscient third-person point of view. This means the narrator stands outside the events that are narrated and, in some instances, has knowledge of the inner thoughts and motives of the characters. In addition, the narrative reveals at least four other details that contribute to our understanding of the person who wrote Luke-Acts.[7]

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[6] Kurt Aland, *Synopsis Quattuor Evangeliorum* (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1964), 533. While Hobart, *The Medical Language of St. Luke* (Dublin: Hodges, 1882) attempted to prove that the author was a physician from his use of medical terminology, Cadbury, *The Style and Literary Method of Luke* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1919) demonstrated that the use of such vocabulary was present in Plutarch, Lucian, and other ancient writers and is, therefore, not an indication of a medical background.

[7] All subsequent references to the "author" are merely convenient shorthand for "implied author." By "author" I do not imply that I am seeking or making suggestions about the real author of Luke-Acts. Likewise, the use of "Luke" is a convenience and not a attribution of historical authorship.

First, in the prologue of the Gospel of Luke (1:1-4), the narrator, who identifies himself as a male,[8] indicates that he was not an eyewitness to the events recorded but that he had contact with those who were, an indication that Luke-Acts is written as the Christ group was in a period of transition from communicative memory to cultural memory described in the previous chapter. As such, memories of Jesus and the apostles were reformulated to meet the needs of the Christ group in Luke's time. Later in his narrative, however, Luke purports that he was an eyewitness and companion of Paul and thus reverts to communicative memory, presumably to give the appearance of a face-to-face transmission of these memories. The well-known "we" passages have been the focus of a lengthy debate concerning the authorship of Acts and will be addressed as they occur in the narrative.[9] It is sufficient at this point to note that the present study, because of the date of Luke-Acts to be proposed later in this chapter, maintains that the author was not a companion of Paul and that the use of the first person plural pronoun is a literary convention used by the author.[10]

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[8] In Luke 1:3, the author uses the masculine participle παρηκολουθηκότι (investigating) with reference to himself. The present study will, therefore, use the masculine pronoun for the author of Luke-Acts simply as a reflection of this self-identification. This should not be understood, however, to exclude the possibility that a woman wrote Luke-Acts and identifies herself her as a male. For a detailed discussion of the possibility of a female author of Luke-Acts, see Randel Helms, *Who Wrote the Gospels?* (Altadena, Ca.: Millennium, 1997), 61-76.

[9] For a survey of the discussion of the "We" passages, see Stanley E. Porter, *Paul in Acts* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2001), 10-66 and William S. Campbell, *The "We" Passages in the Acts of the Apostles: The Narrator as Narrative Character* (Atlanta: SBL, 2007), 1-14.

[10] Campbell, *The "We" Passages in the Acts of the Apostles*.

Second, the author's use of the conventions of rhetoric[11] and historiography point toward a relatively high level of Greco-Roman education.[12] This is also indicated by Luke's use of highly stylized Greek, widely noted as the best Hellenistic Greek in the New Testament, which may indicate that it was his primary language.[13] This possibility is bolstered when we consider that Luke is familiar with the geography of Greece and, especially, Western Asia Minor but does not appear to have a good grasp of Palestinian geography. These aspects of the author have often been cited as indicating his non-Judean, even Greek, ethnicity.[14]

Third, this apparent geographical knowledge of Western Asia Minor, and the corresponding lack of knowledge of Palestine, point toward the possible geographic location of the author and his assumed audience. Since the pioneering work of Henry Cadbury, most Lukan scholars now agree that Luke-Acts was written from an urban perspective.[15] Yet, Cadbury, and others since him, have suggested that an urban setting is all we can know about Luke's geographic location.[16] The geographical knowledge, and lack thereof, described in the previous paragraph has led scholars to

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[11] On Luke's rhetorical skill, see Parsons, *Acts*, 8-10.

[12] See E. P. Parks, *The Roman Rhetorical Schools as a Preparation for the Courts under the Early Empire* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1945).

[13] Witherington, *Acts of the Apostles: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 52.

[14] Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke (I-IX): Introduction, Translation, and Notes* (2 vols.; AB 28; Garden City: Doubleday, 1981), 41-2. Further, those who assert that Luke was a companion of Paul cite Col 4:10-14 as proof of Luke's non-Judean ethnicity.

[15] Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts* (New York: Macmillan, 1927) 245-9.

[16] Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts,* correctly maintains that "Luke writes from the urban standpoint" (245). Yet, this is as far as he is willing to go. Esler, *Community and Gospel in Luke-Acts*, 30 and Vernon Robbins, "The Social Location of the Implied Author of Luke-Acts" in *The Social World of Luke-Acts: Models for Interpretation* (ed. Jerome H. Neyrey; Peabody: Hendrickson, 1991), 305-32 both favor understanding Luke-Acts as originating in a general urban context.

narrow the candidates for the location of composition to Ephesus, Rome, and Syrian Antioch. Of these three, Ephesus receives the most attention in the Lukan narrative and is the location of the climax of Paul's ministry as a free person. This geographical perspective, however, does not preclude the probability that Luke-Acts was intended for a general audience in Western Asia Minor, rather than a particular "Lukan community."[17] For this reason, while Luke's geographical perspective seems to favor the Western Asia Minor city of Ephesus,[18] the present study assumes a more general audience in Western Asia Minor.[19]

Finally, the author's extensive use of quotations and allusions from the Septuagint has led to a scholarly consensus that he is very familiar with the Greek translation of Israel's scriptures.[20] More will be said about the author's use of the Septuagint below in the section on assumed audience knowledge. Although familiarity with the Septuagint does not necessarily mean the author was of Judean ethnicity, the extensiveness of Luke's familiarity with Israel's scriptures and traditions seem to point in that direction. These details lead me to conclude that the author of Luke-Acts was a Judean Christ-follower, though likely a diaspora Judean from

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[17] Luke Timothy Johnson, "On Finding the Lukan Community: A Cautious Cautionary Essay" in *SBLSP 16*, 87-100. Missoula, MT: Scholars Press 1979), 87-100.

[18] Pervo, *Acts* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2009),5-7. Also see Peder Borgen, *Philo, John and Paul: New Perspectives on Judaism and Early Christianity* (Brown Judaic Studies. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 273-85.

[19] Mikeal C. Parsons, *Acts* (Paideia; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2008), 20. Also see Richard Bauckham, *The Gospels for All Christians: Rethinking the Gospel Audiences* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 9-48. For a critique of this position, see David C. Sim, "The Gospel for All Christians?: A Response to Richard Bauckham," *JSNT* 84 (2001): 3-27.

[20] Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 42; Kenneth Duncan Litwak, *Echoes of Scripture in Luke-Acts: Telling the History of God's People Intertextually* (JSNTSup; London: T&T Clark International, 2005).

Western Asia Minor who had received a relatively high level of Hellenistic education.[21]

Dates and Places in Luke's Narrative World

Like the other Gospels, the date of the composition of Luke-Acts is not the same as the time period narrated in the text, which I assume to be the last decade of the first century C.E.[22] While the historical context is important for our study and will be addressed later in the present chapter, our present concern is the historical context narrated in Luke-Acts. Four references at the beginning of Luke's Gospel help to identity the narrative's historical period. First, the author sets the story of Zechariah and Elizabeth "[i]n the days of Herod, king of Judea," (ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἡρῴδου βασιλέως τῆς Ἰουδαίας [Luke 1:5]). Herod the Great ruled as a client king of the Roman Emperor in Judea from 37– 4 B.C.E. Joel Green succinctly summarizes his rule, stating,

> Regarded as an outsider, Herod encountered some opposition simply because he represented Rome to a people among whom many chafed under foreign domination. Herod exacerbated these feelings by his secular power base; his extravagant building programs, the funds for which were extracted from the [Judean] people; his blatant control of the temple and high priesthood for his

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[21] Shillington, *An Introduction to the Study of Luke-Acts* (New York: T & T Clark, 2007), 10-11. Also see John Drury, *Tradition and Design in Luke's Gospel: A Study in Early Christian Historiography* (London: Darton, Longman, and Todd, 1976).

[22] The date of composition for Luke-Acts has been the subject of prolonged debate, with arguments ranging from the mid first century to the mid second century C.E. In the appendix at the end of the present study, I delineate my argument for dating Luke-Acts in the last decade of the first century C.E.

> own political purposes; and his wide-ranging efforts at continued reform of Palestine along the lines of Hellenistic culture.[23]

Second, Luke mentions that

> Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις ἐξῆλθεν δόγμα παρὰ Καίσαρος Αὐγούστου ἀπογράφεσθαι πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην. αὕτη ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη ἐγένετο ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηνίου.
>
> In those days, a decree went out from Caesar Augustus that all the world should be enrolled. This was the first enrollment, when Quirinius was governor of Syria (Luke 2:1-2).[24]

Quirinius became governor of Syria in 6 C.E., after Caesar banished Herod Archelaus and gave his country to the province of Syria.[25] The reference to Caesar reminds the audience of Rome's imperial rule over Judea and the mention of the census "signals an unwelcome, alien intrusion into the affairs of the [Judean] people, reminder of the allegiance required of Israel as a conquered people."[26]

Third, the author places the ministry of John the Baptist in relation to regional and imperial rulers.

> Ἐν ἔτει δὲ πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ τῆς ἡγεμονίας Τιβερίου Καίσαρο ἡγεμονεύοντος Ποντίου Πιλάτου τῆς Ἰουδαίας, καὶ τετραρχοῦντος τῆς Γαλιλαίας Ἡρῴδου, Φιλίππου δὲ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ

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[23] *The Gospel of Luke* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 64. The complex story of Herod the Great's rise to power is found in *Ant.14.1-17.199*.

[24] Many have pointed out Luke's mistake of citing Qurinius as governor of Syria here. Yet, much of the criticism comes from the common assumption that Jesus was born during the reign of Herod the Great. While Matthew does indicate this, Luke does not. Luke simply places Zechariah and Elizabeth during his reign but does not mention him with reference to Jesus' birth.

[25] Josephus, *Ant*. 1.13.2-5; 18.1.1.

[26] Green, *The Gospel of Luke*, 126. Shillington, *Introduction to Luke-Acts*, 29 cites the timing of Herod as King of Judea and Quirinius as governor of Syria as problematic. Yet, the events of 1:5 and 2:1-2 do not require a date prior to Herod's death in 4 B.C.E.

> τετραάρχοῦντος τῆς Ἰτουραίας καὶ Τραχωνίτιδος χώρας, καὶ Λυσανίου τῆς Ἀβιληνῆς τετραάρχοῦντος,ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Ἄννα καὶ Καϊάφα.
>
> In the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar, Pontius Pilate being governor of Judea, and Herod being tetrarch of Galilee, and his brother Philip tetrarch of the region of Ituraea and Trachonitis, and Lysaniaus tetrarch of Abilene, in the high-priesthood of Annas and Caiaphas (Luke 3:1-2).

Here Luke situates the narrative during the time of various imperial and religious leaders, including Tiberius Caesar, who ruled from 14-37 C.E., and Pilate, who was governor of Judea from 26-37 C.E. Moreover, when Herod the Great died in 4 B.C.E., his kingdom was divided among his three sons, Philip, Herod Antipas, and Archelaus. The Herod in 3:1 is Herod Antipas, who ruled Judea as a client king from 4 B.C.E. – 29 C.E. Finally, the reference in 3:1 to Annas and Caiaphas, who served as high priest from 6-15 C.E. and 18-37 C.E. respectively, points toward an important aspect of Luke-Acts, namely the city of Jerusalem and the temple.

Although Luke's story begins in Jerusalem, it ends in the capital of the empire, Rome. While Rome does not actually appear in the narrative until the end, its presence through interaction with its officials is evident throughout Luke-Acts. I have already mentioned the reference to Pilate in 3:1, who will be an important character in the events surrounding Jesus' crucifixion. Further, in Acts, additional Roman rulers are mentioned in three key places. These references also serve to help us narrow the date for Luke's narrative world.

First, Acts 18:2 mentions the expulsion of all Judeans from Rome by Claudius. This expulsion is often related by scholars to the words of Suetonius, who notes that "He expelled [Judeans] from Rome, who were constantly making disturbances at the instigation of Chrestus," (*Iudaeos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantis Roma expulit)*.[27] Although Suetonius does not indicate when this expulsion took place, it is traditionally dated in 49 C.E. based upon Orosius' dating in the fifth century C.E.[28] The argument for this date is strengthened by the reference in Acts 18:12 that Paul was brought before Gallio, proconsul of Achaia, whose rule can be dated by the inscription found at Delphi to 52-3 C.E.[29]

Finally, Paul's arrest and trial bring him into contact with three additional Roman officials: Agrippa, Felix, and Festus. Marcus Antonius Felix was the

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[27] *Lives of the Caesars* 5.25.4. There is significant debate surrounding Suetonius' statement and the dating of the expulsion. For an overview, see Andrew D. Clark "Rome and Italy" in *The Book of Acts in its Greco-Roman Setting* (ed. David W.J. Gill and Conrad Gempf; Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 1994), 469-71 and Irina Levinskaya, "Rome" in *The Book of Acts in its Diaspora* Setting (Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 1996), 171-81. Since no clear alternative has emerged, it seems best to follow the traditional consensus concerning the date while acknowledging that it is unlikely that *all* Judeans were expelled from Rome.

[28] Orosius, *Historiae adversum paganos* 7.6.15-16, Slingerland. Also see Slingerland, "Suetonius Claudius 25.4, Acts 18, and Paulus Orosius' 'Historiarum Adversum Paganos Libri Vii:' Dating the Claudian Expulsion(s) of Roman Jews." *Jewish Quarterly Review* 83, no. 1/2 (1992): 127-44.

[29] Wilhelm Dittenberger, ed. *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum, a Guilelmo Dittenbergero Condita Et Aucta* (Hildesheim: Olms, 1960), 2.801. Available online: http://www.kchanson.com/ANCDOCS/greek/gallio.html, accessed 29 May 2009.

The inscription reads: "Tiber[ius Claudius C]aes[ar August]us G[ermanicus, Highest Priest, invested with tribunician auth]ority [for the twelfth time, acclaimed Imperator for t]he twenty-sixth time, F[ather of the Fa]therland, [Consul for the fifth time, Censor, sends greetings to the city of the Delphians.]. . . now [since] it is said to be desti[tu]te of [citi]zens, as [L. Ju]nius Gallio, my fr[iend] an [d procon]sul [recently reported to me; and being desirous that Delphi]."

The twelfth year of Claudius' reign dates to 52-53 C.E. Also see Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, "Paul and Gallio." *JBL* 112, no. 2 (1993): 315-17 and Dixon Slingerland, "Acts 18:1-18: The Gallio Inscription and Absolute Pauline Chronology." *JBL* 110, no. 3 (1991): 439-49.

procurator of Judea during the early 50s C.E., before he was replaced in 56 C.E. by Porcius Festus by appointment of Emperor Nero. It is before Festus that Paul appeals to the Emperor. Agrippa, the great-grandson of Herod the Great, was made governor in 53 C.E. over the area given to Philip at Herod the Great's death; two years later, parts of Galilee and Perea were placed under his control as well. After appearing before each of these leaders, Paul is sent to Rome, where Luke's narrative ends.

This brief overview of dates and places narrated in Luke-Acts demonstrates that in his second volume, Luke narrates the spread of the gospel from Jerusalem, through Asia Minor and Greece to Rome in the first half of the first century C.E., with most of the narrative taking place approxamately between the late 20s to the mid 60s. This narrative world, along with the date and place of composition, Western Asia Minor in the mid 90s C.E., situates both the historical and narrative world of Luke-Acts and allows us to examine some of the historical and cultural assumptions Luke makes about his audience.

Luke's Authorial Audience and Their Assumed Knowledge

Noted literary scholar Peter Rabinowitz observes that an author "cannot write without making certain assumptions about his [*sic*] readers' beliefs, knowledge, and familiarity with conventions" and, therefore, "we must, as we read, come to share, in some measure, the characteristics of this audience if we are to understand the text."[30]

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[30] Rabinowitz, "Truth in Fiction: A Reexamination of Audiences," *CI* 4 (1977): 126.

Like other writers, Luke makes certain cultural assumptions of his audience that are often overlooked by the modern reader. To understand Acts more fully, therefore, the modern reader must take into account the historical/cultural assumptions made by the author as he composed the narrative.

Luke makes it quite clear to whom he is writing; both volumes are addressed to Θεόφιλος (Luke 1:3; Acts 1:1). What remains unclear, however, is precisely who this Theophilus is and what his relationship is to the Christ community. Attempts to define the historical Theophilus have resulted in two poles: either (1) Theophilus is a fictional creation of Luke to symbolize an ideal reader of the narrative (Lover of God, cf. Luke 10:27) that could have been applied to any Christ follower in the late first century C.E. or (2) Theophilus is a real person of high social status who served as Luke's literary patron.[31] As his literary patron, Theophilus is the one for whom Luke wrote and through whom Luke-Acts would be distributed. If this is the case, Luke may have envisioned an audience composed primarily of wealthy, educated elites.

The lack of historic specificity concerning Luke's audience has led many scholars to seek information about the audience by extrapolating information from the text. The notion of an *implied reader* was popularized by the so-called New Criticism in literary studies and was subsequently adopted by many biblical scholars.[32] The

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[31] For an overview of the various understandings of Theophilus, see Robert F. O'Toole, "Theophilus " in *ABD* (ed. David Noel Freedman; New York: Doubleday, 1992), 511-12. On literary patronage, see Barbara K. Gold, *Literary Patronage in Greece and Rome* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987).

[32] For my discussion of narrative theory in Chapter 3, see pp. 76-87 above.

problem with an implied reader, however, is that such a reader often lacks the historical and cultural contextualization that is necessary to interpret Luke's story, appearing disinterested in the historical/cultural context of the writing.[33] The need to combine both the historical/cultural context and the clues offered by the narrative has led some biblical scholars to adopt Peter Rabinowitz's concept of an *authorial audience*. As I mentioned above, Rabinowitz notes that an author

> cannot write without making certain assumptions about his [*sic*] readers' beliefs, knowledge, and familiarity with conventions. His [*sic*] artistic choices are based upon these assumptions, conscious or unconscious, and to a certain extent, his [*sic*] artistic success will depend on their accuracy. Demby's The Catacombs, for instance, takes place during the early sixties, and the novel achieves its sense of impending doom only if the reader knows that John F. Kennedy will be assassinated when the events of the novel reach 22 November 1963. Had Demby assumed that his audience would be ignorant of this historical event, he would have had to rewrite his book accordingly. Since the structure of a novel is designed for the author's hypothetical audience (which I call the authorial audience), we must, as we read, come to share, in some measure, the characteristics of this audience if we are to understand the text.[34]

Thus, Rabinowitz argues for a "contextualized 'implied reader,'"[35] which combines the historical/cultural context of the writing with the reader implied by the text. The authorial audience, therefore, is presupposed by both the text and the historical/ cultural context in which the text was composed and first read/heard. The use of the

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[33] Luke Timothy Johnson, "On Finding the Lukan Community: A Cautious Cautionary Essay" in *SBLSP* 16; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press 1979), 87-100.

[34] Rabinowitz, "Truth in Fiction: A Reexamination of Audiences," 126.

[35] John P. Heil, *The Meal Scenes in Luke-Acts: An Audience-Oriented Approach* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1999), 3.

term "audience" throughout this study also emphasizes that Luke expected his audience to experience the narrative "aurally and communally."[36] To identify the authorial audience, then, we must seek to understand the general historical/cultural context at the time of composition (which will help to identify the historical/cultural assumptions made by the author) and the information implied about the audience in text.[37]

Having already identified the likely historical context of Luke-Acts as Western Asia Minor in the mid 90s C.E., we now seek to understand what historical/ cultural knowledge the author expects of his audience. We shall proceed by establishing the general historical/cultural context of the early Roman Empire, especially its system of social stratification within cities and regional urban systems of Western Asia Minor. Another related factor regarding social stratification is the audience's knowledge of and participation in the system of *patronage*. Further, Luke's audience would have been immersed in framework of *collectivism*, or group orientation, and *social comparison*, which is rooted in the cultural system of *honor and shame*. Finally, we shall consider the audience's assumed knowledge of *Israel and Israel's Scriptures*, its knowledge of *Hellenistic literary conventions*, and its knowledge of *early Christian traditions*. Each of these contributes to our

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[36] Parsons, *Acts*, 5.
[37] For more on these two modes of analysis, see Iser, *The Act of Reading*, 28.

understanding of Luke's authorial audience and will set the appropriate context for our subsequent examination of Peter and Paul in Acts.

Roman Imperial Context

Luke's audience was confronted daily with the realities of imperial life in the Roman province of Asia,[38] including, but certainly not limited to, social stratification, which was characteristic of what Gerhard Lenski classified as an advanced agrarian society.[39] This advanced agrarian society was, by defintion, supported primarily by agriculture, though the distribution of goods was controlled by the ruling elite who exploited the non-elite by redistributing resources and wealth to their own benefit. Dennis Duling has provided a helpful illustration, figure five below, depicting the social stratification during the Roman Empire.

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[38] A helpful overview of the Roman Empire during the time of the New Testament may be found in Warren Carter, *The Roman Empire and the New Testament: An Essential Guide* (Nashville: Abingdon, 2006).

[39] Lenski, *Human Societies: An Introduction to Macrosociology* (11th ed.; Boulder: Paradigm, 2009). Also see his *Power and Privilege: A Theory of Social Stratification* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966). For other theories of empire see Duling, "Empire: Theories, Methods, Models" in *The Gospel of Matthew in Its Roman Imperial Context* (ed. John Riches and David C. Sim; London: T. & T. Clark International, 2005), 49-74. Lenski, *Human Societies*, 194, argues that agrarian societies emerged about the same time as the harnessing of wind, water, animal power, the inventions of the wheel, the alphabet, and the calendar sometime in the late fourth millennium B.C.E. The most important innovation, however, was the plow, which made greater agricultural production possible. The emergence of the iron-tipped plow, Lenski argues, led to the development of more complex agricultural societies in the second millennium B.C.E.

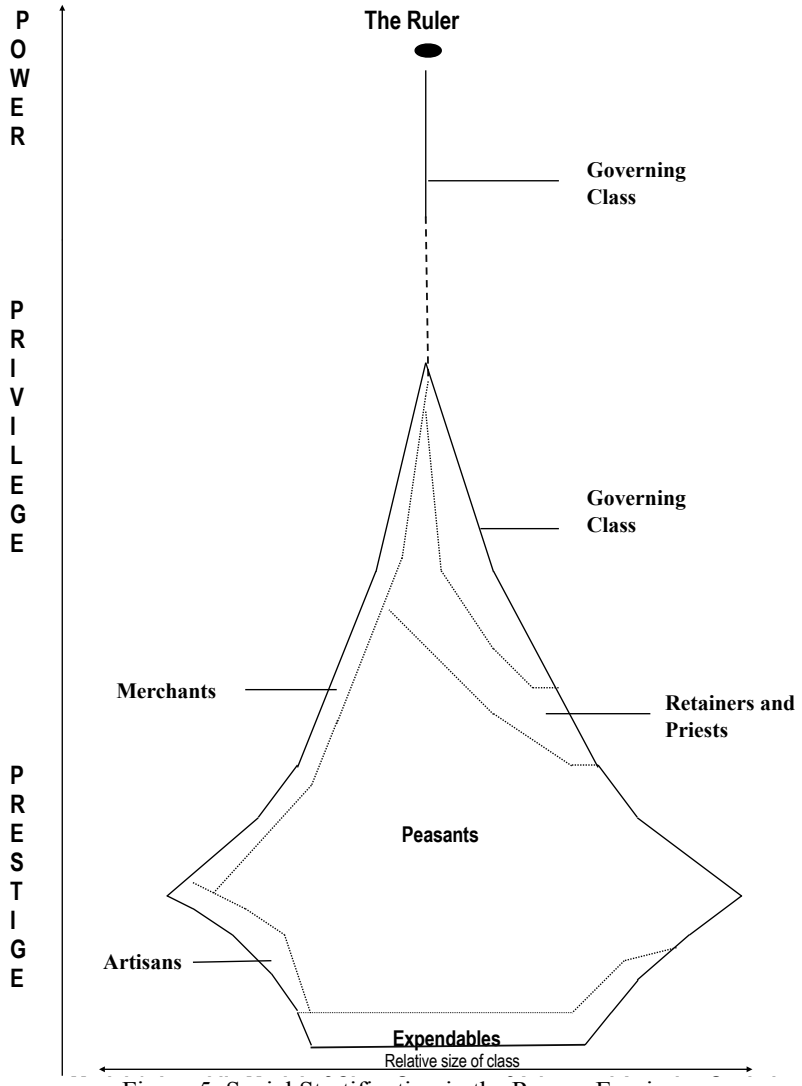

Figure 5: Social Stratification in the Roman Empire
From Duling, "Empire: Theories, Methods, Models" in *The Gospel of Matthew in Its Roman Imperial Context* (ed. John Riches and David C. Sim; London: T. & T. Clark International, 2005), 55.

Atop Duling's model was the Emperor, with other rulers beneath him in the governing strata, client kings (those who ruled their state under subordination to Rome) and their retainers (those who work for the local ruling elite); still lower are peasants, merchants, artisans, and slaves. At the very bottom are the socially unclean and the expendables. As the illustration portrays, the vast majority of the population

consisted of peasants, along with some merchants and artisans. Regardless of their social status, members of Luke's audience would have been very familiar with the various strata represented in figure five.

This social stratification was perhaps most tangible for Luke's authorial audience in the relationship between the ancient, or preindustrial, city and the countryside. Dennis Duling offers a vivid description of preindustrial cities:

> Cities were mostly small, approximately 5-10,000 people; about 10% of the population lived in them. They were crowded and unsanitary. Autocratic kings ruled them with absolute authority, collected taxes, and maintained law and order. City bureaucracies were rigidly hierarchical and family/friendship-based. Their economies were underdeveloped and corruption was rampant. Guild-organized craftspersons minimized competition and controlled pricing. Elite families controlled hierarchical religion. Educated males interpreted the religious norms that justified the social and religious order.[40]

This description may be applied to cities across the Roman Empire in the late first century C.E., including those urban centers in Western Asia Minor. The major difference between Duling's description and our proposed location for Luke-Acts, Ephesus, is the estimated population. Duling notes that most cities had approximately 5,000-10,000 inhabitants while the population of Ephesus in the late first century is estimated to have been between 200,000-250,000, making it the third largest at that time behind Rome and Alexandria.[41]

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[40] Duling, "Empire: Theories, Methods, Models," 56. Duling is summarizing Sjoberg, *The Preindustrial City: Past and Present* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960), 332.

[41] L. Michael White, "Urban Development and Social Change in Imperial Ephesos" in *Ephesos Metropolis of Asia* (ed. Helmut Koester; Valley Forge: Trinity, 1995). 42-3.

The population of the city was "dependent upon the agricultural resources of the countryside."[42] Warren Carter notes that "[c]ities were centers of elite power and extended their political, societal, economic, and religions control over surrounding areas and villages."[43] The elite constituted the upper 1-2% of figure five above and were primarily urbanites, who owned large rural estates worked by slaves, and thus were in control of the surrounding land and its production. Other peasants lived in the small rural areas and worked small areas of land they owned or rented. The elite often received rent from these landholders and, when they were unable to pay, foreclosed on their property.[44]

Not only did they control the land, these urban elites consumed the goods and services supplied by non-elites, many of whom lived at or near subsistence level.[45] Stephen Mitchell illustrates this in Western Asia Minor: "the high quality wheat was regularly taken to cities leaving only inferior products for the country people. This is especially true of the area around Pergamum."[46] Further,

> [a]fter the harvest the city inhabitants would take away all the wheat and barley that they needed for their own annual consumption and a good proportion of the less favoured crops. The country people would have to live

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[42] Peter Garnsey and Richard Saller, *The Roman Empire: Economy, Society, and Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 103. For a more detailed description of such urban systems, see Anthony Leeds, "Towns and Villages in Society: Hierarchies of Order and Cause" in *Cities in a Larger Context* (ed. Thomas W. Collins; Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1980), 6-33.

[43] Carter, *The Roman Empire and the New Testament*, 45.

[44] Helen Parkins, *Roman Urbanism: Beyond the Consumer City* (New York: Routledge, 1997). Also see Thomas Broughton, "Roman Landholding in Asia Minor" *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 65 (1934): 207-39.

[45] Garnsey and Saller, *The Roman Empire*, 43.

[46] Stephen Mitchell, *Anatolia: Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor* (2 vols.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 1.169.

> on the residue. By the end of the winter supplies would be exhausted and they would have to rely on wild shoots and roots.[47]

Doug Oakman notes, however, that "peasants will not endure exploitation beyond a certatin point," that is, the point of subsistence. Thus, "ancient elites had to develop strategies to deal with the simmering anger of the peasantry."[48] The major system employed by the Romans to give the appearance of alleviating the results of the exploitation of non-elites, and which the authorial audience would have been extremely familiar, was the system of patronage.

Patronage

The patron-client institution was "[a]n empire-wide hierarchy" that was based on "an intricate web of descending chains of patronage and power."[49] Richard Saller has identified three primary characteristics of ancient patronage. First, patronage revolved around reciprocal exchange of goods and services. Second, patronage involved a relationship that is personal and of some duration. Finally, patronage was primarily between parties of unequal social status.[50] Patrons would provide whatever

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[47] Ibid., 1.168-9. Mitchell supports his claims with a number of citations from Galen's *De Alumentorum Facultatibus*, in which he discusses the power of food.

[48] Oakman "The Countryside in Luke-Acts" in *The Social World of Luke-Acts: Models for Interpretation* (ed. Jerome H. Neyrey; Peabody: Hendrickson, 1991), 159.

[49] Erik M. Heen, "Radical Patronage in Luke-Acts" *CTM* 33.6 (2006): 449. A thorough treatment of patronage in the Greco-Roman world is beyond the scope of the present study. For more detailed analysis, see Peter Garnsey, *Famine and Food Supply in the Graeco-Roman World: Responses to Risk and Crisis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 58-63; Richard P. Saller, *Personal Patronage under the Early Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); "Patronage and Friendship in Early Imperial Rome: Drawing the Distinction," in *Patronage in Ancient Society* (ed. Andrew Wallace-Hadrill; Leicester-Nottingham Studies in Ancient Society; London: Routledge, 1989), 49-62.

[50] Saller, *Personal Patronage under the Early Empire*, 1.

good was requested (e.g. land, money, protection, work) and their clients would reciprocate the deed by doing everything in their power to enhance the honor of their patron.[51] While "patronage was an essential means of acquiring access to goods, protection or opportunities for employment and advancement"[52] in the Roman Empire, it was also the source of exploitation and control.

> Though the public rhetoric that supported this system projected an ideology of patrons working benevolently on behalf of their clients, the ever-present threat of violent enforcement of the assumed dominance of the elite was never far from the surface. All were quite aware that the velvet glove of the patronal handshake contained an iron fist.[53]

Yet, despite its exploitive nature, patronage remained the essential means of survival for many in the Roman Empire.

Patronage was not limited to relations between elite and non-elite.[54] While patron/client relationships were mainly between those of unequal status, the term φίλος or *amicus,* was often used to describe such relationships between those of equal or near-equal status. It was also the construct of power that dominated the entire empire.

> The emperor in Rome, the overlord of the entire system, was enthroned at the apex of this social pyramid. The local high elite of the cities in the East (Thessalonica, Philippi, Corinth, Ephesus, etc.) were, for example, subordinate clients of the emperor while, at the same time, they were the dominant high

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[51] A patron who provides access to another patron has been called a *broker* or a *mediator*.
[52] DeSilva, *Honor, Patronage, Kinship & Purity*, 96.
[53] Heen, "Radical Patronage in Luke-Acts," 449.
[54] See, for example, Pliny, *Epistles* 10.104.

> patrons of other local clients. These latter clients (of the city's high elite) were, in turn, patrons of those of lesser rank and status in the city, and so on.[55]

Moreover, cities and regions had their own patron god or goddess. Ephesus' well-known patron deity was Artemis, whose massive temple dominated landscape and life in ancient Ephesus. The system of patronage may be illustrated by the vast number of honorific inscriptions that have been located in the city.[56] Perhaps the best example is the more than fifty honorific statues and bases erected in honor of members of the Vedii Antonini family.[57]

This system of patronage that permeated every aspect of life in imperial Western Asia Minor can also be illustrated by citing two examples from Luke-Acts.[58] First, in Luke 7, the centurion whose slave was near death,"sent to (Jesus) some elders of the Judeans in order to ask him to come and heal his slave" (ἀπέστειλεν πρὸς αὐτὸν πρεσβυτέρους τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐρωτῶν αὐτὸν ὅπως ἐλθὼν διασώσῃ τὸν δοῦλον αὐτοῦ [citation]). The Judean elders tell Jesus of the centurion's public patronage. While on the way to his house, however, the centurion

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[55] Heen, "Radical Patronage in Luke-Acts," 449.

[56] Hermann Wankel, ed., *Die Inschriften Von Ephesos* (Inschriften Griechischer Städte Aus Kleinasien, Bd. 11-17; Bonn: Habelt, 1979-1984). Hereafter abbreviated *I.Eph*.

[57] For example, *I.Eph 438, 460,* 727, 728, 2065, 3057. *I.Eph* 1491, 1492, and 1493 detail a dispute that between Publius Vedius Antoninus and the citizens of Ephesus over a proposed building project and the resolution of the dispute by the emperor Antoninus Pius in favor of Vedius Antoninus. For a detailed treatment of these inscriptions, see Angela Kalinowski, "The Vedii Antonini: Aspects of Patronage and Benefaction in Second-Century Ephesos" *Phoenix* 56 (2002): 109-49; "A Series of Honorific Statue Bases for the Vedii in the Market Agora at Ephesos (IvE 725, 731, 3076-3078)" *Acta XII Congressus Epigraphiae Graecae et Latinae* (Barcelona, 2006) 757-762; and "Toponyms in IvE 672 and IvE 3080: interpreting collective action in honorific inscriptions from Ephesos" *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Insitutes* 75 (2006), 117-132.

[58] For a more thorough treatment of Patronage in Luke-Acts, see Halvor Moxnes, "Patron/Client Relations and the New Community in Luke-Acts" in *The Social World of Luke-Acts: Models for Interpretation* (ed. Jerome H. Neyrey; Peabody: Hendrickson, 1991), 241-268.

sent some friends (φίλους) asking Jesus to perform the healing from outside the house.

Another episode involving a centurion is found in Acts 10, in which Peter visits the home of Cornelius, who "was expecting him and had called together his relatives and close friends" (ἦν προσδοκῶν αὐτοὺς συγκαλεσάμενος τοὺς συγγενεῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἀναγκαίους φίλους [10:24]). In his speech to Cornelius, his relatives, and clients (τοὺς ἀναγκαίους φίλους), Peter, acting as a broker, portrays Jesus as a patron, noting that "he went about doing good and healing all who were oppressed by the devil" (διῆλθεν εὐεργετῶν καὶ ἰώμενος πάντας τοὺς καταδυναστευομένους ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου [10:38]). Furthermore, Jesus and his followers are viewed throughout Luke-Acts as brokers of Israel's divine Patron.[59]

This system of patronage rested upon two major cultural factors in the ancient Mediterranean with which Luke's audience was deeply embedded: collectivist, or group, orientation and social comparison.

Group Orientation

The culture in which Luke and his audience were situated gave priority to the group rather than to the individual, and is commonly referred to as a strong group orientation. Anthropologists who work primarily in the Mediterranean region agree

[59] See Moxnes, 257-265.

that the dominant orientation of the Mediterranean was and is collectivist, or dyadic, in nature. Triandis explains that, in the modern Mediterranean,

> Traditional Greeks have been found to depend on ingroups (family, friends, and those concerned with my welfare) for protection, social insurance, and security. They readily submit to ingroup authorities and accept their control; they are willing to sacrifice themselves for the ingroup. They relate to ingroup members with great intimacy; they achieve to glorify the ingroup. They perceive the self as weak but the ingroup as strong. They view themselves largely (74% in surveys) as having *philotimo* (as being polite, virtuous, reliable, truthful, self-sacrificing, tactful, and diligent). They believe that social control (e.g., severe punishment) is desirable. They value ingroup success, honor, kindness, and dependability. They define *freedom* and *progress* as societal (e.g., national) constructs rather than as individual constructs. Their supreme values are good social relations and social control within the ingroup. By contrast, Americans value achievement and efficiency. Among Greeks behavior toward the ingroup is consistent with what the ingroup expects; behavior toward everyone else (e.g., strangers) is characterized by defiance of authority, competition, resentment of control, formality, rejection, arrogance, dogmatism, and rejection of influence that have outgroups as a source.[60]

Combining Triandis' analysis of modern Greeks with the argument of Daniel Bell that before the sixteenth century virtually all societies were collectivist,[61] confirms what biblical scholars have long recognized, that persons in the ancient Mediterranean were collectivist in orientation. As collectivists, therefore, Luke's audience would have understood themselves as embedded in various groups and relied on others to know who they are.

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[60] "Cross–Cultural Studies in Individualism and Collectivism." In *Nebraska Symposium on Motivation* (ed. Richard A. Diensber and John J. Berman; Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), 56. Emphasis original.

[61] Bell, *The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism* (New York: Basic Books, 1976).

This strong group, or dyadic, culture emphasizes that the needs of the group take precedence over the needs of the individual. The first century Judean historian Josephus demonstrates this precedence succinctly:

> θύομεν τὰς θυσίας οὐκ εἰς μέθην ἑαυτοῖς ἀβούλητον γὰρ θεῷ τόδε ἀλλ᾽ εἰς σωφροσύνην καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις χρὴ πρῶτον ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς εὔχεσθαι σωτηρίας εἶθ᾽ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν ἐπὶ γὰρ κοινωνίᾳ γεγόναμεν καὶ ταύτην ὁ προτιμῶν τοῦ καθ᾽ αὑτὸν ἰδίου μάλιστα θεῷ κεχαρισμένος
>
> Our sacrifices are not occasions for drunken self-indulgence -- such practices are abhorrent to God -- but for sobriety. At these sacrifices prayers for the welfare of the community must take precedence of those for ourselves; for we are born for fellowship, and he who sets its claims above his private interests is specially acceptable to God.[62]

Likewise, Plutarch comments on the embeddedness of all individuals in their group: "No one is their own master and no one is complete in oneself" (στρατηγὸς οὐδεὶς δ ἄναρκτος οὐδ αὐτοτελής).[63] Thus, members of Luke's authorial audience understood themselves primarily through their embeddedness in various groups, such as family, place, trade, etc. The primary way people in antiquity defined themselves and others was in relation to their (ethnic, kin, or fictive kin) group and place of origin.

Negative sterotypes were used to distinguish one group from another. For example, the Roman poet Virgil, speaking of the deception of the Greeks, wrote in the late first century B.C.E. that to know one Greek is to know them all.[64] Likewise, the

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[62] *Ag. Ap.* 2.195-196 (Thackeray, LCL).
[63] *Moralia* 754D (Translation mine in order to maintain gender neutrality).
[64] *Aeneid* 2.65 (Fairclough, LCL).

Hellenistic Judean Philo notes that "jealousy is a part of the Egyptian nature, and the citizens were bursting with envy and considered that any good luck to others was misfortune to themselves" (γὰρ φὺσει τὸ Αἰγυπτιακὸν καὶ τὰς ἑτέπων εὐτυχίας ἰδίας ὑπελάμβανον εἶναι κακοπραγίας).[65] Finally, the Roman historian Tacitus gives a glimpse of what outsiders must have thought about the boundaries of the Judeans:

> *... et quia apud ipsos fides obstinata, misericordia in promptu, sed adversus omnis alios hostile odium. separati epulis, discreti cubilibus, proiectissima ad libidinem gens, alienarum concubitu abstinent; inter se nihil inlicitum. circumcidere genitalia in- stituerunt ut diversitate noscantur.*
>
> …that among themselves they are inflexibly honest and ever ready to shew compassion, though they regard the rest of mankind with all the hatred of enemies. They sit apart at meals, they sleep apart, and though, as a nation, they are singularly prone to lust, they abstain from intercourse with foreign women; among themselves nothing is unlawful. Circumcision was adopted by them as a mark of difference from other men.[66]

It was not just other ethnic groups that the Romans distinguished as outsiders. Elite Romans made distinctions between themselves and their non-elite group members and city- and country-dwellers distinguished themselves from one another.[67]

Moreover, the high level of patriotism among the cities of Western Asia Minor is illustrative of this strong group orientation. More will be said below about this in connection with social comparison and the rivalry between Ephesus, Smyrna, and

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[65] *Flaccus* 1.29 (Colson, LCL).
[66] Tacitus *Histories* 5.5 9 (Moore, LCL).
[67] This is, of course, only a small sample of the various distinctions that groups made against other groups. For a more detailed treatment, see Ramsay MacMullen, *Roman Social Relations: 50 B.C. to A.D. 284* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974).

Pergamon. Trebilco correctly notes that without "very strong civic patriotism," such "inter-city rivalry is incomprehensible."[68] Strong civic patriotism, which is built upon strong a group orientation, is evident of cities in Western Asia Minor even before the Roman period.[69] Also indicative of a collectivist orientation is the inscription found in Ephesus that lists communities in the Roman province of Asia by their ethnicity.[70] Finally, inscriptions from various trade guilds and voluntary associations in Western Asia Minor, and the ancient Mediterranean in general, illustrates group orientation.[71]

Although there were earlier attempts to understand this collectivist personality in the Bible,[72] more recent biblical scholarship has utilized cultural anthropology to highlight this orientation in the ancient Mediterranean. More than anyone, Bruce Malina and Jerome Neyrey have illustrated that the collectivist construct is applicable

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[68] Trebilco, "Asia" in *The Book of Acts in Its Graeco-Roman Setting* (ed. Conrad H. Gempf; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 331.

[69] For a discussion of civic patriotism in Asia Minor, see Mitchell, 1.206-10.

[70] Christian Habicht, "New Evidence on the Province of Asia" *JRS* 65 (1975): 64-91.

[71] For a detailed survey of various guilds and associations in Ephesus, see Philip A. Harland, *Dynamics of Identity and Early Christianity: Associations and Cultural Minorities in the Roman Empire* (New York: T & T Clark, 2009), 47-59.

[72] The first study to apply this notion of a collective personality in biblical texts was H. Wheeler Robinson, *Corporate Personality in Ancient Israel* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1964; repr. BZAW, 1936) in which he employed the term "corporate personality" to refer to the ancient Israelites, as in the case of Achan in Joshua 7. Also see his *The Christian Doctrine of Man* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1911). A number of biblical scholars employed Robinson's "corporate personality" model including attempts to understand "Hebrew thought," namely Thorleif Boman, *Hebrew Thought Compared with Greek* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1960); Claude Tresmontant, *A Study of Hebrew Thought* (New York: Desclee, 1960) and to explain the sin of Adam in Paul's letter to the Romans, Jean de Fraine, *Adam and the Family of Man* (Staten Island: Alba House, 1965). While Robinson's work, which was based on anthropological research on the "primitive mentality" by Lucien Lévy-Bruhl in *How Natives Think* (trans. Lilian A. Clare; London: Allen & Unwin, 1926; repr. New York: Arno, 1979) and *The Notebooks on Primitive Mentality* (trans. Peter Riviere: New York: Harper & Row, 1926; repr. 1979), has been credited with raising the question of how the ancient Israelites understood themselves. See J. W. Rogerson, "Corporate Personality" in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary* (ed. David Noel Freedman; New York: Doubleday, 1992), 1157. This approach has also rightly been criticized, however, for characterizing collectivists as "primitives," for example, see Bruce J. Malina and Jerome H. Neyrey, *Portraits of Paul: An Archaeology of Ancient Personality* (Louisville: John Knox, 1996), 12.

to the biblical world and have applied the model to biblical texts. In addition to two general introductions to the model as it relates to biblical studies,[73] Malina and Neyrey have given extensive attention to collectivism as an aspect of the ancient personality in their study of Paul.[74] Likewise, in their chapter on the first century personality in *The Social World of Luke-Acts*, Malina and Neyrey note the dyadic categories that are pervasive throughout Luke's story. For example, people in Luke-Acts tend to understand one another in terms of kinship. Several of Jesus followers are known by their family (sons of Zebedee [Luke 5:10], son of Kish and son of Jesse [Acts 13:21-2]), other Lukan characters are identified by their group or place of origin (Levite [Acts 4:36], Samaritans [Acts 8:5], Galilee [Acts 2:7], Nazareth [Acts 3:6]). Further, Malina and Neyrey assert that Jesus' question to his disciples, "Who do the people say that I am?" (Τίνα με λέγουσιν οἱ ὄχλοι εἶναι; [Luke 9:18, cf. Mark 8:27, Matt 16:13]) as an indication of this facet of ancient Mediterranean life.[75] Indeed, throughout Luke-Acts, "Jesus is always told 'who he is'" and that "Jesus himself does not individualistically determine his own self but listens to what the significant others around him say about him."[76]

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[73] Malina, "The First-Century Personality: The Individual and the Group" in *The New Testament World: Insights from Cultural Anthropology* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2001), 58-80; "Understanding New Testament Persons" in *The Social Sciences and New Testament Interpretation* (ed. Richard L. Rohrbaugh; Peabody: Hendrickson, 1996), 41-61.

[74] Malina and Neyrey, *Portraits of Paul: An Archaeology of Ancient Personality* (Louisville: John Knox, 1996).

[75] Malina, "First Century Personality: Dyadic, not Individual," (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1991), 83-96, 73.

[76] Ibid., 84-85. Likewise, Zeba Crook, *Reconceptualising Conversion: Patronage, Loyalty, and Conversion in the Religions of the Ancient Mediterranean* (New York: de Gruyter, 2004) provides a very helpful discussion of the individualist/collectivist construct as it applies to biblical studies.

This renewed interest in the collectivist orientation of the biblical audience has not, however, been without critique. Louise Lawrence has recently demonstrated that, despite a clear emphasis on collective identity, the Gospel of Matthew places value on "individual autonomy and personal decision."[77] Indeed, she correctly points to recent anthropological studies that have identified "individualist traits in predominately collectivist cultures."[78] Lawrence acknowledges that "the people populating Matthew's world are certainly concerned about collectivist group identity and their relationships with others," however, she maintains that "this focus does not negate the importance of individualist self-understanding."[79] Most biblical scholars who use the collectivist model, however, do not disagree with this assessment. For example, Zeba Crook notes that *individualist* and *collectivist* "are heuristic categories, not absolute descriptions"[80] thus "the ancient Mediterranean was no more 100% collectivistic than modern North American society is 100% individualistic."[81] Further, the social scientists to which biblical scholars most often appeal, such as

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[77] Lawrence, *An Ethnography of the Gospel of Matthew: A Critical Assessment of the Use of the Honour and Shame Model in New Testament Studies* (Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 244.

[78] Ibid., 250. S. D. Goitein *A Mediterranean Society; the Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza* (5 vols.; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967; abridged in one volume, 1999). Also see Lila Abu-Lughod, *Writing Women's Worlds: Bedouin Stories* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); William Lancaster, *The Rwala Bedouin Today* (Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

[79] Ibid., 259.

[80] Crook, *Reconceptualising Conversion*, 33.

[81] Crook, "Renovating the House That Bruce Built: Remodeling Ascribed and Acquired Honor," paper presented at the annual meeting of the SBL, Boston, November 22, 2008.

Hinkle and Brown,[82] Hofstede,[83] and Triandis,[84] speak of individualism and collectivism as a continuum, with cultures falling somewhere between the two extremes, making the dominant orientation of a culture a point within a range rather than a rigid dichotomy. The Lukan audience, therefore, should be understood as collectivist. Their primary orientation was to their group and they understood themselves in relation to other groups through the process of social comparison.

Social Comparison and Honor/Shame

Historians and anthropologists use the term *agonism* to refer to the highly comparative and competitive nature of ancient Mediterranean society. *Agonism*, from the Greek word ἀγών ("competition" or "contest") is most generally used when referring to athletic contests,[85] though it also refers to the social comparison and competitiveness of daily life within an honor/shame culture. To understand the competitive nature of the ancient Mediterranean, therefore, we must first briefly describe this honor/shame construct.

Honor refers to a person's claim of value and the public recognition of that claim by others. Honor was primarily oriented toward the approval of others; a claim

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[82] Hinkle and Brown, "Intergroup Comparison and Social Identity: Some Links and Lacunae" in *Social Identity Theory: Constructive and Critical Advances* (ed. Dominic Abrams and Michael A. Hogg; New York: Springer-Verlag, 1990), 65-67

[83] Hofstede, "Cross–Cultural Studies in Individualism and Collectivism" in *Nebraska Symposium on Motivation* (ed. Richard A. Diensber and John J. Berman; Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), 43.

[84] Triandis, *Culture's Consequences: International Differences in Work-Related Values* (Abridged ed.; Beverly Hills: Sage, 1984), 148-175.

[85] Jason König, *Athletics and Literature in the Roman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Donald G. Kyle, *Sport and Spectacle in the Ancient World* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007).

to honor could not result in honor unless recognized by the public court of reputation.[86] That honor was a pivotal value in the ancient Mediterranean is demonstrated in several primary sources. In the fourth century B.C.E., for example, Xenophon noted that "Athenians excel all others not so much in singing or in stature or in strength, as in love of honour, which is the strongest incentive to deeds of honour and renown" (ἀλλὰ μὴν οὔτε εὐφωνίᾳ τοσοῦτον διαφέρουσιν᾽ Αθηναῖοι τῶν ἄλλων οὔτε σωμάτων μεγέθει καὶ ῥώμῃ, ὅσον φιλοτίμιᾳ, ἣπερ μάλιστα παροχύνει πρὸς τὰ καλὰ καὶ ἔντιμα.)[87] Likewise, Isocrates advocated honorable death rather than a life of disgrace.

> μᾶλλον εὐλαβοῦ ψόγον ἢ κίνδυνον· δεῖ γὰρ εἶναι φοβερὰν τοῖς μέν φαύλοις τὴν τοῦ βίου τελευτήν, τοῖς δὲ σπουδαίοις τὴν ἐν τῷ ζῆν ἀδοχίαν· μάλιστα μὲν πειρῶ ζῆν κατὰ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν" ἐὰν δέ ποτέ σοι συμβῇ κινδυνεύε, ζήτει τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου σωτηρίαν μετὰ καλῆς δόχης, ἀλλὰ μὴ μετ᾽ αἰσχρᾶς φήμης· τὸ μὲν γὰρ τελευτῆσαι πάντων ἡ πεπρωμένη κατέκρινέ τὸ δὲ καλῶς ἀποθανεῖν ἴδιον τοῖς σπουδαίοις ἀπένειμεν.
>
> Be more careful in guarding against censure than against danger; for the wicked may well dread the end of life, but good men should dread ignominy during life. Strive by all means to live in security, but if ever it falls to your lot to face the dangers of battle, seek to preserve your life, but with honor and not with disgrace; for death is the sentence which fate has passed on all mankind, but to die nobly is the special honor which nature has reserved for the good.[88]

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[86] Julian Pitt-Rivers, "Honour and Social Status" in *Honour and Shame: The Values of Mediterranean Society* (ed. Jean G. Péristiany; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), 21. See also Florence Dupont, *Daily Life in Ancient Rome* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989; repr. 1993), 10-12.

[87] Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 3.3.13 (Miller, LCL).

[88] Isocrates, *To Demonicus* (Norlin, LCL).

Furthermore, Aristotle states that "honor . . . is clearly the greatest of external goods" (ἡ τιμὴ . . . μέγιστον γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο τῶν ἐκτὸς ἀγαθῶν·).[89] This belief led Quintilian to maintain that which is "honorable" is the most important aspect of deliberative oratory.[90] Likewise, the first century C.E. philosopher Seneca wrote, "The one firm conviction from which we move to the proof of other points is this, that which is honorable is held dear for no other reason than because it is honorable" (*Fixum illud est, a quo in cetera probationes nostrae exeunt, honestum ob nullam aliam causam, quam quia honestum sit, coli*).[91] In the fifth century C.E., Augustine remarked that "the glory that the Romans burned to possess, be it noted, is the favourable judgment of men who think well of other men" (*[q]uibus moribus antiqui Romani meruerint, ut Deus verus, quamvis non eum colerent, eorum augeret imperium*).[92]

Honor could be gained in two ways: first, honor was *attributed* by the public court of reputation when one was born into an honorable family; second, honor may be *distributed* by the public court of reputation on the basis of civic benefaction,

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[89] Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* (Rackham, LCL).
[90] Quintilian, *Institutes* 3.8.1 (Butler, LCL).
[91] Seneca, *De Beneficiis* 4.16.2 (Basore, LCL)
[92] Augustine, *City of God* 5.12 (McCracken, LCL).

athletics, and in the ever-present game of challenge and response.[93] Since such achievements were the only way to increase one's honor, honor competition was an ever-present reality in daily life.[94] In fact, Neyrey has noted that "Mediterranean anthropologists go so far as to claim that every social interaction outside the home or kinship circle is likely to be a contest for honor acquisition or its maintenance."[95]

While previous scholars have maintained that the challenge and response game could only be played between social equals,[96] Zeba Crook has recently demonstrated that the public court of reputation, rather than social status, determines who may participate and has the final say in who wins these challenges.[97] The challenge and response exchange is illustrated in figure six below.

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[93] This is not to say that all honor was agonistic in nature. In 1992, Pitt-Rivers brought the notion of "grace" into the discussion of honor which Moxnes understands to be the "sacred side of honor, associated with honor not in an agonistic and competitive sense, but with honor as virtue." See Julian A. Pitt-Rivers, "Postscript" The Place of Grace in Anthropology" in *Honor and Grace in Anthropology* (ed. John G. Peristiany and Julian Alfred Pitt-Rivers; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 215-46; Halvor Moxnes, "Honor and Shame" in *The Social Sciences and New Testament Interpretation* (ed. Richard L. Rohrbaugh; Peabody: Hendrickson, 1996), 29.

[94] Moxnes rightly notes that "Notions about honor and shame exist in virtually all cultures. But in many Western societies these terms play a minor role in descriptions of prominent social values." "Honor and Shame," 19. For example, in North American, competitive sports are largely an honor/ shame culture although it exists within a larger individualistic culture.

[95] Despising the Shame of the Cross: Honor and Shame in the Johannine Passion Narrative," *Semeia* 69 (1996): 113-37. Cited 6 March 2009. Online: http://www.nd.edu/~jneyrey1/shame.html.

[96] For example, Crook cites Malina, *The New Testament World: Insights from Cultural Anthropology* (Atlanta: John Knox, 2001), 34-5.

[97] Crook, "Renovating the House That Bruce Built: Remodeling Ascribed and Acquired Honor," Boston, November 22, 2008. This explains why those of lower social status may challenge the honor of someone of higher status. Also see Dupont, *Daily Life in Ancient Rome* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989; repr. 1993), 10-12.

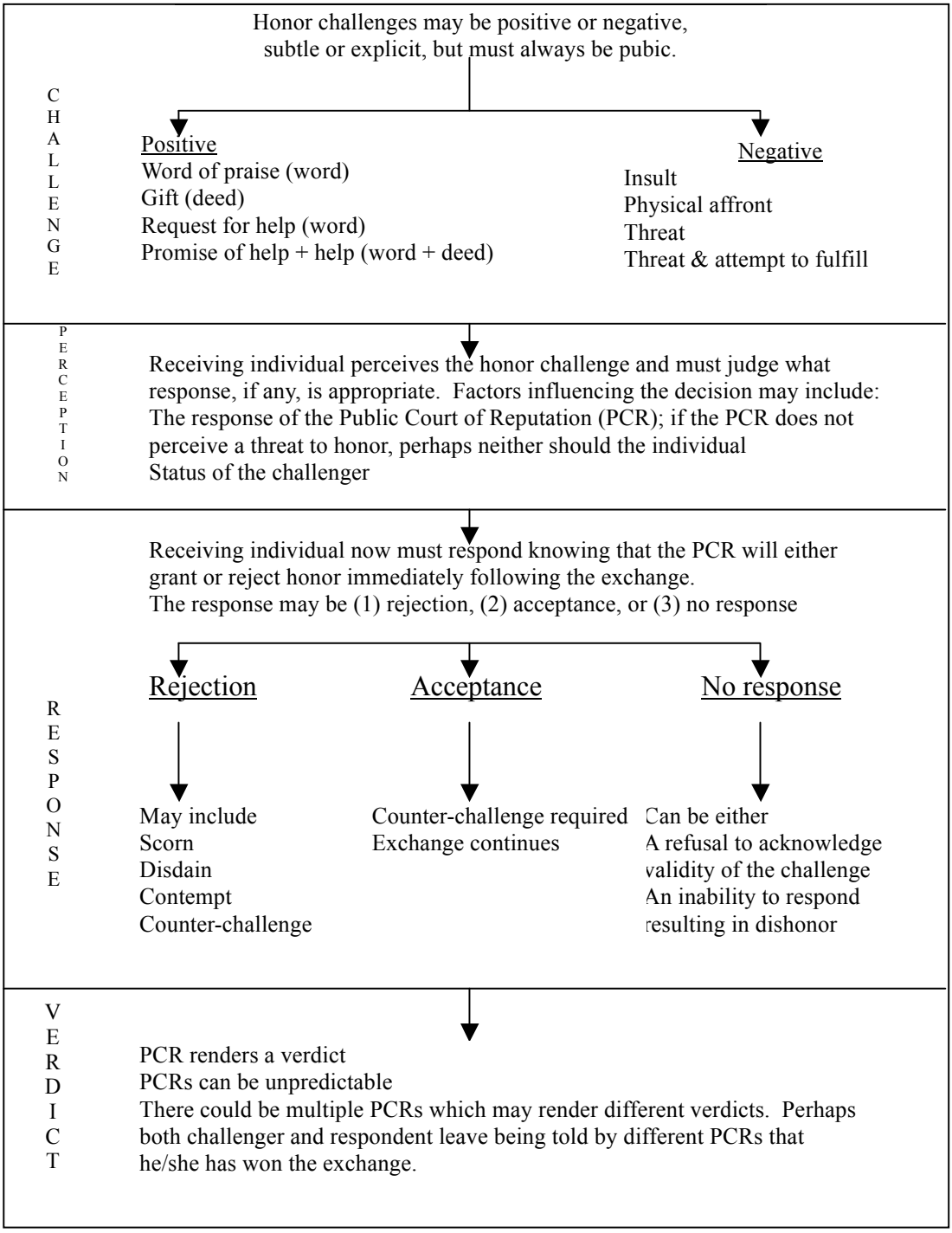

Figure 6: Challenge and Response
Based on Crook, "Renovating the House That Bruce Built: Remodeling Ascribed and Acquired Honor"; Adapted from Malina, New Testament World (Atlanta: WJK, 2001), 34.

Luke's audience would have seen an example of such an honor challenge in Luke 5:17-26 where Jesus forgives the sins of a paralyzed man, the Pharisees challenged this public claim to honor saying "Who is this who is speaking blasphemies? Who can forgive sins but God alone?" (τίς ἐστιν οὗτος ὃς λαλεῖ βλασφημίας; τίς δύναται ἁμαρτίας ἀφεῖναι εἰ μὴ μόνος ὁ θεός [5:21]). Jesus' response to their challenge was greater yet,

> Which is easier, to say, 'Your sins are forgiven you,' or to say, 'Stand up and walk'? But so that you may know that the Son of Man has authority on earth to forgive sins-- he said to the one who was paralyzed-- I say to you, stand up and take your bed and go to your home.
>
> τί ἐστιν εὐκοπώτερον, εἰπεῖν· ἀφέωνταί σοι αἱ ἁμαρτίαι σου, ἢ εἰπεῖν· ἔγειρε καὶ περιπάτει; ἵνα δὲ εἰδῆτε ὅτι ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐξουσίαν ἔχει ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἀφιέναι ἁμαρτίας- εἶπεν τῷ παραλελυμένῳ· σοὶ λέγω, ἔγειρε καὶ ἆρας τὸ κλινίδιόν σου πορεύου εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου. (5:23-24)

The paralyzed man stood to his feet and walked home leaving the crowd in amazement, thus attributing to Jesus victory in the challenge/response contest.

Beyond this specific example, the agonistic culture assumed of the audience is reflected in the constant conflict described in Luke-Acts. This central aspect of the plot[98] is signaled in Simeon's words in Luke 2:34, "This child is destined for the falling and the rising of many in Israel" (οὗτος κεῖται εἰς πτῶσιν καὶ

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[98] I will discuss the plot of Acts in the following chapter.

ἀνάστασιν πολλῶν ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ). Throughout the Gospel, Jesus constantly encounters hospitality and hostility (e.g. 19:1-10). This pattern continues in Acts as the apostles message is both rejected (e.g. 4:1-3; 5:12-16; 6-7; 14:4) and accepted (e.g. 4:4; 5:17-32; 8; 28:24).

Further, as in our discussion of patronage above, the importance of honor in Ephesus may be illustrated by the honorific inscriptions located in the city. The inscription mentioned above to C. Vibius Salutaris is illustrative in this regard as well; the preamble states that those who "love honor" (*philotimoi*) and display affection must be publically honored.[99] Our discussion of honor, however, is intended to demonstrate the highly competitive nature of the Greco-Roman culture. No aspect of urban life in Western Asia Minor during this period better illustrates social competitiveness than the well-documented rivalry between Ephesus, Smyrna, and Pergamon over supremacy demonstrated in their imperial temples. This dispute is illustrated by the early second century C.E. letter of Antoninus Pius to Ephesus, in which he urged Symra and Pergamom to respect Ephesus' title as twice *neokoros* in reference to the city having two imperial temples.[100]

This brief overview is intended to highlight how the honor/shame culture of the ancient Mediterranean in general, and Western Asia Minor in particular, fueled its agonistic nature, that is, a culture in which social comparison and competition were

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[99] *I.Eph* 1.27.

[100] *I.Eph* 4.1489. Also see, Mitchell, *Anatolia,* 1.206. Ephesus had was *neokoros* "temple warden" for the Temple of Artemis and the Temple of Augusti, which was dedicated to the Flavian emperors.

ubiquitous. Luke's authorial audience was embedded in this collectivist and comparative culture. The remainder of this chapter will explore Luke's assumptions about the authorial audience's collective knowledge of Israel and Israel's scriptures, Hellenistic literary conventions, and early Christian traditions, all of which play an important role in the formation of the authorial audience's social memory and identity.

Israel and Israel's Scriptures

Luke assumes that his audience is familiar with the traditions and Scriptures of ancient Israel, particularly that strain of tradition that anticipated the emergence of a Davidic messiah.[101] The expectation of a Davidic, or "royal," messiah is rooted in the promise of God to David in 2 Sam. 7:5-16, which was also expressed poetically in Psalm 89, expanded upon in Psalms 2, 18, 20, 21, 45, 72, 101, 132, 139, 144, and renewed in Isaiah 9:1-7 and 11:1-16. Although this royal messianic hope seems to have faded during the centuries following the Babylonian exile in favor of a priestly eschatological figure,[102] there is evidence of a renewed hope for a Davidic messiah in the late Hasmonean and Early Roman period, most strongly expressed in the *Psalms*

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[101] For an excellent study on this topic, see Mark L. Strauss, *The Davidic Messiah in Luke-Acts: The Promise and Its Fulfillment in Lukan Christology* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995). On messianic expectations more generally, see James H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Messiah: Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992).

[102] This is expressed most clearly in the Wisdom of Ben Sirach and 1 Maccabees. At times, in the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, for example, this priestly figure appears beside the royal one, seeming to indicate an expectation in two messianic figures. See Geroge Beasley-Murray, "The Two Messiahs in the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs," *JTS* 48 (1947): 1-12 and K.G. Kuhn, "The Two Messiahs of Aaron and Israel" in *The Scrolls and the New Testament* (ed. Krister Stendahl; New York: Harper, 1957), 54-64.

of Solomon, but also among the Qumran scrolls from that sect's later years.[103] Finally, in apocalyptic literature, the Davidic hopes seems to have merged with the "son of humanity" imagery in Daniel, most clearly seen in *1 Enoch* and *4 Ezra*.[104] In early Christian traditions, Romans 1:3-4 is widely acknowledged to be a pre-Pauline formula that applies the Davidic tradition to Jesus.[105]

Knowledge of Israel and Israel's scriptures, of course, assumes a Judean community in Ephesus at the end of the first century C.E. Josephus indicates a Judean presence in Ephesus and Western Asia Minor from the third century B.C.E.[106] These references from Josephus, which are confirmed by Philo, indicates that Judeans were exempt from military service and allowed to continue their customs including sending the temple tax to Jerusalem.[107] These documents indicate that Judeans in Ephesus maintained a strong connection with Jerusalem, the temple, and ancestral traditions. They appear to have continued observing food laws (Ant 14.226) and the Sabbath (Ant 16.167-8). Trebilco suggests that these documents also indicate that until the 2 or 3 century C.E. "there had been conflict between the city of Ephesus and the

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[103] *Psalm of Solomon* 17; 4Q174, 4Q252, 4Q161, 4Q504 4, and 4Q285 all relate to the Davidic promise and hope for a future Davidic figure. Charlesworth, "From Messianology to Christology," in *The Messiah*, 25, does not find a Davidic messianic hope in Qumran primarily because his search is limited to actual usages of the noun "Messiah" and because he largely ignores Cave 4 documents that allude most clearly to Davidic expectations. See Strauss, 43-4.

[104] More precisely, *1 Enoch* 37-71 and *4 Ezra* 11:1-12:39.

[105] See Robert P. Menzies, *The Development of Early Christian Pneumatology with Special Reference to Luke-Acts* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), 287.

[106] Against Apion 2.39; Antq 12.125-6, 148-53.

[107] Josephus, *Ant*., 14.228-30, 234, 240; 14.223-7, 262-4; 16.167-8. Philo, *Leg* 315.

[Judean] community."[108] By the end of the first century C.E., therefore, there was a sizable Judean population in the city of Ephesus, a population that fought for the right to maintain their unique customs.[109]

Assuming his audience's knowledge of Israelite customs and scriptures, including the expectation of a royal messiah, Luke connects Jesus to the Davidic expectation by tracing his lineage through David (Luke 1:26) and by noting that his birth took place in Bethleham, the city of David (Luke 2:4, 11). After learning about Jesus' baptism, the audience is informed that Jesus' line of descent includes not only David but also Abraham (Luke 3:23-38). These two figures, and the promises God made to them in the Hebrew scritpures, are central to the development of Luke-Acts. The audience is reminded, first, of the promise to David in the words of Gabriel in his angelic announcement to Mary (Luke 1:32-3),[110] second, of the promise of God given to Abraham in Mary's Magnificat (Luke 1:54-5),[111] and third, of the promise of a

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[108] Trebilco, *The Early Christians in Ephesus from Paul to Ignatius* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 40.

[109] Although no synagogue has been found in Ephesus, several inscriptions seem to indicate the presence of one there. *I.Eph* 1251, 1676, 1677, 4130. Moreover, the references to Josephus above seem to assume the presence of a synagogue. On the argument the the basilica north of the Theater Gymnasium was a synagogue, see Clive Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity: A Late Antique, Byzantine, and Turkish City* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979), though he acknowledges the evidence is not overwhelming.

[110] ὗτος ἔσται μέγας καὶ υἱὸς ὑψίστου κληθήσεται καὶ δώσει αὐτῷ κύριος ὁ θεὸς τὸν θρόνον Δαυὶδ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ βασιλεύσει ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον Ἰακὼβ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας καὶ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔσται τέλος. "He 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 ancestor David. He will reign over the house of Jacob forever, and of his kingdom there will be no end."

[111] ἀντελάβετο Ἰσραὴλ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ, μνησθῆναι ἐλέους,αθὼς ἐλάλησεν πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν τῷ Ἀβραὰμ καὶ τῷ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.. "He has helped his servant Israel, in remembrance of his mercy, according to the promise he made to our ancestors, to Abraham and to his descendants forever."

"light to the non-Judeans" which stems from the Isaiah 42:6 and 49:6 (2:25-32). Taking this third promise as a starting point, Jesus, in Acts 1:8, charges the apostles, and the authorial audience, to take the message of salvation to "the ends of the earth." This theme of including non-Judeans into the covenant promises, that is, recategorizing Judeans and non-Judeans into a superordinate group, will reoccur throughout Luke-Acts alongside the emphasis on the traditions and scriptures of Israel. For example, Simeon refers to Jesus as "a light for revelation to the nations and for glory to your people Israel" (φῶς εἰς ἀποκάλυψιν ἐθνῶν καὶ δόξαν λαοῦ σου Ἰσραήλ [2:32]).[112] This theme is continued in the second volume, especially in the account of Peter's interaction with Cornelius in Act 10.

The tension created by returning to the theme of recategorization of Judean and non-Judean raises the important matter of the ethnic make-up of Luke's authorial audience. Does Luke-Acts assume its audience is mostly Judean, non-Judean, or a mixture of both? We have already discussed the evidence for substantial Judean communities in Western Asia Minor and we may assume that, along with the ethinic Judeans, there were a number of synagogue adherents and possibily proselytes. It is possible, therefore, that the Christ group there consisted of a mixed group as well. Clearly, the audience is expected to know and appreciate their connection to ancient

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[112] Though some have attempted to prove that Simeon's prophecy is not universal in nature, Stephen Wilson, *The Gentiles and the Gentile Mission in Luke-Acts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 36-8 has convincingly demonstrated that Simeon's prophecy was indeed universal and is fulfilled, at least in part, in the second volume.

Israel and the promises God made to the Israelites, a connection that is important because of the recognition and honor that lineage brought to the group.[113] The audience is assumed to have known that group honor was bound together with descent; just as a person's genealogy would be traced through important and honorable people, so groups would trace their descent through honorable groups and persons. Given the apparent conflict suggested by Trebilco above, it is possible that conflict between Judeans and non-Judeans over ancestral traditions such as circumcision and food laws had inflitrated the Christ movement in Western Asia Minor. As some in the Christ group began to de-emphasize these traditional Judean identity markers, its own distinct identity began to emerge, which would not sit well with those who wanted to keep the traditional Judean customs.

This dual focus of opening traditional boundaries for non-Judeans to enter the Christ community while remaining respectful and maintaining some traditional Judean customs indicates that the authorial audience was composed of both Judean and non-Judean Christ followers who were aware of, and likely experiencing, the conflict over matters of non-Judean inclusion in the Christ movement.[114] Luke's delicate balance of inclusion of non-Judeans while not neglecting the movement's Judean heritage is indicative of the audience's need for a common identity for those

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[113] For an excellent study on Luke's use of Scripture, see Litwak, Kenneth Duncan. *Echoes of Scripture in Luke-Acts: Telling the History of God's People Intertextually* (JSNTSup; London: T&T Clark International, 2005).

[114] Likewise, Esler, *Community and Gospel in Luke-Acts*, 30-45 has convincingly argued the Luke's readers were a mix of Judean and non-Judean Christ followers.

of different backgrounds who now comprise the Christ community. This attempt to develop a common identity through literature requires that we now turn to consider the audience's knowledge of Hellenistic literary conventions and the genre of Acts.

Knowledge of Hellenistic Literary Genres

Although literacy levels in the Roman Empire are believed to have been low,[115] Luke seems to expect the authorial audience to have had an understanding of general Hellenistic literary conventions. This may indicate that Luke envisioned a fairly well-educated audience that would have been exposed to a variety of Greco-Roman literature. Yet, exposure to literature need not be reserved for only the well-educated elite. Lucretia Yaghjian argues that modern conceptions of literacy negatively affect the way ancient literacy is understood and that, rather than classifying people as either literate or illiterate, scholars need to envision four levels of literacy in the ancient world:

1) Auraliteratacy — the practice of hearing something read, or reading received aurally by "readers' ears."
2) Oraliteracy — oral recitation or recall of a memorized text or story from a text.
3) Oculiteracy — linguistic decoding (by eye) from a written text, performed by readers who can decode written letters.
4) Scribaliterate — reading for technical, professional, or religions purposes on behalf of a particular community interpretative community of "school."[116]

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[115] William V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989).

[116] Yaghjian, "Ancient Reading" in *The Social Sciences and New Testament Interpretation* (ed. Richard L. Rohrbaugh; Peabody: Hendrickson, 1996), 208-9.

Within this framework, literacy is normally defined as groups 3 and 4 while those in groups 1 and 2 could be considered illiterate. Yet, as Shiell points out,

> [w]hen we include auraliterates and oraliterates into a Greco-Roman concept of literacy, however, the population of those who can access texts grows considerably. More people would have been familiar with performances, recitation, oratory, and conventions of Greco-Roman delivery than the label "illiterate" implies.[117]

Access to these texts was made available by those in groups 3 and 4 since, as Tomas Hägg notes, "the ability to read, and read easily and for pleasure . . . carried with it the obligation to read aloud to members of the household, to a circle of friends, perhaps even to a wider audience."[118] Thus, while formal education was available only to a relative few, access to texts and understanding of literary conventions was not so limited. Moreover, Burton Mack argues that informal education was rather widespread.

> All people, whether formally trained or not, were fully schooled in the wily ways of the sophists, the eloquence required at civic festivals, the measured tones of the local teacher, and the heated debates where differences of opinion battled for the right to say what should be done. To be engulfed in the culture of Hellenism meant to have ears trained for the rhetoric of speech.[119]

Further, George Kennedy maintains that even those without formal education would have "necessarily developed cultural preconceptions about appropriate discourse."[120]

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[117] Shiell, *Reading Acts: The Lector and the Early Christian Audience* (Boston: Brill, 2004), 14.
[118] Hägg, *The Novel in Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 93
[119] Burton Mack, *Rhetoric and the New Testament* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990), 31.
[120] Kennedy, *New Testament Interpretation through Rhetorical Criticism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984), 4.

While no specific study has connected levels of literacy with familiarity with different literary genres, Richard Burridge has argued that knowledge of genre on the part of the audience was crucial for proper understanding and interpretation.[121] It is appropriate, therefore, to assume that the Lukan audience was familiar with Greco-Roman literary genres popular in the first century C.E., even if only on a subconscious level and from an aural- or oral-literate perspective. This raises the important question of how Luke's audience would have understood the genre and purpose of Luke-Acts.

Suggestions for exactly what type of literature the audience would have understood Luke-Acts to be range from biography,[122] to novel,[123] to various kinds of history.[124] Each of these approaches, however, has been criticized for neglecting certain aspects of either Hellenistic literary conventions or Luke-Acts. Biography, while approaching the biblical text from the prospective of Hellenistic literary genres, has been largely rejected as a possible genre for Luke-Acts because it simply does not supply detailed characteristics of the *Bios*.[125] The argument for the genre of novel

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[121] Burridge, *What Are the Gospels? A Comparison with Graeco-Roman Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 48-52.

[122] Charles H. Talbert, *Literary Patterns, Theological Themes, and the Genre of Luke-Acts* (Missoula, Mont.: Scholars' Press, 1975), 134.

[123] Richard I. Pervo, *Profit with Delight: The Literary Genre of the Acts of the Apostles* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987).

[124] David Aune, *The New Testament in Its Literary Environment* (Library of Early Christianity; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1987); David L. Balch, "The Genre of Luke-Acts: Individual Biography, Adventure Novel, or Political History?" *SwJT* 33 (1990): 5-19; Gregory E. Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition: Josephos, Luke-Acts, and Apologetic Historiography* (Leiden: Brill, 1992); Gary Gilbert, "Roman Propaganda and Christian Identity in the Worldview of Luke-Acts" in *Contextualizing Acts: Lukan Narrative and Greco-Roman Discourse* (ed. Todd C. Penner and Caroline Vander Stichele; Atlanta: SBL, 2003), 233-56.

[125] Mikeal Parsons and Richard I. Pervo. *Rethinking the Unity of Luke and Acts* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 36.

followed this literary approach but has not gained a large following, at least partially because of the vast difference in historical period between the Greek novels and Luke-Acts. Rather than producing clear answers to the question of genre, these approaches seem to have produced more questions.

What these studies have accomplished, however, is to prepare for an approach to the genre of Luke-Acts that allows for a blurring of the boundaries between history and fiction. Loveday Alexander has done more than any scholar to soften the boundaries between these positions.[126] The result has been that most scholars who have previously argued for one of these categories have softened their stance in favor of a more eclectic approach. Thomas Phillips has recently reviewed the research on genre in Acts and concluded that "the tendency of scholarship appears to be moving in the direction of understanding Acts as a mixture of genres, some of which are fictive."[127] Indicative of this tendency is the work of Meir Sternberg, who draws a distinction between "history-telling," which is related to the truth claim of the narrative, and "historicity," which is related to the truth value of the narrative.[128] According to Sternberg, some of the literary genres of the Greco-Roman period (the novel, for example) would be classified as fiction because author and audience know

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[126] Alexander, "Formal Elements and Genre: Which Greco-Roman Prologues Most Closely Parallel the Lukan Prologues?" in *Jesus and the Heritage of Israel: Luke's Narrative Claim upon Israel's Legacy* (ed. David P. Moessner; Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 1999), 9-26. Also, Downing, "Theophilus's First Reading of Luke-Acts" in *Luke's Literary Achievement: Collected Essays* (ed. C.M. Tuckett; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 97, notes that Luke's audience "would have realized that in practice *genres* tended to overlap."

[127] Phillips, "The Genre of Acts: Moving toward a Consensus?" *CBR* 4 (2006): 365

[128] Sternburg, *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative: Ideological Literature and the Drama of Reading*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987.

there is no truth claim to the narrative. Yet, others (the Homeric Epic, for example) would be classified as historiography because it conveys something from the past that has truth value, that is, truth conveyed in mythical language.

Yet Sternberg seems content merely to include epic within the general category of historiography rather than arguing for understanding biblical texts as epic. Burton Mack, on the other hand, maintains that the ancient epic is the most logical category for the narrative portions of the New Testament.[129] Marianne Bonz advanced this argument in her comparison of Luke-Acts with Virgil's *Aeneid*; she argues that Luke provides a foundational epic for the audience by linking their present context to the past as narrated in Israel's scriptures and traditions.[130]

> Just as Virgil had created his foundational epic for the Roman people by appropriating and transforming Homer, so also did Luke create his foundational epic for the early Christian community primarily by appropriating and transforming the sacred traditions of Israel's past as narrated in the Bible of the diasporan Jewish communities, the Septuagint. Through this process of appropriation and transformation, Luke sought to confer a noble identity and an aura of destiny upon the Christian present.[131]

Further, Bonz argues that "a significant break, probably occurring in the latter half of the eighties, coupled with the continued growth of the gospel among the [non-Judeans], greatly intensified the need to define Christian identity and to affirm the

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[129] Mack, *Who Wrote the New Testament?* (San Francisco: Harper, 1995), 13-15.

[130] Bonz, *The Past as Legacy: Luke-Acts and Ancient Epic* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2000). Likewise, Huskinson states that "Virgil set our Rome's legendary descent from the Trojan heroes, interweaving Rome's past, present, and future to create the idea of a given role and identity." "Looking for Culture, Identity and Power," 12.

[131] Ibid., 26.

status of the new community as the true Israel."[132] While the existence of a "significant break" between nascent Judaism and Christianity remains debatable,[133] the conflict over non-Judean inclusion into the Christ movement is unquestionable. Further, we have already asserted above that Luke's audience may have been dealing with intra-group conflict over this very issue. Thus, the matter of the inclusion of non-Judeans, rather than some significant rupture, is the situation that led Luke to "create his foundational epic for the early Christian community primarily by appropriating and transforming the sacred traditions of Israel's past as narrated in the Bible of the diaspora [Judean] communities."[134] In the following chapters, I will argue that Luke, in creating this foundation story for the Christ movement, sought to recategorize those who supported the full inclusion of non-Judeans and those who did not by linking two prototypical figures of early Christianity, Peter and Paul, with Jesus and, thereby, with one another.

Although she does not write from an audience-oriented perspective, Bonz is concerned about showing that ancient audiences would have recognized a foundational epic such as *The Aeneid*. She mentions several first century adaptations

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[132] Ibid., 26.

[133] Much of the recent work on "parting of the ways" has demonstrated that the break between Judaism and Christianity occurred at different rates in different places so that it is no longer acceptable to speak of one significant break between the two. See, for example, Daniel Boyarin, *Border Lines: The Partition of Judaeo-Christianity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); James D. G. Dunn, *The Partings of the Ways: Between Christianity and Judaism and Their Significance for the Character of Christianity* (London: SCM, 1991. Repr. 2006); Jack T. Sanders, *Schismatics, Sectarians, Dissidents, Deviants: The First One Hundred Years of Jewish-Christian Relations* (Valley Forge, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 1993).

[134] Ibid.

of Virgil's work including the works of Lucan, Statius, Flaccus, and Silius Italicus. Further, the presence of quotations from the *Aeneid* in graffiti in Pompeii attest to the work's popularity.[135] William Harris notes that "almost all this verse comes from large houses or from public places where anyone may have written, including the poor but also the children of the well-to-do"; thus, while this is not indicative of mass literacy, "the *Aeneid* shows every sign of having been genuinely famous."[136] This popularity is also attested to by Tacitus who wrote, around the end of the first century C.E., that "We have the testimony of the letters of Augustus, the testimony too of the people themselves, who, on hearing in the theatre some of Virgil's verses, rose in a body and did homage to the poet, who happened to be present as a spectator, just as to Augustus himself" (*testes Augusti epistulae, testis ipse populus, qui auditis in theatro Virgilii versibus surrexit universus et forte praesentem spectantemque Virgilium veneratus est sic quasi Augustum*).[137]

Archeological evidence indicates that the *Aeneid* was well-known in Western Asia Minor. Coins minted during the first and second century centuries C.E. in Troy depict Aeneas leaving Troy.

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[135] Marcello Gigante, *Civilta Delle Forme Letterarie Nell'antica Pompei* (Naples: Bibliopolic, 1979.

[136] *Ancient Literacy*, 261. For the art at Pompeii. For Roman architecture and iconography, see Paul Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (Jerome Lectures 16, 1988; reprt. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990), 192-94.

[137] *Dialogus* 13 (Church and Brodridd).

Figure 7: Aeneas Coin from Troy
London, British Museum. Photo by Barbara McManus, 1999, available online: http://www.vroma.org/images/mcmanus_images/aeneas_coin2.jpg, Accessed 7 October 2009.

In addition, archeologists have discovered a relief depicting Aeneas and his family leaving Troy in the approach to the Sebasteion, a sanctuary dedicated to the Emperor, in Aphrodisias.

Figure 8: Aphrodisias Relief of Aeneas and his family leaving Troy

Considering the apparent popularity of Virgil's epic, it seems likely that Luke would have been familiar with it and may have fashioned his work after it. Though it is uncertain if everyone in Luke's audience would have been familiar with the literary form of the *Aeneid*,[138] it is likely that they would have recognized the story as Rome's foundation story.

Moreover, Greg Rogers argues that the 568-line Greek inscription from the theatre of Ephesus detailing a foundation established in 104 C.E. by C. Vibius Salutaris, to finance civic lotteries and distributions along with a recurring procession in which over 260 Ephesian ephebes and others carried around the city images evoking the Greek and Roman heritage of Trajanic Ephesus,[139] was, at least in part, intended to met "the social challenge of what amounted to the Roman re-foundation" of Ephesus by affirmed the city's Greek identity.[140] Rogers maintains that the cultural Romanization of Ephesus had created "a kind of social identity crisis among Greek Ephesians" by the end of the first century C.E.[141] Thus, in Ephesus, and possibly elsewhere in Western Asia Minor, there were attempts to recategorize seemingly conflicting groups into one superordinate identity by reinterpreting significant social memories from both groups.

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[138] Although Harris, *Ancient Literacy*, 274 cites the almost 4000 inscriptions in Ephesus as proof of the city's high level of literacy.

[139] *I.Eph* 1.27.

[140] Rogers, *The Sacred Identity of Ephesos: Foundation Myths of a Roman City* (New York: Routledge, 1991), 142.

[141] Harland, *Dynamics of Identity*, 47-59, suggests that this may have been in the mind of the audience of Ignatius' letter to the Ephesians. See, especially, *Eph.* 9.

In Ephesus, the synagogue, and the Christ groups, there seems to have been an effort to maintain continuity with the past while affirming present circumstances. In the previous chapter we noted that this is often accomplished through the reinterpretation of a group's significant social memories and those prototypical of group identity. The synagogue seems to have maintained this continuity by fighting for the right to practice their ancestral customs, identity markers that marked them as a distinct people thus seeking to maintain continuity with their social memory and identity. C. Vibius Salutaris addressed the Romanization of Ephesus by establishing a regular processional that incorporated elements of both Greek and Roman identity in an effort to construct a common identity by recategorizing Greeks and Romans into a superordinate group that allowed for unique expressions of both cultures. Likewise, Luke, following the example of other foundational epics, seeks to establish a common identity for the Christ group by recatergorizing those who believed that circumcision and Torah observance were unnecessary for non-Judean Christ followers and those who believed that it was into a superordinate group who allowed for these ancestral customs but did not require them. In the chapters to follow, I will argue that Luke sought to accomplish this by linking Peter and Paul together with Jesus, who is linked to the prophets of ancient Israel. This lineage invites the Christ-following authorial audience to embrace a common superordinate identity that includes both Judeans and non-Judeans.

Knowledge of Early Christian Traditions

The audience of Luke-Acts is assumed to have known some of the early traditions of Jesus and his followers. The prologue of Luke's Gospel indicates that the author expects the audience to have been familiar with the sources that he himself used in compling the two-part narrative. In 1:1-2, he uses the first-person plural pronoun to indicate to whom the sources he used had been handed:

> Ἐπειδήπερ πολλοὶ ἐπεχείρησαν ἀνατάξασθαι διήγησιν περὶ τῶν πεπληροφορημένων ἐν ἡμῖν πραγμάτων, καθὼς παρέδοσαν ἡμῖν οἱ ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπηρέται γενόμενοι τοῦ λόγου
>
> Since many have undertaken to set down an orderly account of the events that have been fulfilled among us, just as *they were handed on to us* by those who from the beginning were eyewitnesses and servants of the word (Emphasis added).

If the audience is already familar with these traditions, however, why is another version of the tradition necessary? Luke seems to answer that question in 1:3-4.

> ἔδοξε κἀμοὶ παρηκολουθηκότι ἄνωθεν πᾶσιν ἀκριβῶς καθεξῆς σοι γράψαι, κράτιστε Θεόφιλε, ἵνα ἐπιγνῷς περὶ ὧν κατηχήθης λόγων τὴν ἀσφάλειαν.
>
> I too decided, after investigating everything carefully from the very first, to write an orderly account for you, most excellent Theophilus, so that you may know the certainty[142] of the things about which you have been instructed.

The reason Luke gives for compling this two-volume work is that the audience would know the certainity of the things they had been taught, persumably in the earlier traditions. This, however, raises another question: why would the audience need

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[142] Louw and Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament: Based on Semantic Domains* (2 vols.; New York: United Bible Societies, 1988), 1.370-71 translate ἀσφάλεια as "a state of certainty with regard to a belief — certainty, being without doubt."

assurance of these things? Conzelmann's famous study argued for the need for assurance due to the delay of the parousia[143] while others have focused on the need of Luke's audience to have assurance concerning the truth of the interpretation of Jesus' death and resurrection.[144] I have argued above, however, that, given Luke's emphasis on the topic, the full inclusion of non-Judeans into the Christian community continued to pose a problem and Luke attempts to recategorize those in favor of non-Judean inclusion and those not in favor into a superordinate group with a common identity. Thus, Luke reshapes his sources, traditions already known to the audience, in order to assure audience members that non-Judean inclusion is no novel development but was an important part of Jesus, Peter, and Paul's message.[145]

Assuming that the audience was familar with the sources, Luke expects them to know of Jesus' miraculous birth, his teachings and parables, his acts of healing, his betrayal, arrest, execution, resurrection, and promise and delay of his return. Particularly important for the present study is the authorial audience's understanding

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[143] Conzelmann, *Die Mitte Der Zeit: Studien Zur Theologie Des Lukas*. Tübingen: Mohr, 1954; trans. Buswell, *The Theology of Saint Luke*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1960).

[144] For example, see Darrell L. Bock, "Understanding Luke's Task: Carefully Building on Precedent (Luke 1:1-4)," *Criswell Theological Review* 5, no. 2 (1991): 183-201.

[145] While there has been considerable debate concerning the sources available to Luke, the focus of the present study prevents detailed treatment of Luke's use of sources. We may briefly mention, however, that most scholars now agree that Luke used what became known as the Gospel of Mark along with other sources including the hypothetical documents Q and L. A minority of scholars argues that Luke used Matthew rather than Q and L. While this is an intriguing suggestion, the present study will not engage in a detailed treatment of the Synoptic Problem. For the argument against Q, see Mark Goodacre, *The Case against Q: Studies in Markan Priority and the Synoptic Problem* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity, 2002). Furthermore, some have argued that Luke had already composed a gospel before he came into contact with Mark. This gospel, a combination of Q and L and known as Proto-Luke, is believed to be the source of narrative material not present in Mark, such as 1:5-4:30, 5:1-11, 6:20-8:3, and much of the passion narrative, for example. This argument remains relatively tenuous and largely unaccepted by synoptic scholars. The present study will follow the traditional four-source hypothesis that Luke had at his disposal an early version of Mark and the hypothetical documents Q and L.

of Jesus as the central prototype of its group identity. In chapter three above, I noted that groups often attach their identity to outstanding members of the group from the past whose memory continues to live among the group members and that membership in the group requires some degree of similarity to the prototype. The centrality of Jesus' actions and teachings among his followers indicates that, for early Jesus group members, Jesus was the prototype of Christ group identity in general and for Luke's authorial audience in particular.

Furthermore, if Luke's audience is assumed to have known early Jesus traditions, then one must also assume that the audience knew something about Peter. The first reference to Peter in Luke 4:38 seems to assume the audience's knowledge of Peter since it offers no introduction or explanation of his character. Whatever the audience is assumed to have known about Peter, as we shall see in the following chapter on Peter, audience members are presented with a more favorable Peter than the one portrayed in Mark.

Unlike Jesus and Peter, however, Paul does not appear in the gospel traditions. There is, however, substantial evidence of Pauline influence in Western Asia Minor dating to the end of the first century C.E., particularly from 1 Corinthians and 1 Timothy.[146] Moreover, since Acts focuses so much attention on Paul, making him a hero, some would say *the* hero, of the narrative, it seems clear that the audience

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[146] For a detailed study of the Pauline tradition in Ephesus, see Paul R. Trebilco, *The Early Christians in Ephesus from Paul to Ignatius* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 53-197.

is assumed to know of Paul's reputation and legacy.[147] Delineating what the audience knew about Paul and its attitude toward him, however, is quite another matter.

On one hand, it is possible that some in Luke's audience held a positive view of Paul, perhaps holding to a rather high view of his apostolic position and achievements. These group members may be reflected in the psudeo-Pauline writings of Colossians and the Pastorals, which, as Martinus de Boer has demonstrated, generally portray Paul as *the* apostle who was soley responsible for the expansion of the gospel to the non-Judeans.[148] These members of the authorial audience are fully supportive of the inclusion of non-Judeans without requiring circumcision and Torah observance. In this respect, Luke seems to be combating a high view of Paul's apostolic position and ministry within his audience.

On the other hand, we know that Paul faced opposition from several different groups during his lifetime and that some of this opposition continued into the second century.[149] Those who opposed Paul have often been labeled *Judaizers* who maintained that Christ-followers must adhere to the customs and traditions of Israel,

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[147] J.C. Beker, *Heirs of Paul: Paul's Legacy in the New Testament and in the Church Today (*Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991; repr. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996).

[148] de Boer, "Images of Paul in the Post-Apostolic Period." *CBQ* 42 (1980): 359-80. In contrast, Ephesians and Acts, he argues, recognize a larger apostolic tradition within which Paul participates.

[149] While Baur's approach, mentioned in chapters one and two above, maintained only one group opposed Paul, subsequent scholarship has tended to allow for multiple opposing groups. See, for example, J. Lightfoot, *Saint Paul's Epistle to the Galatians* (London: Macmillan, 1900). On the opposition to Paul in both first and second centuries, see G. Lüdemann, *Opposition to Paul in Jewish Christianity* (trans. M. Eugene Boring; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989; trans. of *Paulus, der Heidenapostel, vol. 2: Aintipaulinismus im frühen Christentum* FRLANT 130; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983).

especially circumcision and food laws.[150] Alternatively, others have seen hints that some of Paul's opponents may have been a group of proto-Gnostic Christ-followers.[151] Furthermore, Paul speaks of "many adversaries" (ἀντικείμενοι πολλοί) in 1 Corinthians 16:9 and, while we cannot be certain if these are Christ followers, Paul uses this verb elsewhere to describe opposition between two parties (e.g. Phil 1:28 and 2 Thess 2:4). If some of these opponents of Paul were among Luke's audience, as seems likely given the conflict described earlier in this chapter, Paul and perhaps the non-Judean mission would be especially difficult for them to receive. The presence of diverse perspectives on Paul (and Peter?) and the inclusion (and exclusion) of non-Judeans into the Christ movement in Luke's authorial audience helps shed light on Luke's presentation of Peter and Paul and the anticipated response on the part of the audience, which we shall see in the following chapters.

This attempt to delineate the diverse assumed knowledge of Paul raises the question of the audience's (and author's) knowledge of, at least some, of his writings. The difficulty of assessing the differences between Acts and Paul's letters, along with the fact that Paul is not portrayed in Acts as a letter writer but as a powerful orator, has led many scholars to maintain that Luke did not have access to Paul's letters when Acts was composed. For example, it is widely acknowledged that Acts and Paul's letters do not agree on the chronology of Paul's life and career. In Galatians 1:17, for

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[150] This is the argument of Baur and the Tübingen School.
[151] For example, Walter Schmithal, *Paul and the Gnostics* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1972).

example, Paul insists that he did not go directly to Jerusalem after his call on the road to Damascus while Acts 9:26 indicates that he did. Further, in Galatians 1:18 Paul speaks of only one trip to Jerusalem before the apostolic council while Acts 11:27-20 indicate that he had been there twice before the council.[152]

While this approach remains the scholarly consensus, Heikki Leppä has recently provided interesting evidence, primarily similarities in vocabulary, that Luke knew Paul's letter to the Galatians and, in writing his second volume, attempts to subvert Paul's account.[153] Since the present study situates Luke-Acts and its authorial audience in Western Asia Minor, it is not impossible that both Luke and the authorial audience had some knowledge of Paul's letter to the Galatians. Whether or not they knew of this letter, Luke probably anticipates that the audience knows about the conflict reflected in the letter, particularly the alleged conflict between Peter and Paul over non-Judean inclusion reported in Galatians 2. Further, since Paul indicates that 1 Corinthians was written in Ephesus (1 Cor 16:8), it is plausible that at least some of his audience may have known of the situation in Corinth, including the sectarian tensions mentioned in 1:11-17, if not the letter itself. Knowledge of the tensions reflected in these two authentic Pauline letters bolster the possibility of divergent views of Paul among Luke's audience, a diversity which necessitates Luke's writing

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[152] For a helpful summary of the issue see Witherington, *Acts*, 430-38.
[153] Heikii Leppä, "Luke's Critical Use of Galatians" (Ph.D diss., University of Helsinki, 2002).

to establish a common identity for Christ followers in Western Asia Minor in the last decade of the first century C.E.

Moreover, if the authorial audience is expected to know about Paul's reputation and legacy, it stands to reason that they are familiar with the tensions that existed among early Christ followers over the issue of non-Judean inclusion in the Christ movement. We shall now briefly examine the evidence of conflict between Judean and non-Judean Christ followers in Western Asia Minor in the late first and early second centuries C.E.

Knowledge of Conflict Over Non-Judean Inclusion

The essence of the conflict over non-Judean inclusion in the Christ group was whether or not non-Judeans who entered the Christ group should be circumcised and made to observe certain aspects of the Torah. In short, the issue was one of "living like a Judean" or ἰουδαΐζω , often translated "Judaize." The word typically refers to a non-Judean who either converts to Judaism or adopts certain Judean practices[154] and it occurs once in the New Testament with reference to Judean Christ followers who attempt to compel non-Judean Christ followers to "live like Judeans" (Gal 2:14). Thus, while the word itself indicates a non-Judean who adapts Judean practices, as the previous example demonstrates, Judean pressure on non-Judeans to adapt their practices was possible.[155]

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[154] *TDNT,* 375.
[155] See, for example, Esther 8:17 LXX and Josephus *J. W.* 2.454.

Michele Murray has examined the evidence for non-Judean Christ follower judaizing in Asia Minor and Syria in the first and second centuries C.E.[156] Earliest evidence of conflict over non-Judean inclusion is from Paul's letter to the Galatians. In the previous section, I argued that the authorial audience of Acts is expected to have known about the tension between Peter and Paul over the issue of non-Judean inclusion reported in Galatians.

> But when Cephas came to Antioch, I opposed him to his face, because he stood self-condemned; for until certain people came from James, he used to eat with the non-Judeans. But after they came, he drew back and kept himself separate for fear of the circumcision group. And the other Judeans joined him in this hypocrisy, so that even Barnabas was led astray by their hypocrisy. But when I saw that they were not acting consistently with the truth of the gospel, I said to Cephas before them all, "If you, though a Judean, live like a non-Judean and not like a Judean, how can you compel the non-Judeans to live like Judeans?
>
> Ὅτε δὲ ἦλθεν Κηφᾶς εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν, κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτῷ ἀντέστην, ὅτι κατεγνωσμένος ἦν. πρὸ τοῦ γὰρ ἐλθεῖν τινας ἀπὸ Ἰακώβου μετὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν συνήσθιεν· ὅτε δὲ ἦλθον, ὑπέστελλεν καὶ ἀφώριζεν ἑαυτὸν φοβούμενος τοὺς ἐκ περιτομῆς. καὶ συνυπεκρίθησαν αὐτῷ [καὶ] οἱ λοιποὶ Ἰουδαῖοι, ὥστε καὶ Βαρναβᾶς συναπήχθη αὐτῶν τῇ ὑποκρίσει. ἀλλ᾽ ὅτε εἶδον ὅτι οὐκ ὀρθοποδοῦσιν πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, εἶπον τῷ Κηφᾷ ἔμπροσθεν πάντων· εἰ σὺ Ἰουδαῖος ὑπάρχων ἐθνικῶς καὶ οὐχὶ Ἰουδαϊκῶς ζῇς, πῶς τὰ ἔθνη ἀναγκάζεις ἰουδαΐζειν; (Gal 2:11-14)

According to Paul, Peter withdrew from table fellowship with non-Judeans when other, more traditional, Judean Christ followers arrived on the scene. Paul's depiction of the conflict, therefore, pits him and Peter on opposite ends of the debate over non-

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[156] Michele Murray, *Playing a Jewish Game: Gentile Christian Judaizing in the First and Second Centuries C.E.* (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2004).

Judean inclusion, with Paul supporting their inclusion without circumcision and Torah observance and Peter vacillating between the two, ultimately siding with inclusion opponents from the circumcision group. Acknowledging that Paul is highly polemical here, this scene remains an indication of the early conflict between those on different sides of the inclusion debate.

This debate continued to through the end of the first century and into the second, as is most clearly seen in the epistles of Ignatius during this travels through Asia Minor, particularly, Murray suggests, in the letters to the Magnesians and the Philidephians.[157] Furthermore, Murray suggests that the evidence for this conflict from these two Ignatian letters helps clarify two statements made in the the book of Revelation from the late first or early second century. In two of the seven letters to churches in Asia Minor, John writes about "those who say they are Judeans but are not" but are instead a "synagogue of Satan" (τῶν λεγόντων Ἰουδαίους εἶναι ἑαυτοὺς καὶ οὐκ εἰσὶν ἀλλὰ συναγωγὴ τοῦ σατανᾶ [2:9]; τῆς συναγωγῆς τοῦ σατανᾶ τῶν λεγόντων ἑαυτοὺς Ἰουδαίους εἶναι, καὶ οὐκ εἰσὶν [3:9]). While most scholars maintain that these references are to local Judeans, Murray argues that these are non-Judean Christ followers who have adopted Judean customs, whether on their own or under pressure from Judean Christ followers.[158] Moreover, Murray argues that when taken together, the writings of Ignatius and Revelation

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[157] Murrary, 83-91. Particularly see *Magn* 8.1-2, 9.1-2; 10.3; *Phil* 4.1, 6.1
[158] Ibid., 74-81.

indicate "that Christian judaizing was a persistent phenomenon in Asia Minor in the late first and early second century C.E."[159]

Murray concludes that "Christian leaders in the period between c. 50 and 160 C.E. were responding to [non-Judean Christ follower] attraction to Judaism and such rites as circumcision, Sabbath observance, or following dietary laws" and thus "boundaries between nascent Christianity and Judaism remained fluid well beyond the period of Paul who is sometimes incorrectly perceived as having successfully established a distinct [non-Judean Christ-following] identity exclusive of Judaism."[160] All of this points to a rather widespread conflict over the relationship between Judean and non-Judean Christ followers and the necessity of non-Judean Christ followers to be circumcised and observe various stipulations in the Torah in Asia Minor during the period in which I have argued Acts was written. It is plausible, if not likely, that Luke expected his authorial audience to be familiar with this conflict and probably involved in it to some degree.

Summary

In this chapter, I have set forth my argument that Luke-Acts was written by Luke, a Hellenistic Judean, during the last decade or the first century C.E. in Western Asia Minor. His narrative commemorates the Jesus movement from its beginnings in

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[159] Ibid., 82. She supports this by examining the writings of Justin Martyr (91-99), Melito ((106-16) and literary information on Marcion (101-106).

[160] Murray, 117; 124.

the late 20s to the mid 60s C.E. Luke's authorial audience, that is, the audience assumed by the implied author and the historical context, is comprised of both Judean and non-Judean Christ followers who are well acquainted with the cultural scripts of the first century Mediterranean world. Further, the authorial audience is assumed to have a good knowledge of the customs and scriptures of Israel as well as early Christian traditions about Jesus, Peter, and Paul. Moreover, Luke expects the audience to know about the conflict surrounding the full inclusion of non-Judean Christians into the Christ group, including the reported apparent tension between Peter and Paul reflected in Paul's letter to the Galatians, and therefore to consist of those who have varying opinions of Paul and the inclusion of non-Judeans into the Christ movement without the requirement of circumcision and Torah observance.

Within this context, I argue that Luke wrote his two-volume narrative as a foundation story for the early Christian community that would recategorize those of differing opinions about Paul and his mission to the non-Judeans into one superordinate group that transcends ethnicity. Luke begins this recategorization in the first volume by tracing the Christ movement back through its central prototype, Jesus, to the prophets of ancient Israel, David, and Abraham, encouraging members of the authorial audience is to understand their shared Chrsitian identity as grounded in the prophetic tradition of ancient Israel, a tradition that is linked with the divine promises made to David and Abraham. In Acts, Luke continues his attempt to recategorize these subgroups of the Christ movement by making narrative connections between

Jesus, Peter, and Paul emphasizing their similarity and the continutity of their message. By linking Peter and Paul together with Jesus, Luke seeks to establish Peter and Paul as prototypical of a common superordinate identity that encompasses Judean and non-Judean Christ followers while allowing both, particularly the Judeans, to maintain certain salient features of its identity.

CHAPTER FIVE:
THE FIRST NARRATIVE BLOCK (1:1-8:1A)

Having set forth in the previous chapter my reconstruction of the historical and cultural context of Luke's authorial audience, I am now prepared to begin an examination of Acts following the Narrative-Identity model developed in chapter three above. To briefly recall, the Narrative-Identity model builds upon Paul Ricoeur's three-fold process of narrative interaction. Stage one, *prefiguration*, refers to the knowledge, experiences, and identity the group brings to the narrative. This includes the historical and cultural knowledge discussed in the previous chapter along with the group's social memory of prototypical ingroup members that have shaped their present identity. Stage two, *configuration*, refers both to the author's construction of and the audience's interaction with the narrative. This includes the audience's construal of the narrative, for example, by anticipation, revision, and filling in gaps. For the present study, this stage is particularly concerned with the way Luke's authorial audience interacts with the characters of Peter and Paul as it moves through the narrative. Stage three, *refiguration*, refers to the fusion of the group's *prefigured* identity (stage one) with the information gained as they interact with the narrative (stage two). They are invited to modify their social memory of prototypical

ingroup members, thereby modifying their group identity as well. In the present study I have posited the presence of two subgroups in the authorial audience who disagree on the inclusion of non-Judeans into the Christ movement without the requirements of circumcision and Torah observance.[1] Thus, an integral part of the identity-forming process is the recategorization of these two subgroups into a common superordinate identity. As demonstrated in chapter three of the present study, the process of recategorization requires a leader who is able to 1) establish superordinate identity boundaries that define "us," 2) emphasize superordinate commonality while contrasting the new ingroup with new outgroups, and 3) represent the superordinate group in social competition with new outgroups. Over the next four chapters, we shall trace the authorial audience's interaction with Acts, noting in particular how the characters of Peter and Paul fulfill these three requirements thereby functioning to recategorize both sides of the debate over non-Judean inclusion into a unified Christ movement.

Before beginning this examination of the narrative, however, some introductory comments are necessary about the plot of the book of Acts.

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[1] This should not be understood as indicating that I follow Baur's reconstruction completely. While the narrative does suggest two subgroups who disagreed over non-Judean inclusion, the historical reality was much more diverse.

Kernels, Satellites, and Narrative Blocks: The Plot of Acts

There has been a variety of approaches to the plot of Luke-Acts, including studies that focus on geography,[2] missionary expansion,[3] prophecy,[4] and rhetorical strategy[5] as the basis for the structure of the book. From a somewhat different perspective on the plot of Luke, Jack D. Kingsbury has emphasized that an "element of conflict" is "[a]t the heart of [Luke's] gospel plot." Kingsbury concludes elsewhere that Luke's Gospel brings the conflict to resolution "in the events associated with Jesus' crucifixion, resurrection, and ascension."[6] If one views Luke-Acts as a literary unit,[7] however, the fact that the conflict encountered by Jesus in the Gospel continues in Acts calls such a narrative resolution into question. Ju Hur has developed a conception of the plot of Luke-Acts in which he asserts that "the plot of Luke-Acts is the way of witness, in seeking and saving God's people, engendered by Jesus (in the Gospel) and his witnesses (in Acts), through the power and guidance of the Holy Spirit in accordance with the plan of God."[8] Hur's plot analysis is thematically, rather than narratively, oriented and thus does little to demonstrate how the plot structures

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[2] For example, Jürgen Roloff, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981); J. M. Scott, "Luke's Geographical Horizon" in *The Book of Acts in Its Graeco-Roman Setting* (ed. Gill and Gempf; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 483-544.

[3] Blake Shipp, *Paul the Reluctant Witness: Power and Weakness in Luke's Portrayal*. Eugene, Or.: Cascade, 2005), 39-40, suggests that Acts 1:8 provides a narrative outline for the book.

[4] For example, Rebecca I. Denova, *The Things Accomplished among Us: Prophetic Tradition in the Structural Pattern of Luke-Acts* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997); Johnson, *Acts*, 114.

[5] For example, Witherington, *Acts* and Mikeal C. Parsons, *Acts* (Paideia. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2008).

[6] Kingsbury, "The Plot of Luke's Story of Jesus." *Interpretation* 48 (1994): 377.

[7] On the narrative unity of Luke-Acts, see note 1 on p. 105 of the present study.

[8] Ju Hur, *A Dynamic Reading of the Holy Spirit in Luke-Acts* (JSNTSup; Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic, 2001), 185-6.

and advances the narrative. This is ironic since Hur's definition of plot is a "narrative-flow that is engendered by causality in orderly sequence, evoking an affective or emotional response in the reader."[9] A more narrative-focused method of plot analysis has been developed by Seymour Chatman, in which he discusses plot in terms of both causality as well as the hierarchy of events. Using the latter notion, he argues that not all events are equally important and that *kernels* are more significant events elaborated through accompanying *satellites*. Chatman states that kernels are "nodes or hinges in the structure, branching points which force a movement into one of two (or more) possible paths [and] . . . cannot be deleted without destroying the narrative logic" while satellites are "the workings-out of the choices made at the kernels," that is, "their function is that of filling in, elaborating, completing the kernel; they form the flesh on the skeleton."[10] Chatman's plot analysis method has been employed in studies on the Gospel of Matthew by Frank Matera and Warren Carter,[11] but, despite the plethora of literary studies on Luke-Acts, has not yet been employed for a study of Luke-Acts.

Building upon Kingsbury's argument that conflict is central to Luke's Gospel, therefore, I offer the following plot analysis of Acts using Chatman's approach. The plot of Acts centers upon the conflict created by the expansion of the gospel, an

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[9] Ibid., 183.

[10] Chatman, *Story and Discourse: Narrative Structure in Fiction and Film* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1978), 53.

[11] Matera, "The Plot of Matthew's Gospel." *CBQ* 49 (1987): 233-53; Carter, "Kernels and Narrative Blocks: The Structure of Matthew's Gospel" *CBQ* (54, 1992) 463-81.

expansion that is both geographic and ethnic.[12] In Acts, I identify four kernels that advance the plot along with various satellites that prepare for or elaborate upon the kernel. These four kernels and their accompanying satellites comprise a narrative block.

Kernel	Narrative Block
2:1-4	1:1-8:1a
8:1b-4	8:1b-12:25
13:1-3	13:1-19:20
19:21-22	19:21-28:31

Table 3: Kernels and Narrative Blocks in Acts

The first kernel is located in the coming of the Holy Spirit upon the disciples on the day of Pentecost (2:1-4). Luke prepares the audience for this important event by reminding them of Jesus' departure (1:1-11), the promise of empowerment (1:8, Luke 24:49), and by explaining the replacement of Judas (1:15-26). After the kernel, the event is developed in light of Jesus' words in 1:8; that is, having received power (2:1-4), his followers begin to witness in Jerusalem to God's activity in the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth (2:5-8:1). Peter emerges as the spokesperson by giving three speeches that develop the implications of the kernel in the narrative block (2:14-40; 3:12-26; 4:8-12). While facing continued pressure from Jerusalem's

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[12] I maintain Kingsbury's focus on conflict since, as Tannehill (*The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts,* 2.34) has observed, "The plot of a work can often be illuminated by considering the major conflict or conflicts within it." To support this, Tannehill cites Laurene Perrine, *Story and Structure* (3d ed.; New York: Harcourt, 1970), 50, "The analysis of a story through its central conflict is likely to be especially fruitful, for it rapidly takes us to what is truly at issue in the story."

leaders (5:17-42), Peter also faces deception and conflict within the Christ-group (5:1-11; 6:1). The intra-group conflict within the Christ group (6:1) is quickly resolved by the apostles (6:2-6) and the narrative resumes focus on the conflict with leaders in Jerusalem. As we shall see in the discussion below, through these scenes, intratextual links connect Peter with Jesus through echoes of Jesus' actions in Luke's Gospel, inviting the audience to view him as representative of Jesus and, therefore as prototypical of the Christ group identity. Once Peter's prototypical status is established, he disappears briefly from the narrative as conflict emerges between two subgroups of the Christ movement in Jerusalem (6:1) and as conflict with those outside the Christ movement escalates until one member of the Christ group, Stephen, is stoned to death (6:8-7:60). At the close of this narrative block, the audience is briefly introduced to Saul, who seems to have been a leader within the group that stoned Stephen (7:58; 8:1a).

The second kernel is found in 8:1b, in which the audience is told that a severe persecution began against the Christ community in Jerusalem and that all except the apostles were scattered throughout Judea, Samaria, and Syria, where many of them proclaimed the gospel (8:4). This kernel is elaborated in Philip's evangelization in Samaria (8:5-13), Peter's confirmation of God's activity there (8:14-25), and Philip's witness to the Ethiopian eunuch (8:26-40). Peter's role as the apostolic verifier of the expansion of the gospel outside of Jerusalem not only reasserts his role as leader and prototype, it also depicts his support for the movement of the gospel outside

traditional Judean identity. His support for the expansion of the gospel to those outside Judaism is vividly depicted in his encounter with Cornelius. Another significant transformation takes place in this narrative block; Saul the persecutor (8:3) is transformed on the road to Damascus and the audience learns he will be an important tool in the mission to the non-Judeans (9:1-31). Following these accounts of transformation, the kernel is further elaborated upon in the introduction of the Christ community in Antioch (11:19-26) and the continuing conflict between Christ followers and the authorities in Jerusalem depicted in Peter's arrest (12:1-5), miraculous escape (12:6-16), and mysterious departure (12:17).

The third kernel (13:1-3) builds upon the previous kernel by preparing the audience for the further expansion of the gospel when the Christ community in Antioch commissions Barnabas and Saul to travel about proclaiming the gospel. The remainder of this block (13:1-19:20) elaborates this sending by depicting the gospel's advancement into Asia Minor, Macedonia, and Achaea. In these scenes of expansion, the authorial audience links Paul with Peter and Jesus through intratextual echoes of previous scenes in Acts and Luke's Gospel, illustrating that he, along with Peter, is representative of Jesus and is prototypical of Christ group identity. After Paul is established as a prototypical Christ follower, the recategorization of Judean and non-Judean Christ followers is finalized at the apostolic council, after which Paul returns to the communities established in Asia Minor and continues the expansion westward

into Macedonia and Achaea. The narrative block closes with Paul's two-year mission in Ephesus.

The fourth kernel (19:21-22) builds on these expansions and continues the focus on Paul by indicating that Paul intends to go to Rome after visiting Macedonia, Achaia, and Jerusalem. Conflict continues as Paul, having been established as prototype of Christ group identity in the third block, defends himself against charges that he has abandoned his Judean ancestry and that he teaches other Judeans to abandon it as well. The conflict between Paul and the Judeans in the final block focuses the authorial audience's attention on the question of Paul's relationship to Judaism and seeks to reassure them that Paul is not anti-Judean. The kernel is elaborated in subsequent satellites that illustrate Paul's departure from Asia after the riot in Ephesus (19:23-40), his journey through Macedonia and Greece (20:1-6), along the coast of Asia (20:7-38), his journey to and entry into the city (21:1-21:17), his meeting with James (21:18-25), his arrest in the temple (21:26-36), his defense and appeal to go to Rome (21:37-26:32), and his journey to Rome (27:1-28:31). The narrative ends abruptly, noting that Paul, proclaiming the gospel freely in the Roman capital, is under house arrest.

This plot analysis will be the framework upon which we shall construct the Narrative-Identity reading of Acts. The remainder of this chapter will explore the first narrative block (1:1-81a) with focus on the authorial audience's construction of Peter as prototypical of Christ group identity, the establishment of common superordinate

boundary markers, and the conflict that emerges within the Christ movement and between it and Judean leadership.

First Narrative Block: Acts 1:1-8:1a

1:1-14 — The Audience's Memory of Peter in Luke's Gospel

The kernel of the first narrative block comes in 2:1-4 with the giving of the Holy Spirit to Jesus' followers on the day of Pentecost. The kernel is delayed, however, by the prologue (1:1-4) and two introductory scenes (1:5-11; 12-26) which help the audience transition from the first volume and prepares them for the second. Despite the delay of the kernel in this first narrative block, the audience's character-building work concerning Peter involves recalling his character in the first volume. Since, as Chatman and Hochman have shown, character development and audience interaction with the character is cumulative,[13] the audience's social memory of Peter and its construction of his character from the Gospel will have an affect on its interaction with him in Acts. To understand the identity-forming process at work in the audience's interaction with Peter, therefore, we must first consider Peter's portrayal in Luke's Gospel. Though Peter is not explicitly mentioned in these opening verses, these echoes of Luke's Gospel recall his participation in the events mentioned.

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[13] See pp. 81-2 of the present study

Thus, the prologue and the opening scene draws the audience into participating in the narrative by activating their memory of Luke's Gospel and its important characters, particularly Jesus (1:1-8) and Peter (1:13, 15).

The audience's first real interaction with Peter comes in Luke 5:1-11, although he is mentioned, but plays no part, in 4:38-9.[14] In 5:1-11, because the crowd was pressing against him (ἐπικεῖσθαι) as he taught by the Lake of Gennesaret,[15] Jesus, seeking a boat from which he might teach the crowd, chooses Simon Peter's[16] boat and has him push out into the lake. Fitzmyer notes that Jesus' "choice of Simon's boat gives prominence to him who is to play the leader's role in the group of disciples that Jesus will form."[17] Once he finished the lesson, Jesus instructs Simon Peter to "return to the deep water and let down your nets for a catch" (ἐπανάγαγε εἰς τὸ βάθος καὶ χαλάσατε τὰ δίκτυα ὑμῶν εἰς ἄγραν). The plural verbs here indicate that others are present in the boat and that Peter acts as their spokesperson. Understandably reluctant because of a fruitless night of fishing, Peter, nevertheless obeys Jesus' command and catches a large amount of fish. The audience may recall

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[14] The audience learns several characteristics of Peter from this brief mention. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke (I-IX)* (AB; Garden City: Doubleday, 1981), 549-50, notes that Simon is a homeowner and is married. Moreover, Green, *The Gospel of Luke* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 225, asserts that his mother-in-law is a widow with no surviving sons. Green also notes it is usual for Luke to introduce a character by mentioning them in passing and introducing them more fully later in the narrative.

[15] Luke uses this instead of the Markan "Sea of Galilee" (Mark 1:16). Gennesaret refers to the fertile region on the northwest coast of the Lake and Josephus notes that residents of the area called the lake "Gennesar" (*J. W.* 3.10).

[16] Fitzmyer, 567 suggests that the double name here derives from Luke's special source (L) and that the use of "Simon" alone in this scene is a Lukan redaction.

[17] Fitzmyer, *Acts,* 566.

the similar initial reluctance and subsequent obedience of Mary (Luke 1:34, 38). Given this connection, the authorial audience may anticipate Peter immediately following Jesus as he had in previous traditions (Mark 1:16-18; Matthew 4:18-20). Instead, Peter falls at Jesus' knees,[18] viewing himself as a sinner not worthy of Jesus' presence, and asks Jesus to depart. In response, Jesus tells him, "Fear not, from now on, you (singular) will catch people," (μὴ φοβοῦ· ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἀνθρώπους ἔσῃ ζωγρῶν, [5:11]). Here, catching fish becomes a metaphor for Peter's missionary activity. The audience is invited to understand the great catch of fish as symbolic of a successful mission for Jesus and Peter.[19] Green notes that this statement establishes a "narrative need" for Peter to participate in Jesus' ministry and, although this need is unfulfilled in the present scene, Jesus' statement prepares the audience for Peter's active role later in the narrative.[20] Singling Peter out here prepares the authorial audience for his roles as chief disciple in the Gospel and as leader and prototypical of Christian identity which will be elaborated in Acts. At the close of the scene, the authorial audience learns that Peter and his companions "leave everything and followed him" (ἀφέντες πάντα ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ).

The next time the audience sees Peter (8:45), he is apparently close enough to Jesus to respond to his question as they move through a crowd that is pressing in on them (8:40-2). A woman who had been hemorrhaging for twelve years approaches

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[18] Later manuscripts (D, 579, Lukan family) phrase replace "knees" with "feet."
[19] Tannehill, *Luke* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1996), 100.
[20] Green, *Luke*, 230.

Jesus secretly and touches him (8:43-4). When Jesus turns to ask, "who touched me?" (τίς ὁ ἁψάμενός μου;), Peter, acting as the spokesperson for the disciples, tells him, "Master, the crowds are surrounding and pressing against you," (ἐπιστάτα, οἱ ὄχλοι συνέχουσίν σε καὶ ἀποθλίβουσιν. [8·45]). Very soon (9:20), the audience will see Peter acting as the mouthpiece of the group again as he proclaims his, and the group's, belief that Jesus is "The Messiah of God" (τὸν χριστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ), though, he does not refuse to accept Jesus' prediction of suffering and death as he had in previous traditions. By presenting Peter in these two scenes as such (following the Markan tradition), Luke prepares the audience for Peter's role as the chief spokesperson in Acts.

Following the encounter with the hemorrhaging woman, Jesus takes Peter, John, and James alone into the home of Jairus, whose daughter is ill (8:49) and whom Jesus was going to see when delayed by the woman in the crowd (8:40-48). Again, following Peter's confession for the group of Jesus' Messiahship, Jesus takes Peter, John, and James to the top of a mountain to pray (9:28). In this second scene involving the so-called "inner circle" of Jesus' disciples,[21] Peter acts as the spokesperson, indicating that he must be the most prominent of Jesus' disciples (9:33).[22] In both of these cases, Peter speaks for the group and is immediately named

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[21] Namely, Peter, James, and John.

[22] Cullmann, *Peter*, 23-4 recognized this saying, "even within this innermost circle it is almost always Peter who stands in the foreground. . . . Almost always he appears as the spokesman [*sic*] for the Twelve."

first among the "inner circle" of disciples. At this point in the narrative, the audience realizes that Peter is the leader the disciples and, therefore, the best representative of a follower of Jesus.

As the narrative moves along, Luke's portrayal of Peter as the leader of the disciples and its spokesperson continues. First, Peter asks Jesus pointedly if the parable about the master who returns from a wedding banquet is for the disciples or the crowds, "Lord, are you telling this parable for us or for everyone?" (κύριε, πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὴν παραβολὴν ταύτην λέγεις ἢ καὶ πρὸς πάντας; [12:41]). Second, in response to Jesus' saying about the difficulty of the wealthy entering the Kingdom of God, Peter, recalling the statement in 5:11b, retorts, "look, we left our own to follow you," (ἰδοὺ ἡμεῖς ἀφέντες τὰ ἴδια ἠκολουθήσαμέν σοι [18:28]). While the first of these Petrine sayings does not occur in Mark or Q, and thus must be a Lukan addition,[23] the second is a Markan parallel and does not differ substantially from Mark's version. That Luke left this Markan saying unchanged may be an indication that he wished to emphasize that Peter had left much to be a Jesus follower (cf. 5:11) just as those in the early Jerusalem Christ group will soon do (2:45; 4:32, 34-35), demonstrating that Peter is "one of them," of the requirements for prototypical status.

Peter's prominence is displayed again in 22:8 where Jesus chooses only Peter and John to make the necessary preparations for the celebration of the Passover meal for Jesus' group. This is significant because it illustrates Jesus' delegating important

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[23] Brown, Donfried, and Reumann, eds. *Peter in the New Testament*, 113-4.

tasks to Peter in preparation for his role as leader and prototype. During the meal, the audience overhears a conversation between Jesus and Peter which prepares for Peter's role as leader of the post-resurrection community. In 22:31-2 Jesus says,

> Simon, Simon, behold the adversary has demanded to sift all of you like wheat; but I have prayed for you that your own faith may not fail; and you, when once you have turned back, strengthen your brothers and sisters.
>
> Σίμων Σίμων, ἰδοὺ ὁ σατανᾶς ἐξῃτήσατο ὑμᾶς τοῦ σινιάσαι ὡς τον σῖτον· ἐγὼ δὲ ἐδεήθην περὶ σοῦ ἵνα μὴ ἐκλίπῃ ἡ πίστις σου· καὶ σύ ποτε ἐπιστρέψας στήρισον τοὺς ἀδελφούς σου.

The audience would have noticed the shift between second person plural (ὑμᾶς) and singular (σύ) pronouns in this passage, a shift often explained by Luke's use of various sources.[24] Yet, a more plausible explanation seems to be that Luke's Jesus singles out Peter for a special role. Adversity will affect each of the disciples (ὁ σατανᾶς ἐξῃτήσατο ὑμᾶς), and that Peter, because of Jesus' prayer for him, will return and stabilize his fellow disciples (σύ ποτε ἐπιστρέψας στήρισον τοὺς ἀδελφούς σου). This conversation indicates that Peter will play an important role in the restoration of Jesus' followers after his death and resurrection. The audience, therefore, is led to view Peter as one who has been appointed by Jesus to strengthen other followers after Jesus' death and thus serve as the new leader of the group, though he will deny Jesus (22:34).

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[24] For example, Brown, Donfried, and Reumann, *Peter in the New Testament* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1973), 120-25.

Jesus' predication of Peter's denial is fulfilled soon in the narrative. When Jesus is arrested, the audience learns that Peter "follows at a distance," (ἠκολούθει μακρόθεν [22:54]). It is important to note here that Peter is following Jesus while the rest of the disciples are not mentioned. Once Peter is situated in the courtyard, the series of denials begins. First, a servant girl asserts, "this man also was with him" (καὶ οὗτος σὺν αὐτῷ ἦν [22:56]). Second, about an hour later, another person continues the accusations, "Surely this man also was with him; for he is a Galilean," (ἐπ᾽ ἀληθείας καὶ οὗτος μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἦν, καὶ γὰρ Γαλιλαῖός ἐστιν [22:59]). When the rooster crowed, Peter recalls Jesus' words and left the courtyard "weeping bitterly" (ἔκλαυσεν πικρῶς [22:61-2]). Johnson notes that the phrase ἔκλαυσεν πικρῶς is used in Isaiah 22:4; 33:7 and Ezekiel 27:30 "as a response to defeat, failure, ruin, and loss."[25]

Finally, the audience learns that Peter, having already been told by the women (24:1-10; cf. Mark 16:1-8; Matthew 28:9) that Jesus had been raised from the dead, is the first to see the risen Christ.[26] After talking with the risen Christ on the road and

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[25] Johnson, *Luke*, 358.

[26] Some manuscripts even contain a short reference to Peter's visit to the tomb in Luke 24:12. "But Peter got up and ran to the tomb; stooping and looking in, he saw the linen cloths by themselves; then he went home, amazed at what had happened" (Ο δὲ Πέτρος ἀναστὰς ἔδραμεν ἐπὶ τὸ μνημεῖον καὶ παρακύψας βλέπει τὰ ὀθόνια μόνα, καὶ ἀπῆλθεν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν θαυμάζων τὸ γεγονός [Luke 24:12]). This reading is found in the Codex Bezae Cantabrigensis and several old Latin manuscripts and was followed in the NA 25. P75, however, does not contain this verse, thus it is omitted in NA 26 and 27. Though likely not part of the original, this verse does echo an early tradition that Peter was the first to see the risen Christ, a tradtion that may be reflected by Paul in 1 Corinthians 15:3-5. For more on this tradition, see William Thomas Kessler, *Peter as the First Witness of the Risen Lord: An Historical and Theological Investigation* (Roma: Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 1998).

having a meal with him, Cleopas and his companion[27] from Emmaus find the eleven disciples saying that "the Lord really has been raised and has been seen by Simon," (ὄντως ἠγέρθη ὁ κύριος καὶ ὤφθη Σίμωνι [24:34]). Jesus' appearance to Peter may represent for the audience an important first step in fulfilling Peter's special role in the post-resurrection community.

Throughout Luke's Gospel, therefore, the audience has seen Peter go from a fisherman on the shores of Gennesaret who views himself as a sinner not worthy of Jesus' presence, to best representative of a Jesus follower, leader of the disciples and presumed leader of the movement after Jesus' death. He is the first to be called to join the Jesus group (5:1-11) and subsequently becomes an important part of Jesus' "inner circle" (8:51; 9:28-36), indeed even the chief of the disciples. While he is a leader within the Christ group, he is not perfect. Peter denies knowing Jesus after the latter's arrest (22:54-62), yet Jesus' words prior to the denial indicate that he will play an important role following Jesus' crucifixion, resurrection, and ascension (22:31-2). One of the effects of the audience's construction of Peter's character as an imperfect leader is the emergence of a sense of realistic empathy between the audience and Peter. This empathy will play a crucial role in the authorial audience's acceptance of Peter's role as leader of the Christ movement in Acts, the representative of Jesus in his absence, and eventually as prototypical of Christ group identity.

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[27] Cleopas is mentioned only here in the NT. His unnamed traveling companion may be another disciple, Cleopas wife, or his son. See Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke* (AB), 2.1563.

Acts 1:15-26 — Peter Emerges as Leader

Having been reminded in 1:1-14 of Peter's character in Luke's first volume, the authorial audience is prepared for Peter to take a leading role in the Christ-following community, an anticipation that is fulfilled as Peter "comes closer to stepping into the place of Jesus than any of the other apostles" in his first major appearance in the second volume.[28] Given the preparation for this role through the recollection upon the first volume, the audience is not surprised when Peter stands to address the community.

> Brothers and sisters, it was necessary that the scripture be fulfilled, which the Holy Spirit foretold through the mouth of David concerning Judas, who became a guide for those who seized Jesus, for he was numbered among us and recieved his share in this ministry. . . . For it is written in the book of Psalms, 'Let his home become desolate, and let there be no one to dwell in it'; and 'Let another take his position.' It is necessary, therefore, that one of the men who have accompanied us during all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out among us, beginning from the baptism of John until the day on which he was taken up from us-- one of these must become a witness with us to his resurrection.
>
> ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, ἔδει πληρωθῆναι τὴν γραφὴν ἣν προεῖπεν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον διὰ στόματος Δαυὶδ περὶ Ἰούδα τοῦ γενομένου ὁδηγοῦ τοῖς συλλαβοῦσιν Ἰησοῦν, ὅτι κατηριθμημένος ἦν ἐν ἡμῖν καὶ ἔλαχεν τὸν κλῆρον τῆς διακονίας ταύτης. . . . . γέγραπται γὰρ ἐν βίβλῳ ψαλμῶν· γενηθήτω ἡ ἔπαυλις αὐτοῦ ἔρημος καὶ μὴ ἔστω ὁ κατοικῶν ἐν αὐτῇ, καί· τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν αὐτοῦ λαβέτω ἕτερος. δεῖ οὖν τῶν συνελθόντων ἡμῖν ἀνδρῶν ἐν παντὶ χρόνῳ ᾧ εἰσῆλθεν καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἐφ᾽ ἡμᾶς ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ βαπτίσματος Ἰωάννου ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ἧς ἀνελήμφθη ἀφ᾽ ἡμῶν, μάρτυρα τῆς ἀναστάσεως αὐτοῦ σὺν ἡμῖν γενέσθαι ἕνα τού των. (Acts 1:16-17, 20-22)

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[28] Perkins, *Peter: Apostle for the Whole Church*, 89.

Peter's opening words, "it was necessary that the scripture be fulfilled" (ἔδει πληρωθῆναι τὴν γραφὴν ἣν), connect this event with the audience's memory of Jesus' words in Luke 24:44: "It is necessary that everything written about me in the Law of Moses and the prophets and the Psalms be fulfilled. Then he opened their mind to understand the scriptures" (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·). In the present scene, however, it is Peter who interprets scripture and applies it to current events. Thus, in Jesus' absence, Peter takes over the role of interpreter of scripture for the Christ group and initiates the replacement of Judas.[29] The audience may wonder, though, why Jesus himself did not appoint a successor during his forty days with his followers after his resurrection (1:3).[30] This gap left by the narrator must be filled by the

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[29] Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts,* 2.20; Johnson, *Acts*, 38. The focus in this passage is not on the betrayal of Judas but on Peter's action in seeking a replacement. Witherington (121; also Haenchen, 161; Bruce, 109) correctly notes that explanatory asides are Lukan elaborations and should not be viewed as part of Peter's speech.

[30] Haenchen, *Acts*, 164. A larger question that is not the focus of the present study is why a successor was needed at all and why, when James dies later in the narrative, a similar procedure is not followed. Witherington (126, 128) suggests that the Twelve have a role within Israel, but not in the non-Judean mission and, therefore, there is no need to reconstitute the Twelve after James' death. Johnson (39) maintains that the Twelve only needed to be fully constituted for the bestowal of the Spirit. Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostles: The Greek Text with Introduction and Commentary* (3rd rev. Ed. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990), 109, understands this as apostolic apostasy, which does not happen subsequently and, therefore, does not require subsequent replacement. Nelson Estrada, *From Followers to Leaders: The Apostles in the Ritual of Status Transformation in Acts 1-2* (JSNTSup; New York: T & T Clark, 2004) has proposed that since the betrayal of Judas "is a tragedy that has affected the status of the whole group" (6), this section has more to do with regaining the honor of the apostles. Since the focus of the present study is upon Peter's characterization, I understand this scene's function as providing an opportunity to remind the audience of the first volume and establishing Peter's leadership among the post-resurrection Jesus group. This may also help explain why Luke placed this scene before the Pentecost narrative.

authorial audience. Since this opening scene "highlights Peter's responsiveness to Jesus' commission and ability to guide the church in its new task,"[31] the audience should associate Peter's action here with Jesus' prediction that Peter would return and strengthen his fellow disciples after Jesus' departure (Luke 22:32), thus finding its narrative fulfillment in this scene.[32] By initiating the replacement of Judas, Peter not only displays obedience to Jesus' command, he "tak[es] over a major function of the departed Jesus"[33] and begins the process by which he will become the most reliable human commentator for the audience in the first half of Acts.[34] In this first scene in Acts, therefore, the audience's memory of Peter as the closest follower of Jesus and the anticipation of Peter's playing a significant role in the early Christ-following community helps the authorial audience make sense of Peter's actions. Peter obeys Jesus' command to strengthen his fellow disciples after Jesus' departure by interpreting Judas' betrayal in light of Israel's scriptures and thus initiating the process to reconstitute the full number of apostles and defining the criteria by which such a selection should be made. Moreover, the audience begins to understand Peter as the "successor" to Jesus as group leader. Likewise, Peter has been shown to perform the role of interpreting Israel's scriptures, which links him to the audience's

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[31] Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts*, 2.21.

[32] Contra. Richard Pervo, *Acts: A Commentary* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2008), 49-50. The fulfillment of this anticipation could provide the reason for Luke's placement of this account before the Pentecost narrative. Although the audience has anticipated the coming of the Holy Spirit since 1:5-8, some perhaps since Luke 24:49, they has been anticipating Peter's emergence as leader since Jesus' words in Luke 22:32, "once you have turned back, strengthen your brothers and sisters."

[33] Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts*, 2.20.

[34] Shepherd, *The Narrative Function of the Holy Spirit as a Character in Luke-Acts*, 158.

memory of Jesus and furthers the process by which the audience views Peter as prototypical of Christ group identity as well.

While Jesus remains the foundational prototypical figure of the group's identity, members of the authorial audience will notice the parallel between Jesus and Peter here, which prepares them for even greater parallels to come in which Peter will begin to function as a prototype of the group's identity. This metonymic[35] parallel between Jesus and Peter will continue to expand in the first narrative block drawing more explicit links between the two, thus enhancing Peter's prototypical status.

There remains, however, a sense of narrative suspense for the audience concerning Jesus' promise of the Holy Spirit (Luke 24:49; Acts 1:5, 8). With Peter emerging as the new leader of the Christ community in Jerusalem the audience is prepared for the kernel of the first narrative block.

2:1-41 — Peter at Pentecost

The kernel of the first block comes in 2:1-4 with the giving of the Holy Spirit to the Jesus' followers. The setting for the kernel is Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost, the Greek name for the Hebrew "feast of weeks" (Deut 16:10) which was the second

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[35] From the Greek μετωνυμία (a change of name), metonymy refers to a figure of speech in which the name of one thing is used in place of that of another associated with or suggested by it. Raymond W. Gibbs, "Speaking and Thinking with Metonymy" in *Metonymy in Language and Thought* (ed. Klaus-Uwe Panther and Gunter Radden; Philadelphia: J. Benjamins, 1999), 66, defines metonymy as "type of mental mapping . . . Whereby we conceive of an entire person, object, or event by understanding a salient part of a person, object, or event."

of the three great pilgrimage festivals.[36] This festival was referred to as *Pentecost* by Greek speaking Judeans[37] because the celebration takes place fifty days after the offering of the barley sheaf during the Passover feast (Lev 23:15-6). Since at least the time of the writing of Jubilees (ca. 150 B.C.E.), Pentecost was connected to the giving of the Torah and covenant renewal. While most texts associating Pentecost and Torah come later than Acts,[38] Jubilees and the Qumran writings indicate that this connection was made in some locations much earlier.[39] Whether Luke and his audience knew of these connections or not,[40] there is evidence of a tradition associating the day of the giving of the Torah with flames and a speech with which the authorial audience could well be familiar. For example, the Septuagint version of Exodus 19:16 mentions "voices and lightenings," φωναὶ καὶ ἀστραπαὶ from the mountain. This tradition is evident, moreover, in Philo's description of the giving of the Torah on Mount Sinai,

> Then from the midst of the fire that streamed from heaven there sounded forth to their utter amazement a voice, for the flame became articulate speech in the language familiar to the audience.
>
> φωνὴ δ᾽ ἐκ μέσου τοῦ ῥυέντος ἀπ᾽ οὐρανοῦ πυρὸς ἐξήχει καταπληκτικωτάτη, τῆς φλογὸς εἰς διάλεκτον ἀρθρουμένης τὴν

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[36] The Feast of Weeks is also called the Feast of Harvest (Exodus 23:16) and the Day of the First Fruits (Num 28:26). See J.C. VanderKam,"Feast of Weeks" in *ABD* (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 895-7.

[37] For examples of this usage, see Tob 2:1; 2 Mac 12:32; *Ant* 3.10.6; 13.8.4; 14.13.4; 17.10.2; *Jewish War* 1.13.3; 2.3.1; 6.5.3; *Dec* 160; *Spec Leg* 2.176.

[38] For example, *Seder Olam Rabbah* 5 (ca. 160 C.E.) and *b. Pesachim* 68b (ca. 270 C.E.).

[39] See Jubilees 1:1; 14:20, 1QS 1:8-2:25. Also see Bruce, *Acts*, 114 and the works cited therein.

[40] Johnson (*Acts*, 46) thinks Luke did know this tradition, citing the widespread use of fire as a symbol of the Torah in Judaism, the symbolism in Philo, and Luke's use of the Moses typology for the story of Jesus as evidence.

> συνήθη τοῖς ἀκροωμένοις, ᾗ τὰ λεγόμενα οὕτως ἐναργῶς ἐτρανοῦτο, ὡς ὁρᾶν αὐτὰ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀκούειν δοκεῖν.[41]

If the audience was familiar with this tradition,[42] upon hearing Luke's description of the giving of the Spirit, the audience may have wondered if an event similar to the giving of the Torah was taking place in the narrative.[43] Thus, it is possible that they may have established a connection between the giving of the Torah and the giving of the Spirit, that is, to view the Spirit as analogous to the Torah.[44] Since the Torah served as one of the central identity markers for many Judeans, its connection here with the Spirit is of vital importance for the recategorization process. As we shall soon see, the filling of the Spirit will become one of the major identity markers for the Christ group while the Torah's function as an identity marker will decrease throughout the narrative. Nevertheless, some of the traditions derived from the Torah remained a central feature of identity to some Judean Christ followers, some of whom are assumed to be in the authorial audience.

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[41] *Decal.* 46 (Colson, LCL). Also see the discussion of this passage in Pervo, *Acts*, 61.

[42] Parsons, 36-7.

[43] Talbert, *Reading Acts*, 43, suggests that this scene represents the making of a covenant. Dunn, *Acts*, 24, also suggests this possibility.

[44] This connection between Spirit and Torah will become increasingly important to Luke's audience as the Spirit transcends the ethnic boundaries created by the Torah.

Some scholars have found in this event an allusion to the story of the Tower of Babel (Gen. 11:1-9). For example, Dunn, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Valley Forge: Trinity Press International, 1996), 24, thinks this is a more plausible allusion than the Sinai tradition; Pervo (*Acts*, 61) points to the use of the verb συγχέω (Gen 11:7, 9; Acts 2:6) as indicative that Luke invokes the story of Babel here, expecting the audience to understand this scene as the reversal of the language disunity. Witherington, 131, disagrees, rightly noting that the Pentecost miracle does not reverse the language division of Babel, rather the gift of the Spirit ensures that the message is correctly understood in various languages. Likewise, Parsons, *Acts*, 36 sees no reason to think the authorial audience would have made this connection.

For non-Judean parallels, see Van Doer Horst, "Hellenistic Parallels to the Acts of the Apostles (2.1-47)" *JSNT* 25 (1985): 49-60.

In addition to the parallel between Torah and Spirit, Johnson's insightful description of the echoes between this scene and the early chapters of Luke's Gospel, especially regarding Jesus, are significant for the present study. Johnson notes that in the Gospel, Jesus is said to have been conceived by the Holy Spirit (1:35) and the Holy Spirit descends upon Jesus "in bodily form" at his baptism accompanied by a voice that came from heaven (3:22). Following Jesus' baptism and filling with the Holy Spirit, he gives his inaugural speech in Nazareth, in which he explains his ministry by citing one of Israel's prophets (4:16-30). Likewise, the group of Jesus followers gathered on the day of Pentecost see the Holy Spirit descend upon them as "tongues of fire" (2:3) and they speak as the Spirit enables them (2:4). Thereafter, Peter, acting as the spokesperson for the Christ group, stands to offer Acts' inaugural speech, in which he explains the event by citing one of Israel's prophets (Joel) and one of their most famous rulers (David) (2:14-36).[45] These echoes of Jesus' conception and early public ministry establish another narrative connection between Jesus and Peter, thus securing Peter as a legitimate successor to and representative of Jesus.

The kernel of the first block (2:1-4) is extended in Peter's inaugural speech and the crowd's response. Before Peter's speech, however, the audience is given a description of those who witnessed the event; they are "pious Judeans" (Ἰουδαῖοι, ἄνδρες εὐλαβεῖς) who were dwelling (κατοικοῦντες) in Jerusalem. The

[45] Johnson, *Acts*, 47.

periphrastic construction (Ἦσαν . . . κατοικοῦντες) along with the list of nations in 2:9-13 indicates that these were devout Diaspora Judeans who had relocated from their native land to Jerusalem.[46] The audience, therefore, would understand these persons to be residents of Jerusalem, not as pilgrims to the festival, thus making it possible for Peter to assume that they know of Jesus' recent death and stories of his resurrection.[47] As the amazed crowd gathers, marveling at the Galileans who are able to speak in various languages represented among the crowd (2:6, 8, 11), the audience learns that there are "others" (ἕτεροι) who were not impressed. Instead of marveling, these "others" mock the disciples saying, "they are filled with new wine" (γλεύκους μεμεστωμένοι εἰσίν [2:13]).

Since Peter took the initiative and acted as spokesperson in the previous scene (1:15-22), the audience anticipates that he will respond likewise here, an expectation that is fulfilled as Peter stands to address the crowd (2:14).[48] Parsons notes similarities in vocabulary (namely φωνή in 2:6, 14 and ἀποφθέγγομαι in 2:4, 14)

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[46] So Witherington, *Acts,* 135; Johnson, *Acts*, 43. Dunn, *Acts*, 26, however, notes that only those from Rome are said to be "visitors."

[47] There are numerous problems with Luke's list of nations, which are described in Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 251 and discussed in Pervo, *Acts*, 65-6. The present study's position that Luke refers here to those living in Jerusalem is supported by the work of Witherington (135) and Haenchen (*Acts*, 168, nt. 7) and Dunn (*Acts*, 26*)* among others. On the view that Luke has in mind here Judeans who were visiting Jerusalem for the festival, see Bruce, *Acts*, 115.

This image of Judeans who have returned to Jerusalem may be part of Luke's attempt to demonstrate the eschatological significance of the Holy Spirit. Alternatively, Gary Gilbert, "The List of Nations in Acts 2: Roman Propaganda and the Lukan Response" *JBL* 121, no. 3 (2002): 497-529 has argued rather convincingly for understanding this list as a counterclaim to Rome's similar use of lists to depict the Empire's universal rule. In this case, Luke's use of the list is, quoting Pervo, *Acts*, 66, "to symbolize . . . the universal mission of the church."

One should also note Dunn's suggestion that there may be here a literary echo of Philo's list of Judean dispersion. See Dunn, *Acts*, 26 and Philo *Embasy to Gaius* 281-2.

[48] D enhances Peter's status here by placing πρῶτος after ἐπῆρεν.

that connect the Pentecost event with Peter's speech, leading the authorial audience to view the latter as "authoritatively inspired."[49] This link serves to connect Peter's interpretation of the event with the event itself, demonstrating the accuracy of his speech. The speech itself reminds the audience that Peter is no outsider but rather a member of the Judean ingroup speaking to Judeans about the Messiah.[50] This common ethnic identity is reinforced throughout the speech by the forms of address Peter uses: ἄνδρες Ἰουδαῖοι (2:14), Ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλῖται (2·22), Ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί (2:29).[51] Spencer notes that "[b]y addressing Peter and the apostles as ἄνδρες ἀδελφοι, the [Judean] audience affirms the religious and ethnic bond and not separation between them and the apostles."[52] This common identity is especially important since Peter uses the same form (ἄνδρες ἀδελφοι) in his opening speech to Christ followers in the previous scene (1:16; cf. p. 165 above).[53] Both groups, therefore, emphasize their common identity in spite of the emerging distinction between them. Thus, Peter's speech represents an intragroup appeal from one Judean subgroup to another in an effort to change the second subgroup's perception of Jesus and his followers.

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[49] Parsons, *Acts*, 41.

[50] Also see Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts,* 2.27.

[51] Zehnle, *Peter's Pentecost Discourse: Tradition and Lukan Reinterpretation in Peter's Speeches of Acts 2 and 3* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1971), 21, notes that the use of these titles indicates that Peter is "progressively winning over his audience."

[52] Spencer, *Journeying through Acts: A Literary-Cultural Reading* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2004), 44, nt. 65.

[53] Soards, *The Speeches in Acts*, 27, 35.

Like Jesus in his inaugural address (Luke 4), Peter addresses the crowd by quoting from the Septuagint and proclaiming the fulfillment of prophecy.[54] First, Peter defines the nature of the present event by quoting Joel 3:1-5 (2:28-32)[55]; the miracle of languages was the result of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit on all humanity. Although Peter ends the quotation at Joel 3:4 ("whosoever calls on the name of the Lord will be saved" [ἔσται πᾶς ὃς ἂν ἐπικαλέσηται τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου σωθήσεται]), in his response to the crowd's question (2:37), Peter alludes to the last line of Joel 3:5 ("as many as the Lord our God calls" [ὅσους ἂν προσκαλέσηται κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν]). Recognizing this, the audience would draw upon their memory of Hebrew Scriptures to fill in the missing part of 3:5, which reads, "For in Mount Zion and in Jerusalem there will be a remnant just as the Lord has said, and they will be told good news, whomever the Lord has called" (ὅτι ἐν τῷ ὄρει Σιων καὶ ἐν Ιερουσαλημ ἔσται ἀνασῳζόμενος, καθότι εἶπεν κύριος, καὶ εὐαγγελιζόμενοι, οὓς κύριος προσκέκληται). By filling in this gap, the audience realizes the connection between the current event and the prophecy of Joel, which, as Parsons suggests, points toward an inclusive community that transcends

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[54] On the similarities between these two speeches, see Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts,* 2.29. The focus of the present study prevents a full analysis of each speech in Acts. For such a thorough analysis, see Soards, *The Speeches in Acts* and Witherington, *Acts*.

[55] Unless otherwise noted, references to the Hebrew Bible are to the Greek Septuagint (LXX). In cases where the LXX differs from English translation, references in those translations will be given in parentheses.

gender, age, ethnicity, and status (2:17-18).[56] Again, Peter interprets current events using Israel's scriptures just as Jesus had (claiming the fulfillment of prophecy), giving the audience another reason to link Peter with Jesus as prototypical of Christ group identity. xx

Second, Peter argues from Psalms 15:8-11, 109:1 (16:8-11, 110:1)[57] that the agent of the Holy Spirit's outpouring is the risen and exalted Jesus, whom, he asserts, the residents of Jerusalem had executed. Peter's accusation sharpens the distinction between the Christ group and the crowd.[58] The crowd's response (2:37) echoes those who heard John near the Jordan River in Luke 3:10, "Brothers, what are we to do?" (τί ποιήσωμεν, ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί;). Their question implies acceptance of Peter's message and thus belief that Jesus is the resurrected Messiah. The implication of their belief is confirmed in 2:41, "those who received his message were baptized" (οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀποδεξάμενοι τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ ἐβαπτίσθησαν). This belief in Peter's message will form the core of the superordinate identity that will develop throughout the narrative, namely belief that Jesus is the resurrected Messiah.

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[56] Parsons, *Acts*, 42; Hans-Josef Klauck, *Magic and Paganism in Early Christianity: World of the Acts of the Apostles* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 2000),11-2, suggests that Luke breaks the quotation in this way to avoid connection with Joel's harsh words toward non-Judeans. Also, he notes that since the gathering on Mount Zion and the filling of the Holy Spirit had just occurred, Luke does not need to repeat it here. Prevo rightly notes this is an example of *pesher* exegesis and thus Klauck's reference to the historical context of Joel is not helpful (79).

[57] On the exclusion of the last phrase of 15:11 and the inclusion of 109:1, see Pervo, *Acts*, 82, note 73.

[58] Regina Börschel, *Die Konstruktion Einer Christlichen Identität: Paulus Und Die Gemeinde Von Thessalonich in Ihrer Hellenistisch-Römischen Umwelt*, Bonner Biblische Beiträge (Berlin: Philo, 2001), 25-6, notes that the closer in similarity two groups are, the sharper the distinctions between them will be emphasized.

Peter's response to the crowd's question in Acts 2:38, "repent and be baptized all of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the forgiveness of your sins" (μετανοήσατε, [φησίν,] καὶ βαπτισθήτω ἕκαστος ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς ἄφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ὑμῶν) echoes Luke's description of John's message in Luke 3:3 and Jesus' words in Luke 24:47. For the audience, these repetitions demonstrate continuity between the messages of John, Jesus, and Peter.[59] Yet, Peter does more than simply repeat the same formula; he adds two significant details that establish the major boundary crossing rituals for the Christ group in Acts: baptism in the name of Jesus Christ and being filled with the the Holy Spirit.[60]

To summarize, the core of the superordinate identity established in this scene and developed in the narrative is belief that Jesus of Nazareth is the resurrected Messiah. Those who believe this message are invited to join the Christ group by undergoing the boundary crossing rituals of baptism in the name of Jesus Christ and being filled with the Holy Spirit. This core identity marker and its associated boundary crossing rituals form the essential marks of the superordinate Christ group identity and thus serve a crucial role in the recategorization process in which two subgroups within the authorial audience, one in favor of non-Judean inclusion and

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[59] I disagree with Pervo (*Acts,* 85) that Peter acts as the forerunner to Paul because Peter receives a much more extensive treatment than does John and is closely connected with Jesus so that Peter is viewed as taking over as the group's leader. Although Paul will dominate the second half of the Acts narrative, it is not accurate to reduce Peter's role in the first half to that of a forerunner.

[60] Bruce, *Acts*, 129; Dunn, *Acts*, 38.

one opposed, are bought together in a superordinate group whose identity is centered on belief in Jesus as the resurrected Messiah.

Earlier in this chapter I recalled our discussion on recategorization in chapter three, where I noted that leaders of recategorization processes must demonstrate that they are "one of us." In the case of the early Christ group in Acts, Peter demonstrates that he is one of the ingroup by defining its core identity marker and the boundary crossing rituals, thus establishing what membership in the Christ group means. Beyond establishing the core identity marker and boundary crossing rituals for the Christ group, Peter also begins the process of distinguishing between the Christ group ("us") and those who rejected Jesus and were therefore responsible for his death ("them"). This, along with the metonymic connection with Jesus, begins to establish Peter as a central prototype of Christ group identity.

Having established the boundaries and rituals for the Christ group and beginning to distinguish between the Christian ingroup and the unbelieving outgroup, the narrator closes this section with a summary[61] of the life of the community in Jerusalem.

> They devoted themselves to the apostles' teaching and fellowship, to the breaking of bread and the prayers. Awe came upon everyone, because many wonders and signs were being done by the apostles. All who believed were together and had all things in common; they would sell their possessions and goods and distribute the proceeds to all, as any had need.

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[61] The summaries of Acts have been analyzed thoroughly elsewhere and those studies will not be duplicated here. For a concise overview of the history of research on the summaries see the excursus on the summaries in Acts in Pervo, *Acts*, 88.

> 2 Ἦσαν δὲ προσκαρτεροῦντες τῇ διδαχῇ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ, τῇ κλάσει τοῦ ἄρτου καὶ ταῖς προσευχαῖς. ἐγίνετο δὲ πάσῃ ψυχῇ φόβος, πολλά τε τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα διὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐγίνετο. πάντες δὲ οἱ πιστεύοντες ἦσαν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ εἶχον ἅπαντα κοινὰ καὶ τὰ κτήματα καὶ τὰς ὑπάρξεις ἐπίπρασκον καὶ διεμέριζον αὐτὰ πᾶσιν καθότι ἄν τις χρείαν εἶχεν· (2:42-45)

Here, the audience learns that those who believed Peter's message about Jesus, were baptized and filled with the Holy Spirit displayed commitment to their new ingroup by regularly meeting together for education and fellowship. Moreover, they all sell their possessions and goods to contribute to the community. The sharing and proper use of possessions will play an important role in the Christ group identity as the narrative continues, serving to identify those who are ingroup members and those who are not. Thus, though it does not appear regularly in the narrative, the proper use of possessions will become another —though lesser— identity marker for the Christ group.[62] The emerging Christ community spends time in the temple and homes daily (2:46), providing the context in which the audience may understand Peter's entry into the temple in the following section.

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[62] There have been a number of studies on the so-called "utopian society" presented here. Most recently, Pervo, *Acts*, 90 notes that utopian societies function of either to critique or enhance the culture within which the text reporting the utopian society was written. Pervo correctly notes that, for Luke, "the question of the proper use of possessions was not . . . A matter of minor concern. . . . money was both s fundamental symbol and a pressing reality for this author, a very concrete means of communicating his ethical message" (91-2).

3:1-4:32 — Peter and the Developing Intra-Group Conflict

The kernel of the first narrative block (2:1-4) is elaborated upon as the Spirit-filled disciples continue to proclaim the gospel in Jerusalem. Having just been told that the nascent Christ group participated daily in temple activities (2:46), the audience now learns of one such occasion when Peter, accompanied by John,[63] attend the afternoon *Tamid* sacrifice at the temple (3:1).[64] As Peter enters the temple,[65] he encounters a man who was "crippled from birth" (χωλὸς ἐκ κοιλίας μητρὸς αὐτοῦ), whom the audience recognizes as one who was socially ostracized[66] begging for alms.[67] While the audience may expect Peter to respond by giving the man alms from the money gathered from the community (2:44-5),[68] what they hear are the same

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[63] John appears here for the first time and will continue to accompany Peter in the narrative. CroweTipton, "Ad Theophilum," 141-2, correctly notes that John does not, however, speak or play an active role in the story. Instead, he serves as a second apostolic witness to validate Peter's message and actions. John is, in literary terms, a flat character and as such, will not be mentioned in the present study when he appears with Peter unless the narrative warrants it. John's silence in his appearances with Peter in Acts has led Bauernfeind and later Haenchen to conclude that John must have originally been absent from the narrative. See Bauernfeind, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament, 5; Leipzig: A. Deichertsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1939), 59 and Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles; a Commentary* (trans. Bernard Noble and Gerald Shinn; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1971; trans. of *Die Apostolgeschichte*; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1959), 198-9. Also, Conzelmann, 25-6.

[64] Josephus, *Ant.* 14.64; Ex. 29:39; Num. 28:4.

[65] For a concise discussion about the identification of this gate, see Witherington, 174. The Nicanor Gate seems to be the most likely candidate, although we cannot be certain. See, Josephus, *J.W.* 2.411; 5.201, 204; 6.293. Nevertheless, it is not likely that Luke expects his audience to know to which gate he is referring.

[66] Though probably not because of the stipulations in Lev. 21:16-18 since these refer to the priests fitness to offer sacrifices, but because he would be viewed as unclean becaue of his disability. See Gaventa, *Acts*, 84. Contra. Witherington, *Acts*, 173-73.

[67] See Lev 21:17-20; 2 Sam 5:8; *m. Shab* 6:5.

[68] Pervo (*Acts*, 100) suggests that this "assures the readers that the apostles do not have community funds at their disposal, dissociating them from the stereotype of greedy, exploitative religious quacks." Dunn (*Acts*, 41) thinks this may "reflect the rather parlous state of the first believers in Jerusalem, dependent on selling off possessions in order to live."

words that Jesus used in the healing of the paralytic in Luke 5:17-26, "Get up and walk" (ἔγειρε καὶ περιπάτει [5:23-4]). With this command, Peter heals the crippled man "in the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth" (ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Ναζωραίου). This healing serves to link Peter with Jesus by invoking Jesus' name and by the intratextual echo of Jesus' healing of a paralytic in Luke 5:17-26. CroweTipton notes the use of *synkrisis* here to make Peter the protagonist in Jesus' absence and, therefore, the use of Jesus' name by Peter "reinforces the characterization of Peter—and later Paul—as metonymic images of Jesus himself."[69] As a metonymic image of Jesus, Peter represents Jesus' salient features to the authorial audience and thus takes on the role as the prototype of the Christ group identity.[70]

In response to the healing of the paralyzed man, a large crowd gathers in Solomon's portico (3:11), a roofed colonnade likely on the south side of the Herodian Temple complex that remained from Solomon's Temple.[71] Peter explains what has happened (3:12), providing another important parallel between Jesus and Peter,

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[69] CroweTipton, "Ad Theophilum," 143. Also see his discussion of *synkrisis* an p. 78. Perhaps the clearest expression of *synkrisis* is found in Plutarch, *Parallel Lives*. I agree with CroweTipton that the audience "will see in Peter and Paul's actions a reflection of Jesus' ministry" (129).

[70] Klaus-Uwe Panther and Gunter Radden, eds. *Metonymy in Language and Thought*. Philadelphia: J. Benjamins, 1999) provides significant analysis of the connection between metonymy and prototype. See, for example, pages 18, 66, 150-9.

[71] It is unlikely that Luke expects the audience to know the location or history of Solomon's portico but they would be familiar with this architectural structure since it was widely used in the ancient Mediterranean.

teaching in the temple (cf. Luke 21:37).[72] Here, as in his previous speech, Peter appeals to their common identity by addressing the crowd as "Israelites" (Ἰσραηλῖται) and by attributing the healing of the man to "The God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, the God of our ancestors" (ὁ θεὸς Ἀβραὰμ καὶ [ὁ θεὸς] Ἰσαὰκ καὶ [ὁ θεὸς] Ἰακώβ, ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν [3:12-3]). This attribution is significant because it links the healing "in the name of Jesus" with "the God of *our* ancestors," thus emphasizing commonality with Judaism and the significance of Jesus within Judaism. Further, Peter appeals to Israel's identity by reminding the crowd of the promise of a prophet like Moses (3:22),[73] all the prophets (3:24), and of God's covenant with Abraham, a covenant that supports the superordinate identity being established by asserting, "in your descendants all the families of the earth shall be blessed" (ἐν τῷ σπέρματί σου [ἐν]ευλογηθήσονται πᾶσαι αἱ πατριαὶ τῆς γῆς [3:25; cf. 3:12-3]).

Even while appealing to this common identity, however, Peter sharpens the distinctions between the Christ group and the crowd. Parsons notes a chiastic structure to the inner frame (3:13–15) of Peter's speech:

> A The God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, the God of our ancestors has glorified his servant Jesus
>
> B whom you handed over and rejected in the presence of Pilate, though he had decided to release him

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[72] Although Luke's Gospel does not indicate that Jesus taught in Solomon's Portico, there was at least one tradition reflected in John 10:23 that he did.

[73] First century expectation of a "prophet like Moses" is evident in some texts from Qumran (1QS 9.11; 4QTestim. 1.5-8) and Josephus (*Ant.* 20.5.1).

B′ But you rejected the Holy and Righteous One and asked to have a murderer given to you, and you killed the Author of life
A′ whom God raised from the dead. To this we are witnesses.

A ὁ θεὸς Ἀβραὰμ καὶ [ὁ θεὸς] Ἰσαὰκ καὶ [ὁ θεὸς] Ἰακώβ, ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, ἐδόξασεν τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν
B ὃν ὑμεῖς μὲν παρεδώκατε καὶ ἠρνήσασθε κατὰ πρόσωπον Πιλάτου, κρίναντος ἐκείνου ἀπολύειν·
B′ ὑμεῖς δὲ τὸν ἅγιον καὶ δίκαιον ἠρνήσασθε καὶ ᾐτήσασθε ἄνδρα φονέα χαρισθῆναι ὑμῖν, τὸν δὲ ἀρχηγὸν τῆς ζωῆς ἀπεκτείνατε
A′ ὃν ὁ θεὸς ἤγειρεν ἐκ νεκρῶν, οὗ ἡμεῖς μάρτυρές ἐσμεν.[74]

This pattern, says Parsons, "underscores the fundamental difference between the actions of Peter's audience . . . and the mighty deed of God."[75] Thus, the "God of Abraham" has subverted the actions of the Judean authorities and affirmed the words of Peter and the Christ followers.

Although the crowd rejected Pilate's attempts to release Jesus (Luke 23:4, 16, 22) and therefore participated in Jesus' death, Peter acknowledges that his hearers and their rulers acted in ignorance (κατὰ ἄγνοιαν ἐπράξατε [3:17]), even though God had clearly "foretold [this] through all the prophets" (προκατήγγειλεν διὰ στόματος πάντων τῶν προφητῶν [3:18]) . Ignorance is not, however, excuse for their rejection of Jesus, thus they must now "repent and turn to God so that your sins may be wiped out" (μετανοήσατε οὖν καὶ ἐπιστρέψατε εἰς τὸ ἐξαλειφθῆναι ὑμῶν τὰς ἁμαρτίας [3:19]). By distinguishing the Christ group from the crowd in the temple, Peter draws a distinct boundary between the Christ group and those

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[74] Parsons, *Acts*, 60.
[75] Ibid.

outside the Christ group. Though they share a common ethnic identity, the two groups are radically different in their response to Jesus. Members of the ingroup are those who believe that Jesus is the resurrected Messiah, having demonstrated that belief in the boundary crossing rituals of baptism in Jesus' name and being filled with the Holy Spirit. Members of the outgroup, however, reject Jesus, had him killed, and now must be reconciled through repentance and return to God so that they may be forgiven of their rejection of the Messiah.[76] The core contrast between ingroup and outgroup here is that ingroup members belief in Jesus while outgroup members reject Jesus. Belief is contrasted with violence here to distinguish between the ingroup and outgroup, thus serving to point toward another less prominent identity marker in the narrative, violence.

Because of the success of the previous speech by Peter, the audience anticipates similar results. Fulfillment is postponed, however, by the entry of "the priests and the captain of the temple and the Sadducees" (οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ οἱ Σαδδουκαῖοι [4:1]). Exactly how much Luke or his audience knows about the Sadducees is unclear. While Josephus offers a detailed

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[76] Haenchen (*Acts,* 211) wonders why Luke would repeat so much of the information here from the speech in chapter 2. Pervo (*Acts*, 110) rightly notes that the purpose of the speech is not to convey theology but to help advance the plot of the narrative. This speech builds upon Peter's first speech, sharpening identity distinctions, and bringing the Christ group into direct conflict with the leaders.

description of them,[77] Luke, in his Gospel, has made two primary points: 1) they oppose Jesus (Luke 20:27) and 2) they do not accept the resurrection of the death (Acts 23:8).

Accompanying the Sadducees in this scene are priests and the "captain of the temple," who appears to be the leader of the temple security detail.[78] The leaders are "very upset" (διαπονέομαι) because Peter was teaching in the temple precincts proclaiming the resurrection of the dead (4:2). In her excellent study of resurrection in early Judaism and early Christianity, Claudia Setzer traces belief in the resurrection of the body from the Hebrew Scriptures, where she argues that only hints of a belief in afterlife are articulated,[79] through the use of resurrection as a symbolic boundary marker serving to distinguish legitimate groups from illegitimate ones from the Maccabean period onward. Belief in the resurrection of Jesus forms the core of the superordinate Christ group identity and, therefore, is a symbolic identity marker employed by Peter to further distinguish the Christ group (the ingroup) from the

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[77] "The Sadducees, the second of the orders, do away with Fate altogether, and remove God beyond, not merely the commission, but the very sight, of evil. They maintain that man has the free choice of good or evil, and that it rests with each man's will whether he follows the one or the other. As for the persistence of the soul after death, penalties in the underworld, and rewards, they will have none of them. . . . [they are] even among themselves, rather boorish in their behavior, and in their intercourse with their peers are as rude as aliens" (Σαδδουκαῖοι δέ τὸ δεύτερον τάγμα τὴν μὲν εἱμαρμένην παντάπασιν ἀναιροῦσιν καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἔξω τοῦ δρᾶν τι κακὸν ἢ ἐφορᾶν τίθενται φασὶν δ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἀνθρώπων ἐκλογῇ τό τε καλὸν καὶ τὸ κακὸν προκεῖσθαι καὶ κατὰ γνώμην ἑκάστου τούτων ἑκατέρῳ προσιέναι ψυχῆς τε τὴν διαμονὴν καὶ τὰς καθ᾽ ᾅδου τιμωρίας καὶ τιμὰς ἀναιροῦσιν. . . πρὸς ἀλλήλους τὸ ἦθος ἀγριώτερον αἵ τε ἐπιμιξίαι πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοίους ἀπηνεῖς ὡς πρὸς ἀλλοτρίους [*JW* 2.164-66]).

[78] Johnson, *Acts*, 76. Also see Josephus, *J. W.* 6.294. Since ὁ στρατηγὸς τοῦ ἱεροῦ occurs in the plural in Luke 22:4, 52, perhaps there were several officers who provided oversight. We must remember, however, that Luke is not overly precise in details, especially regarding Palestine.

[79] For example, in Ezekiel, Isaiah, and Daniel. Claudia Setzer, *Resurrection of the Body in Early Judaism and Early Christianity: Doctrine, Community, and Self-Definition* (Boston: Brill, 2004).

Sadducees (one portion of the outgroup) in Acts. Thus, Setzer notes that in the present scene, "it sounds as if preaching resurrection is the offense and Jesus is incidental."[80] Interestingly, while the belief in the resurrection is used here to distinguish the Christ group from the Sadducees, it also serves as a common identity marker between Christ followers and the Pharisees, many of whom the audience will later discover become members of the Christ group, though their membership raises additional boundary issues (15:1, 5).

The Sadducees are upset because a new Judean group is teaching resurrection in the temple. Since it was already evening, however, they arrest Peter and detain him until the next day (4:3).[81] In an almost parenthetical statement, Luke informs the authorial audience of the result of Peter's speech was that "many . . . believed" (πολλοὶ . . . ἐπίστευσαν [4:4]), that is, believed Peter's message that Jesus is the resurrected Messiah. Important here is the fact that the boundary crossing rituals of baptism in Jesus' name and being filled with the Holy Spirit are not explicitly mentioned. Recognizing their central role in the entry of outgroup members into the Christ group, the authorial audience is expected to infer that these rituals were observed, as Dunn has correctly noted.[82] This is important to recognize at this stage since these boundary crossing rituals will not be explicitly mentioned in every scene

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[80] Ibid., 30.

[81] Haenchen (*Acts*, 215) notes that the expression "they arrested them" (ἐπέβαλον αὐτοῖς τὰς χεῖρας) becomes, at a later time, a technical phrase used in the Chronicles of Christian martyrs. See BDAG 367.

[82] Dunn, *Acts*, 50

where outsiders join the Christ group. Indeed, at times, the boundary crossing rituals will be mentioned though no explicit reference to belief in Jesus as resurrected Messiah is present. In such cases, I posit that the missing elements are to be filled in by the audience.

The leaders[83] gather the next morning and question Peter, "By what power or name did you[84] do this?" (ἐν ποίᾳ δυνάμει ἢ ἐν ποίῳ ὀνόματι ἐποιήσατε τοῦτο ὑμεῖς; [4:7]). Pervo suggests that implicit in this question is an accusation of magic.[85] As we shall see as the narrative continues, Luke makes a sharp distinctions between magic and the miracles preformed by Christ followers. This may parallel the accusation of Jesus in Luke 11:14 where he is said to be casting out demons by Beelzebub, the prince of demons. On the contrary, the audience learns that Peter is "filled with the Holy Spirit" (πλησθεὶς πνεύματος ἁγίου [4:8]). Moreover, if, as Neyrey suggests,[86] this question represents an honor challenge, Peter's response turns the challenge against the authorities. As a prologue to his answer, Peter notes that he has been detained and is now being questioned for an act of benefaction (εὐεργεσία [4:9]). Parsons notes that, "in the Third Gospel, Luke used the rhetoric of

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[83] A common assumption has been that the list of leaders here refers to the Sanhedrin, though Dunn (52), following E.P. Sanders, wonders if we should speak of a formal High Court before the destruction of the second temple in 70 C.E. Pervo notes that this list is similar to the list in Luke 22:66 that brings Jesus before the council. Also see Steve Mason, "Chief Priests, Sadducees, Pharisees and Sanhedrin in Acts" in *The Book of Acts in Its Palestinian Setting* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 115-77.

[84] The use of the plural pronoun here indicates the authorities were questioning both Peter and John, though, as I mentioned previously, I am not mentioning John since the focus of the present study is on Peter and Paul.

[85] Pervo, *Acts*, 115.

[86] Neyrey, *The Social World of Luke-Acts*, 61.

'benefactor' language to make his message palpable to a Hellenized audience" (that is, the authorial, not the narrative audience) and that later in Acts "Peter will characterize the healing ministry of the earthly Jesus as 'doing good' or 'benefaction' (10:38)."[87] Thus, again, the audience sees Peter taking over Jesus' role as benefactor, continuing his metonymic connection with Jesus and supporting his continued characterization as prototypical of Christ group identity.

If, indeed, he is questioned for a good deed, Peter wants everyone who can hear him know that the crippled man was healed "by the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, whom you crucified, but God raised from the dead" (ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Ναζωραίου ὃν ὑμεῖς ἐσταυρώσατε, ὃν ὁ θεὸς ἤγειρεν ἐκ νεκρῶν [4:10]). As in his Pentecost speech, Peter contrasts the actions of the narrative audience and the actions of God, who has acted to subvert the actions of the leaders. Moreover, Peter continues emphasizing the distinctions between the narrative audience and the Christ followers by citing Psalm 118:22: "This one is the stone despised by you people, the builders, which has become the cornerstone"(οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ λίθος, ὁ ἐξουθενηθεὶς ὑφ᾽ ὑμῶν τῶν οἰκοδόμων, ὁ γενόμενος εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας [Acts 4:11]). This brings Peter to the most exclusionary[88] statement thus far in Acts: "Now salvation exists in no one else, for there is no other name under heaven given among humans by which we must be saved" (καὶ οὐκ

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[87] Parsons, *Acts*, 63.
[88] Dunn (*Acts*, 53) suggests that this is yet another case of "enthusiastic hyperbole."

ἔστιν ἐν ἄλλῳ οὐδενὶ ἡ σωτηρία, οὐδὲ γὰρ ὄνομά ἐστιν ἕτερον ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν τὸ δεδομένον ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἐν ᾧ δεῖ σωθῆναι ἡμᾶς [Acts 4:12]). Though this statement is often used by theologians and preachers to claim the superiority of Christianity over other religions, its function in the narrative is to sharpen the distinctions between the Christ group and other Judean groups. Each of these statements, therefore, build upon the previous one and elaborate upon the division created by the belief that Jesus as the Christ. Talbert suggests that this reference was aimed at the Judean groups who were "struggling with the question of who was heir to the scriptures of Israel and the promises made by God to ancient Israel."[89] Peter, therefore, as the prototypical Christ group member further establishes Christ group identity as the legitimate heir of Israel's heritage.

The authorities recognize Peter's boldness (παρρησίαν) in spite of his being uneducated and untrained (ἀγράμματοί . . . καὶ ἰδιῶται), recognizing that they were companions of Jesus (4:13). They also saw the man who had been healed standing beside Peter, forcing them to acknowledge that a legitimate miracle had been performed (4:16) and that the crowd seemed to favor the apostles (4:21). Pervo aptly notes, "[s]ensing the need to regroup, they [the Sadducees] go into executive session."[90] During their deliberation, they acknowledge the legitimacy of the healing and decide they need to stop the Christ group from spreading further and release Peter

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[89] Talbert, *Reading Acts*, 58.

[90] Pervo, *Acts*, 117. Pervo also notes here the changes made in the D text, which, he suggests, "Luke might well wish that he had thought of."

with a warning not to speak in the name of Jesus anymore (4:18).[91] Since the baptism in the name of Jesus has been established as one of the primary Christ group identity markers in Acts, this attempt to prevent teaching in the name of Jesus may be seen as an attempt to reject the Christ group's emerging identity and to establish the Judean authorities' role as an outgroup opposed to the Christ-following ingroup (4:19). By rejecting their warning (4:20), Peter stands against the Christ group's new outgroup opponent thus continuing to solidify his role as ingroup leader and prototypical of Christ group identity. Moreover, this scene indicates that there is significant opposition to the Christ group, opposition that will continue throughout the narrative and will serve, like the proper use of possessions, as another intermittent identity marker.

4:32-5:42 — Peter in the Face of Internal and External Tension

The kernel of the first narrative block (2:1-4) has been elaborated thus far by scenes that illustrate the witness of the Apostles in Jerusalem, particularly the role of Peter as leader of the Christ group and prototypical Christ group member. Peter's role has been established by his defining Christ group boundaries (2:38), distinguishing between the new ingroup and opposing outgroups (2:23, 36; 3:13-26; 4:8-12), and by being presented as the metonymic representation of Jesus (1:16-22; 2:14-36; 3:6, 12-26; 4:8-12). In the present scene, the kernel is expanded by demonstrating how

[91] Haenchen (*Acts*, 218) notes that the "High Council has reached the point where it must decide its position towards the movement centered on Jesus."

Peter, as leader and prototype of the Christ group, deals with both inter- and intra-group conflict. As we shall see, Peter continues to define Christ group membership and to distinguish between the Christ group and other outgroups in the present scene.

The scene begins with a second summary (4:32-37) highlighting the communal characteristic of the Jerusalem Christ community. Those who belong to the Christ group are referred to as "those who believe" (Τοῦ δὲ πλήθους τῶν πιστευσάντων [4:32]), thus highlighting again the function of belief in Jesus' messiahship and resurrection as the central identity maker. Moreover, as in the first summary statement (2:43-47), the proper use of possessions is highlighted as an identity marker; no one claimed exclusive ownership of property and those who owned property sold them and contributed the proceeds to the community, which then distributed funds to needy members. This summary of the communal aspect of the Jerusalem Christ community depicts Barnabas as an ideal, even prototypical, disciple, one who sells his property and brings the proceeds to the apostles, thus displaying his commitment to the ingroup. Barnabas, who will return later in an important role for the recategorization process, is introduced here to provide the audience with assurance that he is a prototypical ingroup member from the very early days of the movement. The audience recalls that Barnabas was compliant with the apostles' leadership, symbolized by his laying money at the apostles' feet and by the apostles

giving him a new name.[92] Thus, the use of possessions, in this case property, for the good of the community continues to function as another intermittent indicator of Christ group identity. Contrary to the actions of Barnabas and other Christ group members, a certain couple in the community, Ananias and Sapphira, acts to deceive the apostles by selling their land and appearing to give the proceeds to the group. Yet, instead of following the example of Barnabas and giving the full sell price, Ananias and Sapphira keep some of the profit for themselves (5:1-2).

Given Peter's established role as leader and prototype of Christ group identity, the audience is not surprised to find him interrogating and rebuking Ananias and Sapphira (5:3-4, 8-9). While the audience knows about the deception, they are not told how Peter acquired this knowledge. They must fill in this gap by remembering that Jesus was able to know the inner thoughts of others[93] and conclude that Peter had also been granted this prophetic ability, again emphasizing that Peter is the metonymic representation of Jesus and prototypical of Christ group identity.[94] As such, Peter is contrasted with Ananias, whom Peter asks, "why has Satan filled your heart" (τί ἐπλήρωσεν ὁ σατανᾶς τὴν καρδίαν σου [5:3]) and "you have not lied to people but to God" (οὐκ ἐψεύσω ἀνθρώποις ἀλλὰ τῷ θεῷ. [5:4), and

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[92] Johnson, *Acts*, 87; Parsons, *Acts*, 74. For a dissenting opinion, see W. S. Campbell, *The "We" Passages in the Acts of the Apostles: The Narrator as Narrative Character* (Atlanta: SBL, 2007), 60-1.

[93] In Luke's Gospel, Jesus knows the thoughts of the Scribes and Pharisees (5:22), Simon the Pharisee (7:39-50), and his disciples (9:47; 24:37-8)

[94] Johnson (*Acts*, 91-2) notes that the scene's emphasis on hiding material possessions may remind the audience of Joshua's confronting Achan when the latter kept back some of the goods of Jericho and was subsequently stoned to death by the community (Joshua 7). Likewise, Pervo (*Acts*, 130) notes similarities with the story of Susanna (Daniel 13 LXX).

with Sapphira, whom Peter asserts has "agreed together [with Ananias] to tempt the spirit of the Lord" (συνεφωνήθη ὑμῖν πειράσαι τὸ πνεῦμα κυρίου [5:9]). Peter's words to the couple stand in stark contrast with the Christ group identity markers established earlier in the narrative. Rather than being filled with the spirit, Ananias and Sapphira have lied to the spirit. Rather than using their property for the community good, they keep it to themselves. The audience will recall that Satan entered Judas' heart and caused his betrayal of Jesus (Luke 22:3). The authorial audience is also likely to remember that Jesus told Peter that Satan was going to test him (Luke 22:31) but, because of Jesus' prayer, Peter recovered and "strengthened his brothers and sisters." In the present scene, therefore, Peter continues to function as a prototypical Christ group member as he confronts the antithesis of Christ group identity and thus prototypical outgroup members.

The authorial audience's attention is now shifted away from this intragroup conflict by another summary, which, unlike previous ones that focuses on the ingroup dynamics of the Jerusalem Christ group, focuses on the relationship to the community and "the people," that is, outgroup Judeans who have not yet become Christ followers (5:12-16).[95] Yet, "more believers were added to the Lord" (μᾶλλον δὲ

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[95] 5:13 is especially problematic. Who are the "rest" (τῶν λοιπῶν)? Haenchen (245) suggests this simply refers to non-believers who dare not physically approach members of the Jesus group. Yet, κολλᾶσθαι has the sense of "to glue" and thus implies joining together with the group. Witherington (225) demonstrates, however, that κολλᾶσθαι can mean approaching in the sense of hospitality. He goes on to suggest that this may refer to the rest of the Jesus group who dared not to join the apostles in the temple for fear of the temple authorities. This interpretation, Witherington asserts, indicates the beginning of tensions among the Jesus group (226). Pervo (136) thinks this view unlikely, though it is the only satisfactory answer to the problem

προσετίθεντο πιστεύοντες τῷ κυρίῳ [5:14]), again indicating that the central factor in joining the Christ group was belief that Jesus was the Messiah and that God had raised him from the dead. In this case, Luke only mentions the core identity marker but not the boundary crossing rituals. As I mentioned above, the audience is expected to fill in this gap by assuming that those who believe also undergo the boundary crossing rituals of baptism in Jesus' name and are filled with the Holy Spirit.

Luke also tells the audience that the apostles were continually (ἦσαν) in Solomon's Portico, performing "signs and wonders" and presumably teaching the people. Great numbers of people were joining the Christ movement and many gathered hoping that Peter's shadow might fall upon them (5:15). Peter Van der Horst has convincingly demonstrated that it was common in the ancient Mediterranean to believe that a person's shadow was an extension of the person and even a manifestation of the person's soul.[96] Thus, Peter's shadow may have been viewed as an extension of Peter himself and contact with his shadow as contact with Peter. For Luke's audience, the importance of this notation is that Peter, like Jesus, can perform healing without physical contact.[97]

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[96] Peter Van Dor Horst, "Peter's Shadow, the Religio-Historical Background of Acts V.15" *New Testament Studies* 23 (1977): 204-12.

[97] For example, see Luke 4:39; 5:24; 6:10; 7:7, 10, 14; 9:42; 9:1713-16; 18:41-42.

In response, the high priest[98] and Sadducees,[99] filled with envy,[100] arrest the apostles[101] and place them in public prison (5:17-8). For the second time in the narrative thus far, the Christ group encounters significant opposition by the authorities (cf. 4:3). The apostles, however, are freed by an angel during the night and resume their teaching in the temple at dawn (5:19-20). When the temple authorities discover their absence (5:22-3), they locate them and bring them before the council, though "with no violence" (οὐ μετὰ βίας [Acts 5:26]) because the authorities were afraid that the people might stone them.[102] The high priest reminded them, "we strongly commanded you not to teach in this name, but look, you have filled Jerusalem with your teaching and want to bring upon us the blood of this man" (παραγγελίᾳ παρηγγείλαμεν ὑμῖν μὴ διδάσκειν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τούτῳ, καὶ ἰδοὺ πεπληρώκατε τὴν Ἰερουσαλὴμ τῆς διδαχῆς ὑμῶν καὶ βούλεσθε ἐπαγαγεῖν ἐφ᾽ ἡμᾶς τὸ αἷμα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τούτου [5:28]). The high priest's response indicates his desire to distance himself and the council from

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[98] This first reference to the high priest may cause the audience to recall Luke's passion narrative.

[99] Literally, "The party/school of the Sadducees" (ἡ αἵρεσις τῶν Σαδδουκαίων [5:17]). The noun αἵρεσις is used for philosophical schools as well as the various parties in Judaism (See Diogenes laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, 1.18, 20; Josephus, *J. W.*, 2.118-9). Luke uses it in the narrative for the Pharisees (Acts 15:5; 26:5) and even for the Jesus group (24:5, 14; 28:22).

[100] John H. Elliott defines envy as "the grief or pain of a person or group at the sight of valued goods possessed and enjoyed by a perceived rival, accompanied by the wish that the rival be dispossessed of the goods causing happiness. . . . Envy is always opposed to change in the status quo. . . involving a twosome with one begrudging another. And the 'self' involved is always a collective self, that is, a person embedded in some large ingroup, never a stand-alone self." From a paper presented at the international meeting of the Context Group, Salamanca, Spain, 2006; quoted in Malina and Pilch, *Social-Science Commentary on the Book of Acts* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2008), 51.

[101] In light of the high priest's reminder of the council's earlier command (5:28), it seems that "apostles" here must refer to Peter (and John) alone.

[102] This brief statement indicates the amount of support the Jesus group had among the people. The temple authorities were concerned that the crowd might stone them if they treated the apostles harshly.

any blame associated with Jesus' death while also emphasizing the conflict that is emerging between ingroup and outgroup.

Peter offers a brief response indicating that their disobedience to the council's order was an act of obedience to God (5:29-32) thus subverting the council's authority by appealing to a higher authority and claiming God's affirmation of their message. This response continues to highlight the distinctions between the Christ-following ingroup and the unbelieving outgroup, which, following Peter's response, now wants to kill the apostles (5:33). At this point, the apostles are linked with Jesus because of the Judean authorities' desire to kill them, making violent action another, though irregular, distinguishing feature of both the ingroup and the outgroup; the ingroup is the victim of violence and the outgroup is the perpetrator of the violence in the Acts narrative.[103]

One outgroup member, Gamaliel, suggests that the men be left alone, noting that other movements like the Christ group have come and gone, and if this movement is not from God (εἰ δὲ ἐκ θεοῦ ἐστιν), it will eventually disappear just as its predecessors had (5:34-9). If, however, this movement is from God, Gamaliel warns that "you will not be able to overthrow them—in that case you may even be found fighting against God" (οὐ δυνήσεσθε καταλῦσαι αὐτούς, μήποτε καὶ

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[103] Shelly Matthews notes that Luke "constructs a [Christ group] origin and essence that is innocent and violated over and against a [Judean] essence that is violent and culpable" (125) See Matthews, "The Need for the Stoning of Stephen" *Violence in the New Testament* (ed. Shelly Matthews and Leigh Gibson; New York: T&T Clark 2005), 124-39.

θεομάχοι εὑρεθῆτε [5:39]), which is precisely what Luke's narrative seeks to portray. After having the disciples flogged, another act of violence against the ingroup, the authorities warn them again not to teach in the name of Jesus and let them go (5:40).

After his release, Peter disappears from the rest of the first narrative block. Despite his absence, however, the recategorization process continues in the final scenes of the first narrative block. Along with serving as transitional scenes from Jerusalem to Samaria, these final two scenes expand the recategorization process by acknowledging the presence of subgroups within the Christ movement, the tension that emerges between them, and the continuing conflict with the unbelieving outgroup.

6:1-8:1a — Escalating Intra-Group Conflict

Thus far in the first narrative block, Peter has been established as the leader of the Christ group and as prototypical of Christ group membership. As the chief ingroup prototype, Peter begins the process of recategorization by defining Christ group membership and distinguishing between the Christ ingroup and unbelieving outgroups. To this point, the Christ group has been depicted as a single unified group.[104] In Acts 6:1, the audience learns that there are two subgroups within the Jerusalem Christ community, the "Hellenists" (Ἑλληνιστης) and the

[104] With the exception, of course, of Ananias and Sapphira.

"Hebrews" (Εβραῖος). Most scholars now agree that the former refers to persons who primarily speak Greek while the latter, in contrast, refer to Hebrew/Aramaic speaking Israelites.[105] Since non-Judeans have not yet been introduced into the Christ group in the narrative, the audience would likely understand this to indicate a conflict between Judean Christ followers who differ in their primary language. Yet, despite this clear emphasis on language, linguistic differences cannot be entirely separated from cultural ones.[106] In his study of the use of the term "Hebrew" in Judean literature, Harvey infers the likely meaning of "Hellenists" in the present scene:

> It is probably that the languages referred to in the designations do indicate, as is generally accepted, a difference of culture. The "Hellenists" speak Greek as an expression of their acceptance or participation in the then predominant culture. The "Hebrews" are associated with "traditional," more parochial values.[107]

Moreover, one could cite 2 Maccabees 4:10, 13 for the use of Ἑλληνιστωης to imply cultural differences in addition to linguistic ones.

> When the king assented and Jason came to office, he at once shifted his compatriots over to the Greek way of life. He set aside the existing royal concessions to the Jews, secured through John the father of Eupolemus, who went on the mission to establish friendship and alliance with the Romans; and he destroyed the lawful ways of living and introduced new customs contrary to the law. He took delight in establishing a gymnasium right under the citadel, and he induced the noblest of the young men to wear the Greek hat. There was such an

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[105] *BDAG*, 319, 269-70. On the textual and translational issues surrounding the word Ἑλληνιστωης, see Metzger, *Textual Commentary on the New Testament*, 340 and Witherington, *Acts*, 240-47. Because this word occurs only in Acts, translating the word here, as in 9:29 and 11:20, must take into account the context of the passage. Here, there is clearly a contrast being made between Greek and Hebrew speaking Judeans.

[106] *TDNT*, 2.511; Louw and Nida, 11.93.

[107] Graham Harvey, *The True Israel: Uses of the Names Jew, Hebrew, and Israel in Ancient Jewish and Early Christian Literature* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 135.

> extreme of Hellenization and increase in the adoption of foreign ways because of the surpassing wickedness of Jason, who was ungodly and no true high priest.
>
> ἐπινεύσαντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς κρατήσας εὐθέως πρὸς τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν χαρακτῆρα τοὺς ὁμοφύλους μετέστησε. καὶ τὰ κείμενα τοῖς Ιουδαίοις φιλάνθρωπα βασιλικὰ διὰ Ιωάννου τοῦ πατρὸς Εὐπολέμου τοῦ ποιησαμένου τὴν πρεσβείαν ὑπὲρ φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους παρώσας καὶ τὰς μὲν νομίμους καταλύων πολιτείας παρανόμους ἐθισμοὺς ἐκαίνιζεν. ἀσμένως γὰρ ὑπ᾽ αὐτὴν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν γυμνάσιον καθίδρυσεν καὶ τοὺς κρατίστους τῶν ἐφήβων ὑποτάσσων ὑπὸ πέτασον ἤγαγεν. ἦν δ᾽ οὕτως ἀκμή τις Ἑλληνισμοῦ καὶ πρόσβασις ἀλλοφυλισμοῦ διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀσεβοῦς καὶ οὐκ ἀρχιερέως Ἰάσωνος ὑπερβάλλουσαν ἀναγνείαν.

Penner maintains, however, that since this is not made explicit in Acts 6:1, scholars should not assume that the Maccabean usage is in mind by Luke or his audience.[108] Yet, as we noted in chapter four of the present study, the knowledge assumed of the audience by Luke is not always explicitly stated in the narrative.

> Tessa Rajak correctly notes that by the mid-first century C.E.,
>
> > [a]round the Roman empire lived [Judeans] who knew no Hebrew, spoke no Aramaic, and lived their lives, heard their Bible and did their reading (if they did it) in Greek - and who, we should not forget, contributed significantly to the evolving hellenism of their environments as well as taking from it.[109]

If these Greek-speaking Judeans were, as Marcel Simon suggests, diaspora Judeans who had relocated to Jerusalem, the influence of Hellenism is likely to have been

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[108] Todd Penner, *In Praise of Christian Origins: Stephen and the Hellenists in Lukan Apologetic Historiography* (New York: T & T Clark International, 2004), 71, nt. 29.

[109] "The Location of Cultures in Second Temple Palestine: The Evidence of Josephus" in *The Book of Acts in Its First Century Setting* (ed. Richard Bauckham; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 4-5.

greater on them than on Palestinian Judeans.[110] It is also possible, as Esler argues, following Hengel, that the linguistic and cultural differences suggest two liturgical groups within the Christ movement in Jerusalem.[111] While Luke does not indicate this explicitly, it is reasonable to assert that the audience may have inferred it.

Thus, the audience probably understood Ἑλληνιστης in this context to refer to Greek-speaking, diaspora Judeans who had moved to Jerusalem from their native country, like those mentioned in the Pentecost narrative (2:9-11). These Hellenists "were complaining" (ἐγένετο γογγυσμὸς)[112] because their widows[113] were being "neglected" (παρεθεωροῦντο) "in the daily service" (ἐν τῇ διακονίᾳ τῇ

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[110] Simon, *St. Stephen and the Hellenists in the Primitive Church* (London: Longmans, 1958). Simon's argument that diaspora Judeans were less rigid regarding Torah observance has been criticized as too broad a generalization (see Esler, *Community and Gospel*, 138) but it stands to reason that Judeans who were far removed from the temple and temple authorities, and who would have likely adapted some measure of Hellenistic culture in their surroundings, would be less rigid. Being less rigid toward Torah and Temple, however, does not equal hostility toward them, as Simon infers. This is indicate in the narrative when apparently Hellenistic Judeans are enraged at Stephen's alleged blasphemy against the Torah and temple in 6:13-14.

[111] Esler, *Community and Gospel in Luke-Acts: The Social and Political Motivations of Lucan Theology* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 136-39; Hengel, *Between Jesus and Paul: Studies in the Earliest History of Christianity* Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983). Also see Hengel, *The "Hellenization" Of Judaea in the First Century after Christ* (London: SCM Press, 1989), 7-18; *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in Their Encounter in Palestine During the Early Hellenistic Period* (2 vols. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974).

[112] Γογγύζω is used by Luke to describe the actions of religious leaders who "grumble" against Jesus and for the Israelites "grumbling" against God, implying more that a slight disagreement. See Luke 5:30, 15:2, 19:7; Exodus 16:7-12; Numbers 11:1, 17:5.

[113] Parsons (*Acts*, 83) notes that, while Matthew and Mark mention widows only four times (three times in Mark 12 and once in Matthew 23), the audience of Luke-Acts has encountered widows several times in this narrative (nine occurrences in Luke and three in Acts), and suggests that taking care of the widows in this scene demonstrates Luke's concern to preserve the collective honor of the Christ group.

καθημερινῇ).[114] The imperfect tense here indicates an ongoing neglect, rather than an isolated event; the complaint is that Hellenist widows were regularly, continually, neglected. The audience knows that the early Christ community in Jerusalem had met regularly for a common meal (2:46) and this may, therefore, infer that this common meal became the source of tension between these groups as the Christ movement grew larger and more diverse. It is important to note, however, that the disagreement is over a practice not a belief; the practice is the identity-defining issue among the subgroups. Indeed, while belief in Jesus as the resurrected Messiah will be a point of conflict between the Christ group and the unbeliving outgroups, intragroup practices will provide the source of conflict within the Christ group through the remainder of the narrative.

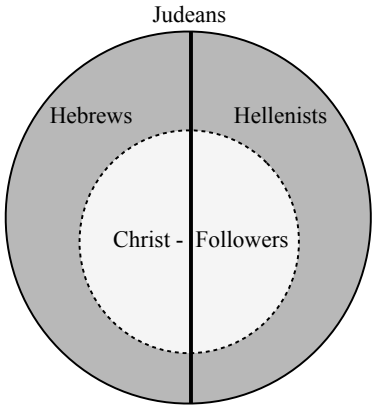

Figure 9: Judean Ingroup with Christ-following subgroups

[114] Tyson notes in "Acts 6:1-7 and Dietary Regulations in Early Christianity," *Perspectives in Religious Studies* 10 (1983): 145-61, that, while τῇ διακονίᾳ could have a range of meanings, the context suggests that the service was meal related. Alternatively, Parsons (*Acts*, 83) suggests the reference to "table" could refer to a "banker's bench" and thus point to the distribution of funds mentioned earlier in the narrative.

Just as quickly as the tension surfaces, however, it is resolved by the apostles, including the unnamed Peter, who suggest the community select seven men to assist in the distribution of food. Parsons, following Talbert and Hengel, suggests that, based on their Greek names, the seven leaders chosen are "from the part of the church that had complained about mistreament of some of its constituency and are therefore all Hellenists."[115] Following his suggestion that the language groups formed two liturgical groups, Hengel asserts that these seven men were selected as leaders to form the Greek-speaking community (subgroup) within the larger Jerusalem Christ community.[116] While this scenario is not explicitly stated in the narrative, it is certainly plausible that Luke's audience may have inferred it, especially as the narrative progresses.[117] For the purposes of the present study, we may identify these seven men as prototypical of a Hellenist-Judean Christ group member. Two of the prototyical characters will serve as transitional figures as the Christ movement expands beyond Jerusalem and ethnic Judaism.

One of the seven chosen (6:5) is the primary subject of the intensification of the group conflict in 6:8-7:60. The audience is told that Stephen is "a man full of faith and of the Holy Spirit" (ἄνδρα πλήρης πίστεως καὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου [6:5])

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[115] Parsons, *Acts*, 84; Talbert, *Reading Acts*, 60-1; Hengel, *Between Jesus and Paul*, 14.

[116] Hengel, *Between Jesus and Paul*, 14.

[117] Pervo (*Acts*, 158) notes that "The 'Hebrews' of Acts 6:1 may be a foreshadowing of later opposition to the [non-Judean] mission, but they do not establish an early conflict *among followers of Jesus."* While it is certainly true that this scene does not create historical certainty about early conflict within the Christ movement, it does seem that Luke is asserting that such a conflict may have had its origins with this event in Jerusalem.

and "full of grace and power" (πλήρης χάριτος καὶ δυνάμεως [6:8]). Chosen to serve as a leader for Greek-speaking Christ followers, Stephen quickly finds himself in a heated debate with a group from the synagogue of the Freed-persons (τῆς συναγωγῆς τῆς λεγομένης Λιβερτίνων) accusing him of speaking against the temple and the law of Moses (6:13-14).[118] These accusations are notably similar to Jesus traditions omitted by Luke in his Gospel (Mark 14:58, 64), but were, nevertheless, possibily known by the audience.[119] The audience is thus encouraged to perceive this connection as confirmation that this Hellenistic-Judean Christ follower is an authentic witness for the gospel and his message is in continuity with Jesus'. The connection of Stephen's death with that of Jesus, therefore, lends credibility to the ideas he advocates in his speech (7:2-53), the longest and most critical thus far of Judeans in Acts.

Like Peter, Stephen emphasizes the common ethnic identity that he shares with his hearers. He opens the speech with "Brothers and fathers" (Ἄνδρες ἀδελφοὶ καὶ πατέρες [7:2]), he uses some form of the phrase "our ancestors" (τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν) nine times (7:2, 12, 15, 19, 38-9, 44-5), and refers once to the Israelites as "our race" (τὸ γένος ἡμῶν [7:19]). At the end of his presentation of

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[118] Witherington, 253-4, gives a helpful summary of the debate concerning how many synagogues are in view here. I agree that the text seems to indicate one synagogue with participants from a variety of Diaspora locations. Witherington also notes, interestingly, that if the synagogue mentioned here is the same one referred to in the Theodotus inscription (*CIJ* 2, 1404), it is possible that this was the synagogue that Saul of Tarsus attended, thus explaining his sudden mention in 7:58. Also see Barrent, *Acts*, 1.324.

[119] Witherington, 253, makes the case the Luke edited out these Markan details in his account of Jesus' passion and uses them instead here to highlight the parallels between Jesus' death and Stephen's.

Israelite history, however, Stephen suddenly begins to distinguish between the Christ group and his hearers saying,

> Stiff-necked people, uncircumcised in heart and ears, you are forever opposing the Holy Spirit, just as your ancestors used to do. Which of the prophets did your ancestors not persecute? They killed those who foretold the coming of the Righteous One, and now you have become his betrayers and murderers. You are the ones that received the law as ordained by angels, and yet you have not kept it.
>
> Σκληροτράχηλοι καὶ ἀπερίτμητοι καρδίαις καὶ τοῖς ὠσίν, ὑμεῖς ἀεὶ τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ ἀντιπίπτετε ὡς οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν καὶ ὑμεῖς. τίνα τῶν προφητῶν οὐκ ἐδίωξαν οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν; καὶ ἀπέκτειναν τοὺς προκαταγγείλαντας περὶ τῆς ἐλεύσεως τοῦ δικαίου, οὗ νῦν ὑμεῖς προδόται καὶ φονεῖς ἐγένεσθε, οἵτινες ἐλάβετε τὸν νόμον εἰς διαταγὰς ἀγγέλων καὶ οὐκ ἐφυλάξατε. (7:51-53)

By making such sharp distinctions between Christ followers and the Judean authorities, Stephen intensifies the recategorization work begun by Peter in his opening speech.[120]

Stephen's speech spurs an intense anger from the leaders and crowd (7:54) which climaxes in Stephen's death. This climax of the hostility against the Christ group reaffirms the distinctions made between the believing ingroup and the unbelieving outgroup; the ingroup is the subject of hostile opposition from the outgroup. In the midst of Stephen's stoning, the authorial audience is introduced to Saul (7:58-8:1), though they are given very little information about him, only that those who kill Stephen lay their garments at his feet during the execution (7:58), a

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[120] For an excellent analysis of Stephen's speech from an audience-oriented perspective, see Kathy Maxwell, "The Audience as Fellow-Workers in the Rhetoric of Stephen's Speech" a paper given at the Society of Biblical Literature, Boston, 2008; online: http://www.stscs.org/documents/general/K.Maxwell_The-Audience-as-Fellow-Workers.pdf; accessed 24 July 2009.

clear indication that he approves of the action (8:1). The perceptive audience would recall Luke's use of παρὰ τοὺς πόδας ("at the feet of") in 4:35, 37 and 5:1 as indication of submission to leadership and thus infer that Saul was a leader in the group who killed Stephen.[121]

Though Peter, the major prototypical figure of the Christ group thus far in the narrative, has been absent in these last two scenes of the first narrative block, the recategorization process continues and is extended as subgroups within the Christ movement are identified and as sharper distinctions are made between the Christ group and the unbelieving Judeans and their leaders.

Summary

The first narrative block of Acts (1:1-8:1a) focuses the coming of the Holy Spirit, the proclamation of the gospel in Jerusalem, and the emerging conflict on two fronts: (1) between the Christ community and the Judean leaders and (2) within the Christ community itself, especially along linguistic/cultural lines. Within this framework, Luke continues to develop the character of Peter from the first volume, where the audience was prepared for Peter to take a leading role after Jesus' death, resurrection, and ascension.

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[121] There remains some debate about Saul's involvement here. In support of the position of the present study, that Saul was a leader of the group that executed Stephen are L.T. Johnson, *Acts,* 141 and Witherington, *Acts*, 278. In contrast, Conybeare, "The Stoning of Stephen" *Expositor* 8 (1913): 466-70, suggests Saul acts as a herald who proclaimed that the convicted person was about to be executed. Likewise, Bruce (*Acts*, 214) does not think that this implies that Saul was the group's leader and Pervo (200), agreeing with Haenchen (296), refers to Saul as a "hat-check boy."

Early in the narrative block, Peter begins to emerge as the new leader of the Christ group and is linked with Jesus by his interpretation of scripture and the healing of the paralyzed man. These echoes of Jesus' activity in the Third Gospel establish Peter as the metonymic representation of Jesus and, in his absence, the prototypical ingroup member. As such, Peter begins the process of recategorizing Judean and non-Judean Christ followers into a common superordinate group as well as the recategorization of those in the authorial audience who differ on the inclusion of non-Judeans into the Christ group without circumcision and Torah observance.

The recategorization process begins in Peter's Pentecost speech when he establishes a distinct Christ group identity: the core identity marker is belief that Jesus is the resurrected Messiah and this belief is demonstrated by undergoing the boundary crossing rituals of baptism in Jesus' name and being filled with the Holy Spirit. Each of these important elements are not present in each scene depicting entry into the Christ group. When certain elements are missing, however, the authorial audience is expected to fill in these gaps by assuming their presence. Furthermore, the use of possessions has been used to identify legitimate Christ group members, as in the case of the Jerusalem community (2:43-47; 4:32-37) and Ananias and Sapphira (5:1-11) Additionally, Peter begins making distinctions between the Christ group and the Judean outgroup (2:1-41). The process continues throughout the rest of the first narrative block as the distinctions between the Christ group and other outgroups are intensified though conflict with outgroup authorities (3:1-4:21; 5:17-42; 6:9-8:1a) and

as conflict begins to emerge within the Christ group itself (5:1-11; 6:1). Thus, the first narrative block presents the authorial audience with the core of the superordinate identity, two boundary crossing rituals, and two additional intermittent Christ group identity markers. The recategorization process will continue in the second narrative block as the gospel moves out of Jerusalem and to the margins of Judaism.

CHAPTER SIX:
THE SECOND NARRATIVE BLOCK (8:1B-12:25)

The second narrative block (8:1b-12:25) continues the recategorization process begun in the first block as it narrates the movement of the gospel out of Jerusalem and toward the boundaries of ethnic Judaism. This geographic and ethnic move is first indicated in the kernel by noting that, in the wake of the persecution spawned by Stephen's death, many Christ followers left Jerusalem and began to preach the gospel (81b-4). In doing so, the kernel signals a shift in narrative attention away from Jerusalem to the regions of Judea, Samaria, and Syria.

The Second Narrative Block: 8:1B-12:25

8:1b-25 — Moving Toward the Margins[1]

8:1b serves as a narrative hinge or branching point in which the authorial audience learns of a great persecution against the Christ group in Jerusalem and a mass movement of Christ followers out of the holy city: "all were scattered . . . except the apostles" (πάντες δὲ διεσπάρησαν . . . πλὴν τῶν ἀποστόλων). Most

[1] By using "margins," I am not referring here to location but ethnicity. By saying that the Christ group moves toward the margins of Judaism, I am simply noting that the Christ group is moving toward including those who would viewed as marginal Judeans ethnically such as the Samaritans and god-fearers.

scholars take Luke's "all" here as hyperbole[2] and many argue that the Hellenists were the focus of the persecution and were, therefore, those who left Jerusalem.[3] Though not explicit in the narrative, the authorial audience may infer this since the persecution originated in opposition to a Hellenist-Judean Christ follower's invective and is followed by another Hellenist-Judean Christ follower evangelizing in the region of Samaria. The kernel of the second narrative block, therefore, causes both a geographic and cultural shift in the narrative as the story begins to focus on the Hellenists' proclamation of the gospel north of Jerusalem, which will be elaborated in the following satellites.[4]

Luke elaborates upon the second kernel by telling the audience that Philip, another one chosen from among the Hellenist-Judean Christ group in Jerusalem (6:1-6), went to the chief city in Samaria[5] to proclaim the gospel (8:5).The audience

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[2] Yet, Pervo, *Acts*, 199-200 rightly questions how such a large group, approximately 20,000 Christ followers, would have found sanctuary in Judea and Samaria. His figures appear to be based on the number of converts reported in Acts with the additional of women and children. While the historical certainty of this assertion is questionable, it is implied by the narrative.

[3] Bruce, *Acts*, 215; Dunn, *Acts*, 104-5; Esler, *Community and Gospel*, 139-40; Haenchen, *Acts*, 297-8; Hengel, *Between Jesus and Paul*, 25; Johnson *Acts*, 141; Witherington, *Acts*, 278. For a contrasting view see Craig C. Hill, *Hellenists and Hebrews: Reappraising Division within the Earliest Church* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 32-40; 152-6.

[4] The identity of the "devout men" in 8:2 has caused several commentators difficulty, especially if the thesis that the dispersion in 8:1 was primarily of the Hellenists, for, if all the Hellenists left the city, who would bury Stephen. Pervo notes that εὐλαβεῖς refers elsewhere in Luke-Acts to ethnic Judeans (Luke2:25; 2:5; 22:12). C. K. Barrett, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles* (Edinburgh: Clark, 1994), 1.392, thinks that these are good Judeans who, if not members of the Jesus group, are at least amenable to it. Bruce, *Acts*, 215, thinks they must be Judean members of the Jesus group.

[5] Textual evidence ($\mathfrak{P}^{74}$ ℵ A B) supports the inclusion of the article here although Witherington (282) suggests that the reference to "that city" in verse 8 supports its exclusion. While Samaria did refer to a region during the first century, it was also the former name of Sebaste, which would be viewed as the chief city of Samaria (see, Josephus, *Ant.* 15.246). Also see, V. J. Samkutty, *The Samaritan Mission in Acts* (LNTS 328; New York: T & T Clark, 2006), 86-97. Luke does not appear, however, to be overly concerned to identify a Sebaste as the location but simply that the Christ group was moving into an important urban center in Samaria.

recalls that Samaritans have been presented as one who (1) would seem least likely to care for a needy Judean traveler (Luke 10:33), (2) rightly thanks Jesus for healing (Luke 17:12-19), and (3) who did not receive Jesus on his way to Jerusalem (Luke 9:52-3), without the need of explanation of who the Samaritans were or why there was tension between Judeans and Samaritans.[6] Thus, Luke assumes that his audience knows not only who the Samaritans are but also of the tension and distrust that have existed between Judeans and Samaritans since the post-exilic period. Despite this tension, the audience is told that the Samaritan crowds paid "close attention" (προσεῖχον) to Philip's message and to "the signs" (τὰ σημεῖα) "he was performing" (ἃ ἐποίει [8:6]).[7] The inhabitants, both women and men, "believed" (ἐπίστευσαν) Philip's message about the kingdom of God and the name of Jesus Christ (τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ) and, consistent with the previously-identified boundaries crossing ritual of baptism,

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[6] The audience may have been familiar with Judean and Samaritan relations from a range of second-temple literature, such as 1-2 Macabees and Josephus,. For an overview of Judean-Samaritan relations during the first century C.E. and the Samaritan mission in Acts, see Samkutty, *The Samaritan Mission in Acts.* Also see John Bowman, *The Samaritan Problem: Studies in the Relationships of Samaritanism, Judaism, and Early Christianity* (Pittsburgh: Pickwick Press, 1975); W.D. Davies and Louis Finkelstein. *The Cambridge History of Judaism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Ingrid Hjelm, *The Samaritans and Early Judaism: A Literary Analysis* (JSOTSup. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2000); David Ravens, *Luke and the Restoration of Israel* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 73-6. Among ancient texts that allude to the tensions between Samaritans and Judeans, see Josephus, *Ant.* 11.8-6; 13.10.2-3; 18.2.2; *Life* 52; *J. W.* 2.12.3. Also, *m. Shebitth* 8.10. Pervo (*Acts*, 203), however, doubts like Luke wants to portray Samaritans as deviant, suggesting that Samaria is "simply a place." This assessment, however, does not take into account the characterization of the Samaritans in Luke's Gospel, which I assume the audience recalls.

[7] The present study could be expanded to include the presentation of Philip's character as prototypical. Because our focus here is Peter and Paul as prototypes, we shall set Philip's characterization aside for future study. For an examination of Philip's character in Acts, see F. Scott Spencer, *The Portrait of Philip in Acts: A Study of Roles and Relations* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 2004).

"were baptized" (ἐπίστευσαν [8:12]).[8] Not mentioned, however, is the second boundary crossing ritual established by Peter in the Pentecost scene of being filled of the Holy Spirit. This gap will soon be filled in, however, as the authorial audience learns of an apostolic visit that results in the Holy Spirit coming upon the baptized Samaritans (8:14-15).

After the brief narration of Simon the magician's popularity (8:9-11), as well as his belief and his baptism (8:13), the audience learns that the apostles in Jerusalem heard (ἀκούσαντες)[9] that the Samaritans had received the gospel and sent Peter and John to them.[10] The purpose of their visit is to lay hands on the new believers so they might receive the Holy Spirit, since they had only undergone one of the Christ group boundary crossing rituals, baptism in the name of Jesus (8:14-16). Peter arrives, therefore, lays hands on the new Samaritans believers and they receive the Holy Spirit (8:15-17), completing their entry into the Christ group. Continuing his role from the first narrative block, Peter resumes his narrative role as leader of the Christ group and its prototypical ingroup member. His verification of Philip's mission to the Samaritans continues the recategorization process by further defining the ingroup, a

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[8] Treatment of this portion of the scene is truncated since the present study does not focus on Philip. For a detailed treatment of this passage see Parsons, *Acts*, 113-16. Also see Spencer, *The Portrait of Philip in Acts: A Study of Roles and Relations* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 2004); Jarl E. Fossum, *The Name of God and the Angel of the Lord: Samaritan and Jewish Concepts of Intermediation and the Origin of Gnosticism* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1985) 112-28, 162-91.

[9] Pervo (*Acts*, 213) notes that the use of δέδεκται (Recieved) here depicts the apostles "receiving" the report as a "political body." This assertion, however, is unfounded since the verb δέδεκται relates to "the Samaritans" and not "the apostles in Jerusalem, who "after hearing" (ἀκού σαντες) this news, send Peter and John.

[10] On John's function here and my decision to not treat his character in the present study see p. 188, nt. 63 above.

significant step since these new ingroup members are viewed by many Judeans as either outgroup members or, at best, marginal Judeans. Peter's approval of the Samaritans' entrance into the Christ group "prepares the way for much larger and more dangerous expansions of the people and with it the vision of what God is doing in history."[11]

Further, Peter's work of verification provides another link to the role of Jesus in the Gospel.[12] Spencer's view that Philip serves as the "forerunner" to Peter who is the "culminator,"[13] leads CroweTipton to highlight the parallel between this scene and the relationship between John the Baptist and Jesus in Luke's Gospel which, he argues, enhances the characterization of Peter as the metonymic representation of Jesus.[14] This parallel between Jesus and Peter as "culminators" of preceding "forerunners" confirms Peter's status, reminding the audience that he is, in the absence of Jesus, prototypical of Christ group identity. Through this act of verification, Peter confirms the legitimacy of Philip's mission to these marginal Judeans, thus inviting audience members either to expand their own view of Christ group identity to include these marginal members or confirming the identity of those audience members who have already embraced them and excluding those who do not. This expanded view of Christ group identity is crucial for recategorizing the authorial

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[11] Johnson, *Acts*, 150.
[12] Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts,* 2.102. So Parsons, *Acts*, 116.
[13] Spencer, *The Portrait of Philip in Acts*, 231-2, 241.
[14] CroweTipton, "Ad Theophilum," 197.

audience into a common superordinate Christ group identity that is based upon belief that Jesus is the resurrected Messiah, a belief that is demonstrated in baptism Jesus' name and being filled with the Holy Spirit.[15] Having further defined the ingroup to include marginal Judeans, Peter turns again to distinguish ingroup Christ followers from outgroup members.

One of Philip's converts, Simon the magician, was amazed at Peter's ability to bestow the Holy Spirit by the imposition of hands and offers to purchase the power so that he too could bestow the Spirit (8:18). The authorial audience already knows that the people of Samaria regarded Simon as "the power of God, called Great" (ἡ δύναμις τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ καλουμένη μεγάλη [8:10]).[16] Despite attempts to uncover the "historical" Simon,[17] Johnson correctly notes that, like Judas (Luke 22:3) and Ananias and Sapphira (Acts 5:2), "Simon is one of a series of characters within the narrative who represent the powers opposed to the kingdom of God."[18] Moreover, the audience may have understood this as a refutation of charges that "signs and wonders preformed by early Christian missionaries were indistinguishable from the magical

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[15] Dunn (*Acts*, 111) asserts that baptism in the name of Jesus "was in itself not enough" and that for Luke, it is the reception of the Spirit that matters most. It seems to me, however, that both of these are important as identity markers of those who legitimately part of the Christ movement and thus, one without the other is not enough to fully integrate one into the Christ community. For example, in Acts 10, the Spirit is given to Cornelius and his household before they are baptized, but baptism remained required of them to be fully integrated into the Christ community

[16] Fossum, *The Name of God and the Angel of the Lord*, 171-2, asserts that "the Great Power" was the Samaritan name for Israel's God YHWH.

[17] The second century apologist Justin Martyr (1 Apology 1.26.3) records that Simon's home was Gitta and that the Samarian people venerated him as the supreme god and others identify him as the founder of a gnostic movement, for example, see Lüdemann, *Early Christianity According to the Traditions in Acts: A Commentary* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989), 98-102 and Barrett, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles*. (Edinburgh: Clark, 1994), 405-7.

[18] Johnson, *Acts*, 152.

practices of antiquity."[19] Indeed, Luke distinguishes between popular magic and the miracles preformed by Christ followers, so that miracles preformed in the name of Jesus as not viewed as magic but as identity markers for genuine Christ followers. Both of these statements reflect that part of the recategorization process in which the prototypical ingroup member distinguishes between ingroup and outgroup. Peter's response is harsh and direct: "to hell with you and your money,[20] because you thought you could obtain God's gift with money! You have no part or share in this, for your heart is not right before God" (τὸ ἀργύριόν σου σὺν σοὶ εἴη εἰς ἀπώλειαν ὅτι τὴν δωρεὰν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνόμισας διὰ χρημάτων κτᾶσθαι· οὐκ ἔστιν σοι μερὶς οὐδὲ κλῆρος ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ, ἡ γὰρ καρδία σου οὐκ ἔστιν εὐθεῖα ἔναντι τοῦ θεοῦ[8:20-1). Further, he commands Simon to repent so that, if possible, he may be forgiven (8:22). In the first narrative block, Peter defined Christ group identity by establishing the superordinate ingroup based upon belief in Jesus as the resurrected Messiah along with boundary crossing rituals of baptism in Jesus' name and being filled with Holy Spirit and by distinguishing between ingroup and outgroup. Now in the second narrative block, he builds upon this identity by including marginal Judeans and differentiating between ingroup and outgroup. Those believing Samaritans, despite their marginal status among Judeans, are legitimate Christ group members because they have been baptized in the name of Jesus and

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[19] Parsons, *Acts*, 114. This type of scene will happen twice more in the narrative with Paul as the missionary (13:4-12; 19:11-20).

[20] Haenchen, *Acts*, 304; Dunn, *Acts*, 112; Pervo, *Acts*, 212.

filled with the Holy Spirit. Though Simon expressed belief in Jesus and was baptized, the narrator does not say that he received the Holy Spirit, implying that he has not been fully initiated into the Christ group.[21]

In his first appearance in the second block, therefore, Peter again acts as a prophet who knows the inner thoughts of the person (8:20-23) and as the leader and prototype of the Christ group who bestows the Holy Spirit by the imposition of hands (8:17), thus confirming the legitimacy of the Samaritan mission and completing their narrative categorization as members of the Christ group. He also distinguishes between these legitimate ingroup members and those who like Simon remain in the outgroup. Having completed his work in Samaria, Peter returns to Jerusalem, preaching in many Samaritan villages along the way. The next time the audience will encounter Peter is in 9:32, where he continues traveling and verifying the expansion of the gospel. The scene now shifts, however, to the one who will take over prominence in the third narrative block, preparing the audience for his role of prototypical ingroup member.

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[21] Dunn (*Acts*, 111) notes that the implication is that Simon has not received the Spirit. Based on the two identity marking rituals established by Peter in Acts 2, therefore, Simon is not viewed, at least in the narrative, as having become part of the Christ group, though hope remains that he will repent.

9:1-31 — The Transformation[22] of Saul

The first section of the second block extends the kernel by depicting the geographical movement of the Christ group to the north of Jerusalem and toward the margins of ethnic Judaism. The present scene (9:1-31) elaborates the kernel by showing the opposition that follows the gospel to the north. The audience learns that Saul continues his assault on the Christ followers, "still breathing threats and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord" (ἔτι ἐμπνέων ἀπειλῆς καὶ φόνου εἰς τοὺς μαθητὰς τοῦ κυρίου [9·1]). The temporal conjunction "still" (ἔτι) connects this description of Saul's persecuting activity here with the kernel and, as Parsons notes, "continues the character development begun there",[23] where the audience was told that "Saul was ravaging the church by entering house after house; dragging off both men and women, he committed them to prison" (Σαῦλος . . . ἐλυμαίνετο τὴν ἐκκλησίαν κατὰ τοὺς οἴκους εἰσπορευόμενος, σύρων τε ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας παρεδίδου εἰς φυλακήν [8:3]). This reminds the audience of Saul's role in the death of Stephen and his initial persecution of Christ followers in

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[22] There has been a good deal of debate about using word "conversion" withe reference to this passage. Alan Segal, *Paul the Convert: The Apostolate and Apostasy of Saul the Pharisee* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990) and Talbert, *Reading Acts,* argue that the term "conversion" is appropriate in this context because of the wide variety of conversions in the ancient world. Dunn, *Acts*, 119-20, offers a thoughtful distinction noting that Saul does not renounce his Judean identity and heritage and thus, if we must use the word "conversion," we should be careful to refer to a "conversion from one sect of first-century Judaism to another." The present study uses the term "transformation" in this sense, a transformation from one sub-group of first century Judaism to another sub-group. For an excellent study of the nature of conversion in the ancient world, see Zeba A. Crook, *Reconceptualising Conversion: Patronage, Loyalty, and Conversion in the Religions of the Ancient Mediterranean* (New York: de Gruyter, 2004).

[23] Parsons, *Acts*, 126.

Jerusalem. Now, the audience is told that his persecution is extending beyond Jerusalem; he has secured letters from the high priest to the synagogues in Damascus to arrest and extradite any followers of "the Way"[24] to Jerusalem.[25] Thus far, therefore, Saul has been identified as a member of the unbelieving Judean outgroup and as the Christ-following ingroup's most dangerous opponent.[26]

As Saul nears Damascus, he is suddenly (ἐξαίφνης) blinded by a flash of light from heaven, falls to the ground, and hears a voice saying "Saul, Saul,[27] why are you persecuting me" (Σαοὺλ Σαούλ, τί με διώκεις;). After inquiring to whom the voice belonged and learning it was Jesus (9:5), he is told, "get up and enter the city, and you will be told what you must do" (ἀνάστηθι καὶ εἴσελθε εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ λαληθήσεταί σοι ὅ τί σε δεῖ ποιεῖν [Acts 9:6]). Saul is led into the city by his traveling companions[28] and spends three days without food, drink, or sight (9:8-9).

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[24] For the first time in Acts, the Jesus group is recognized as a specific sect within Judaism. Pervo (*Acts*, 241) notes that "ὁδός occurs six times in Acts, always in connection with Paul."

[25] There is doubt whether the High Priest had the authority to carry out such an extradition during this period although Josephus indicates that Julius Caesar had given such rights (*Ant.* 14.192-95) and that Herod the Great had power of extradition (*J. W.* 1.474). Witherington (316) suggests that the high priest may not have been exercising a legal right as much as he was requesting permission to bring members of the Jesus group back to Jerusalem.

[26] Pervo, *Acts*, 232. Pervo (241, note 58) also cites Pseudo-Clementine who stated in *Recognitions* 1.65.67 "the enemy [Paul] received a commission from Caiaphas to go to Damascus in pursuit of believers because he believed that Peter had fled there."

[27] The double name recalls other biblical theophanies, with which the audience would have known (Jacob in Genesis 46:2; Moses in Exodus 3:4; 19:16; Samuel in 1 Samuel 3:4, 10).

[28] Dunn (*Acts*, 122) asserts that these were no more than fellow travelers. Zahn, *Die Apostelgeschichte Des Lucas* (Leipzig,: Deichert, 1922), 321 thinks this is Paul's police escort.. There are no details give about these traveling companions but there is nothing in the text to suggest that these were anything other than Saul's associates. See Pervo, *Acts*, 241.

The audience's attention is now directed toward Ananias, who is identified as "a disciple" (τις μαθητὴς)[29] and is told in a vision,

> Get up and go to the street called Straight, and at the house of Judas look for a man of Tarsus named Saul. At this moment he is praying, and he has seen in a vision a man named Ananias come in and lay his hands on him so that he might regain his sight.
>
> ἀναστὰς πορεύθητι ἐπὶ τὴν ῥύμην τὴν καλουμένην Εὐθεῖαν καὶ ζήτησον ἐν οἰκίᾳ Ἰούδα Σαῦλον ὀνόματι Ταρσέα· ἰδοὺ γὰρ προσεύχεται καὶ εἶδεν ἄνδρα [ἐν ὁράματι] Ἀνανίαν ὀνόματι εἰσελθόντα καὶ ἐπιθέντα αὐτῷ [τὰς] χεῖρας ὅπως ἀναβλέψῃ. (Acts 9:11-12)

Understandably hesitant, Ananias responds,

> Lord, I have heard from many about this man, how much evil he has done to your saints in Jerusalem; and here he has authority from the chief priests to bind all who call on your name.
>
> κύριε, ἤκουσα ἀπὸ πολλῶν περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου ὅσα κακὰ τοῖς ἁγίοις σου ἐποίησεν ἐν Ἰερουσαλήμ· καὶ ὧδε ἔχει ἐξουσίαν παρὰ τῶν ἀρχιερέων δῆσαι πάντας τοὺς ἐπικαλουμένους τὸ ὄνομά σου. (Acts 9:13–14)

The Lord's reply, though, to Ananias announces to the audience that Saul is to be the Lord's "chosen instrument" (σκεῦος ἐκλογῆς) "to proclaim the gospel to non-

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[29] Although Lake and Cadbury, *The Acts of the Apostles* (TBOC; London: Macmillan, 1920), 102, noted long ago that μαθητὴς does not necessarily mean Ananias was a Christ follower, it seems inconceivable that Luke would use the term without that connotation. Pervo (*Acts*, 243), rightly I think, assumes Ananias is a Christ follower.

Judeans, kings, and peoples of Israel" (ἐθνῶν τε καὶ βασιλέων υἱῶν τε Ἰσραήλ [9:15]). Thus, the audience learns of Saul's future ministry before he does.[30]

Ananias locates Saul and explains why he is there:

> Brother Saul, the Lord Jesus, who appeared to you on your way here, has sent me so that you may regain your sight and be filled with the Holy Spirit." And immediately something like scales fell from his eyes, and his sight was restored. Then he got up and was baptized, and after taking some food, he regained his strength.
>
> ὁ κύριος ἀπέσταλκέν με, Ἰησοῦς ὁ ὀφθείς σοι ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ᾗ ἤρχου, ὅπως ἀναβλέψῃς καὶ πλησθῇς πνεύματος ἁγίου. καὶ εὐθέως ἀπέπεσαν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ὡς λεπίδες, ἀνέβλεψέν τε καὶ ἀναστὰς ἐβαπτίσθη καὶ λαβὼν τροφὴν ἐνίσχυσεν. (9:17-19a)

The description of Saul's being baptized and the reference to his being filled with the Holy Spirit indicate that Saul has crossed the identity marking boundaries into the Christ group, implying his belief that Jesus is the resurrected Messiah. This former outgroup member who violently opposed the Christ group (9:1, 4-5, 17) has now received baptism in the name of the one whose followers he persecuted.

For several days, Saul remains in Damascus, not to arrest and extradite Christ-followers, but to proclaim in the synagogues — the very synagogues in which he was previously seeking Christ followers (9:2) — that Jesus is the "Son of God" (9:20), that is the royal Messiah already mentioned by Luke in his Gospel (1:32, 35; 3:22;

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[30] At this point, I do not assume that the audience is aware that Saul is the same person as Paul. Pervo (*Acts*, 198) suggests that the first reader, that is, the authorial audience, may not have known that Saul was Paul since Acts is the only source we are aware of for the name Saul. More will be said on this below when Saul is identified as Paul.

4:3, 9, 41; 22:70).[31] Although the Judeans of Damascus were initially amazed at this transformation, the audience soon learns that they begin plotting to kill Saul (9:23). The plot to kill Saul serves as further proof that Saul has moved from the unbelieving outgroup to the Christ believing ingroup, since in the narrative violence has been perpetrated exclusively against Christ group members (3:13-15; 5:33, 40; 7:54, 58). Since they were guarding the city gates night and day (9:24), some disciples lowered Saul in a basket through an opening in the city wall. Leaving Damascus, Saul returns to Jerusalem and attempts to meet with the other Christ followers there. Understandably, the Christ followers in Jerusalem were afraid of him because of his previous violent activity against the Christ group and were not convinced that he was truly now an ingroup member of the Christ community (9:26). One wonders if a similar attitude of suspicion was present in the authorial audience. This question assumes that the authorial audience recognized Saul the persecutor turned preacher was the same person as Paul the missionary and letter writer. We shall return to this question later in this study but at this point we simply note that, while some in the audience would have certainly made this connection, we cannot rule out the possibility that other audience members did not.

Regardless of whether audience members made the connection between Saul and Paul at this point in their first hearing of the narrative, they certainly would have

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[31] Johnson, *Acts*, 171.

noticed several similarities between the account of Saul's transformation and the accounts of Peter's call and commission in Luke's Gospel (5:1-11; 22:32). Both men experience the power of Jesus and as a result, fall to the ground (Luke 5:6-8; Acts 9:4). Ananias, like Peter, is reluctant to obey Jesus' command (Luke 5:5; Acts 9:13-4). Jesus indicates that both Peter and Saul will undergo a difficult situation (Luke 22:31; Acts 9:16). Both Peter and Saul are indicated to have an important role in the future mission of the Jesus movement (Luke 22:32; Acts 9:15). Through these allusions, the audience is led to view Saul's transformation as a call and commission like that of Peter in the Gospel. This important connection recategorizes Saul from an outgroup persecutor to an ingroup member who is linked with its prototypical figures, thus establishing a foundation upon which he will begin to parallel Peter and Jesus as prototypical of Christ group identity.

Yet, these allusions are not enough. In order to establish a common Christ group identity that transcends Judean/non-Judean identities and support/opposition to the non-Judean mission, Luke needs to link Saul with the Jerusalem Christ group and the apostles clearly and explicitly.[32] He accomplishes this by having Barnabas, who was introduced earlier as an outstanding ingroup member of the Jerusalem Christ group (4:36-7), bring Saul to the apostles and describe his transformation and preaching in Damascus "in the name of Jesus" (9:27), which serves as an indication

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[32] Although some audience members may not at this point realize that Saul is Paul, when his identity is explicitly unveiled in chapter 13, this necessary link to Jerusalem will have already been established.

that Saul's message was the authentic message about Jesus (ἐπαρρησιάσατο ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Ἰησοῦ [9:27]). The audience is not told how the apostles respond to Saul's transformation but his "going in and out with them in Jerusalem, preaching boldly in the name of the Lord" (ἦν μετ᾽ αὐτῶν εἰσπορευόμενος καὶ ἐκπορευόμενος εἰς Ἰερουσαλήμ, παρρησιαζόμενος ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου [Acts 9:28]) indicates apostolic affirmation. Some who did not accept Saul, however, are the Hellenists, the Greek-speaking Judeans from 6:9 whom Saul led in the killing of Stephen in 7:54, 57-58 and not the Greek-speaking Judean Christ followers of 6:1.[33] Like the Judeans in Damascus, these Hellenist-Judeans attempt to kill Saul as well, resulting in his brief departure from the narrative (9:30). The violence directed toward Saul from the both of these Judean outgroups further validates Saul's ingroup status. Having been established as a legitimate ingroup member, Saul departs from the narrative and the scene shifts to another significant reformation, that of the prototypical Christ group member, Peter.

9:32-10:48 — The Reformation of Peter

Following the account of Saul's transformation and the advance of the gospel that accompanied it, elaboration upon the second kernel continues as the audience is prepared for the reformation of Peter in Acts 10 by a brief explanation in 9:32-43 of how he came to be in the region of Caesarea. Following his confirmation of Philip's

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[33] This appear to be the scholarly consensus. See, for example, Dunn, *Acts*, 137; Pervo, *Acts*, 247; Haenchen, 333; Witherington, 242; Bruce, 244.

mission in Samaria (8:14-24), the audience learned that Peter returned to Jerusalem, proclaiming the gospel in the Samaritan villages along the way (8:25). Now the audience learns that Peter "is passing through all places" (διερχόμενον διὰ πάντων), eventually coming to Lydda, approximately twenty-five miles northwest of Jerusalem, where apparently there is already a Christ group established (9:32). Though not stated explicitly, the audience may infer that Peter is visiting communities founded by Philip in his mission in Samaria.[34] Once in Lydda, Peter visits the "saints" who live there and meets a man who had been paralyzed for eight years named Aeneas. Like previous healing scenes involving Peter, the healing is done in the name of Jesus ("Jesus Christ heals you" [9:34]). In response, "all the residents of Lydda and Sharon saw him, they turned to the Lord" (εἶδαν αὐτὸν πάντες οἱ κατοικοῦντες Λύδδα καὶ τὸν Σαρῶνα, οἵτινες ἐπέστρεψαν ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον [9:35]), implying that they expressed belief in Jesus as Messiah. Though the audience is not told that these new believers participated in the boundary crossing rituals of being baptized in the name of Jesus and being filled with Holy Spirit, the audience likely fills in this gap assuming that they did since by this point in the narrative, belief in Jesus likely includes these boundary crossing rituals so that they need not be mentioned each time. Further, Peter has been absent from the narrative for some time, the audience is reminded here of previous healing scenes which paralleled healing scenes of Jesus. Recalling these connections with Jesus helps embed this image of

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[34] So Conzelmann, *Acts,* 76; Pervo, *Acts*, 252; Parsons, *Acts*, 137.

Peter as the metonymic representation of Jesus and prototype of Christ group identity in the collective memory of the authorial audience.

The scene quickly shifts as the narrator describes a scene in the nearby port city of Joppa, a city that had been predominately Judean since Maccabean times and one of the centers of the Judean revolt.[35] A female disciple[36] named Tabitha, whom the audience is told is very charitable, and thus depicted as a matron,[37] falls ill and dies (9:36-7). Some, identified as "disciples," send for Peter since Joppa was not far from Lydda saying, "do not hesitate to come to us" (μὴ ὀκνήσῃς διελθεῖν ἕως ἡμῶν. [9:38]).[38] While Luke does not explicitly say how the disciples thought Peter might help them, the authorial audience knows and thus expects that Peter will perform another miracle in reviving Tabitha. Such a miracle would not only resemble the previous one in Lydda but may also recall the scene in the Gospel where Jesus was beckoned to heal Jairus' daughter, yet, by the time Jesus arrived at the house, she had died (Luke 8:40-2, 49-56).[39] Once Peter arrives "the widows" display[40] the

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[35] 1 Macc 12.33, 13.11; Josephus *J. W.* 2.508-9. Parsons, *Acts*, 137.

[36] Parsons (*Acts*, 137-8) notes that this is the only occurrence of μαθητρία in the NT and that the construction, "a certain female disciple" rather than "the female disciple," suggests that Tabitha was not the only one. It appears in other early Christian literature only in reference to Mary Magdalene (*Gospel of Peter* 12.50) and possibly Eubula, a follower of Paul (from fragments of the *Acts of Paul*).

[37] That is, a female benefactor. See my discussion of patronage on pp. 114-17 above.

[38] Describing the proximity of these towns is another indication that Luke does not expect his audience to know much about Palestinian geography.

[39] A closer parallel may be seen, however, in Mark's story of the healing of "Talitha" in Mark 5:37-40. Eduard Zeller, *The Contents and Origin of the Acts of the Apostles, Critically Investigated* (2 vols.; trans. Joseph Dare; London: Williams & Norgate, 1875), 1.271; 2.310-11, argues that Mark 5:35-43 was Luke's source for this story. Also see Alfons Weiser, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (ÖTK; 2 vols.; Göttingen: Gütersloher, 1981, 1985), 1.238.

[40] ἐπιδεικνύμεναι is in the middle voice which may suggest that the widows were wearing the garments that Tabitha had made for them. So, Parsons, *Acts*, 139.

products of Tabitha's benefaction: the "tunics and other clothing that Dorcas had made while she was with them" (παρέστησαν αὐτῷ πᾶσαι αἱ χῆραι κλαίουσαι καὶ ἐπιδεικνύμεναι χιτῶνας καὶ ἱμάτια ὅσα ἐποίει μετ᾽ αὐτῶν οὖσα ἡ Δορκάς [9:39]). For these widows, to lose Tabitha was to lose their matron.[41] Parsons connects these widows with those of 6:1 noting that "[t]he problem of helpless Greek-speaking [Judean] Christian widows resurfaces."[42] Tabitha's importance for the widows as well as the whole Christ community in Joppa is illustrated by their sending for Peter. After emptying the room (cf. Luke 8:51), Peter kneels in prayer (θεὶς τὰ γόνατα προσηύξατο) and instructs the dead Tabitha to arise (Ταβιθά, ἀνάστηθι [9:40]). Her resuscitation became known throughout Joppa with the result that "many believed in the Lord" (ἐπίστευσαν πολλοὶ ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον. [9:42]), a phrase that combines the reference to "the Lord" from the previous scene in Lydda and the core identity marker of the Christ group, "belief" in Jesus as the resurrected Messiah. Again, though not explicitly mentioned here, the boundary crossing rituals of baptism in Jesus' name and being filled with the Holy Spirit are likely presumed by the authorial audience given the reference to believing in the Lord. Perhaps the most interesting note for the present study is that Peter performs this act of healing without invoking the name of Jesus. While some scholars maintain that the risen Jesus, because of the invocation of his name, is the one who is

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[41] Winter, *Seek the Welfare of the City: Christians as Benefactors and Citizens* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994) 71 nt. 44.

[42] Parsons, *Acts*, 139.

responsible for Peter's acts of healing in Acts,[43] in this scene, however, Jesus is not mentioned, thus "Peter's command was sufficient."[44] The absence of Jesus' name here intensifies Peter's role of leader and prototype of the Christ movement. The scene closes noting that Peter stayed in Joppa many days and lived with Simon, whose occupation as a tanner probably indicates his marginal cultural status.[45]

The scene now shifts from Joppa to Caesarea, a city already familiar to the authorial audience in the narrative (8:40; 9:30). Josephus described it as "a coastal town that had been built on the site of Staton's Tower, rebuilt by Herod the Great, and used as a Roman military headquarters under Vespasian during the [Judean] War."[46] The audience is told of "a centurion from the Italian cohort" (ἑκατοντάρχης ἐκ σπείρης τῆς καλουμένης Ἰταλικῆς,) named Cornelius,[47] who is described by the narrator as a "pious and God-fearing person with his entire household, giving many alms to the people and praying often to God" (εὐσεβὴς καὶ φοβούμενος τὸν θεὸν σὺν παντὶ τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ, ποιῶν ἐλεημοσύνας πολλὰς τῷ λαῷ καὶ

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[43] For example, Witherington, *Acts*, 332.

[44] Pervo, *Acts*, 256. Although Parsons (*Acts*, 140) rightly notes that Peter does pray.

[45] Witherington (*Acts*, 333) notes several Mishnah and Talmud passages that suggest that tanners "were despised because of their ongoing uncleanness caused by their trade, not to mention the bad smell associated with the tanning process." See *m. Ketub.* 7:10; *b. Pesah* 65a; *Qidd.* 82b. These are, of course, much later than the time of Luke-Acts. Pervo (*Acts*, 257, nt. 63), following Weiser (*Apostelgeschichte* 1.245) notes that "were Peter lodging with someone the reader considered ritually impure, the vision of chap. 10 would lose its force." Nevertheless, the occupation was despised.

[46] Parsons, *Acts*, 142.

[47] On the historical problem of the Italian Cohort being in Caesarea during this time, see Broughton, "The Roman Army" in *The Beginnings of Christianity* (5 vols. London: Macmillan, 1933), 5.427-45. Dunn (*Acts*, 135) recognizes the historical problem but suggests that "the possibility cannot be excluded that Cornelius had retired from the army and settled in Caesarea." For a more recent study on the presence of the Roman Military in Palestine during this time, see Laurie A. Brink, "The Role of the Roman Military in the Spread of Early Christianity" (PhD diss., Catholic Theological Union, 2004).

δεόμενος τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ παντός [10:1-2]). The authorial audience understands Cornelius as a patron for both Judeans and non-Judeans and a practitioner of Judean piety, though not a full convert; Cornelius has not underone the traditional Judean boundary crossing ritual of circumcision nor does he follow the traditional Judean customs pertaining to clean and unclean food.[48]

During afternoon prayer, Cornelius has a vision in which he sees an angel of God who says to him,

> Your prayers and your alms have ascended as a memorial before God. Now send men to Joppa for a certain Simon who is called Peter; he is lodging with Simon, a tanner, whose house is by the seaside.
>
> αἱ προσευχαί σου καὶ αἱ ἐλεημοσύναι σου ἀνέβησαν εἰς μνημό συνον ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θεοῦ. καὶ νῦν πέμψον ἄνδρας εἰς Ἰόππην καὶ μετάπεμψαι Σίμωνά τινα ὃς ἐπικαλεῖται Πέτρος· οὗτος ξενίζεται παρά τινι Σίμωνι βυρσεῖ, ᾧ ἐστιν οἰκία παρὰ θάλασσαν (10:4–6).

Though he is not told why, Cornelius sends two of his slaves and a faithful solider for Peter in Joppa.

The scene shifts again to Joppa, where the audience finds Peter, like Jesus (Luke 9:28), praying on the roof of the tanner's house where he falls into a trace.

> He saw the heaven opened and something like a large sheet coming down, being lowered to the ground by its four corners. In it were all kinds of four-footed creatures and reptiles and birds of the air. Then he heard a voice saying, "Get up, Peter; kill and eat." But Peter said, "By no means, Lord; for I have never

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[48] While there has been much debate about the existence of "god-fearers" in the first century C.E., Luke's narrative certainly assumes their existence and the audience's knowledge of them. Cornelius' commitment to Judean religious practices may be illustrated by the vision that occurs during afternoon prayer (cf. Acts 3:1). For an excellant survey of the question, see Dietrich-Alex Koch, "The God-Fearers between Fact and Fiction: Two Theosebeis-Inscriptions from Aphrodesias and Their Bearing for the New Testament," *Studia Theologica* 60 (2006): 62-90.

> eaten anything that is profane or unclean." The voice said to him again, a second time, "You must not make unclean that which God has cleansed." This happened three times, and the thing was suddenly taken up to heaven.
>
> θεωρεῖ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνεῳγμένον καὶ καταβαῖνον σκεῦός τι ὡς ὀθονην μεγάλην τέσσαρσιν ἀρχαῖς καθιέμενον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἐν ᾧ ὑπῆρχεν πάντα τὰ τετράποδα καὶ ἑρπετὰ τῆς γῆς καὶ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. καὶ ἐγένετο φωνὴ πρὸς αὐτόν· ἀναστάς, Πέτρε, θῦσον καὶ φάγε. ὁ δὲ Πέτρος εἶπεν· μηδαμῶς, κύριε, ὅτι οὐδέποτε ἔφαγον πᾶν κοινὸν καὶ ἀκάθαρτον. καὶ φωνὴ πάλιν ἐκ δευτέρου πρὸς αὐτόν· ἃ ὁ θεὸς ἐκαθάρισεν, σὺ μὴ κοίνου. τοῦτο δὲ ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τρὶς καὶ εὐθὺς ἀνελήμφθη τὸ σκεῦος εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν (10:11-16).[49]

Peter's three-fold refusal to eat from the contents of the sheet tells the audience that he remains fully committed to Judean dietary customs. Pervo suggests that this repeats Peter's three-fold denial of Jesus in Luke 22.[50] If the audience members make this connection between this scene and the denials in the Gospel, they would be reminded of Jesus' commission of Peter, which came in conjunction with the denial prediction, to be the leader of the Christ group. This echo serves to reinforce the legitimacy of Peter's leadership and his prototypical status, especially concerning the expansion into Samaria and the soon-to-happen expansion outside of ethnic Judaism.[51] His continued participation in temple activities was indicated earlier and now the audience learns explicitly that Peter remains committed to traditional Judean

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[49] Pervo (*Acts*, 270, nt. 62) notes the parallel here with Jesus' baptism, which was also accompanied by a voice from heaven and language of descending and ascending.

[50] Pervo, *Acts*, 269.

[51] Pervo, *Acts*, 269. Johnson (*Acts*, 185) suggests that the three-fold refusal here "symbolizes the narrative development to follow: Peter resists God's initiative, then the leaders in Jerusalem (11:1-18), then the members of the Pharisaic party in Antioch (15:1-2)."

customs.[52] This would have resonated with those in the authorial audience who also remained committed to traditional Judean customs and, presumably, opposed to the movement to fully accept non-Judeans who were not Torah observant into the Christ community.

Any resonance audience members may have experienced with Peter's statement fades quickly as they learn from the vision that God has cleansed all food.[53] The audience is not told how or when this cleansing occurred but the use of the aorist form of the verb (καθαρίζω) indicates that the action was already completed. Pervo notes that this could be an affirmation of the initial goodness of creation expressed in Gen 1-2 or the result of an act of redemption.[54] Further, the imperative σὺ μὴ κοίνου is forceful and indicates that Peter (and the authorial audience) is to "stop considering unclean" that which God has already cleansed.

Peter, and presumably the traditional Judean Christ followers in the authorial audience, were "greatly perplexed" (διηπόρει) concerning the interpretation of the vision. While Peter puzzles over its meaning, unexpected visitors offer additional information that will clarify the message of the vision for Peter, and the audience, by instructing him to go with the strangers because they had been sent by God, "Now get

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[52] Whether this is true historically or not is irrelevant for the present study. The narrator characterizes Peter in this way and expects the authorial audience to view Peter as such.

[53] This is reminiscent of the statement in Mark 7:19.

[54] Pervo, *Acts*, 271.

up, go down, and go with them without hesitation/distinction for I have sent them" (ἀλλὰ ἀναστὰς κατάβηθι καὶ πορεύου σὺν αὐτοῖς μηδὲν διακρινόμενος ὅτι ἐγὼ ἀπέσταλκα αὐτούς [10:20]). The phrase μηδὲν διακρινόμενος is pregnant with meaning yet many modern translations miss this verse's important nuance. The indefinite pronoun μηδὲν, meaning "nothing," "in no way," or "not at all," negates διακρινόμενος, a present middle participle from διακρίνω which, in the present tense, means "to make a distinction" between two alternatives bu which in the middle voice can also have the meaning "without hesitation."[55] For the authorial audience, the command for Peter to accompany the non-Judeans "without hesitation" underlines the repeated imperatives to "go down" and "go with them," thus adding urgency and rejecting any possibility of distinctions. Parsons notes that "[t]he primary connotation is for Peter to go 'without hesitation,' but the sense of 'without discrimination' cannot be far from the surface."[56]

While still searching for the meaning of the vision, Peter comes down from the roof to meet the visitors. "I am the one whom you seek; what are you doing here?" (ἐγώ εἰμι ὃν ζητεῖτε· τίς ἡ αἰτία δι᾽ ἣν πάρεστε; [10:21]). The visitors respond by recounting for the audience the vision of Cornelius. The repetition of this scene serves to remind the authorial audience of the divine sanction supporting this

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[55] *BAGD*, 647.
[56] Parsons, *Acts*, 147.

meeting that sets aside conventional boundaries. They add, however, one detail; the angel instructed Cornelius to send for Peter so that his household might "hear what you have to say" (ἀκοῦσαι ῥήματα παρὰ σοῦ [10:22]). Thus, Peter and the audience learn from these visitors that Peter is to address Cornelius' household, preparing for and justifying the speech that will begin in 10:34. Having learned that he is to proclaim the gospel to a Roman Centurion and his household, Peter invites the visitors to spend the night before their journey to Caesarea. Pervo notes that extending hospitality "is a silent demonstration of [Peter's] acceptance of the Spirit's direction."[57] Accordingly, Parsons adds:

> Though table fellowship was less of a problem when [Judeans] entertained [non-Judeans], this act of hospitality to [non-Judeans] by Peter already begins to blur the distinctions between 'insider' and 'outsider,' which many observant [Judeans] would wish to maintain.[58]

This blurring of distinctions between ingroup and outgroup is an important step in the recategorization process since it enables subgroup members to look beyond their particular subgroup identity markers and see the superordinate identity that transcends subgroup particularities. Furthermore, as the narrative continues, inclusive table fellowship will take a central role in the recategorization process as questions concerning boundary crossing entry rituals becomes the focus of debate.

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[57] Pervo, *Acts*, 273.

[58] Parsons, *Acts*, 148. Also see Andrew E. Arterbury, "The Ancient Custom of Hospitality, the Greek Novels, and Acts 10:1-11:18" *Perspectives in Religious Studies* 29 (2002): 53-72.

Peter's opening remark at Cornelius' house highlights the problematic nature of their meeting in the latter's home: "You all understand that it is socially unacceptable[59] for a Judean to be associated with or to visit a foreigner" (ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε ὡς ἀθέμιτόν ἐστιν ἀνδρὶ Ἰουδαίῳ κολλᾶσθαι ἢ προσέρχεσθαι ἀλλοφύλῳ· [10:28a]).[60] By this time in the narrative, though, Peter has begun to understand that his vision of unclean food has much wider implications. "God has revealed to me that I should call no one impure or unclean" (ὁ θεὸς ἔδειξεν μηδένα κοινὸν ἢ ἀκάθαρτον λέγειν ἄνθρωπον· [10:28b]). With this statement, which again reminds the authorial audience of the divine validation of this meeting, the recategorization process has taken its full shape. The distinctions between Christ-following subgroups have been superceded with belief in Jesus as the resurrected Messiah established as the core of the common superordinate Christ group identity, with baptism in Jesus' name and being filled with the Holy Spirit serving as boundary crossing rituals. Parsons notes that, whereas in 10:14 Peter equated "common *and* unclean" (κοινὸν καὶ ἀκάθαρτον), in 10:28 he distinguishes between "common *or* unclean" (κοινὸν ἢ ἀκάθαρτον). Parsons suggests this is due to two categories of defilement, one in which a Judean is considered "common" by association with a non-Judean and another where the non-Judean is considered "unclean" because of

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[59] This translation follows that of Parsons, *Acts*, 148. This translation fits well with the definition of BADG, 24: "a violation of tradition or common recognition of what is seemly or proper."

[60] While there were varying degrees of association between Judeans and non-Judeans across the Empire, the authorial audience would likely expect that such a traditional perspective would come from a Judean from Jerusalem.

diet and lifestyle. Peter's comment in 10:28, according to Parsons, argues that no Judean is "common" because of association with non-Judeans and non-Judeans are not "unclean" because of their diet or lifestyle.[61]

Before Peter begins his speech, Cornelius reminds the authorial audience of the events that led to this meeting, again emphasizing the divine legitimation of Peter's appearance at a non-Judean's house (10:30-33). Then Peter begins by stating, "I truly understand that God shows no partiality, but in every nation anyone who fears God and does what is right is acceptable to God" (ἐπ᾽ ἀληθείας καταλαμβάνομαι ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν προσωπολήμπτης ὁ θεός, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν παντὶ ἔθνει ὁ φοβούμενος αὐτὸν καὶ ἐργαζόμενος δικαιοσύνην δεκτὸς αὐτῷ ἐστιν [10:34-35]). Here Peter notes that all people who "fear God" and "do what is right" are acceptable to God, thereby transcending traditional Judean boundaries. Peter continues by recounting the ministry of Jesus (10:36-41) which ends in a Christological confession (10:42). The superordinate Christ group identity is emphasized in 10:43 when Peter states that "everyone who believes in him [Jesus] receives forgiveness of sins through his name" (ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν λαβεῖν διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ πάντα τὸν πιστεύοντα εἰς αὐτόν). Before Peter finishes his speech, however, "the Holy Spirit fell on all who heard the word" (Ἔτι λαλοῦντος τοῦ Πέτρου τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα ἐπέπεσεν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς ἀκούοντας τὸν

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[61] Parsons, *Acts*, 150; Also see Parsons, "Nothing Defiled AND Unclean: The Conjunction's Function in Acts 10:14." *Perspectives in Religious Studies* 27 (2000): 263-74.

λόγον [Acts 10:44]). The authorial audience is told that "[t]he circumcised believers who had come with Peter were astounded that the gift of the Holy Spirit had been poured out even on the non-Judeans" (καὶ ἐξέστησαν οἱ ἐκ περιτομῆς πιστοὶ ὅσοι συνῆλθαν τῷ Πέτρῳ, ὅτι καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἔθνη ἡ δωρεὰ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύ ματος ἐκκέχυται· [10:45]), which serves to validate non-Judean entrance into the Christ group even by those who are from "the circumcision group." That this household's entrance into the Christ group was initiated by the boundary crossing ritual of being filled with the Holy Spirit is important for it again shows that their inclusion was initiated by God. Cornelius' household's belief in Jesus as Messiah is demonstrated in their being filled with the Holy Spirit, thus Peter "commanded them to be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ" (προσέταξεν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ βαπτισθῆναι [Acts 10:48]), thus completing their inclusion into the superordinate Christ group. Distinctions between clean/unclean, Judean/non-Judean are superseded now by these common superordinate identity markers, which indicate that this non-Judean, god-fearing household has been fully incorporated into the Christ community.

The inclusion of this non-Judean yet god-fearing household into the Christ movement without requiring circumcision and Torah observance catches the attention of more traditional Judean Christ followers in Jerusalem, to whom Peter now reports.

11:1-18 — Peter's Defense of Non-Judean Inclusion

Immediately following the scene in which Cornelius' household responded to the gospel and was initiated into the Christ group, the audience is told that

> Now the apostles and the brothers and sisters who were in Judea heard that the non-Judeans had received the word of God. So when Peter went up to Jerusalem, some from the circumcision group took issue with him, saying, "You went to uncircumcised men and ate with them!"
>
> Ἤκουσαν δὲ οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ οἱ ὄντες κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ὅτι καὶ τὰ ἔθνη ἐδέξαντο τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ. Ὅτε δὲ ἀνέβη Πέτρος εἰς Ἰερουσαλήμ, διεκρίνοντο πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ ἐκ περιτομῆς λέγοντες ὅτι εἰσῆλθες πρὸς ἄνδρας ἀκροβυστίαν ἔχοντας καὶ συνέφαγες αὐτοῖς. (Acts 11:1–3)

This reference to those "from the circumcision group" (ἐκ περιτομῆς), a reference normally taken to mean a particular party within the Jerusalem Christ group who insisted on maintaining traditional Judean customs,[62] matches the reference in 10:45 to those who accompanied Peter on his journey to Caesarea from Joppa, and thus may be taken at this point in the narrative as designating a specific subgroup of Judean Christ-followers.[63] Interestingly, the criticism from the circumcision group does not center upon Peter's baptizing of those who were uncircumcised but rather, upon the matter of ritual purity concerning table fellowship. That is, Peter had eaten with an uncircumcised man.

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[62] Dunn, *Acts*, 149.

[63] The audience's perception may change at 15:1, 5 where they may identify the "Pharisaic believers" (τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς αἱρέσεως τῶν Φαρισαίων) with these ἐκ περιτομῆς.

The verb translated "took issue" in 11:2 to refer to the circumcised beleivers' criticism of Peter is διακρίνω, the same verb used in 10:20, where it is translated "hesitate." We noted there that the basic meaning of the word is "to distinguish between two alternatives." The attentive audience members may recognize this usage and note that, in the present scene, those from the "circumcision group" do the very thing to Peter that Peter had been commanded not to do in the previous scene (10:20). That is, they make distinstions between themselves and Peter. Peter recounts his visionary experience of the clean and unclean animals, including his refusal to eat anything unclean (11:4-8). This retelling serves to highlight Peter's perspective of the event, since he was previously committed to traditional Judean identity markers, thereby reminding the authorial audience of the divine initiation of non-Judean inclusion. Peter continues stating, "[t]he Spirit told me to go with them and without hesitation/making distinction" (εἶπεν δὲ τὸ πνεῦμά μοι συνελθεῖν αὐτοῖς μηδὲν διακρίναντα [Acts 11:12a]), again reinforcing the role of divine initiative and sanction in the Cornelius narrative. Peter concludes his summary of his experience at Cornelius' house by noting that "the Holy Spirit fell upon them just as it had upon us at the beginning" (ἐπέπεσεν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς ὥσπερ καὶ ἐφ᾽ ἡμᾶς ἐν ἀρχῇ [11:15]) thus demonstrating that the Holy Spirit does not act differently depending upon one's ethnicity. Peter concludes with a question that invites the authorial audience to share his conclusion: "If then God gave them the

same gift that he gave us when we believed in the Lord Jesus Christ, who was I that I could hinder God?" (εἰ οὖν τὴν ἴσην δωρεὰν ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς ὡς καὶ ἡμῖν πιστεύσασιν ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, ἐγὼ τίς ἤμην δυνατὸς κωλῦσαι τὸν θεόν; [11:17]). Peter's hearers "were silenced and praised God, saying, 'Then God has given even to the non-Judenas the repentance that leads to life'" (ἡσύχασαν καὶ ἐδόξασαν τὸν θεὸν λέγοντες· ἄρα καὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ὁ θεὸς τὴν μετάνοιαν εἰς ζωὴν ἔδωκεν. [11:18]). The excitement surrounding the inclusion of non-Judeans and the response of the circumcision party may overshadow the fact that the issue of circumcision has not been resolved. The circumcision group is pleased that non-Judeans have expressed belief in Jesus as Messiah and been ritually accepted into the Christ group by being baptized and filled with the Holy Spirit, but the question of the place of circumcision and Torah observance has yet to be addressed. This gap will be filled later in the narrative when the issue arises again in 15:1.

As the prototypical Christ group member, Peter argues for the full inclusion of non-Judeans without requirements of circumcision and Torah observance based upon their belief in Jesus as the resurrected Messiah and demonstrated in the boundary crossing rituals of baptism in the name of Jesus and being filled with the Holy Spirit. Thus the recategorization process continues as those formerly viewed as marginal or outgroup members are welcomed into the Christ group without the traditional Judean

boundary markers of circumcision and Torah observance but rather based upon the gift of the Holy Spirit and their baptism in the name of Jesus.

11:19-30 — The Inclusion of "Greeks"

The audience's attention is drawn back to the kernel (8:1b) when they are told "Now those who were scattered because of the persecution that took place over Stephen traveled as far as Phoenicia, Cyprus, and Antioch" (οἱ μὲν οὖν διασπαρέντες ἀπὸ τῆς θλίψεως τῆς γενομένης ἐπὶ Στεφάνῳ διῆλθον ἕως Φοινίκης καὶ Κύπρου καὶ Ἀντιοχείας [11:19]).[64] By drawing the audience's attention back to the kernel, and thus the persecution that resulted in the dispersion of Christ followers from Jerusalem, Luke creates a vital connection between the Christ group in Antioch and the Christ group in Jerusalem.[65] Despite this geographical expansion, however, the audience learns that "they spoke the word to no one except Judeans"[66] (μηδενὶ λαλοῦντες τὸν λόγον εἰ μὴ μόνον Ἰουδαίοις [11:19]). This reference indicates that, while the circumcision group in 11:18 seems to have rejoiced at the inclusion of non-Judeans, there were some who continued to presenting the gospel exclusively to the Judeans. There were some, however, from the island of Cyprus and the North African region of Cyrene who arrived in Antioch and "spoke

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[64] This reference back to 8:1 may be an indication of Luke's return to the "Hellenist" source. See Dunn, *Acts*, 152-3; Pervo, *Acts,* 290.

[65] Dunn, *Acts*, 153.

[66] Pervo (*Acts*, 291, nt 15) asserts that the translation *Judeans* "is not possible here" though he does not explain why. Presumably, his argument would be that since Luke is referring to "Jews" from Antioch, and thus not Judea, they cannot be called Judeans. Though, see my note on the translation of Ιουδαῖος as "Judeans" on 1, nt. 1 above.

also to the Greeks[67] proclaiming the good news about the Lord Jesus" (ἐλάλουν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλληνιστὰς εὐαγγελιζόμενοι τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν [11:20]).[68] This proclamation of the gospel to the Greeks sets up two distinct groups in order to prepare the authorial audience for the conflict to come in the third narrative block.

Tannehill notes the importance of the creation of the Christ community in Antioch,

> The summary of the establishment of the church in Antioch presents an important new development, both geographically and ethnically. The gospel reaches a major city of the empire and finds a ready response from people of Greek culture, including [non-Judeans]."[69]

Dunn thinks that we should assume that these "Greeks" are god-fearing non-Judean synagogue adherents who, like Cornelius, have not fully proselytized into Judaism, and that it is surprising the Luke does not mention circumcision at this point.[70] If that were the case, however, one is inclined to think that Luke would have used a description similar to that of Cornelius, "god-fearing" and "pious," which he does not. While these "Greeks" could certainly have included "god-fearers," it seems more

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[67] On the textual variant, Metzger (340-42) is correct that Ελληνας is likely a later substitution for the harder reading Ἑλληνιστωης, which is likely the correct reading. So Pervo (291). Dunn (154), however, suggests that Ἑλληνιστωης was "inserted by early copyists attempting, consciously or unconsciously, to maintain consistency with the earlier references." Johnson (203) agrees noting that the contrast between Judeans and non-Judeans indicates the proper reading. Others who argue for reading Ελληνας here include Haenchen, 365 nt. 5; Conzelmann, 87; Fitzmyer, 476; Bruce, 272; and Hengel, *Between Jesus and Paul*, 8. Here, the Ἑλληνιστωης are being contrasted with Judeans and thus must be taken as a reference to non-Judeans/Greeks. Pervo (291) suggests that Luke uses Ελληνιστωης here to "introduce the [non-Judean] mission in Antioch with a minimum of fanfare, trusting that readers . . . would get the point."

[68] Parsons, *Acts*, 166, notes that these missionaries did not speak of "Jesus as the [Judean] Messiah, but rather proclaimed 'the *Lord* Jesus,' a title those [non-Judeans] would find more comprehendible."

[69] Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts,* 2.146.

[70] Dunn, *Acts*, 154.

likely that Luke is taking another step toward full inclusion of non-Judeans by having the gospel now presented to those with no inclination toward Judaism. Nevertheless, whether or not these Greeks are god-fearers, the authorial audience learns that "a great number of those believing turned to the Lord" (πολύς τε ἀριθμὸς ὁ πιστεύσας ἐπέστρεψεν ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον [11:21]).[71] The process of recategorization is made explicit here; the audience learns that a great number of both Judeans and Greeks have joined the Christ group.

News of this development reaches the Christ group in Jerusalem (Ἠκούσθη δὲ ὁ λόγος εἰς τὰ ὦτα τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς οὔσης ἐν Ἰερουσαλὴμ περὶ αὐτῶν [11:22]) and they send Barnabas to Antioch on a mission of verification. The authorial audience likely anticipates this development, though some may have expected Peter to verify the mission in Antioch since he had done so previously in Philip's mission into Samaria and reported to them on his own mission in Caesarea.[72] The audience, therefore, may be surprised to learn that the Jerusalem community sends Barnabas instead.[73]

The audience first encountered Barnabas in Jerusalem when he sold some of his land and gave all the proceeds to the apostles for the community fund (Acts

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[71] Witherington (*Acts*, 369) suggests a "two-stage process" may be alluded to here: "belief followed by adherence to the one in whom they have believed and to his teaching."

[72] Dunn, *Acts*, 155; Parsons, *Acts*, 167; Pervo, *Acts*, 293.

[73] So, Pervo (*Acts*, 293), who states, "Peter would be the logical candidate, since he performed this role in Samaria and has had experience with [non-Judean] believers. Strangely enough, the representative chosen is Barnabas, who has hitherto played no administrative or missionary role."

4:36-7). The other appearance of Barnabas is in the account of Saul's transformation where Barnabas believed that Saul's transformation was genuine and brought him to the apostles and testified for his experience on the road to Damascus (11:24). The authorial audience, therefore, is encouraged to view Barnabas as a generous person whom the apostles and Christ group in Jerusalem trust enough to send him to Antioch to validate the expanding non-Judean mission. By taking over a function previously performed by Peter, Barnabas is now identified with the primary prototypical ingroup member and as such will provide a vital connection between Peter (and the Jerusalem community) and Saul/Paul (and the Antioch community).[74] After many more join the Christ group (11:24), the audience learns that Barnabas goes to Tarsus to find Saul, whom, once located, returns with Barnabas to Antioch, where they teach a great number of people over the course of a year.[75]

Luke tells the audience that it is at Antioch that Christ followers were first called "Christians" (Χριστιανοι [11:26]), that is, a group that is becoming distinct

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[74] Dunn, *Acts*, 156.

[75] The audience is not told why Barnabas went to Tarsus to have Paul come to Antioch. The Western text is not much more illuminating: ἀκούσας δὲ ὅτι Σαῦλός ἐστιν εἰς Θαρσὸν ἐξῆλθεν ἀναζητῶν αὐτόν, καὶ ὡς συντυχὼν παρεκάλεσεν ἐλθεῖν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν. οἵτινες παραγενόμενοι ἐνιαυτὸν ὅλον συνεχύθησαν ὄχλον ἱκανόν, καὶ τότε πρῶτον ἐχρημα΄τισαν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ οἱ μαθηταὶ Χρειστιανοί, "And having heard that Saul was at Tarsus, he went out to seek him; and when he had met him, he entreated him to come to Antioch. When they had come, for a whole year a large company of people were stirred up, and then for the first time the disciples in Antioch were called Christians." This version does indicates greater independence on the part of Paul and notes his controversial nature. Witherington's assessment seems correct that, "in view of Luke's tendency to smooth over, or at least not highlight, the controversial side of things in the early church, the Alexandrian text is likely more original" (370).

from the Judeans (Ἰουδαίοι).[76] That Luke mentions this name with no further explanation suggests that his audience was already familiar with the term. Luke does not explain, however, why the name was given, though scholarly consensus is that the reference originated with outsiders, probably the Roman authorities,[77] to distinguish the Judean sect of Christ followers from other Judean sects. Accordingly, Dunn suggests that

> The Antiochene authorities presumably observed, through their agents, that there was a coherent and substantial grouping emerging within the penumbra of the Antioch synagogues, involving both [Judeans] and Greeks. Evidently their sources were sufficiently good for them to recognize that this [Judean] sect was characterized by its belief in Jesus the Christ and by living out lives in the name of this Christ.[78]

The only other uses of Χριστιανοι in the New Testament are in Acts 26:28 and 1 Peter 4:16, both of which place the name in the mouths of outsiders.[79] Further, a contemporary of Luke, Tacitus notes that followers of Christ were *invisos vulgus Christianos* "called Christians by the common people."[80] Witherington suggests,

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[76] Pervo, *Acts*, 294, Excursus: The Name "Christian." Pervo suggests that, while the term had its origin in popular usage by outsiders, it became the legal designation sometime before 110 C.E. and possible a decade earlier, noting that the term "erupted in the 90s and later in writings linked . . . To Rome, Antioch, and Asia Minor" (295). Early uses of Χριστιανοι/*Christianoi* do appear to have been negative and Luke may have indicated Antioch as the first place this name was used to note the distinctions that were made on the part of outsiders.

[77] Since Χριστιανοι is a Greek transliteration of the Latin word *Christianoi*.

[78] Dunn, *Acts*, 156.

[79] The term first occurs as a self-designation in Ignatius *Eph*. 11:2; *Rom* 3.2; *Magn* 10.3; *Pol* 7.3 and *Did*. 12:4 from the late first to the early second century C.E.

[80] *Annals* 15:44. Although the *Annals* is dated around 117 C.E. and despite the fact that Tacitus' remarks refer to Rome, the notion of outsiders using the name Χριστιανοι or *Christianos* would have clearly been present before this time, as illustrated by the two additional New Testament references above, and thus during the time of Luke-Acts assumed in the present study.

> Luke wants his audience to be able to distinguish Christians (both [Judeans] and [non-Judeans]) from [Judeans] who are not followers of Christ. The means of distinction, however, is not ethnic, but as the *ianoi* ending suggests, on the basis of adherence or religious loyalties. Christians make up a social but not an ethnic group.[81]

Thus, the use of *Christianoi*, that is, "members of the Christ group," marks an important distinction between the Christ ingroup and the Judean outgroups, namely that membership in the group is not based upon ethnicity or, as in the case of proselytes, adherence to ethnic customs. Rather, as in the case of the Christ group, membership is based upon belief that Jesus is the resurrected Messiah and is demonstrated by the two boundary crossing rituals set forth by Peter in his Pentecost speech: baptism in the name of Jesus and being filled with the Holy Spirit. The introduction of this name for the Christ group into the narrative solidifies the recategorization process by naming the superordinate group that consists of both Judean and non-Judean subgroups.

This scene closes by noting that prophets came from Jerusalem, among them Agabus, who prophesied a severe famine, which Luke notes to the audience took place during the reign of Claudius (41-54 C.E.).[82] The Christ community in Antioch

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[81] Witherington, *Acts*, 317.

[82] Parsons, *Acts*, 169, notes that οἰκουμένην is better translated "empire" than "world." Talbert, *Reading Acts*, 117, cites several Greek and Latin sources that indicate a food shortage at various places in the empire during the 40s C.E., i.e. the time of Claudius. Thus, while the famine that affected Judea was not "empire-wide," there does seem to have been various food shortages throughout the empire that some in Luke's audience may have recalled. On food shortages during the reign of Claudius, see Seneca, *Brevity of Life 18.5;* Suetonius, *Claudius* 18.2; Tacitus, *Annuals* 12.43; Dio Cassius 60.11; Josephus, *Ant.* 3.15.3, 3.320-21, 20.2.5, 20.51-53, 20.101. The Josephus references note that a famine struck Judea between 46-48 C.E. and thus during the reign of Claudius.

decides to send relief to the Jerusalem Christ group through Barnabas and Saul.[83] They deliver the collection to the "elders" (πρεσβυτέρους [Acts 11:30]) rather than to the apostles, which the audience would anticipate given their role in receiving funds for the community earlier in the narrative (4:34-7). Bruce was the first to suggest that this group may have taken over the role originally give to the seven in 6:1-4, suggesting that the served as a "Nazarene sanhedrin."[84] If, as we have suggested in the previous chapter however, those selected in 6:1-4 were chosen to lead the Hellenist sub-group within the Jerusalem community, it is unlikely that these "elders" represent that group. The author of 1 Clement indicates that these "elders" were the successors of the apostles (42; 44:1-4) and Pervo suggests that Luke stresses continuity between the apostles and the "elders" by having their presence as leaders in the Jerusalem community overlap.[85]

12:1-25 — Peter's Departure

The kernel of the second narrative block initiated a shift away from Jerusalem. Now, as the second block begins to draw to a close, the audience's attention is brought back to Jerusalem where Herod has executed James the brother of John. No

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[83] Hengel, *Acts and the History of Earliest Christianity*, 112, thinks that Barnabas may have taken this trip alone and Luke added Saul much like he added John to Peter's scene earlier in the narrative. Bruce, *Acts*, 277, suggests this trip may be the one referred to in Galatians 2:1.

[84] Bruce, *Acts*, 277. Following Bruce are Dunn, *Acts*, 158 and Witherington, *Acts*, 374.

[85] Pervo, *Acts*, 298; Bruce, *Acts*, 277, notes that the "elders" appear again with the apostles in 15:2, 4, 6, 22, 23; 16:4 and alone without the apostles in 21:18. This appears to support Pervo's proposal.

reason is given for Herod's action against James but it has been suggested that the conflict between Judeans and Christ followers in Jerusalem may have caused Herod to side with the Judeans, which would ultimately bring him into conflict with the Christ group.[86] Since the execution of James pleased the Judeans, Herod arrests Peter as well. To Peter's benefit, however, the feast of Passover[87] was near so Peter would wait in prison until the festival was over. Violence is perpetrated against ingroup members by outgroup members, continuing the link between violence against the Christ group and violence against Christ. Again, violence perpetrated against Christ-following ingroup members by members of the unbelieving outgroup distinguishes between the two and further solidifies the Christ group identity.

Witherington suggests that this seemingly disconnected narrative could have been left out without disrupting the plot.[88] While, there has been much discussion about the purpose of this scene,[89] Robert Wall points the discussion in the right direction when he argues that the scene in Acts 12 is meant to show continuity of leadership in the Jerusalem Christ group.[90] Following him, Richard Bauckham argues

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[86] Pervo, *Acts*, 303; Dunn, *Acts*, 161-2.

[87] Dunn (*Acts*, 162) notes, against Tannehill (*The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts,* 2.152), that the parallel between Jesus and Peter is minimal since Luke does not emphasize Passover in his account of Jesus trial and death. Tannehill (*The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts,* 2.155) also notes the connection between Peter's arrest with reference to Passover and the Exodus story, which interestingly, the story of Peter's escape from prison parallels at several points. The most prominent of which is found in 12:11 (ἐξείλατό με ἐκ χειρὸς Ἡρῴδου) which seems to be an illusion to Exodus 18:4 (ἐξείλατό με ἐκ χειρὸς Φαραω, LXX). Likewise, Tannehill notes that the angel's command that Peter "rise quickly, gird himself, and put on his sandals . . . correspond to the regulations for Passover."

[88] Witherington, *Acts*, 382. While Witherington thinks there may be something to the suggestion that this indicates a shift in power in Jerusalem from Peter to James, he seems to favor reading this scene as a "continuation of the persecution-in-Jerusalem theme" (383).

[89] See, for example, Haenchen, 374; Barrett, 1.569-75; Marshall, 206.

[90] Robert Wall, "Successor to 'the Twelve' According to Acts 12:1-17" *CBQ* 53 (1991): 628-43

that this scene is aimed at informing the authorial audience of the events surrounding the change in leadership in the Jerusalem community.[91] Dunn notes, "it was important for the integrity of Luke's narrative . . . that he should round off the first half, in which the beginnings in Jerusalem and Peter's expanding mission were central."[92] The approach taken in the present study takes this a step further, following other important literary studies, in noting the parallel between Peter's imprisonment, release, and departure and Jesus' death, resurrection, and ascension.

Richard Pervo, for example, was the first to suggest that the image used to describe Peter's imprisonment and release here creates a symbolic death-resurrection for the main character of the first half of the book.[93] Likewise, Tannehill notes the death-resurrection parallel between the present scene and the passion narrative in the Third Gospel[94] and Parsons summarizes his main points:

> [t]his setting parallels the passion of Jesus, which also occurred during the festival of Unleavened Bread (Luke 22:1, 7). The word for Peter's "arrest" occurs also in reference to Jesus (Luke 22:54; also Acts 1:16). Likewise, Herod's intention to present him to the people (for execution) (12:4) echoes Pilate's presenting Jesus to the people (Luke 23:13). . . . Herod "delivers" Peter to the soldiers, just as Jesus is "delivered" to those who will kill him (Luke 9:44; 18:32; 23:25; 24:7, 20).[95]

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[91] Bauckham, "James and the Jerusalem Church" in *The Book of Acts in Its First Century Setting* (Grand Rapids: Eermands, 1995), 432-39.

[92] Dunn, *Acts*, 159.

[93] Pervo, *Luke's Story of Paul* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990), 44. Pervo notes the same phenomena with the story of Paul's shipwreck in Acts 27.

[94] Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts,* 2.152-54.

[95] Parsons, *Acts*, 173.

Moreover, the reference to the feast of Unleavened Bread and the Passover, along with Peter's proclamation that God had "rescued me from the hand of Herod" (ἐξείλατό με ἐκ χειρὸς Ἡρῴδου [12:11]) and his explanation to those at Mary's house "how the Lord brought him out of the prison" (αὐτὸν ἐξήγαγεν ἐκ [12:17]) are reminiscent of the Exodus story, where God declares, "I have come down to deliver them out of the hand of the Egyptians (ἐξελέσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐκ χειρὸς Αἰγυπτίων), and to bring them out (ἐξαγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐκ) of that land, and to bring them into a good and wide land (Exod 3:8 LXX)." This association is reinforced by the angel's commands to Peter to rise quickly, gird himself, and put on his sandals (Acts 12:7-8; cf. Exodus 12:11). Comparing Peter's release from prison to the Exodus corresponds to the parallel between Peter and Jesus mentioned above since the audience is already familiar with the association of the Exodus to Jesus' death and resurrection (Luke 9:31).[96]

Following his miraculous release from prison, Peter rushes to the house of Mary, the mother of John Mark. Here, the parallels between Peter's release and Jesus' resurrection continue. Parsons summarizes five major connections between the two:

1. A woman reports having seen Peter (12:14); women report seeing Jesus (Luke 24:10).

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[96] Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts,* 2.153-4; Parsons, *Acts*, 173; Pervo, *Acts,* 302.

2. The recipients of this good news refuse to believe it (Acts 12:15/Luke 24:11).
3. Peter is mistaken for an angel (Acts 12:1); Jesus is mistaken for a ghost (Luke 24:37).
4. Both Peter and Jesus explain to the disciples what has happened (Acts 12:17/Luke 24:46) and issue a commission (Acts 12:17/Luke 24:27-49).
5. Both Peter and Jesus make a mysterious departure (Acts 12:17/Luke 24:51).[97]

This comparison of Peter's circumstances to Jesus' death-resurrection brings to conclusion the narrative focus on Peter and his leadership in the Jerusalem Christ community, though his role as prototypical Christ group member will continue in the social memory of the authorial audience.

Summary

The second narrative block of Acts (8:1b-12:25) focuses on the movement of the gospel in two spheres, geographically and ethnically. Geographically, the gospel moves out of Jerusalem to the north due to the severe persecution related to the death of Stephen. This kernel is expanded in the mission of Philip in the region of Samaria (8:5-24, 26-40), the preaching of Peter to the Samaritans (8:25), the transformation of Saul and his subsequent preaching between Damascus and Jerusalem (9:1-30), Peter's mission in Lydda and his transformation and mission to Joppa and Caesarea (9:32-10:48), and the introduction of the Christ community in Antioch (11:19-26).

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[97] Parsons, *Acts*, 171. Also see Dennis J. Horton, *Death & Resurrection: The Shape and Function of a Literary Motif in the Book of Acts*. Eugene, Or.: Pickwick, 2009; Johnson, *Acts*, 218-19.

In the first block, Peter started the process of recategorizing Judean and non-Judean Christ followers into a common superordinate group, as well as the recategorization of those in the authorial audience who differ on the inclusion of non-Judeans into the Christ group without circumcision and Torah observance, by defining ingroup identity, establishing boundary crossing rituals, and differentiating between the Christ group and other unbelieving outgroups. In the second block, Peter continues to define the Christ-following ingroup by giving approval for the inclusion two important groups; the Samaritans (8:14-25) and uncircumcised non-Judean god-fearers (10:1-11:18). After defining the superordinate Christ group as those who believe that Jesus is the resurrected Messiah, who have been baptized in his name and filled with the Holy Spirit, and extending Christ group identity to include those previously excluded from full participation in Judaism, Peter departs the narrative in a scene symbolic of his death, resurrection, and ascension. Those who build upon Peter's work, however, extend the boundaries of the Christ group to include those Greeks with seemingly no Judean commitments (11:20).

The recategorization process receives validation in the transformation of one the Christ group's fiercest opponents into one of its strongest advocates. Saul, who was introduced in the first narrative block as one who participated in, perhaps even led, the execution of Stephen, becomes a member of the Christ-following ingroup after his encounter with Jesus on the road to Damascus, where he receives baptism in the name of Jesus and the filling of the Holy Spirit through the ministry of Ananias

(9:1-31). His transformation is vividly symbolized in his change from one who perpetrates violence against the Christ group (7:58; 9: 1-2) to one who is the object of violence after his commitment to Christ (9:23). Here, violent opposition is used as an identity marker to differentiate between ingroup and outgroup members. Though he disappears after being validated by the leadership of the Jerusalem Christ group (9:26-31), Saul will return in the third narrative block in an important role for the recategorization process.

Thus far in Acts, a prototypical ingroup member named Peter defined the core of the superordinate Christ group identity as belief that Jesus is the resurrected Messiah and established the boundary crossing rituals of baptism in the name of Jesus and being filled with the Holy Spirit, along with other intermittent identity markers, the proper use of possessions, violent opposition, miracles and inclusive table fellowship, the latter of which will play a major role in the third narrative block. Peter has also distinguished between ingroup and outgroup members by noting that ingroup members believe in Jesus as the Messiah and have undergone the boundary crossing rituals while outgroup members do not believe that Jesus is the resurrected Messiah and have acted in ways that are contrary to the actions of one filled with the Holy Spirit. Finally, Peter has stood up to the ingroup's opponents by marking sharp distinctions between the ingroup and other outgroups that exemplify the superiority of the Christ group. In the third narrative block, the gospel expands into new regions and an important decision is made concerning non-Judean inclusion.

CHAPTER SEVEN:
THE THIRD NARRATIVE BLOCK (13:1-19:20)

The third narrative block continues the process of recategorization as the gospel spreads further into the Roman world and away from Jerusalem. This move is anticipated in the kernel of the third block (13:1-3) where the authorial audience learns that Barnabas and Saul have been called by the Holy Spirit, through the Antioch Christ community, to a certain "work" (13:3). This kernel builds upon the kernel in the second narrative block that emphasized the gospel's movement out of Jerusalem into Judea, Samaria, and Syria. The satellites of the third block elaborate the "work" by depicting the movement of the gospel into Asia Minor (13:4-14:28; 15:36-16:10), Macedonia (16:11-17:15), Achaea (17:16-18:18), and Ephesus (18:19-19:20).

To begin the discussion of the third narrative block, it will be helpful to recall the recategorization process that has taken place thus far. In chapter three above, I noted that recategorization refers to the process in which boundaries are redrawn to bring the two subgroups into one superordinate group so that ingroupers and outgroupers recognize their commonality and view one another as members of the same group while maintaining some elements of their subgroup identity. Moreover, three elements were noted that are crucial for the recategorization process: 1)

establish superordinate identity boundaries that define "us," 2) emphasize superordinate commonality while contrasting the new ingroup with a new outgroup, and 3) represent the superordinate group in social competition with new outgroups. Thus far in Acts, we have seen Peter and Paul define the core of the superordinate identity, establish boundary crossing rituals, distinguish between the Christ group and other outgroups, and represent the superordinate group in the face of opposition from outgroups.

At the close of the last chapter, we noted that Saul would reemerge in the third narrative block in an important role for the recategorization process. In the first two narrative blocks, Peter has served as the main character and as prototypical of Christ group identity, having defined the group's superordinate boundaries, distinguished between the believing ingroup and various unbelieving outgroups, and expanded the understanding of Christian ingroup identity to include those on the fringes and those beyond the fringes of Judaism. The end of the second narrative block narrated the departure of Peter thus creating a gap in leadership and prototypicality for the Christ movement in the Acts narrative. To fill this gap, the audience begins to look for one who will take over Peter's function and continue the expansion of the gospel.

The Third Narrative Block: 13:1-19:20

13:1-14:28 — Paul Emerges as Leader and Prototype

The first section of the third narrative block focuses on establishing Paul as the new leader and prototype of the Christ group. This kernel of the third narrative block (13:1-3) accordingly prepares the authorial audience for Paul to emerge as leader of the Christ group and prototypical of its ingroup identity. This is accomplished by linking Paul with Jesus and Peter as the gospel expands into Asia Minor and beyond.

> While they were worshiping the Lord and fasting, the Holy Spirit said, "Set apart for me Barnabas and Saul for the work to which I have called them." Then after fasting and praying they laid their hands on them and sent them off.
>
> Λειτουργούντων δὲ αὐτῶν τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ νηστευόντων εἶπεν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον· ἀφορίσατε δή μοι τὸν Βαρναβᾶν καὶ Σαῦλον εἰς τὸ ἔργον ὃ προσκέκλημαι αὐτούς. τότε νηστεύσαντες καὶ προσευξάμενοι καὶ ἐπιθέντες τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῖς ἀπέλυσαν. (Acts 13:2–3)

Tannehill notes echoes in this scene from the beginning of both Jesus' and the apostles' missions: both are preceded by prayer (13:2a; cf. Luke 3:21; Acts 1:14), both are directed by the Holy Spirit (13:2b; cf. Luke 3:22; Acts 2:1-4), and, while not present in the account of the apostles, fasting was an important element in Jesus' preparation for his mission (Luke 4:1-2).[1] Likewise, just as Jesus was sent out by the Spirit after his commission (Luke 4:1) so are Barnabas and Saul.[2] Not only is the

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[1] Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts,* 2.161.
[2] Parsons, *Acts*, 186.

audience reminded of the beginnings of Jesus' and Peter's ministry, they are reminded of the risen Christ's words to Ananias that Saul would be the Lord's "chosen instrument" (σκεῦος ἐκλογῆς) "to proclaim the gospel to non-Judeans, kings, and peoples of Israel" (ἐθνῶν τε καὶ βασιλέων υἱῶν τε Ἰσραήλ [9:15]). The authorial audience, therefore, is to understand the "work" to which Barnabas and Saul are called by the Holy Spirit as the fulfillment of these words. In the kernel of the third narrative block, therefore, the authorial audience is presented with these links between the missions of Jesus, Peter, and Saul/Paul and reminded of Christ's words that Saul would take the gospel to both Judeans and non-Judeans. These links provide an important foundation upon which Saul/Paul emerges as prototypical of Christ group identity as the recategorization process continues.

The kernel is elaborated as their journey, traditionally referred to as Paul's first missionary journey,[3] starts in the city of Seleucia, the port city of Antioch, sixteen miles to the south of Syrian Antioch. From there they set sail to Barnabas' home island of Cyprus (4:36), where their activity focuses on two major cities — Salamis and Paphos. Beginning in the synagogues of Salamis, Barnabas and Saul, with the assistance of John Mark, present the gospel, though, the audience is not told the results of this effort and may, therefore, wonder about the reception of their message. They learn that the preachers "travel through" (διελθόντες) the island,

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[3] Dunn (*Acts*, 171) correctly notes that this is "the only missionary journey" that Saul/Paul undertakes. Several scholars have noted that the notion of "three missionary journeys" was largely the product of nineteenth century Protestant Evangelicals. On this see Marshall, *Acts*, 214.

coming to the western coastal city of Paphos, where Barnabas and Saul meet a Judean false prophet and magician named Bar-Jesus (Βαριησοῦς), also referred to as Elymas (Ἐλύμας).

The audience learns that Elymas, who is associated with the Roman proconsul opposes Barnabas and Saul by "seeking to turn the proconsul from the faith" (ζητῶν διαστρέψαι τὸν ἀνθύπατον ἀπὸ τῆς πίστεως. [13:8]). That is, Elymas perceives that the proconsul may be interested in joining the Christ group and seeks to prevent it. In response, Saul, whom the audience now learns is also known as Paul, "looked intently" (ἀτενίσας), recalling Peter's command to the beggar at the temple (3:4), at Elymas and said

> You son of the devil, you enemy of all righteousness, full of all deceit and villainy, will you not stop making crooked the straight paths of the Lord? And now listen—the hand of the Lord is against you, and you will be blind for a while, unable to see the sun.
>
> ὦ πλήρης παντὸς δόλου καὶ πάσης ῥᾳδιουργίας, υἱὲ διαβόλου, ἐχθρὲ πάσης δικαιοσύνης, οὐ παύσῃ διαστρέφων τὰς ὁδοὺς [τοῦ] κυρίου τὰς εὐθείας; καὶ νῦν ἰδοὺ χεὶρ κυρίου ἐπὶ σὲ καὶ ἔσῃ τυφλὸς μὴ βλέπων τὸν ἥλιον ἄχρι καιροῦ. (13:10-11a)

This stinging rebuke contains several words and phrases that distinguish the Christ group from the unbelieving outgroup, of which Elymas is a representative. Elymas is referred to as "son of the devil," an "enemy of all righteousness," one "full of deceit and villainy" and one who opposes and is opposed by the Lord. Of importance here is the cosmic dualism which distinguishes between evil/God and righteousness/deceit. Like Ananias and Sapphira (5:1-11), Elymas is linked with the devil and is said to be

deceitful. Moreover, just as Peter had been (2:4), Paul is now filled with the Holy Spirit (13:9), knows the inner thoughts of his opponent (13:10; cf. 5:3-4), and is able to declare a curse in the name of the Lord (13:11 cf. 5:9). This encounter also serves to reaffirm miracles as an identity marker of the Christ group and not a magical performance. Also like Peter, Paul's first non-Judean convert, Sergius Paulus,[4] is a Roman of high social status (13:12; cf. Acts 10). Sergius Paulus, whom the audience has already been told "wanted to hear the word of God" (ἐπεζήτησεν ἀκοῦσαι τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ [13:7]), "believed" (ἐπίστευσεν [13:12]) Paul's message about Jesus and was presumably baptized in Jesus' name and filled with the Holy Spirit. Not only is Paul's first non-Judean convert a Roman official, he also shares the same name, Παῦλος, a factor that may help the audience's reception of Paul by connecting him with a person of high social status.

In contrast to Peter, however, whose first major act in the narrative was to establish ingroup identity markers, Paul's first act is to condemn the actions of an outgroup member, thus distinguishing between the Christ group and the outgroup represented by Elymas. Although his initial speech must wait until they are on the mainland of Asia Minor, Paul is already being linked with Peter through this echo of Peter's encounter with Simon Magnus (8:18-24). This connection is the beginning of

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[4] For more on the identity of Sergius Paulus see Witherington, *Acts*, 399-401 and Meeks, *First Urban Christians*, 218. On inscriptional evidence of the Paulus family near Pisidian Antioch, see Ramsay, *The Bearing of Recent Discovery on the Trustworthiness of the New Testament* (2nd ed. London: Hodder and Stoughton,, 1915), 150-72.

other parallels between Paul, Peter, and Jesus and therefore initiates the process by which Paul is viewed by the authorial audience as prototypical of Christ group identity.

After being linked with Jesus and Peter, the true identity of Saul is unveiled; Saul, the persecutor turned preacher, is also known as Paul, the missionary to the non-Judeans (13:9). While most commentators assume that this announcement was little more than an acknowledgment of a switch from Paul's Hebrew to his Greek name,[5] one possibility that has been consistently overlooked is that Luke is intentionally concealing Saul/Paul's identity from the authorial audience until the appropriate time in the narrative.[6] If, as the present study maintains, there were opponents of Paul in the authorial audience, masking his true identity allows time for these opponents to develop empathy for Saul and to get acquainted with him without the preconceived thoughts that they would have carried about Paul.[7] It is also possible that linking Paul with a Roman official of high social status, Sergius Paulus, may have helped the audience overcome any negative feelings about Paul. Now Luke may unveil Saul's real identity with the hope that Pauline opponents will have developed enough

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[5] Ramsay, *St. Paul, the Traveller and the Roman Citizen* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1896) 81; Barrett, *Acts*, 1.616; Witherington, *Acts*, 401.

[6] Pervo (*Acts*, 198) asks this question, suggesting that the first reader, that is, the authorial audience, may not have known that Saul was Paul, since Acts is the only source we are aware of for the name Saul, but does not offer an explanation for Luke's concealing Paul's identity.

[7] This does not exclude, however, the possibility that some in the authorial audience suspected Saul to be Paul earlier in the narrative. In fact, that some would seems quite likely.

empathy for Saul that they are willing to consider his message of non-Judean inclusion and the defense of his ministry.

Another important factor in presenting Paul to Pauline opponents in the authorial audience is the presence of Barnabas, who provides a link between Paul and the Jerusalem Christ group. While from this point forward Paul is the central character of the narrative, Barnabas continues in a prominent supporting role as Paul's constant vital connection to Peter and the apostolic community in Jerusalem.[8] This connection between Paul and Peter provided by Barnabas is a necessary link for the recategorization of Judean/non-Judean Christ followers and supporters/opponents of non-Judean inclusion in the authorial audience into a superordinate inclusive identity because it communicates to the audience that a trustworthy, prominent person from the Jerusalem community supports Paul and his mission to the non-Judeans.

The kernel of the third narrative block continues to be worked out as the scene shifts from Cyprus to the mainland of Asia Minor.

Map 1: Paul's Mission into Asia Minor
From http://net.bible.org/map.php, accessed 23 January 2010

[8] Dunn, *Acts*, 172 notes that Barnabas' character embodies continuity between Paul and Jerusalem.

Paul and his companions (οἱ περὶ Παῦλον), a phrase confirms that Paul is now the leader of the group, arrive in Perga and move quickly to Pisidian Antioch. Previously, when Paul was named in the narrative, he was named after Barnabas (11:30; 12:24; 13:1-2). The audience would notice the sudden shift of Paul to first place and the designation of others, including Barnabas, as "those with him." With Peter virtually out of the story and Barnabas gradually fading into the background, Paul begins to function as the primary character in the narrative and will soon begin to function, along with Peter, as prototypical of Christ group identity. Moreover, the audience learns that "John left them and returned to Jerusalem" (Ἰωάννης δὲ ἀποχωρήσας ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα. [13:13b]), a notice which creates a gap that the audience must fill. While this gap is not explicitly filled later in the narrative, Luke does provide some clues that may help the audience understand John Mark's departure.

Paul and his companions enter the synagogue on the Sabbath and are invited to offer a "word of exhortation" (λόγος παρακλήσεως) to those gathered (13:15). Like Jesus at the Nazareth synagogue (Luke 4) and Peter on the day of Pentecost (Acts 2), Paul stands to deliver his first major speech.[9] Tannehill shows that Paul's speech resembles Jesus' speech (Luke 4:16-30) in setting and response by taking

[9] Witherington, *Acts,* 408 notes that "Paul, like Peter before him, is being portrayed as following in the footsteps of Christ — all three offer paradigmatic speeches about salvation at the beginning of their ministries."

place in a synagogue followed by considerable resistance. Moreover, Tannehill notes that Paul's speech echoes Peter's Pentecost speech (2:14-36, 38-40) by proclaiming that Jesus is the promised future Davidic king.[10] This blending of setting and content in Paul's speech bolsters the link between Paul and his two predecessors and provides the authorial audience with more support for viewing Paul as leader and prototype of the Christ group. Moreover, all three speeches contain citations of the Judean Scriptures [13:22, 33-35, 41; cf. Luke 4:18-19; Acts 2:16-21, 25-28, 34-35] and are followed by the healing of a crippled person (14:8-10; cf. Luke 5:17-26; Acts 3:1-10).[11] These echos of Jesus and Peter indicate to the authorial audience that, like Peter in the first half of the narrative, Paul is now acting as the metonymic representation of Jesus and thus as prototypical of Christian identity as he expands the mission established by Jesus and carried forward by Peter.

That Paul's address opens with words already used by Peter (ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλῖται [13:16; 2:22, 3:12]) would not be missed by the authorial audience. In contrast, whereas Peter addressed only Judeans in his Pentecost speech, Paul also addresses "those who fear God" (οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν [13:16]).[12] Pervo suggests, correctly I think, that the authorial audience is likely meant to recall

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[10] Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts,* 2.160-1.

[11] Ibid.

[12] I noted in the discussion of the Cornelius scene (pp. 234-43 above) that, despite the debate over the existence and status of "god-fearers," Luke assumes his authorial audience's knowledge of "god-fearers" as "devout and charitable [non-Judeans], familiar with Scripture and obedient to the 'ethical commandments.'" Pervo, *Acts*, 332; Also see Juvenal, *Satire* 14.96-106.

Cornelius (10:1-2), who serves as a prototype "god-fearer" in Acts.[13] Moreover, Pervo notes that Paul's speech here is clearly intended for the authorial audience and not the narrative crowd since the references to John and Jesus would make little sense to those who were not already familiar with the story.[14] Like Peter's inaugural speech, Paul addresses those in the narrative from the perspective of their common Judean identity (13:16-17, 26, 32-3, 38) while also making distinctions between those in Jerusalem who rejected and killed Jesus (13:27-29) and those who witnessed and now testify to his resurrection (13:30-32). Though he emphasizes the common Judean identity by addressing his hearers as "Israelites" (ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλῖται [13:16), "Brothers" twice (ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί [13:26, 38), and refers to "our ancestors" (τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν [13:17) he also makes sharp distinctions between the two groups by using second and third person pronouns and verbal forms throughout the speech. For example,

> Because the residents of Jerusalem and their leaders did not recognize him or understand the words of the prophets that are read every sabbath, they fulfilled those words by condemning him. Though they found no cause for a sentence of death, they asked Pilate to have him killed.
>
> οἱ γὰρ κατοικοῦντες ἐν Ἰερουσαλὴμ καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες αὐτῶν τοῦτον ἀγνοήσαντες καὶ τὰς φωνὰς τῶν προφητῶν τὰς κατὰ πᾶν σάββατον ἀναγινωσκομένας κρίναντες ἐπλήρωσαν,καὶ μηδεμίαν αἰτίαν θανάτου εὑρόντες ἠτήσαντο Πιλᾶτον ἀναιρεθῆναι αὐτόν. (13:27-28)

And

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[13] Ibid., 335.
[14] Pervo, *Acts*, 334.

> Let it be known to you therefore, my brothers, that through this man forgiveness of sins is proclaimed to you; by this Jesus everyone who believes is set free from all those sins from which you could not be freed by the law of Moses. Beware, therefore, that what the prophets said does not happen to you: 'Look, you scoffers! Be amazed and perish, for in your days I am doing a work, a work that you will never believe, even if someone tells you.'"
>
> γνωστὸν οὖν ἔστω ὑμῖν, ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, ὅτι διὰ τούτου ὑμῖν ἄφεσις ἁμαρτιῶν καταγγέλλεται, [καὶ] ἀπὸ πάντων ὧν οὐκ ἠδυνήθητε ἐν νόμῳ Μωϋσέως δικαιωθῆναι, ἐν τούτῳ πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων δικαιοῦται. βλέπετε οὖν μὴ ἐπέλθῃ τὸ εἰρημένον ἐν τοῖς προφήταις· ἴδετε, οἱ καταφρονηταί, καὶ θαυμάσατε καὶ ἀφανίσθητε, ὅτι ἔργον ἐργάζομαι ἐγὼ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ὑμῶν, ἔργον ὃ οὐ μὴ πιστεύσητε ἐάν τις ἐκδιηγῆται ὑμῖν. (Acts 13:38–41)

Thus Paul continues distinguishing between the Christ believing ingroup and the unbelieving outgroup.

After contrasting these groups, Paul supports his message about Jesus by reiterating the argument stated by Peter in 2:27-31.[15] Just as Peter argues that David referred not to himself when speaking of remaining uncorrupted but to God's resurrected Messiah so Paul argues the same. In Paul's inaugural speech, therefore, the audience learns that his message about Jesus and the universality of his gospel is essentially the same as Peter's. For those in the authorial audience who oppose Paul's message and mission to the non-Judeans, this continuity with the message of Peter and the apostles in Jerusalem establishes a foundation upon which a common superordinate identity may be constructed.

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[15] Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts,* 2.169.

Moreover, the audience learns that, along with "many Judeans (πολλοὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων)," many "devout converts" (σεβομένων προσηλύτων)[16] follow Paul and Barnabas (13:43). The great interest in Paul and Barnabas' message continues on the following Sabbath when "almost the entire city" (σχεδὸν πᾶσα ἡ πόλις) gathered to hear their teaching (13:44). While the Judeans had shown great interest in Paul's message the previous week, the interest of the large non-Judean population of the city sparks jealousy (ζῆλος) among the Judeans (13:45), the same response Peter received in 5:17.[17] The response of the Judeans, jealousy and contradicting Paul, causes Paul and Barnabas boldly to proclaim that, since the Judeans were rejecting their message, they would now turn exclusively to the non-Judeans (13:46), a move that is justified by quoting Isaiah 49:6b, a portion of which is used by the risen Jesus in Acts 1:8b ("to the ends of the earth"). Like Peter's early speeches, which caused differing reactions from the people on the one hand and the Judean leaders on the other, Paul's first major speech divides the crowd into two groups whose response is similar; the non-Judeans rejoice and believe while the Judeans are jealous, contradict Paul, and began stirring persecution against Paul and Barnabas. This echo of the reaction to Peter's preaching (4:1-4; 5:16-18) maintains the emphasis on Paul as prototypical of Christ group identity as well as the distinctions between those who

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[16] While Luke seems, at times, to use σεβόμενοι when context appears to indicate a non-Judean who had not fully converted to Judaism (16:14; 17:4, 17; 18:7), it is clearly used here for non-Judeans who have fully converted (προσήλυτος) to Judaism.

[17] Witherington, 414-15, suggests that the jealousy here comes from the lack of non-Judean interest in the synagogue and the relative ease with which Paul raises their interest. Jealousy is said to be the source of suffering for both Peter and Paul in 1 Clement 5:4-5.

welcome the gospel and those who do not. Those who do not welcome Paul's message, namely the Judeans, "incited the devout women of high standing and the leading men of the city, and stirred up persecution against Paul and Barnabas, and drove them out of their region" (παρώτρυναν τὰς σεβομένας γυναῖκας τὰς εὐσχήμονας καὶ τοὺς πρώτους τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐπήγειραν διωγμὸν ἐπὶ τὸν Παῦλον καὶ Βαρναβᾶν καὶ ἐξέβαλον αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ὁρίων αὐτῶν [Acts 13:50]). The threat of violence, which has become expected of the outgroup, causes Paul and Barnabas to leave Pisidian Antioch for Iconium. Though they were forced to leave, the new "disciples were filled with joy and with the Holy Spirit (οἵ τε μαθηταὶ ἐπληροῦντο χαρᾶς καὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου. [Acts 13:52]). Thus some believed, demonstrating their embracing of the core identity of the Christ group, and were filled with the Holy Spirit, one of the boundary crossing markers established by Peter. Though baptism in Jesus' name is not explicitly mentioned, it is, again, likely inferred by the authorial audience.

The same thing (κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ) happens in Iconium; Paul and Barnabas enter "the Judean synagogue" (τὴν συναγωγὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων) where "a great number of Judeans and Greeks became believers" (πιστεῦσαι Ἰουδαίων τε καὶ

Ἑλλήνων πολὺ πλῆθος [14:1]).[18] There are, however, some Judeans "unconvinced"[19] by the message who "stir up and poison the souls of the non-Judeans against them" (ἐπήγειραν καὶ ἐκάκωσαν τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἐθνῶν κατὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν [14:2]). The tension builds as the apostles[20] remain there, preaching the gospel and performing "signs and wonders" (14:3). As is predictable by this point in the narrative, when Paul preaches, the city becomes divided, not between ethnic groups but between those who support the apostles and those who support the unbelieving Judean outgroup (14:2, 4). This tension escalates until a group consisting of Judeans and non-Judeans, along with the authorities, try to stone Paul and Barnabas, recalling the violence perpetrated against Christ followers by unbelieving outgroup members (7:58; 9:23; 12:1-2). Paul and Barnabas, however, learn about the plot and flee to Lystra and Derbe.[21]

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[18] Having just heard Paul say that "we are going now to the non-Judeans," the audience is told that Paul and Barnabas follow the same pattern in Iconium, going first to the Judean synagogue. The audience must reassess their understanding of Paul's previous comment in light of this new information. It seems that this "turning to the non-Judeans" must have been intended *for Pisidian Antioch alone*, leaving open the possibility of proclaiming the gospel to Judeans elsewhere. Paul does not turn the Judeans as a whole into an outgroup, only unbelieving Judeans who seem to make such distinctions first (13:45). The continued outreach to the Judeans emphasizes that the Christ group's message, even as presented by Paul, was appealing to some Judeans, even while non-Judeans joined the movement as well. See Pervo, *Acts*, 350.

[19] Pervo (*Acts*, 350) notes that ἀπείθεια has as its basic meaning "to be disobedient" but Barrett (*Acts*, 1.668) suggests that this term had become a common term for not believing. It seems that "unconvinced" captures the force of both.

[20] This is the first appearance of ἀπόστολος that does not refer to the 12 in Jerusalem. Pervo (*Acts*, 350) suggests that it may have occurred in Luke's source with the meaning "envoys" or "delegates." Indeed, as Dunn (*Acts*, 188) notes, referring to Paul and Barnabas as "apostles" "hardly makes sense within Acts as a whole, given the qualifications for apostleship laid down in 1.22, and Luke's use of the term elsewhere invariably to refer to the twelve in Jerusalem."

[21] Pervo, *Acts*, 320 notes that the route chosen by Luke indicates his poor grasp of the geography of the area. He states, "Geography is elusive, at best. In 14:6 the missionaries fled from Iconium to 'Lystra and Derbe.' Derbe is almost twice the distance from Lystra that Lystra is to Iconium. The route taken by Barnabas and Paul is difficult to comprehend."

In Lystra, Luke narrates the healing of a crippled man, reminiscent of Peter's healing in Acts 3, which in turn parallels Jesus' healing in Luke 5 (14:6-20). This intratextual echo links Paul with Jesus and Peter and bolsters Paul's prototypical status.[22] Luke describes the man's condition using the exact phrase used in the healing of the cripoled man by Peter in 3:2 (χωλὸς ἐκ κοιλίας μητρὸς αὐτοῦ) as well as the same participle (ἀτενίσας) just before the healing.[23] In both instances, the healed man immediately "leaps" (ἅλλομαι) and "walks" (περιπατέω [14:10]). The major difference between these two accounts, however, is the setting; in the first scene, Peter heals the man in the precincts of the Jerusalem temple while in this scene, Paul and Barnabas are presumably in the street near the temple of Zeus. This change of setting is important for it reminds the audience that the gospel has moved beyond the bounds of Jerusalem and traditional Judean identity, reinforcing the recategorization process at work in the narrative. Accordingly, Pervo notes that when the audience compares these two accounts, the distinction of Peter as missionary to the Judeans and Paul as missionary to the non-Judeans begins to emerge (cf. Gal. 2:9).[24] Moreover, in the discussion of Peter's healing of the paralyzed man in the Jerusalem temple (Acts 3) I noted that this explicit echo of Jesus' healing of the paralytic in Luke 5:17-26 solidifies Peter's role as the metonymic image of Jesus and therefore as

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[22] Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts,* 2.177-78; Pervo, *Acts*, 352.

[23] Pervo (*Acts*, 352, nt. 32) notes that the phrase χωλὸς ἐκ κοιλίας μητρὸς αὐτου occurs only twice in the Greek Bible and that these are the only two times the phrase is found in all of Greek literature between the third century B.C.E and the third century C.E.

[24] Pervo, *Acts*, 352.

prototypical of Christ group identity. Likewise, in the present scene Paul's healing of this paralytic solidifies his role as the metonymic image of Jesus and a prototypical Christ follower.

The crowd that witnessed the healing is astonished and begins shouting to one another in the local dialect that "the gods have come down to us in human form" (οἱ θεοὶ ὁμοιωθέντες ἀνθρώποις κατέβησαν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, [14:11]). Luke explains to the audience that they called Barnabas Zeus and Paul Hermes, indicating that the narrative crowd viewed Paul as the orator who interprets Barnabas' (Zeus') message.[25] The priest of Zeus and the crowd's desire to offer a sacrifice to Barnabas and Paul[26] is met with a quick rejection by the two missionaries who quickly tore their clothes and rush into the crowd exclaiming that they are mere humans, not divine, echoing Peter's words to Cornelius in 10:26 that Peter is not divine and reinforcing Paul's image as prototypical of Christ group identity.

The lack of Judeans or non-Judean synagogue adherents, perhaps due to a small Judean population in Lystra, means that, unlike previous speeches, Paul is not

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[25] Pervo, Ibid., points out, however, Hermes was not a healing god nor were he and Zeus traditionally paired together. Most commentators, following A. D. Nock, *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World* (2 Vols.; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972) 2.660, nt. 43 believe that this scene was inspired by the story of Baucis and Philemon in Ovid's *Metamorphasis* (8.611-724) in which visit Phrygia in human form (8.626-27) and are offered hospitality only by Baucis and Philemon and thus destroy the inhospitable. Parsons, *Acts*, 199 suggests that the portrayal of the residents in the present scene in Acts may been viewed as "an attempt to avoid making the same mistake twice." For a different mythological background to the story, see Amy L. Wordelman, "Cultural Divides and Dual Realities: A Greco-Roman Context for Acts 14," in Penner and Stichele, eds. *Contextualizing Acts: Lukan Narrative and Greco-Roman Discourse* (Atlanta: SBL, 2003) 205-32.

[26] Dunn, *Acts*, 190 wonders if the naming of Barnabas first in this scene reflects the perspective of the Antioch community that Barnabas was still the leader of the mission. This may be especially since he is named first again in the Jerusalem Council (15:12, 25).

able to appeal to a common ethnic identity. Instead, Paul refers to the common experience of receiving good gifts from the divine. Paul proclaims that all these good gifts, namely rain, fruitful seasons, food, and joy, come from the "living God, who made the heaven and the earth and the sea and all that is in them" (θεὸν ζῶντα, ὃς ἐποίησεν τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς· [14:15]). In doing this, Paul creates a superordinate identity that encompasses Judean monotheists and non-Judean polytheists in a common category of those who receive good gifts from the divine.

The mission in Lystra is interrupted when Judeans from Antioch and Iconium arrive and "win over the crowds" (πείσαντες τοὺς ὄχλους [14:19]). Once the crowd had been turned against Paul, they stoned him and dragged him out of the city, thinking he was dead (λιθάσαντες τὸν Παῦλον ἔσυρον ἔξω τῆς πόλεως νομίζοντες αὐτὸν τεθνηκέναι [14:19]).[27] This brings the tension and anticipation of violence against Paul that has been building since his transformation in chapter nine to a dramatic climax. Like Jesus, Paul now suffers the consequences for his powerful orations that offended traditional Judeans.[28] Though most commentators give little attention to the thought that Paul was dead here,[29] Rick Strelan has suggested that the authorial audience is expected to think that those in the narrative

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[27] Dunn (*Acts*, 192) wonders what happened to Barnabas at this point in the narrative. Apparently the authorial audience is to assume that the Judeans only caught Paul.

[28] Pervo, *Acts*, 360.

[29] Marshall, *Acts*, 240; Foakers-Jackson, *Acts*, 129; Haenchen, *Acts,* 434.

thought he was dead.[30] Strelan maintains that Luke implies Paul's death here by echoing the death of Jesus in the Third Gospel and the symbolic death of Peter earlier in the narrative (12:6-17). The mention of "the disciples" surrounding him probably refers to those who had traveled with Paul[31] coming to mourn and prepare his body for burial.[32] Instead, however, when they surrounded him, Paul "arose and entered the city" (ἀναστὰς εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν) and leaves the next day for the nearby town of Derbe (14:20). Just as in the last chapter I noted that Peter's imprisonment, release, and departure parallel Jesus' death, resurrection, and ascension, so in the present scene, the notion that Paul is "thought to be dead" (νομίζοντες αὐτὸν τεθνηκέναι) yet arises suddenly, returns to town, and leaves the following day (14:20) echos Jesus' death, resurrection, and departure. In each of these accounts, the verb ἀνίστημι occurs with refer to Jesus (Luke 24:7, 46), Peter (12:7), and Paul (14:20). Not only does this serve to link Paul with Jesus and his death and resurrection, it bolsters Paul's connection with Peter as leader and prototype of the Christ group.

Luke's description of the work in Derbe is brief: Paul and Barnabas "proclaimed the good news" (εὐαγγελισάμενοί) and "made many disciples"

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[30] Strelan, *Strange Acts: Studies in the Cultural World of the Acts of the Apostles* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2004), 243-251.

[31] Since Luke gives the audience nothing to indicate that some from Lystra believed.

[32] Strelan, *Strange Acts*, 247-8.

(μαθητεύσαντες ἱκανοὺς) there (14:21). In this first section of the third narrative block, Paul has emerged as both leader and prototype of the Christ group by being linked with Jesus and Peter through various echos and allusions of speeches and miracles. As leader and prototype, Paul expands the mission to non-Judeans begun by Peter in his journey into Asia Minor. For only the second time in Acts, non-Judeans with no allegiance or connection with Judaism through the synagogue hear and respond to the gospel (14:1; cf. 11:20). The recategorization process, therefore, continues in the third narrative block as Paul takes over the role of prototype of the Christ group and as he continues to define, following Peter, the superordinate ingroup identity of Christ followers, an identity which is about to be challenged, debated, and solidified.

15:1-35 — The Climax of Recategorization

The kernel of the third narrative block shifted the focus of the narrative toward the expansion of the gospel into non-Judean regions. As the Christ movement expands, including more non-Judeans with no previous synagogue relation, the kernel is elaborated as conflict over the inclusion of non-Judeans reemerges. After Paul and Barnabas return from Asia Minor, the audience learns that "[c]ertain individuals came down from Judea and were teaching the brothers and sisters, 'Unless you are circumcised according to the custom of Moses, you cannot be saved'" (τινες κατελθόντες ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐδίδασκον τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ὅτι, ἐὰν μὴ

περιτμηθῆτε τῷ ἔθει τῷ Μωϋσέως, οὐ δύνασθε σωθῆναι [15:1]). While the circumcision group is not identified specifically, the authorial audience is led to connect it with the Pharisaic Christ followers mentioned subsequently in 15:5.[33] This demand becomes a point of heated debate as Luke shows by noting there was "no small argument and debate" (στάσεως καὶ ζητήσεως οὐκ ὀλίγης [15:2]). Because of the dissension caused by this group, Paul and Barnabas were appointed by the community as representatives to the Jerusalem council to discuss the matter.

In his *Anchor Bible Dictionary* article on circumcision, Hall suggests at least three different attitudes about circumcision held by Judeans in the Hellenistic period. First, some consolidated the traditional emphasis in light of their new surroundings so that circumcision becomes more important than before. Second, some who had been educated in the Greek tradition retained circumcision while attempting to explain it to non-Judeans. Third, some abandoned circumcision altogether while maintaining their connection with ethnic Judaism.[34] These three very different attitudes toward circumcision reflect a traditional Judean custom in tension with its surrounding milieu. L.T. Johnson notes that circumcision "was variously understood, and it may fairly be stated that for many first-century [Judeans], circumcision understood as a symbol…was more important than the literal procedure itself."[35]

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[33] Indeed, the D text identifies them as τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς αἱρέσεως τῶν Φαρισαίων. So Dunn, *Acts*, 199, who notes that Acts 21:20 seems to indicate that they represent a sizable subgroup within the Jerusalem Christ community.

[34] Robert G. Hall, "Circumcision" in *ABD* (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 1025-31.

[35] Johnson, *Acts*, 259.

The last time the matter of circumcision was raised in the Cornelius episode the audience was given the impression that the disagreement had been overcome (11:17-18), but the issue there was Peter following God's lead to accept non-Judeans into the Christ movement and table fellowship not the specific boundary crossing rituals necessary for their entrance. As I noted in the discussion of the Cornelius scene above, the circumcision group celebrated God granting non-Judeans "repentance unto life" (11:18) but the matter of entry rituals was not addressed. Indeed, the key issue in the Cornelius scene is table fellowship.[36] While the presence of non-Judeans in the Christ group does not appear to have been an issue, the conditions of their entrance and social interaction between them and Judean Christ followers were an issue, thus leaving the mission to the non-Judeans initiated by Peter and expanded by Paul "still open to question."[37]

The question here concerns what boundary crossing rituals were necessary to join the Christ group. In 2:38 Peter established the essential boundary crossing rituals of baptism in the name of Jesus and being filled with the Holy Spirit. The question of circumcision is raised now because the presence of uncircumcised Christ followers in the ingroup presents a problem for table fellowship for those Judean Christ followers who retain these traditional Judean customs. Because of this, some Christ followers from the circumcision party want to add circumcision and Torah observance to the

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[36] Esler, *Comunity and Gospel in Luke-Acts*, 97-98.
[37] Pervo, *Acts*, 370.

boundary crossing rituals of the Christ group. The recategorization of these two groups requires emphasizing the core superordinate identity they all share, that is belief in Jesus as the resurrected Messiah, while negotiating the boundary crossing rituals for Judeans and non-Judeans. The "council" in Jerusalem convenes for just this purpose.

On the way to Jerusalem, Paul and Barnabas "passed through both Phoenicia and Samaria" and "reported the conversion of the non-Judeans, causing great joy to all the brothers and sisters" (διήρχοντο τήν τε Φοινίκην καὶ Σαμάρειαν ἐκδιηγούμενοι τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν τῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ ἐποίουν χαρὰν μεγάλην πᾶσιν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς (Acts 15:3]). The excitement created in Phoenicia and Samaria by the news of non-Judean entry into the Christ group offers further confirmation of the legitimacy of non-Judean inclusion into the ingroup. Once the subgroups gather in Jerusalem, however, the mood changes from excitement as they begin to debate the necessary requirements for entrance into the Christ group. After the Pharisaic Christians repeat the demand for circumcision and Torah observance (15:5), the apostles and elders meet (15:6; privately?) and a lengthy debate follows (15:7). The authorial audience is not allowed hear the debate but only the arguments for inclusion, three speeches in favor of full inclusion of non-Judeans without requiring circumcision and Torah observance.[38] Parsons notes that the three speeches

[38] Pervo, *Acts*, 372 notes that the supporters of the Pharisaic position are only allowed to state their case but are not given a chance in the narrative to expand. Only the argument for inclusion is reported.

present the argument for inclusion from differing perspectives; Peter (15:7-11) offers his argument for inclusion from his experience with Cornelius' household, Paul and Barnabas (15:12) base their argument on the experience of the "signs and wonders" done among the non-Judeans, and James (15:13-21) offers scriptural support for inclusion.[39]

Peter reminds the delegates of the event Luke recounted earlier. He notes, "in the early days" (ἀφ᾽ ἡμερῶν ἀρχαίων) he was the one chosen by God from among the apostles to take the gospel to the non-Judeans so that they might "believe" (πιστεῦσαι [15:7]). Their belief was confirmed by God who "gave them the Holy Spirit just as [God did] to us" (δοὺς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον καθὼς καὶ ἡμῖν [15:8]). Thus God demonstrated that there should be no distinction (οὐθὲν διέκρινεν) between those who believe in Jesus as Messiah (15:9), whether Judean or non-Judean. Following Peter's report of the Cornelius scene, Paul and Barnabas report on their journey into Asia Minor. They are, however, given only one sentence and even then their testimony is narrated rather than given as direct discourse. They "told of all the signs and wonders that God had done through them among the non-Judeans" (ἐξηγουμένων ὅσα ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν δι᾽ αὐτῶν [15:12]). Their speech simply adds support for what Peter had already explained.[40]

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[39] Parsons, *Acts*, 212-13.
[40] Parsons, *Acts*, 212.

The third argument and the decisive support for inclusion, however, comes from James.

> After they finished speaking, James replied, "My brothers, listen to me. Simeon has related how God first looked favorably on the Gentiles, to take from among them a people for his name.
>
> Μετὰ δὲ τὸ σιγῆσαι αὐτοὺς ἀπεκρίθη Ἰάκωβος λέγων· ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, ἀκούσατέ μου. Συμεὼν ἐξηγήσατο καθὼς πρῶτον ὁ θεὸς ἐπεσκέψατο λαβεῖν ἐξ ἐθνῶν λαὸν τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ. (15·13–14)

Parsons also points out that James replaces the usual word for non-Judeans (ἔθνος) with usual word for the people of Israel (λαός). The implication is that God has taken a people (λαός) out of the non-Judean group (ἔθνος). This is a significant statement for it indicates that God has expanded God's "people" to include non-Judeans. "This agrees," says James, "with the words of the prophets" (καὶ τούτῳ συμφωνοῦσιν οἱ λόγοι τῶν προφητῶν [15:15]), particularly Amos, Jeremiah, and Isaiah.

> 'After this I will return, and I will rebuild the dwelling of David, which has fallen; from its ruins I will rebuild it, and I will set it up, so that all other peoples may seek the Lord— even all the non-Judeans over whom my name has been called. Thus says the Lord, who has been making these things known from long ago.'
>
> μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναστρέψω καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσω τὴν σκηνὴν Δαυὶδ τὴν πεπτωκυῖαν καὶ τὰ κατεσκαμμένα αὐτῆς ἀνοικοδομήσω καὶ ἀνορθώσω αὐτήν, ὅπως ἂν ἐκζητήσωσιν οἱ κατάλοιποι τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸν κύριον καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐφ᾽ οὓς ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐπ᾽ αὐτούς, λέγει κύριος ποιῶν ταῦτα γνωστὰ ἀπ᾽ αἰῶνος. (Acts 15:16–18)

Thus James grants his approval of non-Judean inclusion without the requirement of male circumcision and Torah observance based upon the promise of the prophets that,

"all other peoples may seek the Lord— even all the non-Judeans over whom my name has been called." This means that non-Judeans may become members of the Christ movement without having to cross traditional Judean boundaries. This decision does not, however, remove these Judean boundaries for Judeans.

Though James rejects the necessity of circumcision and Torah observance as requisite for non-Judean membership in the Christ group, he recognizes that some measures must be put into place to enable table fellowship between non-Judean Christ followers and those Judean Christ followers who maintain these traditional Judean boundaries.

> Therefore I have reached the decision that we should not trouble those Gentiles who are turning to God, but we should write to them to abstain only from things polluted by idols and from fornication and from whatever has been strangled and from blood.
>
> διὸ ἐγὼ κρίνω μὴ παρενοχλεῖν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐπιστρέφουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν, ἀλλὰ ἐπιστεῖλαι αὐτοῖς τοῦ ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν ἀλισγημάτων τῶν εἰδώλων καὶ τῆς πορνείας καὶ τοῦ πνικτοῦ καὶ τοῦ αἵματος (15:19-20)

These four stipulations for non-Judean Christ followers "provide a minimal platform" for table fellowship in Christ communities where some Judean believers maintained traditional dietary regulations.[41] Thus, non-Judean Christ followers "are to behave in

[41] Pervo, *Acts*, 376.

this way not because the law says so but because it is the minimum that will allow [Judeans] who observe the law to associate with [non-Judeans] who do not."[42] This, of course, does not require Judeans to abandon circumcision or Torah observance.

Thus in this section of the third narrative block, the recategorization process reaches its climax as the superordinate identity is confirmed, boundary crossing rituals are firmly established, and subgroup identities affirmed that allow for social interaction between Judean and non-Judean Christ followers. The common superordinate Christian identity developed in Acts is illustrated below.

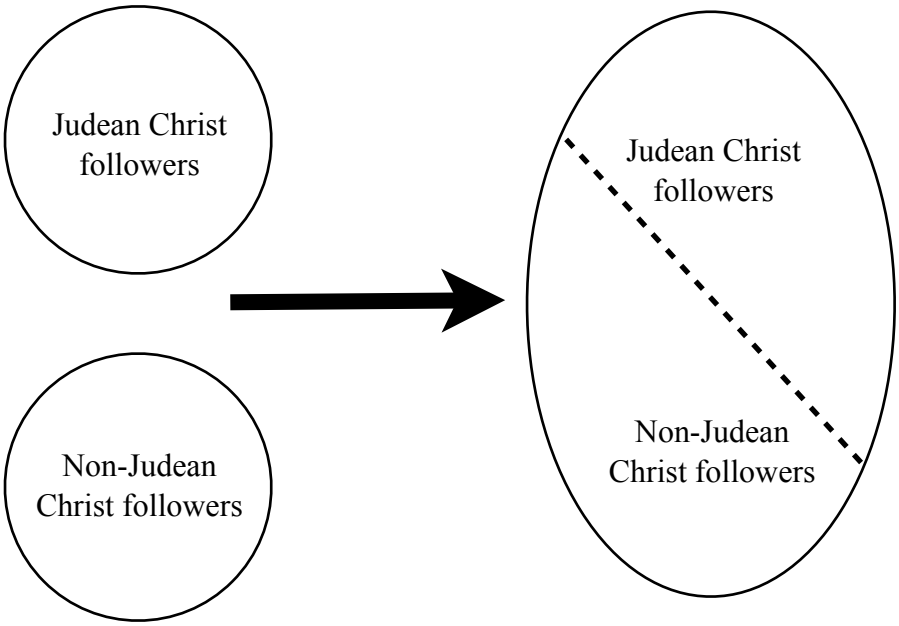

Figure 10: Recategorization of Christ-following subgroups

[42] Talbert, *Reading Acts*, 133. The regulations appear to have been inspired, directly or indirectly, from the regulations in Leviticus 17-18 concerning non-Judean residents in Israel. So Pervo, *Acts*, 376; Parsons, *Acts*, 215; contra. Witherington, *Acts*, 464-65. On the textual issues regarding the repetition of the decree, see Witherington, *Acts*, 460-70; Pervo, *Acts*, 376-78.

Solidifying the common ingroup identity is not, however, the final act of the narrative; there remains the task of recategorizing the subgroups in the authorial audience into this superordinate Christ group identity. While those previously opposed to non-Judean inclusion in the Christ group may accept the superordinate identity that allows non-Judeans to join the Christ group without circumcision or Torah observance but does not require Judean Christ followers to abandon their ethnic customs, some may continue to object that Paul does not proclaim such a superordinate identity. Indeed, some in the authorial audience may identify with the group of Judean Christ followers in the fourth narrative block who object that Paul has abandoned Judean customs and encourages Judean Christ followers to do the same. The remaining task in the process of recategorizing the authorial audience into a superordinate Christ identity is to address these concerns about Paul and his supporters by demonstrating that Paul has not abandoned Judean customs nor does he teach other Judeans to do so and therefore is a prototypical. This will be accomplished by highlighting for the authorial audience Paul's Judean-ness and his commitment to Judean customs while also maintaining his status as prototypical of Christ group identity and reaffirming the superordinate identity established in the first half of the narrative. This demonstration begins as soon as the council has adjourned as Paul suggests returning to Asia Minor.

15:36-16:10 — Return to Asia Minor

Following the decision at Jerusalem concerning non-Judean inclusion, the kernel continues being expanded as Paul suggests that he and Barnabas return to the communities they had established in Asia Minor to communicate the decision of the Jerusalem meeting and "to see how they were doing" (πῶς ἔχουσιν [15:36]). Barnabas, however, complicates matters when he suggests that they take John Mark along with them (15:37-8). The authorial audience will remember that John Mark had accompanied Paul and Barnabas on their initial trip but decided not to continue after their time on Cyprus and sailed back to Jerusalem (13:13). While the reason for John Mark's departure was previously unclear, the authorial audience may now begin to put the pieces together. Parsons suggests that John Mark rejected the validity of the non-Judean mission based on his alliance with the more traditional Judean Christ followers (12:12, 25; 13:13b). Though this is not explicitly stated in the narrative, it is reasonable that the authorial audience may have inferred this since John Mark left as Paul and Barnabas were preparing to sail for Asia Minor (13:13). If this is the case, the audience may also infer that it was John Mark who informed the Jerusalem community of Paul and Barnabas' mission and spurred the visit of the Pharisaic Christians to Antioch narrated in 15:1. John Mark's departure in chapter thirteen is viewed by Luke as a desertion of the mission, a desertion which now results in a tense

disagreement and separation between Paul and Barnabas.[43] Paul choses Silas and continues with his planned visit to Asia Minor (15:40) while Barnabas takes John Mark with him to Cyprus (15:39).

The reason for Barnabas' departure with John Mark remains somewhat clouded for the authorial audience. From a literary perspective, however, the reason resides in the fact that his character has fulfilled its role as an important bridge between Peter and Paul and is, therefore, no longer needed in the narrative.[44] With Peter now absent from the narrative and Paul functioning as leader and prototype of Christian identity, a new connection between the current (in the narrative) Jerusalem leadership, the Jerusalem decision concerning non-Judean inclusion, and Paul's mission is needed. To fulfill this new role, Barnabas is replaced with Silas who, the audience will remember, was said to have been a leader in the Jerusalem community (15:22) as well as a prophet. Silas also, along with Judas, encouraged the Christ followers in Antioch when he joins Paul in delivering the letter confirming the decision of the council on the inclusion of non-Judeans without circumcision and Torah observance (15:32). The audience, then, is led to view Silas as one who embodies the Jerusalem Christ community and its openness to the non-Judean mission. Thus, Silas, like Barnabas before him, serves as a prototype of the Jerusalem

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[43] Though there has been some conjecture that Col 4:10 reflects a possible familial relationship between Barnabas and John Mark, Luke is silent on the matter. Likewise, Luke ignores the reconciliation between Paul and Barnabas implied in 1 Cor 9:6. See Johnson, *Acts*, 282-3.

[44] William S. Campbell, *The "We" Passages in the Acts of the Apostles: The Narrator as Narrative Character* (Atlanta: SBL, 2007), 64-65.

Christ group and, as such, serves to maintain the crucial connection between Paul and the mission to the non-Judeans and the apostles and the Christ group in Jerusalem. Apart from securing this connection, Silas contributes little else to Paul's characterization.

Having replaced Barnabas with Silas, Paul now sets out on his mission to encourage the Christ communities established on his previous journey into Southern Asia Minor (13:13-26). When Paul arrives in Lystra and Derbe, the audience is introduced to a disciple named Timothy, whom it presumes became a Christ follower during Paul's previous mission there (16:1). Luke tells the audience that Timothy has a faithful Judean mother and a Greek father, and that Timothy, who was not circumcised previously, was circumcised by Paul "because of the Judeans" (διὰ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους [16:3]). This serves to demonstrate Paul's continued commitment to the traditional Judean custom of circumcision and thus locates Paul within the Judean subgroup within the Christ group.

Nevertheless, some in the authorial audience may wonder why Timothy had not been circumcised previously. L.T. Johnson offers three plausible explanations. Either (1) Timothy's mother was more committed to the Christ group than she was to her ethnic Judean customs, (2) Timothy would not have been considered an ethnic Judean because of his Greek father and therefore was not obliged to be circumcised or (3) Timothy's Greek father prevented him from being circumcised because of the

social stigma it created for Judeans among Greeks and Romans. Johnson argues that option three is supported by the statement at the end of 16:3.[45] The issue of circumcision for non-Judean converts was a wider problem that Luke portrays in Acts; indeed, it appears to have been a major question within the diaspora Judean community as a whole. It is possible, then, that Timothy and his mother represented the group that retained Judaism while abandoning circumcision.

Why then, after the important decision made in Jerusalem about circumcision and non-Judean Christ followers, would Luke present Paul as having Timothy circumcised? Luke's response, "because they (the Judeans) all knew his father was a Greek" (τοὺς Ἰουδαίους . . . ᾔδεισαν γὰρ ἅπαντες ὅτι Ἕλλην ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ὑπῆρχεν [16:3]), gives the audience some help in answering this question. If the Judeans knew Timothy's father was Greek, they likely expected that he would have prevented Timothy's circumcision, even if his mother wanted to have it done. By the second century, there was a tradition that enabled those engaged in mixed marriages to trace children's lineage through the mother, if she was married to a non-Judean.[46] While there is no indication that this was codified during Luke's time, there

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[45] Johnson, *Acts*, 284. S. J. D. Cohen, "Was Timothy Jewish? Patristic Exegesis, Rabbinic Law, and Matrilineal Descent," *JBL* 105 (1986): 251-68 argues that Timothy was a non-Judean on the basis of the testimony of Jerome and Augustine as well as the late date for rabbinic teachings on matrilineal descent. Witherington, *Acts*, 474-76 refutes his argument by citing *m. Qidd.* 3.12, which comes from the Council at Jamnia if not earlier.

[46] See Cohen, "Was Timothy Jewish?"

is some evidence that this idea was in place by the latter decades of the the first century C.E.[47]

Hall mentions five attitudes of the early Christ followers toward the issue of circumcision: circumcision is necessary, circumcision is irrelevant, Judeans should circumcise but non-Judeans should not, literal circumcision should be abolished, circumcision can be used positively. He concludes that, according to Luke, Paul belongs in the third category, thus agreeing with Witherington that "[t]here is no evidence that Paul in Acts objected to [Judean] Christians practicing their ancestral religion."[48] L.T. Johnson states that, "if Timothy was regarded as [Judean], then the act of circumcision signifies loyalty to the ancestral traditions."[49] Parsons notes, "his circumcision is an attempt on Paul's part to accommodate [Judean] sensitivity and to ensure Timothy's acceptability among the [Judeans] with whom he would work."[50] This approach to circumcision and the question of ethnicity is important for the establishment of a common superordinate ingroup identity among Christ followers. We have noted throughout this study that recategorization into a superordinate identity transcends particular subgroup identities and thus does not require subgroups to abandon particular identity markers. The agreement reached at the Jerusalem "council" stated that non-Judeans were not required to be circumcised or observe

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[47] As Cohen notes, the primary evidence is *m. Qidd. 3.12*. So Neusner, *A History of the Mishnaic Law of Women* (5 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1980), 5.173.

[48] Hall, "Circumcision" in *ABD*, 1.1029-31; Witherington, *Acts*, 474.

[49] Johnson, *Acts*, 284.

[50] Parsons, *Acts*, 222. Parsons includes Silas in this "commitment to [Judean] sensitivities" (223).

Torah. This decision did not, however, remove the Judean identity markers of circumcision or Torah observance. Timothy needs to be circumcised because of his Judean ethnicity to confirm the legitimacy of the subgroup boundaries and the new superordinate Christ group identity.

Paul, Silas, and Timothy traveled throughout the region and tell the Christ communities there of the decision reached in Jerusalem (16:4). Their visits result in the strengthening of the Christ communities and a daily increase in their numbers (16:5), which may be seen as affirmation of the decision reaching in chapter 15. Having visited the communities previously established, Paul and his companions are forbidden "by the Holy Spirit" (ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος) to go into Asia and by "the spirit of Jesus" (τὸ πνεῦμα Ἰησοῦ) to enter Bithynia, so they go down to Troas (16:6-8). During the night, Paul has a vision of a man from Macedonia who pleads with Paul to "come over to Macedonia and help us" (διαβὰς εἰς Μακεδονίαν βοήθησον ἡμῖν [16:9]).

Map 2: Paul's Return to Asia Minor and Mission to Macedonia and Achaia
From http://net.bible.org/map.php, accessed 23 January 2010

The plea for Paul and his companions to come to Macedonia is significant because it, along with the intervention of the Spirit, illustrates the further divinely guided advance of the gospel into previously, at least in the narrative, unchartered territories.

At this point, the audience first encounters the use of the first person plural pronoun, the so-called "we passages": "When he had seen the vision, we immediately tried to cross over to Macedonia" (ὡς δὲ τὸ ὅραμα εἶδεν, εὐθέως ἐζητήσαμεν ἐξελθεῖν εἰς Μακεδονίαν [16:10]). The "we" passages (16:10-17; 20:5-16; 21:1-18; 27:1-28:16) have been the source of much discussion of the authorship and sources of Acts, such that a thorough treatment of scholarship is not possible here.[51] While most earlier studies attempted to locate an "historical we," either as a companion of Paul or as a source document the author used, more recent literary studies have sought to provide an answer concerning the inclusion of the "we" in the narrative. Haenchen seems to have been the first to argue that the first person plural in these sections serves to bring the readers into the story,[52] an approach that was followed by Tannehill and Kurz.[53] More recent narrative critical studies have argued that the "we" acts as a character-narrator to bolster Paul's credibility in the absence of Barnabas,[54] as well as serving to mark the end of the apostolic era.[55] I noted above

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[51] For an excellent survey of the problem of the "we" passages, see Pervo, *Acts*, 392-96.

[52] Haenchen, "'We' in Acts and the Itinerary," *The Bultmann School of Biblical Interpretation: New Directions? Journal for Theology and Church* 1 (1965): 65-99.

[53] Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts,*, 2.246-47; Kurz, *Reading Luke-Acts*, 113.

[54] Campbell, *The "We" Passages in the Acts of the Apostles*.

[55] Thomas E. Phillips, "The 'We' Passages in Acts 16 and Beyond" in *Acts and Ethics* (ed. Thomas E. Phillips; Sheffield, UK: Sheffield Phoenix, 2005), 49-63.

that the replacement of Barnabas by Silas marked an important transition in which Silas was now the connection between Paul and the Jerusalem Christ community. While he serves as this important connection, however, Silas is not able to bolster Paul's credibility with the authorial audience since he has only recently entered the narrative. Thus, by placing himself in the narrative, the narrator is able to provide trustworthy support for Paul and his mission, support that is important in the ongoing recategorization of the authorial audience.

16:11-19:20 — Paul in Macedonia and Achaia

As the kernel of the fourth block continues to be expanded, the audience learns that Paul and his companions, including the narrator, sail from Troas directly across the Aegean Sea to Neapolis, the sea port of Philippi. Luke describes Philippi as "a leading city of that region of Macedonia and a Roman colony" (ἥτις ἐστὶν πρώτη[ς] μερίδος τῆς Μακεδονίας πόλις, κολωνία. [16:12]).[56] On the Sabbath, they were seeking a "place of prayer" (προσευχὴ [16:13]) just outside the city gate near the river.[57] As Paul and his companions met with the women who had gathered at the "place of prayer," one woman in particular receives focused attention. Lydia is

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[56] Cf. Pseudo-Lucian, *Onos* 46 where Thessalonica is called "the greatest city in Macedonia." On the textual problems with this phrase see, Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 393-95. Witherington, *Acts*, 488 suggests that the reason Luke portrays Philippi so positively here is because of Antony's bestowing upon the city the *ius italicum*, the highest possible honor given to a provincial city. For a list of cities given such an honor see Justinian's *Digest* 50.15.

[57] While it is possible that by using the term προσευχὴ Luke means "synagogue," Parsons (*Acts*, 229) notes that Luke usually uses the term συναγωγος when referring to "synagogue." Johnson (*Acts*, 292-3) maintains that the location of the conversation with the women is not the "place of prayer" since they continue to the "place of prayer" in 16:16. Yet, the Greek of 16:16 does not seem to favor this interpretation (Ἐγένετο δὲ πορευομένων).

said to have been a "worshipper of God" "from Thyatira[58] and a "dealer in purple cloth"[59] (Λυδία, πορφυρόπωλις πόλεως Θυατείρων σεβομένη τὸν θεόν [16:14]). Luke says that the Lord opened this woman's heart and she paid close attention to Paul's message and was baptized along with her household (16:15). Her baptism implies to the authorial audience that she believed Paul's message that Jesus is the resurrected Messiah. Following her baptism, presumably in the name of Jesus, she urges Paul and his companions to stay at her house (16:15). Though Luke does not indicate that she was filled with the Holy Spirit, her actions in extending hospitality to Paul and his companions echo the proper use of possessions displayed earlier in the narrative by spirit-filled believers (2:44-45; 4:32, 34-35; contra 5:3-4).

The authorial audience is not told how long they stayed there, only that on one day during their stay, they were on their way again to the "place of prayer" and met a "slave-girl" (παιδίσκην) who brought her owners much revenue by fortune-telling

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[58] Thyatira is a city in the province of Lydia, hence Parsons note that she is "Lydia of Lydia" (*Acts*, 229). This fact alone has led Matthews, "Elite Women, Public Religion, and Christian Propaganda in Acts 16" in *A Feminist Companion to the Acts of the Apostles* (ed. Amy-Jill Levine; London: T & T Clark, 2004), 111-33 and MacDonald, "Lydia and Her Sisters as Lukan Fiction" in *A Feminist Companion to the Acts of the Apostles*, 105-10 to suggest she is a fictional character. Parsons resists noting that "it was not uncommon for slaves and freedmen [*sic*] (and women) to take the name of their homeland" (229-30).

[59] Her occupation has normally led to Lydia being included among the "women of means" category (see Witherington, *Acts*, 492). Yet, Parsons notes Plutarch's statement that "we take pleasure in a thing, but we despise the one who made it." (translated by Parsons, *Acts*, 230). Thus, Lydia could also be understood as a "common craftsperson." Since she owns a house, however, Matthews, "Elite Women, Public Religion, and Christian Propaganda in Acts 16," 126 suggests the Lydia be understood as a person of "low status but (relatively) high income."

through her "Pythian spirit" (πνεῦμα πύθωνα [16:16]).[60] For many days, she followed Paul and his companions crying out, "These men are slaves of the Most High God who proclaim to you a way of salvation" (οὗτοι οἱ ἄνθρωποι δοῦλοι τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου εἰσίν, οἵτινες καταγγέλλουσιν ὑμῖν ὁδὸν σωτηρίας [16:17]). Finally, Paul has enough (διαπονηθεὶς) and invokes the name of Jesus, as Peter had done previously (3:6; 9:34), and casts the spirit out of her. His action, however, angers the girl's owners because, like the spirit, their money had "gone away" (ἐξελθεῖν in 16:18 and ἐξῆλθεν in 16:19). The owners bring Paul and Silas to the *agora* before the authorities, though they do not disclose their reason for doing so (16:19). Rather, they claim that Paul and his companions "are Judeans" (Ἰουδαῖοι ὑπάρχοντες) who are "disturbing our city" (ἐκταράσσουσιν ἡμῶν τὴν πόλιν) and "advocat[ing] customs that are unlawful for us Romans to adopt or observe" (καὶ καταγγέλλουσιν ἔθη ἃ οὐκ ἔξεστιν ἡμῖν παραδέχεσθαι οὐδὲ ποιεῖν Ῥωμαίοις οὖσιν [16:20-1]). Parsons notes that this is a "stock charge against migratory religions movement"[61] that "could be invoked at any time, regardless of the basis for the charges."[62] The authorial audience would understand the charge of introducing un-Roman customs as an attempt to ignite cultural distinctions between

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[60] The reference to the Pythian spirit may remind the authorial audience of the oracle at Delphi (Strabo, *Geography* 9.3.12; Pausanias, *Greece*, 2.7.7) which was often associated with the introduction of a new religious cult into a city. See John B. Weaver, *Plots of Epiphany: Prison Escapes in Acts of the Apostles* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2004), 235; Parsons, *Acts*, 231.

[61] Parsons, *Acts*, 232. Cf. Tacitus, *Annals* 2.85; Suetonius, *Tib.* 36.1; Seneca, *Ep.* 108.22; Dio Cassius, *History of Rome* 53.2; Livy, *History* 39.16.8-9.

[62] Weaver, *Plots of Epiphany*, 232.

'us' and 'them,' thus expanding the outgroup beyond unbelieving Judeans to include unbelieving non-Judeans as well.[63] By highlighting these distinctions, the outgroup in this scene supports the process of recategorization by differentiating between, from the perspective of the narrative, their outgroup and the Christ-following ingroup, of which Paul is a prototypical member.

Convinced that Paul and Silas were a threat, the authorities had them stripped of their clothing and "beaten with rods" (ῥαβδίζειν [16:22]), yet another reference to an act of violent opposition against Christ group members by members of the unbelieving outgroup. After being beaten, Paul and Silas were put into the "innermost cell" (ἐσωτέραν) of the prison with their feet in stocks (16:23-4).

> About midnight Paul and Silas were praying and singing hymns to God, and the prisoners were listening to them. Suddenly there was an earthquake, so violent that the foundations of the prison were shaken; and immediately all the doors were opened and everyone's chains were unfastened. When the jailer woke up and saw the prison doors wide open, he drew his sword and was about to kill himself, since he supposed that the prisoners had escaped.
>
> Κατὰ δὲ τὸ μεσονύκτιον Παῦλος καὶ Σιλᾶς προσευχόμενοι ὕμνουν τὸν θεόν, ἐπηκροῶντο δὲ αὐτῶν οἱ δέσμιοι. ἄφνω δὲ σεισμὸς ἐγένετο μέγας ὥστε σαλευθῆναι τὰ θεμέλια τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου· ἠνεῴχθησαν δὲ παραχρῆμα αἱ θύραι πᾶσαι καὶ πάντων τὰ δεσμὰ ἀνέθη. ἔξυπνος δὲ γενόμενος ὁ δεσμοφύλαξ καὶ ἰδὼν ἀνεῳγμένας τὰς θύρας τῆς φυλακῆς, σπασάμενος [τὴν] μάχαιραν ἤμελλεν ἑαυτὸν ἀναιρεῖν νομίζων ἐκπεφευγέναι τοὺς δεσμίους. (16:25-27)

Paul intervenes, however, telling the guard that all the prisoners were still there, after which the guard falls down trembling before Paul and Silas and asking what he must

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[63] Pervo, *Acts*, 407.

do to be saved (16:27-30), likely due to his and the prisoners hearing Paul and Silas praying and singing hymns to God before the earthquake (16:25). Paul shares his gospel message with the jailer and he and his entire household believe and are baptized (16:30-34).

> Then he brought them outside and said, "Sirs, what must I do to be saved?" They answered, "Believe on the Lord Jesus, and you will be saved, you and your household." They spoke the word of the Lord to him and to all who were in his house. At the same hour of the night he took them and washed their wounds; then he and his entire family were baptized without delay. He brought them up into the house and set food before them; and he and his entire household rejoiced that he had become a believer in God.
>
> καὶ προαγαγὼν αὐτοὺς ἔξω ἔφη· κύριοι, τί με δεῖ ποιεῖν ἵνα σωθῶ; οἱ δὲ εἶπαν· πίστευσον ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν καὶ σωθήσῃ σὺ καὶ ὁ οἶκός σου. καὶ ἐλάλησαν αὐτῷ τὸν λόγον τοῦ κυρίου σὺν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ. καὶ παραλαβὼν αὐτοὺς ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ τῆς νυκτὸς ἔλουσεν ἀπὸ τῶν πληγῶν, καὶ ἐβαπτίσθη αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ αὐτοῦ πάντες παραχρῆμα, ἀναγαγών τε αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν οἶκον παρέθηκεν τράπεζαν καὶ ἠγαλλιάσατο πανοικεὶ πεπιστευκὼς τῷ θεῷ. (Acts 16:30–34)

Though the jailer and his household follow Paul's command and "believe" in Jesus and are baptized, like Lydia and her household, they are not said to have been filled with the Holy Spirit. They do, nevertheless, extend hospitality to Paul and Silas, demonstrating spirit-filled behavior. Again, the proper use of possessions serves as an identity marker.

The next morning, the authorities send word to release Paul and Silas though the audience is not told why (16:35). They may suppose that the authorities viewed the violent earthquake as a sign from the gods that their imprisonment of Paul and

Silas was disliked. Paul, however, rejects their offer, noting that authorities have publicly beaten and imprisoned innocent Roman citizens and demands the authorities come and release him and Silas themselves (16:37).[64] Understandably, the authorities were afraid of Paul's claim to Roman citizenship and immediately apologize to Paul and Silas and release them (16:38-39). Before they leave Philippi, however, Paul and Silas return to Lydia's house and encourage the Christ followers who were there (16:40).

When Paul and his companions left Philippi, they continued traveling along the Via Egnatia, the major East-West road through Macedonia running from Dyrrachium to Byzantium, passing through Amphipolis and Apollonia on his way to Thessalonica (17:1). Once there, Paul entered the synagogue on three Sabbath days teaching from the scriptures that Jesus was the Messiah,[65] emphasizing for the authorial audience that, despite the agreement reached in the Jerusalem Council and Paul's increasing focus on the mission to the non-Judeans, he has not abandoned the mission to ethnic Judeans and god-fearers. In the synagogue, Paul "argues" (διελέξατο),"explains" (διανοίγων) and "proves" (παρατιθέμενος) from the scriptures that Jesus is Israel's Messiah (17:2-3).[66] Witherington notes that the type of

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[64] On the Roman law against binding or beaTing a citizen without trial, see Cicero, *Pro Rabirio Perduellionis Reo* 12. Also see Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1939) and *Roman Law and Roman Society in the New Testament* (reprt.; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1992,).

[65] Pervo (*Acts*, 419, nt. 15) notes that the only other occurrence of the phrase is Luke 4:16 and suggests that this "establishes and demonstrates the continuity of the message."

[66] Parsons, *Acts*, 236 notes that these terms signal to the authorial audience that Paul's argument takes the form of Hellenistic rhetoric.

rhetoric used here is enthymeme, a type of syllogism formed in three parts, one of which may be only implied, leaving the audience to fill in the gap.[67] The enthymeme, in this case (17:3), is as follows:

> (1) The Christ must suffer and rise again, as Paul's interpretation of the Scriptures proves,
> (2) Jesus died on the cross and rose again,
> (3) Therefore, this Jesus Paul is proclaiming must be the Christ.[68]

The second proof is omitted here, leaving the audience to fill in the gap. Parsons notes that, while the form is Hellenistic, the content is thoroughly Judean and thus reminiscent of earlier statements by Jesus and Peter (Luke 24:26, 46; Acts 3:18).[69] Thus, while much of this narrative block is focused on Paul's expansion of the non-Judean mission, the authorial audience is not allowed to forget the continuity between Paul, Peter, and Jesus, being continually reminded of Paul's prototypical status in the Christ group.

The audience now learns that "some of them were persuaded and were identified with Paul and Silas, along with a great many of the devout Greeks and several of the leading women" (τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπείσθησαν καὶ προσεκληρώθησαν τῷ Παύλῳ καὶ τῷ Σιλᾷ, τῶν τε σεβομένων Ἑλλήνων πλῆθος πολύ, γυναικῶν τε τῶν πρώτων οὐκ ὀλίγαι [Acts 17:4]). While no reference is made to their belief in Jesus as resurrected Messiah or baptism and being

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[67] Witherington, *Acts,* 505; Parsons, *Acts*, 236, citing Theon's *Progymnasmata.*
[68] Witherington, *Acts*, 505.
[69] Parsons, *Acts*, 236.

filled with Holy Spirit, the use of προσεκληρώθησαν, an aorist form of προσκληρόομαι meaning to "identify with," seems to indicate that they were the subjects of divine action.[70] While the core of the superordinate identity and boundary crossing rituals are not mentioned their being identified with the key figures of Paul and Silas implies both their believe and participation in the boundary crossing rituals that constitute the superordinate identity.

The Judeans who did not believe, however, become "envious" (ζηλώσαντες), form a mob, and "set the city in an uproar" (ἐθορύβουν τὴν πόλιν [17:5]). In this scene, though, since the opposition could not find Paul and Silas in public, they went to Jason's house in search of them. Unable to locate Paul and Silas, the mob brought Jason before the city authorities with their allegation:

> These people who have been turning the world upside down have come here also, and Jason has entertained them as guests. They are all acting contrary to the decrees of Caesar, saying that there is another king named Jesus.
>
> οἱ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀναστατώσαντες οὗτοι καὶ ἐνθάδε πάρεισιν, οὓς ὑποδέδεκται Ἰάσων· καὶ οὗτοι πάντες ἀπέναντι τῶν δογμάτων Καίσαρος πράσσουσιν βασιλέα ἕτερον λέγοντες εἶναι Ἰησοῦν. (17:6b-7)

Again, hostile opposition characterizes the unbelieving outgroup and serves to further define the Christ-following ingroup as those whom the authorities oppose.

The precise "decrees of Caesar" referred to by the crowd are not explicitly cited, though the crowd explains that the Christ group's insubordination resides in

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[70] Dunn, *Acts*, 227.

their proclamation that there is another king, namely Jesus. E. A. Judge has suggested that this is a reference to a ban on predictions concerning the change of rulers or that suggest the demise of the current ruler.[71] This understanding of Paul's proclamation of "another king named Jesus" agrees with Johnson's translation of the phrase τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀναστατώσαντες as "subverting the empire."[72] Such an accusation would be troublesome to civic officials, especially in the wake of the possible expulsion of the Judeans from Rome in 49 C.E. because of such a disturbance. In an attempt to calm the uproar, the authorities secure a guarantee from Jason that his friends will leave and not return and thus that night, Paul and Silas left Thessalonica for Beroea (17:10).

The account of Paul's activity in Beroea centers on the character of the Judeans there and the social status of those who embraced the gospel (17:11). First, Luke tells the audience that the Judeans in Beroea were "more noble than those in Thessalonica" (εὐγενέστεροι τῶν ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ), by which Luke seems to mean "receptive," because they welcomed Paul's message and examined the scriptures everyday, not just on the Sabbath, to investigate Paul's claims. Second, those who receive Paul's message include many of the Judeans as well as "many

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[71] E. A. Judge, "The Decrees of Caesar at Thessalonica," *Reformed Theological Review* 30 (1971): 1-7; Also see Dio Chrysostom 57.15.8. Parsons, *Acts*, 237 suggests that the authorial audience may have understood the "decrees" as a reference to a critique of the imperial cult.

[72] Johnson, *Acts*, 307. Ramsay MacMullen, *Enemies of the Roman Order: Treason, Unrest, and Alienation in the Empire* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966) has demonstrated that traveling philosophers, prophets, and teachers were often viewed as dangerous and potentially politically subversive.

Greek women and men of high standing" (τῶν Ἑλληνίδων γυναικῶν τῶν εὐσχημόνων καὶ ἀνδρῶν οὐκ ὀλίγοι [17:12]). As before, however, the unbelieving Judeans from a nearby town chase Paul and force him to leave, leaving Silas and Timothy behind (17:13-14), another indication that opposition characterizes both the believing ingroup and the unbelieving outgroup.

In Athens, as he waits for Silas and Timothy, Paul takes note of the statuary and monuments for which the city was famous (17:16). While he was there, Paul "argued in the synagogue with the Judeans and devout persons . . . (διελέγετο μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις καὶ τοῖς σεβομένοις . . . [17:17]). In Athens, therefore, Paul first seeks out a synagogue so that he may continue preaching the gospel to the Judeans, another indication that he remains committed to Judean customs. He also argued "in the marketplace every day with those who were there" (ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ κατὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν πρὸς τοὺς παρατυγχάνοντας [17:17]). Among those with whom Paul argued, presumably in the agora, were Epicurean and Stoic philosophers, whom Pervo observes "could be counted on to take opposing positions on most issues."[73] They took him to the Areopagus asking, "can we know what this new teaching is that you are presenting? (δυνάμεθα γνῶναι τίς ἡ καινὴ αὕτη ἡ ὑπὸ σοῦ λαλουμένη διδαχή; [17:19]).

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[73] Pervo, *Acts*, 425. Also see Long and Sedley. *The Hellenistic Philosophies* (2 vols.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); David L. Balch, "The Areopagus Speech: An Appeal to the Stoic Historian Posidonius against Later Stoics and Epicureans," in *Greeks, Romans, and Christians: Essays in Honor of Abraham J. Malherbe* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990) 52-79.

The Areopagus was both the name of an Athenian high court and a hill near the acropolis, but the name could refer to both, that is, a council that met on that hill.[74] There has been considerable debate over whether Paul is simply preaching at the location called Aeropagus[75] or if he was brought before the council to explain his introduction of a "foreign god" to the Athenians.[76] As both Pervo and Witherington have demonstrated, the context seems to favor a judicial setting, thus "having been stood in midst of the Areopagus" (Σταθεὶς δὲ [ὁ] Παῦλος ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ ᾽Αρείου πάγου) Paul offers his explanation (17:22). He begins by attempting to establish a sense of commonality between himself and the Athenian crowd by linking his message with their altar "to an unknown god" (᾽Αγνώστῳ θεῷ [17:23]) and the connection that exists between all humanity through this one god (17:24-26). This god, Paul asserts,

> [c]ommands all people everywhere to repent, because God has fixed a day on which God will have the world judged in righteousness by a man whom God has appointed, and of this God has given assurance to all by raising him from the dead.
>
> παραγγέλλει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις πάντας πανταχοῦ μετανοεῖν, καθότι ἔστησεν ἡμέραν ἐν ᾗ μέλλει κρίνειν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ, ἐν ἀνδρὶ ᾧ ὥρισεν, πίστιν παρασχὼν πᾶσιν ἀναστήσας αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν. (17:30-31)

The response to Paul's proclamation is mixed at best. Mention of the resurrection caused some of the listeners to scoff while others appear interested and want to hear

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[74] See H.M. Martin, "Aeropagus" *ABD* (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 370-71.
[75] Johnson, *Acts,* 314.
[76] Pervo, *Acts*, 428; Witherington, *Acts*, 515-16; Parsons, *Acts*, 243-44. Also see *SIG* 814.

more from Paul at a later time (17:32). There are some, however, who are persuaded by Paul's message and become believers; particularly, Luke mentions Dionysius the Areopagite, a member of the council, and a woman named Damaris (17:34). While Paul's ministry in Athens may not have appeared significantly successful, it serves two important narrative functions; first, it demonstrates Paul's continued interest in preaching the gospel to Judeans, even in Athens and second, it illustrates the ability of Paul to proclaim a message to these non-Judeans that would not have been offensive to Judean Christ followers. Thus, the scene in Athens serves to bolster the claim that Paul remains committed to Judean customs even while proclaiming the superordinate Christ group identity.

Next, the audience learns that Paul travels to Corinth (18:1), where he encounters Judeans who have recently arrived from Rome due to the expulsion of the Judeans by Claudius (18:2). Peter Lampe proposes that Judean Christ followers in Rome were in conflict with one or more synagogues, which led to the expulsion of the key figures in the conflict.[77] Pricilla and Aquila, therefore, represent these leading Judean Christ followers who have emigrated to Corinth from Rome. Here the audience also learns that Paul has a secondary occupation, tentmaking, which persumably provides him with a source of income while traveling. Since Pricilla and

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[77] Peter Lampe, *From Paul to Valentinus: Christians at Rome in the First Two Centuries* (Trans. Marshall D. Johnson. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2003), 11. For problems with this expulsion theory, see Mark D. Nanos, *The Mystery of Romans: The Jewish Context of Paul's Letter* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996), 372-87.

Aquila share this trade, they invite Paul to stay and work with them (18:3). The audience is told that every Sabbath Paul attended the synagogue and "argued" (διελέγετο) with the Judeans and non-Judeans (18:4). Once Silas and Timothy arrive, Paul dedicates himself solely to convincing the Judeans that Jesus was the Messiah (18:5). Again, the audience is reminded that Paul is committed to proclaming the gospel to the Judeans and gives no indication of anti-Judaism. The Judeans, however, reject Paul's message which leads him to gesture symbolically that he would have no more to do with them (18:6). As in Iconium (14:1-7), Judean rejection causes Paul to turn exclusively to the non-Judeans *in this location*. Paul, therefore, leaves the synagogue and enters the house of Titius Justus, which was next door (18:7). The audience learns that the mission in Corinth was successful, with many people hearing the gospel and becoming believers including the leader of the synagogue, Crispus, and his household (18:8). Although the language describing the superordinate identity becomes increasingly sparse in the latter part of the Acts narrative, key words — such as "believed" and "baptized" in 18:8 — continue to remind the authorial audience of the superordinate identity established and solidified earlier in the narrative. Due to the success of his mission in Corinth, Paul remains there for a year and six months (18:11).

During the time when Gallio was the proconsul of Achaia,[78] "the Judeans attacked Paul with one accord and brought him before the judgment seat" (κατεπέστησαν ὁμοθυμαδὸν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τῷ Παύλῳ καὶ ἤγαγον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα [18:12]). The Judeans charge Paul with "persuading people to worship God in ways that are contrary to the law" (ὅτι παρὰ τὸν νόμον ἀναπείθει οὗτος τοὺς ἀνθρώπους σέβεσθαι τὸν θεόν. [18:12-13]). Gallio responds, however, noting that,

> If it were a matter of crime or serious wrongdoing, I would be justified in accepting the complaint of you Judeans; but since it is a matter of questions about words and names and your own law, see to it yourselves; I do not wish to be a judge of these matters.
>
> εἰ μὲν ἦν ἀδίκημά τι ἢ ῥᾳδιούργημα πονηρόν, ὦ Ἰουδαῖοι, κατὰ λό γον ἂν ἀνεσχόμην ὑμῶν, εἰ δὲ ζητήματά ἐστιν περὶ λόγου καὶ ὀνομάτων καὶ νόμου τοῦ καθ᾽ ὑμᾶς, ὄψεσθε αὐτοί· κριτὴς ἐγὼ τού των οὐ βούλομαι εἶναι. (Acts 18:14–15)

To the Roman proconsul, therefore, the charges against Paul represented an intra-group conflict within Judaism that should be settled among Judeans. As such, this may be an indication of the charge to be brought once Paul reaches Jerusalem that he has abandoned Judean customs and teaches other Judeans to do likewise. Persumably angry because their charge against Paul was dismissed, the Judeans assaulted the leader of the synagogue, Sosthenes, who had previously left the synagogue with Paul (18:17). Again, the unbelieving outgroup acts with violence against ingroup Christ

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[78] The inscription mentioning Gallio as proconsul of Achaia found at Delphi may be dated to 52-3 C.E. For the discussion on dating this inscription, see page 105 above.

followers. The scene ends by noting that Paul left Corinth, accompanied by Priscilla and Aquila, for Syria (18:18).

The transition to the next major scene includes reference to Paul's cutting his hair in Cenchreae, the eastern seaport of Corinth, because he was under a vow (18:18). Though it is not specificed what vow Paul had undertaken, it may be that Paul cut his hair here as he began the Nazarite vow.[79] After his haircut, Paul sails with Pricsilla and Aquila to Ephesus, where he meets briefly with Judeans in the synagogue and, despite their urging him to remain, sails for Caesarea, promising to return "if God wills" (θεοῦ θέλοντος [18:19-21]).[80]

Luke's record of Paul's continued mission is interrupted briefly by the introduction of Apollos, a Judean from Alexandria who is now in Ephesus (18:24). He is described as " an eloquent man, powerful in the scriptures" (ἀνὴρ λόγιος, . . . δυνατὸς ὢν ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς. [18:24]), as one who "had been instructed in the Way of the Lord" (οὗτος ἦν κατηχημένος τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ κυρίου [18:25]) and who "spoke with burning enthusiasm and taught accurately the things concerning Jesus" (καὶ ζέων τῷ πνεύματι ἐλάλει καὶ ἐδίδασκεν ἀκριβῶς τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ [18:25]). His only shortcoming, according to Luke, is the he "knew only the baptism of John" (ἐπιστάμενος μόνον τὸ βάπτισμα Ἰωάννου· [18:25]). The

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[79] Dunn, *Acts*, 246; contra Witherington, *Acts*, 557.

[80] Johnson, *Acts*, 329-30, notes that later in the narrative Paul is encouraged to go into the temple with those who are having their heads shaved because they had been under a Nazarite vow. Since the sea voyage to Jerusalem would have taken some time, it is likely that Luke expects his audience to understand, even if only at a later point in the narrative (21:24) that Paul was making a vow at Cenchreae.

implication of Apollos' description, therefore, is that he believes that Jesus is the resurrected Messiah but he has not undergone the boundary crossing rituals of baptism in Jesus' name and being filled with the Spirit. Once when Apollos was speaking in the synagogue, Pricilla and Aquila heard him and "took him aside and explained the Way [of God] more accurately to him" (προσελάβοντο αὐτὸν καὶ ἀκριβέστερον αὐτῷ ἐξέθεντο τὴν ὁδὸν [τοῦ θεοῦ] [18:26]). This reference implies that they had explained the boundary crossing rituals to Apollos and that he underwent the rituals to join the Christ group. Apollos' ingroup status is confirmed when the audience learns that he went to Achaia and "vigorously refuted the Judeans in public, showing by the scriptures that the Messiah is Jesus" (εὐτόνως γὰρ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις διακατηλέγχετο δημοσίᾳ ἐπιδεικνὺς διὰ τῶν γραφῶν εἶναι τὸν χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν. [18:28]). Thus, Apollos, now a legitimate member of the Christ-following ingroup, proclaims the core identity marker to the Judeans in Corinth.

While Apollos was in Corinth, the audience learns that Paul returns to Ephesus, having "passed through the inland regions" (διελθόντα τὰ ἀνωτερικὰ μέρη [κατ]ελθεῖν εἰς Ἔφεσον [19:1]). Once there, Paul finds "some disciples" (τινας μαθητὰς) but whose disciples is not explicitly described until Paul asks what baptism they had received (19:2). Their reply makes clear that these were John the Baptist's disciples (19:3). The question that needs to be considered is whether these disciples of John are also to be understood as Christ followers. Paul's question to them, "Did you receive the Holy Spirit when you believed?" (εἰ πνεῦμα

ἅγιον ἐλάβετε πιστεύσαντες; [19:2]) indicates by the use of the key term "believe" that they have expressed belief in Jesus as the resurrected Messiah but have not yet been baptized in his name nor have they been filled with the Holy Spirit. All of this suggests that Luke's audience would have understood these to be disciples of John who had believed in Jesus but had not been properly initiated into the Christ movement.

Paul responds to this news by explaining to them that "John baptized with the baptism of repentance, saying to the people to believe in the one who was to come after him, that is, in Jesus" (Ἰωάννης ἐβάπτισεν βάπτισμα μετανοίας τῷ λαῷ λέγων εἰς τὸν ἐρχόμενον μετ᾽ αὐτὸν ἵνα πιστεύσωσιν, τοῦτ᾽ ἔστιν εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν [19:4]). When these disciples heard this, "they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus" (ἐβαπτίσθησαν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ [19:5]) and "the Holy Spirit came upon them" (ἦλθε τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐπ᾽ αὐτούς [19:6]). Thus, for the first time since 8:12-15, belief in Jesus (19:4), baptism in his name (19:5), and being filled with the Holy Spirit (19:6) are mentioned together in the same scene. The restatement of the core of the superordinate identity and of the boundary-crossing ritual makes explicit again for the audience what the previous chapters have assumed. This restatement enables the audience to confirm its understanding of and commitment to this superordinate identity.

The scene moves to the synagogue, where for three months Paul argues persuasively about the kingdom of God (19:8). The audience recalls Paul's previous

meeting with this synagogue (18:19-20) and that they asked him to stay longer. It may be surprising, therefore, that now some "stubbornly refuse to believe and spoke evil of the Way" (τινες ἐσκληρύνοντο καὶ ἠπείθουν [19:9]). Apparently some did believe, however, and Paul leaves with "the disciples" and begins teaching in the "lecture hall of Tyrannus" (19:9). Paul spends two years teaching here so that "all" the residents of Asia, both Judean and Greeks heard his message (19:10). Paul's time in Ephesus, therefore, reinforces the superordinate Christ group identity and many Judeans and Greeks are welcomed into the Christ group.

Luke introduces the final scene in this narrative block with a general statement of the miraculous things God was doing through Paul. So miraculous, in fact, were these deeds, when the handkerchiefs and aprons that had touched him were brought to the sick and demon possessed, they were healed (19:11-12). This is clearly a parallel to the healing effect of Peter's shadow (5:15), showing that both Peter and Paul are, like Jesus,[81] able to heal even though they have no physical contact with the person being healed. Paul's powerful miracles lead other Judean exorcists to imitate him by attempting to cast out demons by the name of Jesus (19:13). Luke tells a brief, and humorous, story of one such group of exorcists, the seven sons of the Judean high priest Sceva. When they try to cast out a demon by imitation of Paul, the demon recognizes Jesus and Paul, but questions, "who are you?" (ὑμεῖς δὲ τίνες ἐστέ; [19:15]). The possessed person leaps onto the sons and forces them to flee, naked and

[81] For example, see Luke 4:39; 5:24; 6:10; 7:7, 10, 14; 9:42; 9:1713-16; 18:41-42.

wounded (19:16). This event, Luke notes, becomes widely known in Ephesus, among both Judeans and Greeks, and causes many to become Christ followers, among them, some magicians who burned their magic books publicly (19:17-19). Again, former outgroup members who practice magic express belief in Jesus and the Christ and join the Christ group. The narrative block ends with a brief summary statement noting, "the word of the Lord grew powerful and strong" (Οὕτως κατὰ κράτος τοῦ κυρίου ὁ λόγος ηὔξανεν καὶ ἴσχυεν [19:20]).

Summary

The third narrative block focuses on the expansion of the gospel into Asia Minor (13:4-14:28; 15:36-16:10), Macedonia (16:11-17:15), Achaea (17:16-18:18). The kernel (13:1-4) informs the authorial audience that the Christian community in Antioch was commanded by the Holy Spirit to "Set apart for me Barnabas and Saul for the work to which I have called them" (ἀφορίσατε δή μοι τὸν Βαρναβᾶν καὶ Σαῦλον εἰς τὸ ἔργον ὃ προσκέκλημαι αὐτούς [Acts 13:2]). The "work" to which Barnabas and Saul/Paul are called continues the process of recategorization begun in the first narrative block by making links between Peter and Paul so that the authorial audience begins to view the latter as prototypical of Christian identity and by bringing to a climax the narrative recategorization of Judean and non-Judean Christ followers at the "council" in Jerusalem (15:1-29)

At the Jerusalem "council," the boundary-crossing rituals established earlier in the narrative are affirmed by the rejection of a proposal that would add circumcision and Torah observance. While these Judean boundary-crossing rituals were rejected for non-Judean Christ followers, four additional regulations were put in place to govern table fellowship between Judean and non-Judean Christ followers. The resulting boundary-crossing rituals hold that the baptism in the name of Jesus and being filled with the Holy Spirit are the boundaries separating ingroup from outgroup. Within the Christ group, however, the narrative of Acts presents two subgroups that have their own unique, though not mandatory, identity markers. While both subgroups exist within a superordinate group, each maintains certain distinct identity markers. Judean Christ followers are expected to continue to observe their traditional customs of circumcision and Torah observance while non-Judeans are expected to avoid "things polluted by idols and from fornication and from whatever has been strangled and from blood" (τοῦ ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν ἀλισγημάτων τῶν εἰδώλων καὶ τῆς πορνείας καὶ τοῦ πνικτοῦ καὶ τοῦ αἵματος [15:20]).

The creation of this superordinate group identity in the narrative has implications for the identity formation of those who read/hear Acts. Thus, just as those in the narrative have accepted the common ingroup identity set forth primarily by Peter and Paul, the authorial audience is expected to accept it as well. There remains, however, the question of Paul's commitment to Judean customs for Judean

Christ followers. The recategorization process, therefore, will continue in the fourth and final narrative block as Paul defends his mission to the non-Judeans against accusations from Romans, Judeans, and Judean Christ followers.

CHAPTER EIGHT:
THE FOURTH NARRATIVE BLOCK (19:21-28:31)

Following the completion of the narrative recategorization of Judean and non-Judean Christ followers in the third narrative block, the fourth and final narrative block focuses on completing the recategorization of the authorial audience by addressing the reputation and legacy of Paul, namely by defending Paul against charges that he advocates abandoning traditional Judean customs such as circumcision and Torah observance. This is an important step in the recategorization process since it addresses a major concern that one subgroup, namely those who have previously opposed Paul and his mission, may have about Paul and this superordinate identity. Since Paul is a Judean, he clearly belongs to the Judean subgroup of Christ followers and therefore, according to his opponents view, he should continue to advocate circumcision and Torah observance for Judean Christ followers. Though unspoken until this final narrative block (21:20-21), the concern about Paul's commitment and adherence to Judean customs has been underlying the narrative since the Jerusalem "council." Thus, having established Paul as leader of the Christ movement and prototypical of its group identity, which has been created through the first three narrative blocks, the process of recategorizing those on both sides of the debate over non-Judean inclusion nears its completion in the fourth narrative block as

Paul, who continues to be linked with Jesus as prototype, defends himself against charges of anti-Judaism. This final narrative block, then, represents an appeal directly to Pauline opponents, that is, Judean Christ followers who are concerned that Paul may be "decategorizing" all Christ followers into one superordinate group rather than maintaining distinct subgroup identities. The kernel for the fourth block (19:21-22) provides a narrative framework for this defense, a framework that is elaborated in satellites that trace Paul's movement from Ephesus (19:21-41), through Macedonia and Achaia (20:1-12), to Jerusalem (21:15-23:32), Caesarea (23:33-26:32), and finally to Rome (27:1-28:31), where the narrative ends.

The Fourth Narrative Block: 19:21-28:31

19:21-22 — Turning Toward Jerusalem and Rome

In the kernel of the fourth narrative block, the authorial audience learns that Paul "decided in the Spirit to pass through Macedonia and Achaia" (ἔθετο ὁ Παῦλος ἐν τῷ πνεύματι διελθὼν τὴν Μακεδονίαν καὶ Ἀχαΐαν) on his way to Jerusalem and after that to Rome (πορεύεσθαι εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα εἰπὼν ὅτι μετὰ τὸ γενέσθαι με ἐκεῖ δεῖ με καὶ Ῥώμην ἰδεῖν [19:21]).[1] In addition to providing an outline of the last narrative block, this announcement also functions to

[1] Bruce, *Acts*, 413 notes that the placement of these plans here indicates a major narrative shift. So Johnson, *Acts*, 346. Tannehill (*The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts,* 2.239) notes that Paul's decision "in the spirit" to go to Jerusalem must refer to the Holy Spirit since he goes on to say that he must "also" see Rome, using δεῖ for reference to divine necessity. So Witherington, *Acts*, 588-9. Also see Parsons, *Acts*, 274.

remind the authorial audience of Jesus "setting his face to go to Jerusalem" (αὐτὸς τὸ πρόσωπον ἐστήρισεν τοῦ πορεύεσθαι εἰς Ἰερουσαλήμ [Luke 9:51]) and the divine necessity (δεῖ) for his suffering there.[2] The final narrative shift in Acts, therefore, echos Jesus' final turn toward Jerusalem and indicates to the audience the suffering that is to come for Paul in the narrative. By echoing Jesus' journey toward Jerusalem, Paul's journey to Jerusalem and Rome serves in part to reaffirm Paul's prototypical status. Having established both Peter and Paul as the metonymic image of Jesus and prototypical of Christ group identity, and, having defined the superordinate ingroup identity of Christ followers, the final block of the narrative begins by reaffirming Paul's role as prototype of the superordinate Christ group identity. Furthermore, by echoing Jesus' journey to Jerusalem, Luke links the charges against Jesus to the charges against Paul, thus implying that, just as Jesus was not guilty of the charges against him, so Paul is not guilty of abandoning, and teaching others to abandon, traditional Judean customs. The kernel of the last narrative block, therefore, recalls Paul's connection with Jesus, reaffirming his prototypical role, and implicitly denies the charges against him. The charges against Paul, therefore, though they remain unspoken until he reaches Jerusalem, are alluded to as the last narrative block begins. Before Paul begins his journey to Jerusalem, however, the audience

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[2] Walter Radl, *Paulus und Jesus im lukanischen Doppelwerk: Untersuchungen zu Parallelmotiven im Lukasevengelium und in der Apostelgeschichte* (Bern: Herbert Lang, 1975), 103-26.

learns of an encounter between the Christ group and a group of local artisans in Ephesus.

19:23-40 — Paul in Ephesus

Before Paul begins the journey that will take him to Jerusalem and Rome, the audience learns of a conflict in Ephesus between the Christ group and a trade guild of silversmiths[3] who made considerable money making silver shrines[4] of the goddess Artemis (19:23-24).[5] A "silversmith" (ἀργυροκόπος) named Demetrius gathers the artisan guild to discuss what they should do about the problem.

> Men, you know that we get our wealth from this business. You also see and hear that not only in Ephesus but in almost the whole of Asia this Paul has persuaded and drawn away a considerable number of people by saying that gods made with hands are not gods. And there is danger not only that this trade of ours may come into disrepute but also that the temple of the great goddess Artemis will be scorned, and she will be deprived of her majesty that brought all Asia and the world to worship her.
>
> ἄνδρες, ἐπίστασθε ὅτι ἐκ ταύτης τῆς ἐργασίας ἡ εὐπορία ἡμῖν ἐστιν καὶ θεωρεῖτε καὶ ἀκούετε ὅτι οὐ μόνον Ἐφέσου ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν πάσης τῆς Ἀσίας ὁ Παῦλος οὗτος πείσας μετέστησεν ἱκανὸν ὄχλον λέγων ὅτι οὐκ εἰσὶν θεοὶ οἱ διὰ χειρῶν γινόμενοι. οὐ μόνον δὲ τοῦτο κινδυνεύει ἡμῖν τὸ μέρος εἰς ἀπελεγμὸν ἐλθεῖν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τῆς

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[3] *I. Eph.* 425, 585, 2212; *New Documents* 4, no. 1; *New Documents* 5, no. 5, 95-111; Horsley, "Inscriptions," 142.

[4] Literally, "silver temples of Artemis" (ναοὺς ἀργυροῦς Ἀρτέμιδος). Pervo (*Acts*, 491) suggests that most scholars view this as a "slip" perhaps as hyperbole and that the items were probably niches with the statue of Artemis. By using "temples" (ναοὺς), Pervo asserts, Luke invokes the memory of the speeches of Stephen and Paul (7:48; 17:24). For more, see the bibliography in Pervo, *Acts*, 491, nt. 54.

[5] See Paul R. Trebilco, "Asia" in *The Book of Acts in Its Graeco-Roman Setting* (ed. Conrad H. Gempf; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 291-361 and *The Early Christians in Ephesus from Paul to Ignatius* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 165.

> μεγάλης θεᾶς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν εἰς οὐθὲν λογισθῆναι, μέλλειν τε καὶ καθαιρεῖσθαι τῆς μεγαλειότητος αὐτῆς ἣν ὅλη ἡ Ἀσία καὶ ἡ οἰκουμένη σέβεται. (19:25-27)

They are threatened primarily because of the impact Paul's message has on their income thus, though Paul is not a major actor in this scene, "the whole episode indirectly demonstrates the powerful effect of Paul's work in Asia through the emotional reaction of people who feel threatened by it."[6] This demonstrates the popularity of Paul's message among non-Judeans in the province of Asia and reaffirms ingroup and outgroup distinctions by emphasizing the outgroup's opposition to the Christ-following ingroup.

The Temple of Artemis in Ephesus, which is introduced here without introduction,[7] was an important financial center of the ancient world.[8] Demetrius' concern creates great anxiety (19:28) and confusion (19:29) as a large crowd rushes the theater for an impromptu civic assembly. Since the Christ group was the cause of the commotion, unnamed people seize two of Paul's traveling companions, though the audience is not told the reason or what happens to them. The authorial audience is expected here to wonder about Paul's situation, thus the narrator notes that Paul wanted to go to the assembly but the disciples would not let him and some of the

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[6] Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts,* 2.241. So Parsons, *Acts*, 274. For the difficulties of this scene see Haenchen, *Acts*, 576-79. Against Haenchen, see R. F. Stroops, "Riot and Assembly: The Social Context of Acts 19.14," *JBL* 108 (1989): 76-77.

[7] Pausanias 4.31.8 says that Artemis was worshipped by more individuals then any other deity known to him. Also see Strabo 4.1.5; Pervo, *Acts*, 492, nt. 56 and the literature cited therein.

[8] Dieter Knibbe, "Via Sacra" in Koester, *Ephesos Metropolis of Asia*,146-47 argues that the power and prestige of the Artemis cult was in decline during the mid to late first century C.E., helping to explain the intense response reported here. See also, Trebilco, "Asia," 331-32.

Asiarchs (τῶν Ἀσιαρχῶν),[9] who were his "friends" (φίλοι)[10] urged him not to go to the theater (19:30-31). Paul remains in hiding until the commotion ceases (20:1).

Even as a prototypical Christ group member, Paul does not play a major role in this scene. This scene addresses the relationship between Judaism and the Christ group through the introduction of Alexander the Judean (19:33-34). Klauck suggests that Luke's audience would have known this Alexander, which accounts for his entry into the narrative without a proper introduction.[11] The traditional interpretation of this scene suggests that Alexander wanted to distance the Judeans from Paul and his message.[12] Yet, several recent interpreters have suggested that the Judeans and Christ followers were allied against idolatry and that Alexander's speech-that-never-happened was intended to defend Paul's rejection of idols.[13] Tannehill suggests, "[i]n other scenes [Judeans] and [Christ followers] are in conflict. Here they stand for the same thing and face the same angry protest of their neighbors."[14] The significance of this scene for the recategorization process is that to outsiders, non-messianic Judeans

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[9] Pervo (*Acts*, 495) asserts that scholarship generally understands the "Asiarchs" to be "the chief priests of the imperial cult at Ephesus." While Dunn (*Acts*, 263) agrees, Johnson (*Acts*, 349) admits that there remains uncertainty as to their political and religious function but notes that their existence is well-attested, citing Strabo, *Geography* 14.649-665. For a different perspective see Rosalinde Kearsley, "The Asiarchs" in *The Book of Acts in Its Graeco-Roman Setting* (ed. Gill and Gempf; Grand Rapids: W.B. Eerdmans, 1994), 363-76.

[10] Friendship language here may imply that these Asiarchs were Paul's patrons. Witherington, *Acts*, 595; Haenchen, *Acts*, 578 notes that "a sect whose leader had Asiarchs for friends cannot be dangerous to the state."

[11] Klauck, *Magic*, 107. Also see Haenchen, *Acts*, 575.

[12] Gerhard Schneider, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (2 vols.; Freiburg: Herder, 1980, 1982), 2.277; Witherington, *Acts*, 596-97; Bruce, *Acts*, 419; Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 660.

[13] Parsons, *Acts*, 276; Dunn, *Acts*, 264; Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts,* 2.243; Jervell, *Die Apostelgeschichte: Übersetzt Und Erklärt* (Götteningen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 429.

[14] Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts,* 2.243.

and Christ followers are not always easily differentiated, which implies that Paul and his companions appear to the Ephesians to be Judeans. As Paul's journey toward Jerusalem begins, therefore, audience members who have been opposed to Paul, thinking that he had abandoned his Judean ancestry, are provided more evidence that Paul appears to outsiders as a Judean, implying that he has not abandoned Judean customs.

20:1-21:16 — Journey Toward Jerusalem

The second scene of the fourth narrative block expands upon the kernel as the journey mentioned there begins (20:1).

Map 3: Paul's Third Journey in Acts
From http://net.bible.org/map.php, accessed 23 January 2010

Paul travels through Macedonia and Achaia, where he stays for three months before preparing to sail for Syria. Having learned of a plot by the Judeans, however, Paul decides to return through Macedonia (20:2-3). Though the audience is not told the nature of the plot, its mention recalls earlier plots against Paul (9:24; 13:50; 14:5) and other Christ followers (5:33) and reminds the authorial audience that opposition and

violence serves as an identity marker for both ingroup and outgroup (3:13-15; 5:33, 40; 7:54, 58). At this point, the audience learns that Paul's traveling companions, who were representatives of the places where Paul had founded Christ communities,[15] go ahead to Troas while Paul and the narrator remain in Philippi for the celebration of the Feast of Unleavened Bread (20:5-6).[16] This serves to provide more evidence to the authorial audience that Paul remains committed to Judean customs.

Several scholars have noted the absence of a purpose for Paul's journey to Jerusalem, which, as we may infer from his authentic letters and a brief reference in 24:17, was to deliver the offering taken from the non-Judean Christ communities in Asia Minor, Macedonia, and Achaia for the Jerusalem community.[17] Johnson, noting that interpreters can only speculate about Luke's reason for leaving the purpose of this trip out, suggests that the failure of the Jerusalem community to defend Paul after his arrest may be an embarrassing sign that the offering was not received and that reconciliation had failed.[18] While this may be inferred by those in the authorial audience who know of the offering, the lack of a clear indication of the purpose of Paul's journey to Jerusalem, according to Johnson, serves to heighten the resemblance of Jesus' own journey by gathering disciples in pairs and sending them ahead (20:4-5;

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[15] Dunn, *Acts*, 267 notes that these men probably travel with Paul to Jerusalem in order to emphasize the diaspora Christ communities sense of fellowship and debt owned to the "mother church."

[16] Pervo, *Acts*, 509, suggests this also "evokes death, specifically the 'passions' of Jesus (Luke 22:1) and Peter (Acts 12:3). Pervo also notes, (509, nt. 47) that the text does not say that they celebrated the Passover and Haenchen, *Acts*, 583 thinks this unlikely given the ethnic make-up of the community at Philippi.

[17] Dunn, *Acts*, 265-66; Pervo, *Acts*, 506; Witherington, *Acts*, 588.

[18] Johnson, *Acts,* 357.

cf. Luke 9:1-6, 10:1-12).[19] Thus Luke continually keeps Paul's link with Jesus in view of the authorial audience, reminding them, even as he defends himself against charges of abandoning Judean customs, of Paul's prototypical role. Moreover, the authorial audience is invited to compare these two journeys to Jerusalem, indeed, to become active participants in the journey and thus, as they recall Jesus' passion, to empathize with Paul.[20] This empathy also serves to help reaffirm Paul's prototypical status as his commitment to Judean customs is defended on his journey to Jerusalem and Rome.

The scene shifts to the first day of the week and a gathering of Christ followers with whom Paul breaks bread and holds a lengthy discussion (20:7). References to the "first day of the week" (Ἐν δὲ τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων), the "breaking bread" (κλάσαι ἄρτον), and the "upstairs room" (ὑπερῷον) are clear echoes of the end of the Third Gospel (Luke 22:12; 24:1; 24:30-35) and the beginning of Acts (Acts 1:13; 2:46), bolstering the link between Paul, Jesus, and the early Christ group in Jerusalem. As Paul's talk lingered on, a young man named Eutychus falls asleep while sitting "in a window" (ἐπὶ τῆς θυρίδος [20:9]).[21] His three-story[22] fall

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[19] Ibid., 357-58.

[20] Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts,* 2.246-47.

[21] The reference in 20:8 that there were "many lamps" in the room may provide the reason that Eutychus was sitting near the window; the fumes and smoke given off by the lamp oil may caused him to need some "fresh air." Pervo, *Acts*, 510.

[22] Witherington, *Acts*, 607 notes that this may be an indication of the social status of the Christ followers in Troas since if this were a wealthy person's home, the dining room would have been on the first, not the third, floor. It is more likely, then, that this is an *insula* (apartment) where the non-elite lived.

was fatal[23] but Paul rushes down and picks him up stating that "he is still alive" (ἡ γὰρ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐστιν [20:10]). Paul then returns upstairs where he eats and converses until dawn when he departs (20:11). Parsons notes that, in this brief story of Eutychus death and Paul's resuscitation of him, "sleep" may be symbolic of moral laxity, spiritual dullness, or death.[24] Arterbury suggests that the authorial audience would hear echoes of the spiritual dullness of Jesus' followers in the garden of Gethsemane (Luke 22:39-46).[25] Perhaps for the authorial audience, clearer parallels may be found in Peter's raising of Tabitha (9:36-42) and Jesus' raising of Jairus' daughter (Luke 8:40-42; 49-56).[26] Again, Paul is linked with Peter and Jesus thus enhancing his prototypical status in the Christ group.

Paul's journey takes him from Troas to Miletus, bypassing Ephesus since he wished to be in Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost (20:13-16), another indication that Paul remains committed to Judean customs.[27] Once they reach Miletus, Paul

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[23] There has been some debate about whether the boy died or not. See Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts,* 2.248-49. Witherington, *Acts*, 607 correctly notes that the wording indicates that the he was dead (ἤΡθη νεκρός). Contrast this with 14:19 where Paul's companions "thought he was dead" (νομίζοντες αὐτὸν τεθνηκέναι).

[24] Parsons, *Acts*, 288. Each of these symbolic meanings is well attested in Christian and Greco-Roman literature.

[25] Andrew E. Arterbury, "The Downfall of Eutychus: How Ancient Understandings of Sleep Illuminate Acts 20:7-12" in *Contemporary Studies in Acts* (ed. Thomas E. Phillips; Macon: Mercer University Press, 2009), 201-21.

[26] Johnson, *Acts*, 536 notes that the gestures "faintly resemble" those of Elijah and Elisha (1 Kings 17:17-24; 2 Kings 4:33-36) and that there are "no actual verbal echoes." While these accounts may be in in the background, the significance seems to be the connection with Jesus and Peter.

[27] Many scholars have noted that the logic of stopping at Miletus did not cost Paul much more time than a stop in Ephesus would have. Several reasons have been set forth as the "real" reason Paul did not want to stop in Ephesus including the silting of the harbor, the time that would be lost unloading and reloading the ship (Marshal, *Acts*, 328), and the continued hostility against Paul in the city and region (Dunn, *Acts*, 269).

summons the elders of the Ephesian Christ group and delivers his farewell address.[28] Parsons has shown that the speech is divided into two main sections (20:17-24; 20:25-31), each of which contains a recollection of the past and a projection concerning the future.[29] In the first section, Paul recalls his way of life among the Ephesians (20:18-21) and discusses his journey to Jerusalem (20:22-24). In the second section, Paul recalls his ministry with the Ephesians (20:25-27) and warns of future conflict among the Christ community there (20:28-31). For the present study, the last section is of primary importance because it there that Paul addresses the conflict within the Christ group:

> Keep watch over yourselves and over all the flock, of which the Holy Spirit has made you overseers, to shepherd the church of God that he obtained with the blood of his own Son. I know that after I have gone, savage wolves will come in among you, not sparing the flock. Some even from your own group will come distorting the truth in order to entice the disciples to follow them. Therefore be alert, remembering that for three years I did not cease night or day to warn everyone with tears.
>
> προσέχετε ἑαυτοῖς καὶ παντὶ τῷ ποιμνίῳ, ἐν ᾧ ὑμᾶς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἔθετο ἐπισκόπους ποιμαίνειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἣν περιεποιήσατο διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἰδίου. ἐγὼ οἶδα ὅτι εἰσελεύ σονται μετὰ τὴν ἄφιξίν μου λύκοι βαρεῖς εἰς ὑμᾶς μὴ φειδόμενοι τοῦ ποιμνίου, καὶ ἐξ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἀναστήσονται ἄνδρες λαλοῦντες διεστραμμένα τοῦ ἀποσπᾶν τοὺς μαθητὰς ὀπίσω αὐτῶν. διὸ γρηγορεῖτε μνημονεύοντες ὅτι τριετίαν νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν οὐκ ἐπαυσάμην μετὰ δακρύων νουθετῶν ἕνα ἕκαστον. (20:28-31)

This address to the Christ group leaders in Ephesus warns of both future inter- and intra-group conflict. First, Paul warns that "savage wolves" will come in, clearly an

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[28] Dunn, *Acts*, 269 notes that Paul's speech here, while not formally such, reflects the style of the genre of a testament.

[29] Parsons, *Acts*, 291.

expression denoting conflict with outsiders. Second, he notes that some "from your own group" will "speak distortions to draw disciples after them." As other's have noted, Paul's farewell address here takes the form of the "testament" genre, especially common in Judean literature during the post-exilic and second-temple periods.[30] Typical for this genre is the gathering of the hero's family or group and warnings about future problems.[31] As I have argued throughout this study, the authorial audience in Western Asia Minor at the end of the first or beginning of the second century C.E. would be experiencing such conflict over Paul's mission to the non-Judeans and concerning non-Judean inclusion. Moreover, use of the testament genre may serve as a link between Paul and other Judean testament literature, thus bolstering the claim that Paul remains loyal to Judaism.

Here, Paul speaks directly to the authorial audience, warning them of those who have already attempted to misrepresent Paul and his message, that is those who are "distorting the truth" (20:30). It is precisely this misrepresentation that the narrative of Acts attempts to correct by recategorizing Christ followers into a superordinate group identity, the core of which is belief in Jesus as the resurrected Messiah. If, as the present study argues, this farewell address is spoken directly to the authorial audience, Paul rejects the charges against him saying that those who oppose

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[30] For an overview of the testament genre see Hollander, *Joseph as an Ethical Model in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (Leiden: Brill, 1981), 1-6.

[31] T*estament of Levi* 4:1; 10:2-5; 14:1-3; *Testament of Judah* 18:1-6; *Testament of Issachar* 6:1-4; *Testament of Napthali* 4:1-5. Also see John 13:1-16:33; 2 Tim 3:1-5; 4:3-4; 2 Peter 2:1-3; 3:34.

him and non-Judean inclusion have misunderstood both. That is, Paul asserts that he is not anti-Judean, he has not abandoned Judean customs, nor does he teach Judean Christ followers to do so.

At the conclusion of Paul's speech, the authorial audience is given a glimpse of the strong relationship that existed between Paul and the early Ephesian Christ group leaders (20:36-38). Paul's journey now takes him from Miletus to Tyre by way of Cos, Rhodes, Patara, and Syria (21:1-3). While staying in Tyre, some unnamed Christ followers there urge Paul "through the Spirit" (διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος) not to go to Jerusalem, (21:4) though their advice is unheeded as Paul and his companions board a ship for Ptolemais, where they spend a day before going to Caesarea (21:5-8). While staying with Philip the evangelist in Caesarea, the Judean prophet Agabus arrives urging Paul not to go to Jerusalem. His words echo what happened to Jesus in the first volume, they "will hand him over to the non-Judeans" (παραδώσουσιν εἰς χεῖρας ἐθνῶν [21:11; cf. Luke 18:32]). Moreover, Paul's words that he is ready to "die in Jerusalem" (ἀποθανεῖν εἰς Ἰερουσαλὴμ [21:13; cf. Luke 11:49-51, 13:33-34]) and his companion's declaration that "the Lord's will be done" (τοῦ κυρίου τὸ θέλημα γινέσθω [21:14; Luke 22:42]) echo Jesus words on the Mount of Olives (Luke 22:42). These echoes function to link Paul's journey and innocence to that of Jesus and, therefore, to bolster Paul's link with Jesus and to reaffirm him as prototypical of Christ group identity.

21:17-23:35 — Paul in Jerusalem

Once Paul arrives in Jerusalem, the narrative pace slows considerably; less than twelve days are covered in 21:17-23:35.[32] This slow pace allows for an expansive coverage of the events in Jerusalem that Luke deems very important for the authorial audience. The importance of these events lies in the governing theme for the remainder of the narrative, namely, Paul's argument that he has remained a loyal Judean, having maintained Judean customs, and rejecting the assertion that he teaches other Judeans to abandon their traditional ethnic customs.[33]

The audience learns that Paul is warmly welcomed by the Christ community in Jerusalem (21:17), signaling that the Jerusalem community had not rejected Paul. On the following day, Paul meets with James and the elders, relating to them all that had taken place during their mission (21:18-19). While James and the elders seem to welcome the news, they tell Paul that there are "many thousands of believers among the Judeans who are zealous for the law" (πόσαι μυριάδες εἰσὶν ἐν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τῶν πεπιστευκότων καὶ πάντες ζηλωταὶ τοῦ νόμου ὑπάρχουσιν· [21:20]). These zealous Judean Christ followers have heard that "you (Paul) teach all the Judeans living among the nations to forsake Moses, and that you tell them not to circumcise their children or observe the customs" (ἀποστασίαν διδάσκεις ἀπὸ Μωϋσέως τοὺς κατὰ τὰ ἔθνη πάντας Ἰουδαίους λέγων μὴ

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[32] Parsons, *Acts*, 301; Witherington, *Acts*, 442.
[33] So Witherington, *Acts*, 644.

περιτέμνειν αὐτοὺς τὰ τέκνα μηδὲ τοῖς ἔθεσιν περιπατεῖν [21:21]).[34] This brings into the open the charge that has been lurking under the surface since the Jerusalem council.

The charges against Paul do not concern the admittance of non-Judeans into the Christ group; that issue had been settled in the Jerusalem "council" in Acts 15. James makes this clear by reminding Paul, and the authorial audience, of the council's decision (21:25). The accusation that troubles these Judean Christ followers, including perhaps James and the Jerusalem elders,[35] is that Paul is teaching Diaspora Judean Christ followers to abandon Judean customs, including circumcision and Torah observance. It is possible, as both Witherington and Tannehill note, that some of Paul's letters and even portions of the present narrative could indeed give that impression.[36] As I have suggested throughout this study, its seems evident that opponents of non-Judean inclusion and Paul's message were part of the authorial audience. It is possible, if not likely, then, that the accusations of the Judean Christ followers against Paul in the narrative (21:21) echo beliefs about Paul and his message represented in the authorial audience. It is precisely these accusations that Luke has been addressing since the climax of the narrative recategorization of Judean

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[34] Philo, *Special Laws* 2.253. Also see Mishnah, *Sanhedrin* 9.6.

[35] Dunn, *Acts*, 287. On the accusation that James and the elders offered this solution to provide an opportunity for the Judeans to plot against Paul see Mattill, "The Purpose of Acts" 155+ and Witherington, *Acts*, 649-50.

[36] Witherington, *Acts*, 648; Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts,* 2.272.

and non-Judean Christ followers in Acts 15 and for the remainder of the narrative will be the main focus.

In my discussion of the development of a common ingroup identity in chapter three above, I noted a slightly different approach, called decategorization, which suggests that intragroup conflict can be reduced by prolonged contact between two opposing groups with some form of cooperative activity and that during the time of contact, boundaries between the two groups become less rigid and eventually dissolve altogether.[37] The Judean Christ followers are concerned that Paul has abandoned traditional Judean customs thereby decategorizing Judeans and non-Judeans into a new group with no distinct subgroup/ethnic identity remaining.

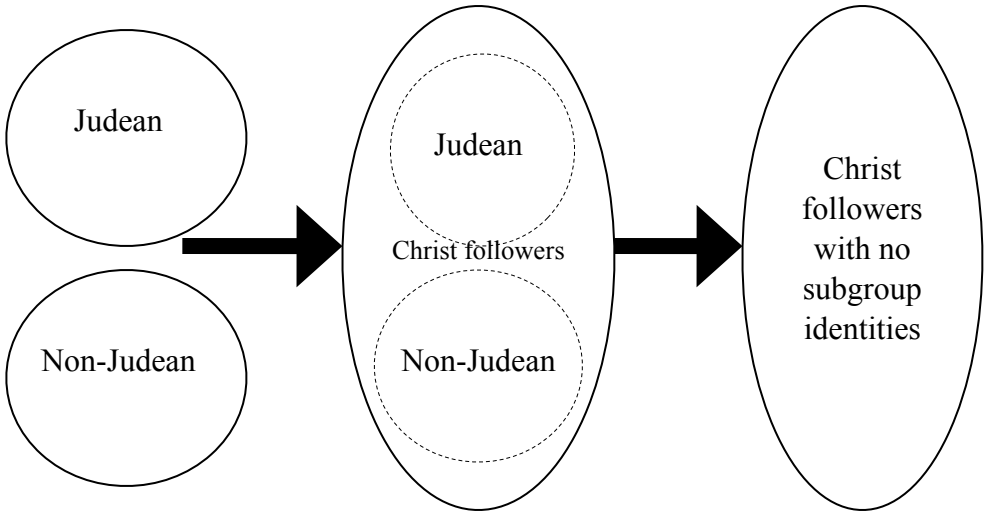

Figure 11: Decategorized Judeans and non-Judeans into the Christ group

In her book *Purity and Danger*, Mary Douglas asserts that

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[37] See p. 65-6 above. Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice*; Miller and Brewer, eds. *Groups in Contact: The Psychology of Desegregation*.

> The body is a model which can stand for any bounded system. Its boundaries can represent any boundaries which are threatened or precarious. . . . Margins are dangerous. If they are pulled this way or that the shape of fundamental experience is altered. Any structure of ideas is vulnerable at its margins. We should expect the orifices of the body to symbolise its specially vulnerable points. . . . [thus] when rituals express anxiety about the body's orifices the sociological counterpart of this anxiety is a care to protect the political and cultural unity of the minority group.[38]

The emphasis on bodily boundaries, then, represents a perceived danger to the community's boundaries and helps make sense of traditional Judeans' insistence on maintaining circumcision and food regulations; the Judean Christ group is "trying to maintain itself against a perceived threat to its identity."[39] The process of recategorization, however, does not require the dissolving of subgroup identity markers but rather retains them as important for subgroup identity while also seeking unity through a core superordinate identity marker, belief in Jesus as the resurrected Messiah, two regular boundary crossing rituals, and a cluster of other identity markers that are repeated throughout the narrative such as the proper use of property, opposition/violence, miracles, and inclusive table fellowship.

Given the de-emphasis on circumcision and food laws for non-Judean Christ followers, these Judean Christ followers in Jerusalem are concerned about reports that Paul may not be advocating traditional Judean customs for Judean Christ followers. To demonstrate that Paul has not abandoned Judean customs nor teaches others to do

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[38] Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (New York: Praeger, 1966), 115, 121, 124.

[39] Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts,* 2.272.

so, James and the elders propose that Paul join four others who are prepared to undergo rites of purification to complete the Nazarite vow and that Paul pay the associated fee for each of them (21:24). By participating in the ritual purification, Paul will demonstrate to the Judean Christ followers that he has not abandoned their traditional ethnic customs and, by extension, that he does not teach other Judeans to do so.[40] Paul, apparently seeing the validity of the proposal, takes the men into the temple the following day, purifying himself and publicly indicating when the seven days required for the process of purification would be completed (21:26-27). Tannehill notes, however, that the issue does not disappear. "In reality, the charge is absorbed into a larger accusation of continuing importance throughout the rest of Acts. . . . that is, that Paul and his mission are anti-[Judean]."[41] Thus, as my reading of Acts has already indicated, "[a]gain and again in the following chapters Paul will seek to convince his hearers [that is, the authorial audience] that he is a loyal [Judean] and that his mission is not an anti-[Judean] movement."[42] Demonstrating this to the authorial audience will aid in the recategorization of those on both sides of the debate over non-Judean inclusion.

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[40] Pervo, *Acts*, 543 rightly notes that the issue at hand is not Paul's practice but his teaching. Johnson, *Acts*, 376 notes that "[t]he implicit logic here is that Paul would not preach something contrary to his own practice, therefore his observance of this act of piety would refute that charge concerning his 'teaching.'" Also see Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts,* 2.270.

[41] Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts,* 2.269.

[42] Ibid., 2.269-70.

> Having agreed to the leaders' suggestion,
>
> Paul took the men on the next day, after purifying with them, he entered the temple to announce the completion of the days of purification when the sacrifice would be made for each of them.
>
> Τότε ὁ Παῦλος παραλαβὼν τοὺς ἄνδρας τῇ ἐχομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἁγνισθείς, εἰσῄει εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν διαγγέλλων τὴν ἐκπλήρωσιν τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ ἁγνισμοῦ ἕως οὗ προσηνέχθη ὑπὲρ ἑνὸς ἑκάστου αὐτῶν ἡ προσφορά. (21:26)

Both Tannehill and Pervo note that this public announcement, perhaps on the basis of Num 6:4 and 1 Macc 3:49, provides Paul's narrative opponents with the opportunity to develop a plot against him.[43] When the days of purification were nearing their end, some Judeans from the province of Asia[44] recognize Paul and seize him shouting,

> Fellow Israelites, help! This is the man who is teaching everyone everywhere against our people, our law, and this place; more than that, he has brought Greeks into the temple and has defiled this holy place.
>
> ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλῖται, βοηθεῖτε· οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὁ κατὰ τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τοῦ τόπου τούτου πάντας πανταχῇ διδάσκων, ἔτι τε καὶ Ἕλληνας εἰσήγαγεν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ κεκοίνωκεν τὸν ἅγιον τόπον τοῦτον. (21:28)

The first charge echoes that of the Judean Christ followers (21:20-21) while the second is, according to Johnson, "a far more serious charge since it involves action rather than simply 'teaching.'"[45] The authorial audience, however, learns immediately from the narrator that this second charge is, in fact, false. The narrator provides an explanation — the second charge was based upon the assumption that Paul had taken

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[43] Pervo, *Acts*, 546, 549; Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts,* 2.270.

[44] Presumably Diaspora Judeans in Jerusalem for the feast of Pentecost. Johnson, *Acts*, 381.

[45] Johnson, *Acts*, 381. There is an inscription that warns of the penalty of death if non-Judeans pass through the gate into the court of Israel, *CIJ* 1400. Also see Pervo, *Acts*, 550 nt. 5.

Trophimus the Ephesian, whom the Asian Judeans had seen with Paul in the city, into the temple (21:29). The refutation of this assertion functions to show that the Asian Judeans are unreliable.

Because of the city-wide uproar these Asian Judeans[46] caused, the tribune of the Roman Cohort in Jerusalem,[47] Claudius Lysias (23:2), intervenes by taking Paul into custody and has him carried away as the crowd shouts "Away with him" (αἶρε αὐτόν [21:30-36]) This cry is reminiscent of the crowd's cry against Jesus in Luke 23:18. Again, continued echoes of Jesus' passion reaffirm Paul's prototypical status. While the tribune was most concerned to restore order to the temple, the effect of his action was to save Paul from the mob.[48] Tannehill notes the significance of Paul's being taking into custody, "Paul enters this bondage because he is willing to put himself at risk in order to support [Judean Christ followers] who treasure their [Judean] heritage," making his "imprisonment an act of loyalty to Israel."[49]

Paul's first defense speech reflects an attempt to connect with Judeans and Judean Christ followers (both in the dramatic crowd and the authorial audience) by

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[46] Dunn, *Acts*, 289 correctly notes that these Judeans from Asia are not referred to as Christ followers but one wonders if the authorial audience would have inferred that they were. Nonetheless, their perspective against Paul is the same as those Judean Christ followers who have already accused Paul earlier in the scene.

[47] On the presence of a Roman cohort in the Antonia Fortress, see Josephus, *J. W.* 5.244.

[48] Richard J. Cassidy, *Society and Politics in the Acts of the Apostles* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1987), 97; Pervo, *Acts*, 569.

[49] Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts,* 2.271.

emphasizing their common Judean identity. Speaking in Hebrew, Paul offers his "defense" (ἀπολογίας[50] [22:1]) beginning with his Judean ancestry:

> I am a Judean, born in Tarsus in Cilicia, but brought up in this city at the feet of Gamaliel, educated strictly according to our ancestral law, being zealous for God, just as all of you are today.
>
> ἐγώ εἰμι ἀνὴρ Ἰουδαῖος, γεγεννημένος ἐν Ταρσῷ τῆς Κιλικίας, ἀνατεθραμμένος δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ, παρὰ τοὺς πόδας Γαμαλιὴλ πεπαιδευμένος κατὰ ἀκρίβειαν τοῦ πατρῴου νόμου, ζηλωτὴς ὑπάρχων τοῦ θεοῦ καθὼς πάντες ὑμεῖς ἐστε σήμερον· (22:3)

Here, Paul recounts his activity as a persecutor of Christ followers (22:4-5) and his experience of the risen Christ on the road to Damascus, emphasizing the divine initiative behind Paul's move into the Christ group and the boundary-crossing ritual of baptism (22:6-16). Now, Paul introduces a new element to his transformative experience; in a vision of the risen Christ in the Jerusalem temple, Jesus tells Paul to leave the city because "they," that is the Judeans, will not accept Paul's testimony and that he, Jesus, will send Paul "far away" (μακρὰν) to the "nations" (ἔθνη [22:17-21]). The mention of going to non-Judeans[51] enrages the crowd, which demands Paul's death (22:22-23) so the Roman tribune has Paul flogged in an effort to discover why the Judeans were upset with Paul (22:24).[52] Yet again, the audience sees Paul, prototypical Christ group member, experiencing violence at the hands of outsiders. Just as his flogging is about to begin, however, Paul reveals that he is a

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[50] Elements of defense speech (ἀπολογία) will be present in the rest of Paul's speeches in Acts.

[51] The reference to ἔθνη could be taken generally as "nations" but the dramatic crowd clearly understands it to involve ethnic identity. So Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts,* 2.277 and Witherington, *Acts*, 675.

[52] On the legality of flogging and its use for interrogation, see Witherington, *Acts*, 677.

Roman citizen (22:25-29).[53] This disclosure causes the tribune to release Paul on the following day and order a meeting between the chief priests with the entire council and Paul. Like Jesus, Paul must face the Sanhedrin after his arrest (Luke 22:66-71).

Paul's opening remarks, in which he asserts that he has "lived before God in all good conscience up to this day (ἐγὼ πάσῃ συνειδήσει ἀγαθῇ πεπολίτευμαι τῷ θεῷ ἄχρι ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας [23:1]) is met with a "strike on the mouth" (τύπτειν αὐτοῦ τὸ στόμα [23:2]) at the command of the high priest. Again, Paul, the prototypical ingroup member, endures violence at the hand of the outgroup. Paul is rebuked for his terse response to the high priest (23:3-4), after which Paul explains that he did not realize the person was the high priest and apologizes by citing Exodus 22:28 (23:5), thus demonstrating his knowledge of and commitment to Judean scriptures. Recognizing that both Sadducees and Pharisees were present, Paul senses an opportunity to raise the controversial matter of resurrection and divide the council against itself.[54] Paul announces, "Brothers and sisters, I am a Pharisee, a son of Pharisees. I am on trial concerning the hope of the resurrection of the dead" (ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, ἐγὼ Φαρισαῖός εἰμι, υἱὸς Φαρισαίων, περὶ ἐλπίδος καὶ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν [ἐγὼ] κρίνομαι. [23:6]). This claim, along with emphasizing Paul's Judean and Pharisaic identity, asserts that the real identity issue that divides Paul from his accusers is not circumcision or Torah observance but the

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[53] On the question of holding dual citizenship, see Pervo, *Acts*, 554-57.

[54] On the various beliefs in resurrection among Judeans, see pp. 193-94 above. On Paul's statement here as a tactical move, see Pervo, *Acts*, 574.

symbolic boundary of belief in the resurrection, which is a central element in the superordinate identity, belief that Jesus is the *resurrected* Messiah.[55] Thus, even while defending himself against charges of abandoning Judean customs, Paul reaffirms a central element of the Christ group's superordinate identity.

As Paul anticipated, a dispute (στάσις) erupted between the Pharisees and Sadducees over the resurrection, angels, and spirits (23:7-8) and, in the midst of the commotion, some "scribes of the Pharisees" (τῶν γραμματέων τοῦ μέρους τῶν Φαρισαίων) argue that they find nothing wrong with Paul (23:9). As the debate intensifies, the tribune, fearing for Paul's safety, places Paul in "protective custody" (23:10). Thus, even some of the outgroup recognized that Paul is innocent of the charges against him. That night, Jesus appears to Paul a vision that recalls the kernel of this narrative block: "Be courageous! For just as you have testified for me in Jerusalem, so you must bear witness also in Rome" (θάρσει· ὡς γὰρ διεμαρτύρω τὰ περὶ ἐμοῦ εἰς Ἰερουσαλήμ, οὕτω σε δεῖ καὶ εἰς Ῥώμην μαρτυρῆσαι. [23:11]). Johnson notes that the effect of this vision is to demonstrate for the authorial audience that Paul's witness has the risen Jesus' approval and that his witness in Rome will also take place in custody.[56]

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[55] Johnson, *Acts*, 400-1.
[56] Johnson, *Acts*, 399.

The following day, some Judeans approach the chief priests and elders concerning a plot they had developed to kill Paul, reminding the authorial audience of acts of violence perpetrated by the outgroup throughout the narrative.

> [Y]ou and the council must notify the tribune to bring him down to you, on the pretext that you want to make a more thorough examination of his case. And we are ready to do away with him before he arrives.
>
> ὑμεῖς ἐμφανίσατε τῷ χιλιάρχῳ σὺν τῷ συνεδρίῳ ὅπως καταγάγῃ αὐτὸν εἰς ὑμᾶς ὡς μέλλοντας διαγινώσκειν ἀκριβέστερον τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ· ἡμεῖς δὲ πρὸ τοῦ ἐγγίσαι αὐτὸν ἕτοιμοί ἐσμεν τοῦ ἀνελεῖν αὐτόν. (23:15)[57]

This plot to kill Paul is averted, however, when Paul's nephew discovers the plot and goes to the barracks to inform Paul (23:16). Following Paul's instructions (23:17), his nephew reports the plot to the tribune (23:20-22), who prepares Paul for immediate extradition to the Roman governor Felix in Caesarea (23:23-30). In his letter to Felix, Lysias notes that Paul is accused "concerning a dispute of their law" (περὶ ζητημάτων τοῦ νόμου αὐτῶν [23:29]), emphasizing again that this is an intra-Judean conflict over Judean customs. Once in Caesarea, Paul is informed that Felix will hear his case when his accusers arrive from Jerusalem (23:35).

Paul's appearance in Jerusalem and his defense against the charges of the Judeans begins the last section of the narrative which will focus on affirming Paul as a Judean Christ follower who has not abandoned Judean customs. Further, by continuing to be linked with Jesus, especially concerning his journey to Jerusalem,

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[57] Pervo (*Acts*, 581) notes the similarity between this plot and the plot of Judas in Luke 22:4.

Paul is reaffirmed as prototypical of Christ group identity. These links will continue as Paul continues to defend himself against the charges and as he draws closer to Rome.

24:1-26:32 — Paul in Caesarea

This section develops the kernel of the fourth narrative block by bridging Paul's time in Jerusalem and his journey to Rome. The audience learns that five days after Paul had arrived in Caesarea, Ananias the high priest comes with some elders and a "lawyer" (ῥήτορος)[58] named Tertullus to present their case against Paul to Felix (24:1).[59] After an introduction designed to flatter Felix (24:2b-4),[60] Tertullus presents the charges. First, he claims that Paul is a "troublemaker" (τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον λοιμὸν) who "incites rebellion among Judeans all over the empire" (κινοῦντα στάσεις πᾶσιν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τοῖς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην) and, second, that he is the "leader of the sect of the Nazarenes" (πρωτοστάτην τε τῆς τῶν Ναζωραίων αἱρέσεως [24:5]). Unnamed Judeans, presumably from Jerusalem, affirm Tertullus' testimony, though he falls short of presenting formal

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[58] Literally a "rhetor" (ῥήτορος) which may refer to a public speaker in general but the context here suggests lawyer.

[59] Witherington, *Acts*, 703, following Winter, "Official Proceedings and the Forensic Speeches in Acts 24-26" in *The Book of Acts in Its Ancient Literary Setting* (ed. Winter and Clarke; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 307-9, suggests that Luke had access to the records of the proceedings of the trial, which would likely have been forwarded to Rome with Paul. This assumes, of course, that this scene reports an historical event.

[60] Witherington, *Acts*, 706-7 argues that Tertullus' appeal to Felix's "graciousness" indicates that "it would be hard to prove Paul guilty within the strict bounds of the law, and therefore they were relying on Felix's 'willingness' to bend a few rules to accomplish certain desired ends in the service of 'peace and order.'" The authorial audience may have inferred such, especially if it was familiar with Josephus' account of Felix's governorship in *J. W.* 2.253-370.

evidence and is likely an echo of Luke 23:10.[61] Not only do outgroup members acknowledge Christ followers as a legitimate subgroup, they recognize Paul as its leader who is involved in a dispute with other Judeans.

Rather than question Paul, Felix motions for Paul to respond to the charges.[62] As he begins his second defense speech, Paul attempts to flatter Felix by acknowledging that the latter has been a judge for "many years for this nation" (ἐκ πολλῶν ἐτῶν [24:10]). Paul's response opens with a narrative account of the events that took place after his arrival in Jerusalem twelve days prior (24:11-12).[63] He denies the charges stating that

> they did not find me disputing with anyone in the temple or stirring up a crowd either in the synagogues or throughout the city. Neither can they prove to you the charge that they now bring against me.
>
> οὔτε ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ εὗρόν με πρός τινα διαλεγόμενον ἢ ἐπίστασιν ποιοῦντα ὄχλου οὔτε ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς οὔτε κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, οὐδὲ παραστῆσαι δύνανταί σοι περὶ ὧν νυνὶ κατηγοροῦσίν μου. (24:12-13)

He does confess (ὁμολογέω),[64] however, to he is a member of the "the Way, which they call a sect" (τὴν ὁδὸν ἣν λέγουσιν αἵρεσιν) but notes that his membership in

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[61] Parsons (*Acts,* 325-26) notes that missing from the speech is supporting evidence (*probatio*), which Quintilian states that this is the only part of a forensic speech that cannot be omitted (*Inst.* 50). In contrast, Witherington (*Acts*, 703) maintains that the absence of supporting evidence was perfectly normal in such a trial though he concedes on the following page that formal proofs are missing.

[62] Haenchen (*Acts*, 654) identifies this speech as απλογια.

[63] Pervo (*Acts*, 598, nt. 48) suggests that the "twelve days" is rhetorical like the "many days" of Felix's reign. Though Johnson (*Acts*, 412) notes that the, when taken together, 21:27; 22:30; 23:11, 12, 31 add up to twelve days. Yet, 24:1 adds an additional five days. Johnson thinks that the point may have been that there was insufficient time to to carry out the things of which he was accused.

[64] Johnson (*Acts*, 412) notes that "In forensic terms, this is a breathtaking turn: after a series of emphatic denials, the accused is about to make a confession!" *This* is emphatic and points toward Paul's "turning the argument away from political charges to personal confession of his faith," Witherington, *Acts*, 711.

this group is not contrary to the laws and customs and that he continues "believing everything according to the law and written in the prophets" (πιστεύων πᾶσι τοῖς κατὰ τὸν νόμον καὶ τοῖς ἐν τοῖς προφήταις γεγραμμένοις [24:14]). This confession continues the emphasis that Paul is a faithful Judean and has not abandoned traditional Judean customs. Accordingly, these accusers found Paul "in the temple completing the rite of purification without any crowd or disturbance" (ἐν αἷς εὗρόν με ἡγνισμένον ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ οὐ μετὰ ὄχλου οὐδὲ μετὰ θορύβου [24:18]). Since their charges are baseless, Paul says, he is being tried for "one sentence that I called out while standing before them, 'It is about the resurrection of the dead that I am on trial before you today'" (ἢ περὶ μιᾶς ταύτης φωνῆς ἧς ἐκέκραξα ἐν αὐτοῖς ἑστὼς ὅτι περὶ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν ἐγὼ κρίνομαι σήμερον ἐφ᾽ ὑμῶν. [24:21]). Once again, as in his appearance before the Sanhedrin, Paul asserts that the main dispute is over the central Christian belief in the resurrection rather than circumcision and Torah observance.

Felix does not allow Paul to elaborate, however, saying, "when Lysias the tribune comes, I will decide your case (ὅταν Λυσίας ὁ χιλίαρχος καταβῇ, διαγνώσομαι τὰ καθ᾽ ὑμᾶς [24:22]).[65] For more than two years, Paul remains in custody, called often by Felix, who apparently hopes, according to the narrator, that

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[65] "To defer" (ἀνεβάλετο) here carries the sense of adjourn the trial until further evidence may be heard when Lysias arrives. Witherington, *Acts*, 713, nt. 316 suggests that this corresponds with Cicero's *pronuntiavit amplius*, which he uses in *Verr.* 2.1.29.74 to indicate that further proceedings were necessary.

Paul would offer him a bribe (24:25-26) to secure his release. Before Lysias comes to offer testimony, however, Felix was succeeded by Festus as Governor.[66] After only three days in office, Festus goes to Jerusalem where the chief priests and leaders presented their charges against Paul. Though it had been two years, the Jerusalem authorities "evidently have no issue of greater concern that the case of Paul."[67] They asked Festus to allow Paul to be brought to Jerusalem for trial, though they were planning an ambush on the way in order to kill him (25:2-3). Festus invites some influential members of their group to go down with him to Caesarea to accuse him (25:5). After eight to ten days in Jerusalem, Festus goes to Caesarea and, the day after arriving there, ordered Paul to be brought before him (25:6). As in the trial before Felix,[68] the Judeans brought many charges against Paul but were unable to provide supporting evidence (25:7). Paul's response that he has done nothing wrong against Judean law or the temple echo the earlier charges and maintain the presentation of Paul as a faithful Judean. The denial of wrongdoing against Caesar (Nero) is new and may, as Johnson suggests, prepare the authorial audience for Paul's forthcoming appeal to Caesar (25:8).[69] In response, Festus asks Paul if he would like to go to Jerusalem to stand trial (25:9). Although earlier he was hesitant to "do the Judeans a

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[66] Josephus, *Ant.* 20.182 reports that the Judeans in Caesarea charged him with maladministration and pursued him to Rome, where he was spared by Nero.

[67] Pervo, *Acts*, 608. Later he notes, "Readers of Josephus would expect the [Judean] leaders to seek help against the guerillas and terrorists."

[68] Indeed, Pervo, *Acts*, 608 notes that this scene "looks like a replay of chap. 24."

[69] Johnson, *Acts,* 421. Parsons (*Acts*, 331) suggests that "perhaps prompted by Paul's appearance at the Roman judgment seat."

favor" (τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις χάριν καταθέσθαι), he is now looking to gain favor with them. Paul, however, maintains that the "judgment seat of Caesar" (βήμα Καίσαρ) is precisely where his case should be tried (25:10).[70] Paul's only means of refusing to be tried in Jerusalem is to appeal for transfer to Rome. Asserting his innocence again (25:10), Paul appeals to Caesar (25:11), and Festus agrees.[71]

The audience now learns that, "several days after" (ημερῶν δὲ διαγενομένων τινῶν) Paul had appealed to Caesar, Agrippa (II) and Bernice come to Caesarea to welcome Festus, who reports to his guests the events concerning the Judeans' "case" against Paul.[72] Most notably for our study, the mention that the chief priests and leaders from Jerusalem did not charge Paul with a crime but rather "they had certain points of disagreement with him about their own religion and about a certain Jesus, who had died, but whom Paul claimed to be alive." (ζητήματα δέ τινα περὶ τῆς ἰδίας δεισιδαιμονίας εἶχον πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ περί τινος Ἰησοῦ τεθνηκότος ὃν ἔφασκεν ὁ Παῦλος ζῆν. [25:19]). While this final section of the narrative is most concerned to demonstrate Paul's innocence of abandoning Judean customs, Luke continues to remind the audience of the core of

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[70] Pervo (*Acts*, 611) thinks Paul's response here is rude.

[71] On the historical question of appeals to the Emperor, see Polhill, *Acts* (Nashville: Broadman, 1992, 491; Witherington, *Acts*, 726 succinctly notes that the difficultly this presents for Festus: "He would have to write an official report specifying the charges that stood against Paul, and the reason for the appeal. On the one hand, if the charges were insubstantial or not sufficient under Roman law, the emperor would surely wonder about Festus' competence. . . . On the other hand, if Paul, a Roman citizen, had appealed to Rome, there must have been something about the situation that was grave enough to warrant this action."

[72] Agrippa's visit presents Festus with opportunity to collaborate on the charges against Paul. So Johnson, *Acts*, 426.

their new superordinate identity, even with the somewhat distorted report — "whom Paul asserted to be alive (25:19). After hearing this report, Agrippa requests to hear Paul's testimony himself (25:22). So the next day, "with great pomp" (μετὰ πολλῆς φαντασίας) Agrippa and his wife enter the hall where Paul is brought in for questioning. Festus announces that he has brought Paul in so that they might determine what charges to tell the emperor he is charged with, since Festus has found him guilty of no crime deserving death.

Agrippa invites Paul to speak for himself and Paul begins his third defense, and his last major discourse in Acts, by giving thanks that he is able to offer his defense before Agrippa because Agrippa is especially familiar with "the customs and controversies of the Judeans" (Ἰουδαίους ἐθῶν τε καὶ ζητημάτων, [26:3]). Paul first appeals to common Judean identity by referring to "our religion" (τῆς ἡμετέρας θρησκείας [26:5]), "our ancestors" (τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν [26:6]), and "our twelve tribes" (τὸ δωδεκάφυλον ἡμῶν [26:7]), as well as to bolster this commonality by recounting his days of opposition to the Christ group (26:9-11) and his transformation experience on the road to Damascus (26:12-18). In the most significant addition to Paul's transformation narrative, the risen Jesus tells Paul that the reason for his appearance is for Paul to be his "witness" to non-Judeans so that "they may turn from darkness to light and from the power of Satan to God, so that they may receive forgiveness of sins and a place among those who are sanctified by

faith in me'" (τοῦ ἐπιστρέψαι ἀπὸ σκότους εἰς φῶς καὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ σατανᾶ ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν, τοῦ λαβεῖν αὐτοὺς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ κλῆρον ἐν τοῖς ἡγιασμένοις πίστει τῇ εἰς ἐμέ. [26:15b-18]). This description of non-Judean Christ follower identity offers very little to which traditional Judeans might object. The idea of non-Judeans turning away from their sin and darkness and toward the God of Israel and light could be seen as a positive development even to the most traditional Judeans. Thus, Paul emphasizes his Judean Christ follower identity while also defending his mission to non-Judeans.

Following an interruption by Festus in which he inquires about Paul's sanity (26:24) and a brief exchange between Paul and Agrippa in which the latter asks if Paul is trying to convert him (26:27-29), the leaders depart to discuss Paul's fate (26:30-32). Their conclusion that, "[t]his man is doing nothing to deserve death or imprisonment" (οὐδὲν θανάτου ἢ δεσμῶν ἄξιόν [τι] πράσσει ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος. [26:31]) confirms for the authorial audience that the initial charges of 21:21, which are reiterated in 24:5-9, are false. Paul has defended himself against the accusations of the traditional non-Judeans and has been vindicated by a Roman governor and a Judean king. The authorial audience is invited to share this conclusion and in doing so to accept the superordinate Christ group identity advocated by both Peter and Paul as the legitimate identity for Christ followers regardless of their ethnicity.

Paul's journey is not over, however. This section comes to a close with Agrippa's acknowledgment to Festus that Paul has done nothing worthy of death or imprisonment and that if he had not appealed to Caesar, he would have been able to be released. The final phase of Paul's journey to Rome and of the narrative now begins.

27:1-28:31 — Paul's Journey to Rome

The final two chapters of Acts narrate Paul's journey from Caesarea until their shipwreck on the island of Malta (27) and from Malta to Rome (28), as shown on the map below.[73]

Map 4: Paul's Journey to Jerusalem and Rome
From http://net.bible.org/map.php, accessed 23 January 2010

The most important aspect of this voyage for the present study is Parsons' assertion that Luke depicts for the authorial audience the "symbolic death and resurrection of

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[73] Since it is not directly related to the argument of the present study, the dangers experienced at sea will not be elaborated upon here. For such a treatment, see Witherington, *Acts*, 758-75. For an excellent summary of the place of sea voyages in Greco-Roman literature, see Johnson, *Acts*, 450-52.

Paul, as much as he narrates the imprisonment and release of Peter in Acts 12."[74]

Parsons continues,

> Both prison and shipwreck are common metaphors for death in antiquity. Night, the disappearance of heavenly luminaries (27:20; cf. Luke 23:44-45), and the loss of hope (27:20; cf. Luke 24:21) all echo the passion of Jesus and allude to Paul's symbolic death. References to daylight, the third day (21:19 [*sic*]),[75] a shared meal (27:33-35; cf. Luke 24:30-31), and Paul's deliverance from the tomb of the sea (27:44) all point to a kind of symbolic resurrection.[76]

Similarly, Dunn, noting the parallels between the affirmation of Paul's innocence by Festus and Agrippa and Pilate and Herod's assessment of Jesus (Luke 23:13-16), sees chapter 27 as performing the same function as the burial of Jesus and the despair of "holy Saturday" (Luke 23:52-56).[77] Even more clearly than the account of Peter's symbolic death, resurrection, and departure in Acts 12, the parallel between Jesus and Paul is striking as it depicts Paul's participation in the suffering, death, and resurrection of Jesus, thus reaffirming Paul's prototypical status.

Once Paul and the others on the ship reached land on an island called Malta (28:1), "the natives" (οἱ βάρβαροι) show them unusual hospitality. Since it had started to rain and was growing cold (διὰ τὸν ὑετὸν τὸν ἐφεστῶτα καὶ διὰ τὸ ψῦχος [28:2]), they built a fire, for which Paul was gathering wood when he was bitten by a snake. "Paul had gathered a bundle of brushwood and was putting it on the fire, when a viper, driven out by the heat, fastened itself on his hand"

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[74] Parsons, *Acts*, 360. Contra Johnson, *Acts*, 457-59.
[75] The reference should be to 27:19.
[76] Parsons, *Acts*, 360. Also see Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts,* 2.334-35.
[77] Dunn, *Acts*, 323, also 277-79.

(Συστρέψαντος δὲ τοῦ Παύλου φρυγάνων τι πλῆθος καὶ ἐπιθέντος ἐπὶ τὴν πυράν, ἔχιδνα ἀπὸ τῆς θέρμης ἐξελθοῦσα καθῆψεν τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ. [28:3]). Animals were also viewed by both Judean and non-Judeans as a source of divine punishment.[78] Inhabitants think Paul must be a murderer since he, like the mariner from the Statyllus Flaccus Epigram, escaped the sea but cannot escape justice (28:4).[79] Unlike the mariner, however, the viper does not kill Paul, recalling Jesus statement in Luke 10:18-19, causing the natives to declare that Paul is a god. This assertion, though not explicitly denied by Paul, is subtly rejected by the narrator when Paul prays and imposes hands on Publius' father to heal him of "fever and dysentery" (πυρετοῖς καὶ δυσεντερίῳ [28:8]). This healing causes many others on the island who were ill to come to Paul for healing (28:9) and when they prepared to leave for Rome, the natives offer many gifts for their journey (28:10). Paul's overcoming not only disaster at sea but also the snake bite serves to provide divine confirmation that Paul was innocent of crimes worthy of death.

The account of Paul's journey from Malta to Rome (28:11-16) is reminiscent of his journey to Jerusalem (21:1-16) in that that audience receives a port-by-port description of the journey. When they reach Puteoli, a port city approximately 170 miles south of Rome, they find some "believers" (28:14). The implication of this, of course, is that Paul was not the first to bring the gospel to Italy, though the one

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[78] Parsons, *Acts*, 361.
[79] *The Greek Anthology* 7.290 (LCL; Paton); also see 9.269.

responsible for founding the Christ community before Paul's arrival is not stated. After staying in Puteoli for seven days, they went to Rome, where "Paul was allowed to live alone with a soldier who guarded him" (ἐπετράπη τῷ Παύλῳ μένειν καθ᾽ ἑαυτὸν σὺν τῷ φυλάσσοντι αὐτὸν στρατιώτῃ. [28:16]).

Three days after arriving, Paul calls for the Judean leaders in Rome. He appeals to their common Judean identity in the hope that they would hear his presentation of the gospel. Beginning by addressing them as "Brothers" (ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί), Paul asserts his Judean identity. He maintains that he "had done nothing against our people or the customs of our ancestors" (οὐδὲν ἐναντίον ποιήσας τῷ λαῷ ἢ τοῖς ἔθεσι τοῖς πατρῴοις) even though was arrested in Jerusalem (28:17). Though the Romans wanted to release him, the Judeans objected, leaving Paul with no choice but to appeal to the Emperor (28:18-19). Paul notes that he wanted to speak with the Judeans there to explain his situation adding, "it is for the sake of the hope of Israel that I am in chains" (ἕνεκεν γὰρ τῆς ἐλπίδος τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ τὴν ἅλυσιν ταύτην περίκειμαι. [28:20]). Thus, Paul maintains that he is not in custody because of the accusations of the Judeans in Asia or Jerusalem that he has abandoned Judean customs, but rather because of his belief that Jesus is the resurrected Messiah. The Judeans in Rome have heard nothing about these events in Judea but are aware of the widespread opposition against the Christ movement, which they associate with Paul

(28:21-22). These Roman Judeans, therefore, although they know of the Christ group, are willing to listen to Paul's thoughts on the matter.

Many Judeans come to Paul's "guest room" (ξενίαν) where "from morning to evening he explained the matter to them, testifying to the kingdom of God and trying to convince them about Jesus both from the law of Moses and from the prophets" (ἐξετίθετο διαμαρτυρόμενος τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, πείθων τε αὐτοὺς περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἀπό τε τοῦ νόμου Μωϋσέως καὶ τῶν προφητῶν, ἀπὸ πρωῒ ἕως ἑσπέρας [28:23]). Even as the narrative draws to a close, Paul tries to convince the Judeans that Jesus is the resurrected Messiah. The Judeans' response again distinguishes between ingroup and outgroup, "some were persuaded by what he said but others refused to believe" (οἱ μὲν ἐπείθοντο τοῖς λεγομένοις, οἱ δὲ ἠπίστουν· [28:24]). That is, some of the Judeans accepted Paul's message that Jesus is the resurrected Messiah while others rejected it. The mixed response to Paul's message becomes even more evident when "they [the Judeans] disagree with one another" (οἱ μὲν ἐπείθοντο τοῖς λεγομένοις, οἱ δὲ ἠπίστουν· [28:25]), prompting Paul to cite the harsh words of Isaiah 6:9-10, which has led many commentators to conclude that the possibility of Judeans entering the Christ movement is now over.[80] As with his two previous announcements of turning to the non-Judeans (13:46; 18:6), however, Paul's declaration here should be understood as

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[80] For example, see Conzelmann, *Acts*, 227.

meant for the Judeans in Rome, not Judeans everywhere.[81] Even here, some Judeans were being persuaded by Paul's message; thus the door of opportunity remains open. The final glimpse of Paul that the authorial audience receives is of Paul living under house arrest for two years at his own expense while welcoming everyone (Judean and non-Judean?) and boldly proclaiming the gospel without hinderance (28:30-31).

The final narrative block, and the narrative itself, closes having maintained an emphasis on Paul's prototypical status in the Christ group and refuting the charges that Paul has abandoned Judean customs. The hope is that by the time the narrative ends, those who had previously opposed the inclusion of non-Judeans by Paul and his supporters will have developed significant empathy with Paul and will embrace the portrait of Paul presented by Luke. This portrait, regardless of its historical accuracy, is aimed at the recategorization of those on both sides of the debate over non-Judean inclusion into the Christ group without requiring circumcision and Torah observance into a superordinate Christ group identity. Though the narrative ends, however, the story into which the authorial audience has been invited to participate continues; it continues as the authorial audience embraces the superordinate Christ group identity that is centered on belief that Jesus is the resurrected Messiah.

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[81] Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts,* 2.350.

CONCLUSION

This study began with the assertion that the narrative of Acts attempts the recategorization of those on either side of the debate over non-Judean inclusion in the Christ movement into a common ingroup by presenting Peter and Paul as prototypical of a common superordinate identity. Since those opening remarks, I reviewed scholarly approaches to both the study of Peter and Paul in Acts (chapter 1) and early Christian identity formation (chapter 2), and developed a method that employs the insights of social identity, social memory, and narrative theories that I believe helps better understand how texts shape the identity of their audience (chapter 2). Having reviewed the historical and cultural context of both the authorial audience and the narrative world of Luke-Acts, I argued that Acts was written in the 90s or early 100s C.E. in an urban setting in Western Asia Minor by a Hellenist Judean Christ follower who expected his audience to be familiar with the socio-cultural scripts within which they were embedded, the scriptures and traditions of ancient Israel and of the emerging Christ movement, as well as conflict concerning non-Judean inclusion (chapter 4).

The second half of this study (chapters 5-8) focused on the narrative of Acts from an audience-oriented perspective and followed the framework of four narrative blocks described early in Chapter Five. In the first narrative block (chapter 5), Peter

serves as the main character as he emerges as the leader of the Christ group and as the prototypical figure of Christ group identity. In this first block, Peter establishes the core of the superordinate Christ group identity, belief that Jesus is the resurrected Messiah, and two boundary crossing rituals, baptism in Jesus' name and being filled with the Holy Spirit, that serve to transition outsiders into the Christ group. In addition, Luke presents other intermittent identity markers in the first narrative block such as the proper use of property, opposition/violence against the Christ group, and miracles in the name of Jesus.

The second narrative block continues the focus on Peter as the gospel moves outside of Jerusalem and as the Christ group begins to accept Samaritans and non-Judean god-fearers as legitimate members (chapter 6). After he defines the superordinate Christ group as those who believe that Jesus is the resurrected Messiah, who have been baptized in his name and filled with the Holy Spirit, and now extends Christ group identity to include those previously excluded from full participation in Judaism, Peter departs the narrative in a scene reminiscent of Jesus' death, resurrection, and ascension. In spite of Peter's absence, the Christ group continues to expand by including Greeks with seemingly no Judean commitments (11:20). Moreover, in the second narrative block, intermittent identity markers continue to appear, such as miracles and opposition/violence. One additional identity marker, inclusive table fellowship, appears in this block. It will serve an important role as the recategorization process continues in the third narrative block.

In the third narrative block (chapter 7), Paul begins to emerge as the leader of the Christ group and as prototypical of the Christ group identity. Most importantly for this recategorization process is the "council" in Jerusalem that determines the proper entry rituals for non-Judean Christ followers. Though some wanted to add circumcision to the list of required entry rituals and give Torah observance a central place in Christ group identity, the decision was made to allow non-Judeans to join the Christ group without requiring circumcision or Torah observance. This decision did not, however, affect the traditional Judean boundaries for Judean Christ followers; they were still free, indeed were expected, to practice their traditional Judean customs. Despite this decision, a central problem remains for the superordinate Christ group identity, namely the practice of table fellowship between Judean and non-Judean Christ followers. In order to allow inclusive table fellowship between these two Christ-following subgroups, the "council" decides to instruct non-Judean Christ followers to avoid food that has been sacrificed to idols, blood, meat that has been strangled, and from immorality.

With Paul now serving as the leader and prototype of Christ group identity, maintaining his connection with Judean customs is essential for the recategorization process since to validate the superordinate identity, Paul, as a Judean, must abide by his traditional Judean customs. Defending Paul against charges that he has abandoned these Judeans customs such as circumcision and Torah observance is the major concern of the rest of the third narrative block and all of the fourth narrative block

(chapter 8). The narrative ends in Rome with Paul reaffirmed as prototypical of the superordinate Christ group identity and continuing to proclaim the gospel to all who come to him.

The superordinate identity offered by Luke in the narrative of Acts is centered upon the belief that Jesus of Nazareth is the resurrected Messiah. This belief is expressed in the two boundary crossing rituals of baptism in Jesus' name and being filled with the Holy Spirit. Ethnic Judeans who embraced this belief remain free to maintain their traditional customs such as circumcision and Torah observance but non-Judeans who embraced this belief are not required to adhere to ethnic Judean customs. Non-Judean Christ followers are, however, expected to follow minimal guidelines that would allow social interaction between Judean and non-Judean Christ followers. As the opening sentences of this study asserted, the superordinate Christ group identity offered through the narrative of Acts in the characterization of Peter and Paul focuses on common beliefs and practices that transcend ethnic customs, though distinct cultural customs are not abolished, and that are offered to all humanity without cultural distinction. Acts seeks to develop this common superordinate identity among Christ followers divided over the inclusion of non-Judeans through its characterization of Peter and Paul as prototypical Christ group members. That is, rather than portraying them as apostles at odds with one another, as Paul does in Galatians 2, Luke presents them as co-workers who both follow God's direction to incorporate non-Judeans into the Christ movement.

In addition, several more general conclusions may be drawn. First, the use of Social Memory studies in collaboration with narrative studies, particularly those that focus on character, has proven helpful in understanding how the group's memory of important figures from the past are reinterpreted in light of new situations. This approach could particularly prove beneficial on studies of the transmission and reinterpretation of memories of apostolic figures during the second and third centuries in new contexts. I am particularly interested in exploring the way in which memories of Paul were reinterpreted by various writers in different contexts during this time.

Second, this study's focus on the emphasis of social distinctions in the identity formation process may contribute to the debate over Luke's alleged "anti-Semitism." As many other scholars have noted, Luke is particularly harsh on unbelieving Judeans in his writings, causing some to lament Luke's anti-Semitic tendencies. As I mentioned in chapter three, groups define themselves over against other groups and while the ingroup tends to characterize itself it positive terms, it also tends to characterize outgroups in negative terms. Since Luke is attempting to develop a common superordinate identity for the Christ group, it is necessary for him to distinguish the Christ group from unbelieving outgroups, including unbelieving Judeans, in a negative manner. Though it is understandable why this would be understood as "anti-Semitic," its role in group identity formation suggests that the author "Luke" might have harbored no ill feelings toward Judeans in general.

Third, since this study has suggested that Luke and his audience were at least aware of the conflict over non-Judean inclusion and that the provenance was Western Asia Minor, this may suggest some familiarity with some of Paul's letters by the author and authorial audience. This may be especially true of Galatians since Paul narrates there a tense disagreement between Peter and himself. Since the two major characters in Acts, Peter and Paul, are also the two major characters in Paul's narrative in Galatians 2, and since Luke takes great care to demonstrate that both Peter and Paul agree on the issue of non-Judean inclusion, the claim that the authorial audience of Acts is expected to know of the conflict between the two even if they did not have access to the letter itself is supported.

This study has also opened new possibilities for further inquiry. First, as with any methodology, the narrative-identity model needs to be tested and refined by incorporating newer scholarly work on social memory and narrative theories as they become available. By continually working to improve this model, it can be of use to scholars who wish to continue examining how texts, particularly early Christian texts, shape the identity of their authorial audience. Finally, while modern Christ followers in the West continue to struggle with the full inclusion of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgendered persons into the Christ group, this study may provide a basis for a theological reconsideration of the superordinate Christian identity that is centered on belief in Jesus as the resurrected Messiah and that makes no social distinctions on the basis of traditional cultural boundaries.

APPENDIX:
THE DATE OF COMPOSITION OF LUKE-ACTS

Suggestions for the date of Luke-Acts range from the 60s to the mid-second century of the Common Era (C.E.). While some assume that the date of composition is of little consequence,[1] narrowing this wide range of plausible dates will enable us to focus our attention on a more specific context. By working our way in from the extremes, we may be able to offer a smaller temporal window.

Granting the scholarly consensus that Luke's gospel was written before Acts, the date of the Acts depends, in part, on one's dating of that Gospel. Some have argued that because of the ending of Acts, Paul could not have been executed yet, and thus date Acts around 61-62.[2] An early date has also been advocated by those who argue that there is nothing in Luke-Acts that indicates that the Jewish revolt and subsequent destruction of Jerusalem in 70 C.E. had already taken place.[3] These scholars conclude that Luke's silence indicates that he[4] must have written before the devastating events of 70 C.E.

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[1] Dunn (*Acts*, xi) has commented, "[n]ot much hangs on the date of the composition" of Acts.

[2] For example, see Rackham, "The Acts of the Apostles. 2. A Plea for an Early Date." *JTS* 1 (1900): 76-87.

[3] For example, John A. T. Robinson, *Redating the New Testament* (London: S.C.M. Press, 1976), 86-92.

[4] See the note on the masculine pronoun on p. 99 above.

There is a strong case to be made, however, for a post-70 C.E. composition of Luke-Acts. On the basis of two passages from the Gospel, many scholars maintain that Luke's Gospel must have been written some time after 70 C.E. These scholars assert that Luke inserted details of Jerusalem's destruction from Mark's account in 19:43-44,

> Indeed, the days will come upon you, when your enemies will set up ramparts around you and surround you, and hem you in on every side. They will crush you to the ground, you and your children within you, and they will not leave within you one stone upon another; because you did not recognize the time of your visitation from God.
>
> ὅτι ἥξουσιν ἡμέραι ἐπὶ σὲ καὶ παρεμβαλοῦσιν οἱ ἐχθροί σου χάρακά σοι καὶ περικυκλώσουσίν σε καὶ συνέξουσίν σε πάντοθεν,καὶ ἐδαφιοῦσίν σε καὶ τὰ τέκνα σου ἐν σοί, καὶ οὐκ ἀφήσουσιν λίθον ἐπὶ λίθον ἐν σοί, ἀνθ' ὧν οὐκ ἔγνως τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς σου.

Luke also seems to have added to Jesus' prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem in Mark 13 by adding,

> When you see Jerusalem surrounded by armies, then know that its desolation has come near. Then those in Judea must flee to the mountains, and those inside the city must leave it, and those out in the country must not enter it; for these are days of vengeance, as a fulfillment of all that is written. Woe to those who are pregnant and to those who are nursing infants in those days! For there will be great distress on the earth and wrath against this people; they will fall by the edge of the sword and be taken away as captives among all nations; and Jerusalem will be trampled on by the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles are fulfilled.
>
> Ὅταν δὲ ἴδητε κυκλουμένην ὑπὸ στρατοπέδων Ἰερουσαλήμ, τότε γνῶτε 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

> αὗταί 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 Ἰερουσαλὴμ ἔσται πατουμένη ὑπὸ ἐθνῶν, ἄχρι οὗ πληρωθῶσιν καιροὶ ἐθνῶν. (Luke 21:20-24)

These two modifications to Mark's Gospel are evidence enough for many to assert that Luke wrote his Gospel after the fall of Jerusalem to Titus in 70 C.E.,[5] which will serve as the *terminus a quo* for Luke's Gospel.

If the Gospel was written after 70 C.E., what might be the *terminus ad quem* of Luke-Acts? Some assume that the lack of any clear references to Paul's letters in Acts is an indication that the book must have been written before the end of the first century, since around this time Clement of Rome writes to the Corinthian church quoting often from Romans and 1 Corinthians as well as making other possible allusions to Pauline letters.[6] Likewise, early in the second century, Ignatius could refer to what Paul says "in every letter."[7] If we assume that Luke did not have access to Paul's letters[8] a *terminus ad quem* for the composition of Acts around 100 C.E. is quite possible. This discussion thus far leads to the conclusion that Luke-Acts was likely written between 70 and 100 C.E.

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[5] See Esler, *Community and Gospel in Luke-Acts*, 27 and Shilllington, *An Introduction to the Study of Luke-Acts* (London: T & T Clark, 2007), 12.

[6] Jack Finegan, "The Original Form of the Pauline Collection." *HTR* 49 (1956): 85.

[7] ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστολῇ Ign. *Eph.* 12.2 (Ehrman, LCL).

[8] For a view that Luke had access to Paul's letters but chose not to use them, see John Knox, "Acts and the Pauline Letter Corpus" in *Studies in Luke-Acts; Essays Presented in Honor of Paul Schubert* (ed. Leander E. Keck and J. Louis Martyn; Nashville: Abingdon, 1966), 279-97.

On the other end of the spectrum, however, there are scholars who advocate a date in the early- to mid-second century for Acts. The chief proponent of this view is Joseph Tyson, who argues that Luke-Acts was written in the early to mid-second century to combat the increasingly threatening Marcionite influence.[9] Tyson acknowledges his indebtedness to John Knox's 1942 work on the development of the canon in early Christianity, in which Knox argues that Acts was a post-Marcionite and anti-Marcionite text written to disassociate Paul from Marcion.[10] After reviewing evidence for "early" (60–70 C.E.) and "intermediate" (80–90 C.E.) date for Acts, Tyson summarizes the arguments for "late date" (100–150 C.E.), concluding that these arguments "recognize more of the relevant factors affecting its composition and present us with fewer problems than do the other nodal dates."[11] In order to date Luke-Acts around 120-125 C.E., Tyson, following the argument of R. Joseph Hoffmann,[12] argues that Marcion's views were known, at least in part and in some locations, by 115-120 C.E.[13] Dating Marcionite influence this early, however, is problematic, since most ancient witnesses place Marcion's influence in the middle of the second century C.E.[14] It seems doubtful that a teaching that became influential in

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[9] Tyson, *Marcion and Luke-Acts: A Defining Struggle* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2006).

[10] Tyson, *Marcion and the New Testament: An Essay in the Early History of the Canon* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942; repr., New York: AMS Press, 1980).

[11] Tyson, 22–23.

[12] Hoffmann, *Marcion, on the Restitution of Christianity: An Essay on the Development of Radical Paulinist Theology in the Second Century* (Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1984).

[13] Ibid., 31. Likewise, Richard Pervo argues for a date of 115 C. E. *Acts: A Commentary* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2008), 5.

[14] For example, see Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem* 1.19.

the mid-second century would have been widespread enough in 115-120 C.E. to have garnered such as reaction as a two volume narrative.

Also bearing on the date of Luke-Acts is its relationship to the work of Josephus. Steve Mason has recently argued that Luke-Acts shares common aim, themes, and vocabulary with Josephus and therefore, may suggest that Luke-Acts is based upon Josephus' defense of Judaism.[15] Furthermore, there are several general parallels and historical reports shared by Luke-Acts and the work of Josephus, including the census under Quirinius (Luke 3:1; *J.W.* 2.117-8, *Ant.* 18.1-8); three rebel leaders: Judas the Galilean (Acts 5:37; *J.W.* 2.117-8, *Ant.* 18.1-8), Theudas (Acts 5:36; *Ant.* 20.97), and "The Egyptian" (Acts 21:38; *J.W.* 2.261-3, *Ant.* 20.171); the death of Agrippa I as God's vengeance for his accepting praise as a god (Acts 12:21-23; *Ant.* 19.343-52); similarities in the description of the siege of Jerusalem (Luke 19:43-4; *J.W.* 6); and mention of a famine during the reign of Claudius (Acts 11:28-9; *Ant.* 3.320, 20:51-3, 20.101). While a thorough treatment of this issue is beyond the scope of this appendix, the similarities listed above, along with the vast amount of data set forth by Mason, make plausible the view that the author of Luke-Acts had access to, or at the very least knew of, *Antiquities* when compiling the

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[15] Mason, *Josephus and the New Testament* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1992; repr. 2003). Also see, Max Krenkel, *Josephus und Lukas* (Leipzig: H. Haessel, 1894); Schreckenberg, Heinz. "Flavius Josephus und die Lukanischen Schriften." In *Wort in Der Zeit: Neutestamentliche Studien: Festgabe Fèur Karl Heinrich Rengstorf Zum 75. Geburtstag*, edited by Karl Heinrich Rengstorf, Wilfrid Haubeck and Michael Bachmann, 179-209. Leiden: Brill, 1980.

Gospel and Acts. Since Josephus himself dates *Antiquities* in 93-4 C.E.,[16] we may push our *terminus a quo* for Luke-Acts to this last decade of the first century.[17] Since the prologue of Acts indicates that it was the second volume in the set, it seems likely that Acts would have been written in the mid-to-latter half of the 90s C.E. This places the composition of Luke-Acts in the Roman Imperial reign of the Flavian dynasty, which includes the reigns of Vespasian (69–79), and his two sons Titus (79–81) and Domitian (81–96).

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[16] Josephus dates *Antiquities* in the τρισκαιδεκάτου μὲν ἔτους τῆς Δομετιανοῦ Καίσαρος ἀρχῆς ἐμοὶ δ' ἀπὸ γενέσεως πεντηκοστοῦ τε καὶ ἕκτου, "the thirteenth year of the reign of Caesar Domitian, and the fifty-sixth of my own life" (*Ag. Ap.* 2.267, Thackeray, LCL). Domitian's reign began in 81 C.E. and Josephus notes that he was "born to Matthias in the first year of the reign of Gaius Caesar", Ματθία δὲ ἐγὼ τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς Γαΐου Καίσαρος ἡγεμονίας (*Life* 5, Thackeray, LCL), which was 37 or 38 C.E. Thus, Josephus' *Antiquities* must have been written in either 93 or 94 C.E.

[17] In order to allow sufficient time for Luke to have contact with Josephus' work, one could push this into the first decade of the second century.

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