

PAUL IN ACTS AND EPISTLES

The Miletus Speech and 1 Thessalonians as a Test Case

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Abstract

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This study contributes to debates over the portraits of Paul in Acts and his epistles by considering the one Pauline speech to Christians in Acts, the speech to the Ephesian elders at Miletus (Acts 20:18b-35).

After surveying previous work, a two-way comparison is made, comparing the Miletus speech with (i) speeches by Jesus in Luke's Gospel, to see how Lukan it is, and (ii) 1 Thessalonians, to see how Pauline it is. A hierarchical method is outlined for identifying parallels.

A study of the speech shows it to be a well-structured 'farewell', in which Paul commissions the elders for ministry after his departure to Jerusalem. The speech has four major themes: faithful fulfilment of leadership responsibility; suffering; the attitude to wealth and work; and the death of Jesus. Paul is offered as a model of Christian leadership for imitation.

A comparison with Luke's Gospel identifies three passages which parallel the speech (22:14-38; 12:1-53; 21:5-31), and four briefer passages (7:38, 44; 9:2; 10:3; 13:32f). 22:14-38 parallels the speech especially closely. A clear picture of Luke's view of Christian leadership emerges – modelled by Jesus, taught to his disciples, modelled by Paul, and then taught to the elders, the leaders of the next Christian generation.

The comparison with 1 Thessalonians recognises the four major Miletus themes in the letter, and identifies a number of passages and ideas in the letter which have parallels in the speech. A clear picture of Christian leadership emerges, looking remarkably like that found in Luke-Acts.

A conclusion reviews the argument, concludes that the speech is not dependent on the letter, and outlines results for debates about Paul in Acts and epistles.

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Steve Walton
St John's College, Nottingham
Holy Week 1997

Abbreviations

Abbreviations (apart from those below) are those in the *Instructions for Contributors* of the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, to be found at: <http://scholar.cc.emory.edu/scripts/SBL/SBL-pubs-JBL-inst.html>.

- BAGD Bauer, Walter, Arndt, W. F., Gingrich, F. W. & Danker, F. W., *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, 2nd edn, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1979.
- BDB Brown, Francis, Driver, S. R. & Briggs, Charles A., *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*, corrected edn, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1953 rp 1977.
- BDF Blass, F., Debrunner, A. & Funk, Robert W., *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1961.
- EDNT Balz, Horst & Schneider, Gerhard, eds, *Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament (3 vols)*, ET of *Exegetisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* (tr. Medendorp, John W. & Stott, Douglas W.), Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 1990-1993.
- LS Liddell, Henry G., Scott, Robert, Jones, Sir Henry S. & McKenzie, Roderick, eds, *A Greek-English Lexicon (2 vols)*, 9th edn, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1940 rp 1951.
- NA²⁷ Aland, Barbara, Aland, Kurt, Karavidopoulos, Johannes, Martini, Carlo M. & Metzger, Bruce M., eds, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 27th edn, Stuttgart, Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1993.
- NAB *New American Bible*
- NEB *New English Bible*
- NIDNTT Brown, Colin, ed., *The New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology (3 vols)*, Exeter, Paternoster Press, 1975-78.
- ns new series
- rp reprinted
- RSV *Revised Standard Version*
- SIG³ Dittenberger, W., ed., *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum (4 vols)*, 3rd edn, Lipsiae, S. Hirzelium, 1915-24.
- TDNT Kittel, G. & Friedrich, G., eds, *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament (10 vols)*, ET of *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* (tr. Bromiley, G. W.), Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 1964-76.
- TNT *The Translator's New Testament*, London, British and Foreign Bible Society, 1973.
- UBS³ Aland, Kurt, Black, Matthew, Martini, Carlo M., Metzger, Bruce M. & Wikgren, Allen, eds, *The Greek New Testament*, 3rd (corrected) edn, Stuttgart, United Bible Societies, 1983.

UBS⁴ Aland, Barbara, Aland, Kurt, Karavidopoulos, Johannes, Martini, Carlo M. & Metzger, Bruce M., eds, *The Greek New Testament*, 4th revised edn, Stuttgart, Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft/United Bible Societies, 1994.

v.l. *varia lectio* (variant reading)

Chapter 1

Why Study the Miletus Speech?

The study of the portrait of Paul in Acts has a long history, having been investigated by virtually every modern scholar who has written substantially on Acts.¹ The work that follows grew out of an interest in questions raised by the resulting debates.

1.1. The Paul of Acts/Paul of the epistles debate

1.1.1. Four schools of thought

Recent study of the relative values of Acts and the epistles as sources for the study of Paul – both his life and his thought – can be divided roughly into the four ‘schools’ enumerated by Mattill.² It should be noted that these four are not necessarily mutually exclusive: Mattill himself notes that some scholars seem to shift between one and another.³ Nevertheless, they form useful broad categories to outline the debate. In each case Mattill considers the areas of general description; method used to distinguish tradition from redaction; Paul’s *cursus vitae*; the supernatural; practices and principles; and Paul’s doctrine.

First is the ‘One Paul View of the School of Historical Research’,⁴ represented by scholars such as Rackham, Gasque and Bruce.⁵ This ‘school’ sees only one Paul in Acts and epistles, and finds consistency with regard to the views of the law, the Jewish-Gentile problem, divine calling and adaptability to different kinds of people and situations. The method of this approach sees the linguistic uniformity of Acts as a barrier to any

¹ Recently, see Lentz 1993, who argues that the portrait of Paul in Acts as simultaneously a Pharisee, a citizen of Tarsus and a Roman citizen is historically incredible. Lentz’ work is criticised by Rapske 1992, esp. 7-15, 119-168; Rapske 1994. More briefly, see Walton 1994.

² Mattill 1978.

³ Mattill 1978, 77 n 1 (where he suggests that Bruce has changed his position over some years); 83 n 10 (where he claims that various scholars have moved).

⁴ Mattill 1978, 77-83.

⁵ Rackham 1904; Gasque 1974; Bruce 1952; Bruce 1974. But see further on Bruce below.

separation of sources, but wishes to see the so-called 'we' sections⁶ as traceable to Luke having been Paul's travel-companion.

The 'Lopsided Paul View of the School of Restrained Criticism'⁷ is the second group, represented by scholars such as Munck, Harnack and Mattill himself.⁸ This group holds that, while there is no absolute divergence between the two portraits of Paul, a portrait of Paul emerging from either Acts or epistles alone would be lop-sided. Acts fills out gaps left by the epistles and the epistles may balance the one-sidedness of Acts.⁹ This 'school' sees the probability of written sources behind Acts, not least because of the belief that Luke used Mark's Gospel as a source and the evidence of Luke 1:1-4. The 'we' sections are a key to source analysis of the Pauline sections of Acts, being seen as

...the most Lukan parts of Luke-Acts, which means that here Luke is writing in his own style, reporting his own experiences, whereas in the rest of Acts he is dependent on oral and written tradition, which markedly influences his style and vocabulary.¹⁰

Thus Luke continues to be thought of as Paul's travel-companion. This is why the speeches are not seen as free inventions of Luke, for Luke had heard Paul speak and understood him enough to present his thought reasonably accurately.

The third view is the 'Two-Paul View of the School of Creative Edification',¹¹ represented by such scholars as Vielhauer, Haenchen and Conzelmann.¹² This group views the Paul of the (authentic) Pauline epistles (usually understood as being at least Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians and Galatians) as the historical Paul. The portrait to be found in Acts is the work of a later admirer of Paul, 'remote from Paul in both theology and chronology'.¹³ Acts is only therefore to be depended upon when it is

⁶ That is, the parts of the book narrated in the first person plural, namely Acts 16:10-17; 20:5-15; 21:1-18; 27:1-28:16. For brief discussion from the perspective of this 'school', see Bruce 1990, 40f.

⁷ Mattill 1978, 83-87.

⁸ Munck 1967; Harnack 1909, esp. 231-238; Mattill 1970. Mattill also suggests that the later Bruce belongs to this group: Mattill 1978, 77 n 1; Bruce 1975-76. We might add Bruce's subsequent work, particularly Bruce 1985, in which he seems to go further towards a 'lop-sided Paul' position.

⁹ Caused, on Mattill's view, by its apologetic purpose: Mattill 1978, 83; Mattill 1970.

¹⁰ Mattill 1978, 84.

¹¹ Mattill 1978, 88-95.

¹² Vielhauer 1968; Haenchen 1971; Conzelmann 1960; Conzelmann 1987.

¹³ Mattill 1978, 88.

corroborated by the epistles. Luke is thus seen not as the travel-companion of Paul,¹⁴ but as an 'edifier' of the church of his day – a task that means that the primary significance of Acts is not as an historical record:

We shall not do justice to this author's [*sc.* Luke's] achievement if we simply ask what is the significance of his work as a historical record of events, for it is above all a *religious* book that we are dealing with. He is trying to show the powers of the Christian spirit with which the persons in his narrative are charged, and which he wishes to make live in his readers.¹⁵

The portrait of Paul thus created is virtually fictional. Miracles and events involving the supernatural are regarded as unhistorical, on the grounds that they are both impossible and incredible. The speeches are seen as free compositions by the author. Haenchen's commentary is a brilliant exposition of Acts from this perspective.¹⁶

The fourth 'group' is just one scholar, van Manen, who holds 'the Three-Paul View of the School of Advanced Criticism'.¹⁷ Van Manen, in his part of the article on 'Paul' in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*,¹⁸ saw three portraits of Paul in Acts and the epistles: first, the historical Paul, who was the missionary of the travel narrative in Acts;¹⁹ second, the miracle-working, legendary Paul of the section of Acts which van Manen describes as the 'Acts of Paul';²⁰ and third the Paul of the final redactor of Acts in the mid-second century, who is the founder (with Peter) of the Catholic Church. Van Manen argues that all of the Pauline epistles are pseudepigraphic.²¹ No modern scholar has fully followed these views.

14 With the exception of Dibelius 1956, 95 n 4; Dibelius 1936, 64.

15 Dibelius 1936, 265 (*italics* his). cf. Dibelius 1956, 110f concerning the speeches in Acts.

16 Haenchen 1971.

17 Mattill 1978, 95-97; van Manen 1902.

18 The other part was by E. Hatch.

19 van Manen 1902, 3631. He means by this that the historical Paul made only one major journey, towards the end of his life, and that this journey is the source for Acts 16:10-17; 20:5-15; 21:1-18; 27:1-28:16.

20 van Manen 1902, 3625 sees this as the source for Acts 1:23 (reading in Codex Bezae); 4:36f; 6:1-15; 7:51-58; 9:1-30; 11:19-30; chs. 13-28.

21 van Manen 1902, 3625-3630. In this he may be seen as a precursor of some of the views of O'Neill, who cites him with approval: O'Neill 1972, 5 n 12; O'Neill 1975, 303.

1.1.2. Vielhauer and Haenchen

It is the debate between the first three views that is of particular interest for our study. In particular, Vielhauer continues to be cited as having shown that the theology of Paul in Acts is incompatible with that found in his letters.²² His article, in combination with Haenchen's arguments on the subject in his commentary,²³ set the agenda for scholarly study of the portrait of Paul in Acts for a generation. We shall therefore summarise their arguments before looking at the responses that resulted.

Vielhauer's important essay appeared in 1950, and its influence was spread by an English translation in 1966. Vielhauer argues that the Paul of Acts is at variance with the Paul of the epistles on four significant theological points.

First, the Paul of Acts shows a natural theology closer to the later apologists than the real Paul.²⁴ Vielhauer contrasts the Areopagus speech (Acts 17:22-31) with Rom. 1:18-32. He sees the former as offering a very positive view of pagan religion as a *praeparatio evangelica*, to the extent that Acts 17:28f implies the possibility of seeking and finding God on the basis of human kinship to the deity.²⁵ The tone of the speech he construes as enlightenment, not accusation, by contrast with Rom. 1, where Vielhauer notices that 'in Paul the assertion of the natural knowledge of God is surrounded by statements about God's wrath and human guilt'²⁶. He summarises:

...the natural theology has an utterly different function in Rom. 1 and in Acts 17; in the former passage it functions as an aid to the demonstration of human responsibility and is thereafter immediately dropped; in the latter passage it is evaluated positively and employed in a missionary pedagogy as a forerunner of faith: the natural knowledge of

²² Vielhauer 1968. Haenchen 1971, 48 implies that Vielhauer's article marks the opening of a new chapter in study of Acts, the shift into seeing Luke primarily as a theologian. Vielhauer's influence can be seen in, e.g., Ziesler 1990, 133-136, who repeats most of the ideas of the 1950 article (without acknowledgement).

²³ Haenchen 1971, 112-116.

²⁴ Vielhauer 1968, 34-37.

²⁵ Vielhauer argues in dependence upon Dibelius' analysis of the Areopagus speech, which posits a Stoic origin for many of the speech's key ideas (Dibelius 1956, 26-77, originally published in German in 1939). Dibelius' work is in turn dependent on Norden 1912, rp 1956 (Dibelius 1956, 28 n 27). For critique of Vielhauer and Dibelius, see Gempf 1988, 111-134; Gempf 1993a.

²⁶ Vielhauer 1968, 36. He cites as examples of the latter Rom. 1:18, 20, 21.

God needs only to be purified, corrected and enlarged, but its basic significance is not questioned.²⁷

Second, Vielhauer sees the Paul of Acts as having an essentially positive view of the Jewish law, whereas the real Paul waged an anti-Jewish polemic against the law.²⁸ Vielhauer enumerates eight points showing the Lukan Paul's loyalty to the law: his missionary method of beginning with the synagogue in each place; his submission to the Jerusalem authorities; his circumcision of Timothy (Acts 16:3); his spreading of the apostolic decree (Acts 16:4); his assumption of a vow (Acts 18:18); his journeys to Jerusalem for festivals (Acts 18:21; 20:16); his participation in a Nazirite vow (Acts 21:18-28); his stress on being a Pharisee when on trial (Acts 23:6; 26:5). By contrast, Paul's view was that he was free in Christ from the Jewish law and therefore could at times accommodate himself to Jewish practices (1 Cor. 9:19-23), while being unbending when the substance of the gospel itself was at stake (e.g. Gal. 2). Vielhauer cannot accept that the Paul who wrote Gal. 5:2-6 could have circumcised Timothy: 'Circumcision is never a matter of indifference, but rather is confession and acknowledgement of the saving significance of the law.'²⁹ Even in Acts 13:38f, which Vielhauer sees as the only place where Luke's Paul speaks thematically on the law's significance, there are contrasts with the real Paul: justification is equated with the forgiveness of sins in a way that Paul himself never does; this forgiveness derives from the messiahship of Jesus, based on the resurrection, rather than being linked to the death of Jesus; the justification is partial, being '*also* by faith'³⁰. The misrepresentation of Paul by Luke is a product of Luke's Gentile origins, which meant that he had never experienced the law as a means to salvation: accordingly he did not grasp the Pauline antithesis of law with Christ. Thus, 'Luke speaks of the inadequacy of the law, whereas Paul speaks of the end of the law, which is Christ (Rom. 10:4).'³¹

Third, Vielhauer sees variances in Christology between Paul in Acts and epistles.³² He considers that Acts 13:13-43; 26:22f are the only extended Pauline statements on Christology in the book, and they are

27 Vielhauer 1968, 36.

28 Vielhauer 1968, 37-43.

29 Vielhauer 1968, 40f.

30 Vielhauer 1968, 42 (*italics his*).

31 Vielhauer 1968, 42.

32 Vielhauer 1968, 43-45.

made before Jews. There, Paul is presented as asserting that Jesus is the Messiah, using scriptural proof-texts in support. Vielhauer sees the obvious Pauline parallels (Rom. 1:3f; 1 Cor. 15:3f) as pre-Pauline formulae³³ which therefore display the Christology neither of Luke nor Paul, but of the earliest congregations. He also argues that the Christological statements in Acts 13:16-37; 26:22f are the views of the earliest congregations, and neither Pauline nor Lukan. In particular, the cross is seen in Acts 13 as an error of justice and a sinful act by the Jews, rather than as having saving significance. Lukan Christology is 'adoptionistic', whereas the Pauline Christology is metaphysical.

Fourth, Vielhauer sees the Lukan Paul's eschatology as different to that of the real Paul, who shared the expectation of the earliest congregations of an imminent parousia. This motivated his work and determined his relationship with the world (1 Cor. 7:29ff). Paul never speaks of the 'age to come', since the fullness of time is already here. By contrast the Lukan Paul presents Luke's own eschatology, which has shifted the expectation of the parousia into the distant future and replaced the imminent expectation by a theology of history, 'history as a continuous redemptive process'.³⁴ This is why Luke writes a history of the early church at all – those who are expecting the end of the world any moment do not write their own history!³⁵

Vielhauer summarises:

the author of Acts is in his Christology pre-Pauline, in his natural theology, concept of the law, and eschatology, post-Pauline. He presents no specifically Pauline idea. His 'Paulinism' consists in his zeal for the worldwide Gentile mission and in his veneration for the greatest missionary to the Gentiles.³⁶

³³ Vielhauer 1968, 44 n 32 cites Bultmann in support of the assertion that Rom. 1:3f is non-Pauline: 'Rom. 1:3, a sentence which is evidently due to a handed-down formula.' (Bultmann 1952, 49) But this hardly constitutes an *argument* for the view espoused! cf., *contra*, Wright 1980, 51-55.

Vielhauer 1968, 43f observes that Paul himself states 1 Cor. 15:3f to be tradition from the earliest congregation, in agreement with Jeremias 1966, 101-103 and, more recently, Fee 1987, 718.

³⁴ Vielhauer 1968, 47.

³⁵ The outlines of an understanding of Luke as a proponent of nascent *Frühkatholizismus* can here be seen, and are developed more fully by Conzelmann 1960; Käsemann 1969, 21f, 236 n 1; Dunn 1990, 341-366 (esp. 346-349, 352-358, 362).

³⁶ Vielhauer 1968, 48.

Haenchen accepts Vielhauer's points³⁷ and adds his own discrepancies between the 'two Pauls'. First, the Paul of Acts is a great miracle-worker (Acts 13:6-12; 14:8-10, 19f; 20:7-12; 28:3-6), whereas the real Paul's exploits were so unexceptional that his opponents could deny his ability to perform miracles.³⁸ Second, the Paul of Acts is an outstanding orator, 'never at a loss for the right word,'³⁹ but the real Paul was a feeble and unimpressive speaker (2 Cor. 10:10). Third, Luke did not accept Paul's claim to be an apostle (Gal. 2:8; 1 Cor. 15:5-8); for Luke, only the Twelve were apostles, for they alone were witnesses to the ministry, teaching, death and resurrection of Jesus.⁴⁰ Fourth, Haenchen contrasts Luke's presentation of the risen Jesus eating and drinking with the disciples with

Paul's belief that Jesus was no longer flesh and blood (1 Cor. 15:50).⁴¹ Haenchen believes that Luke's image of the risen Jesus was the kind required for a later generation, when the eyewitnesses were no longer available and the threats of gnostic docetism and Jewish or pagan scepticism had appeared.

1.1.3. Responses to Vielhauer and Haenchen

Responses by members of Mattill's first two 'schools' develop along a series of similar lines. We may summarise them as methodological, evidential, and responses to particular issues.

Methodological responses

The nature and paucity of material at our disposal in considering the 'theologies' of Luke and Paul is raised in various forms by critics of Vielhauer and Haenchen. Davies rightly observes:

His [*sc.* Luke's] history was, however, not like a modern scientific history, fully integrated, but rather impressionistic. There is no continuous march of Christianity from Jerusalem to Rome in Acts, but a number of episodes revealing how, and with what results, the Gospel was preached and received or rejected in various places...These various episodes are often connected by generalising summarises or

³⁷ Haenchen 1971, 48f.

³⁸ Haenchen 1971, 113f sees this as the background to 2 Cor. 12:12.

³⁹ Haenchen 1971, 114.

⁴⁰ Haenchen 1971, 114 n 5 sees the use of 'apostles' of Paul and Barnabas (Acts 14:4, 14) as irrelevant, since they are envoys from Antioch. But see Wilson 1973, 113-120, esp. 116f.

⁴¹ Haenchen 1971, 114f.

set in an itinerary framework. The 'history' is a 'loose' history.⁴²

Hengel concurs, 'often it is a question of working, like a detective, with sparse clues, all of which we have to examine very carefully...without reading too much into them.'⁴³ He notices the limited knowledge of Paul's preaching that we possess from the epistles: 'we have no more than hints as to what Paul's mission preaching may have been: he had no occasion to repeat it at any length in his letters.'⁴⁴ Hemer likewise observes that the epistles are themselves occasional documents in response to particular situations, rather than full-blown expositions of Paul's thought.⁴⁵

In Acts, we have only three recorded missionary sermons of Paul and 'these can only be the briefest notes of what Paul said'.⁴⁶ Hengel further clarifies that to see Luke primarily as a theologian is to err:

The radical 'redactional-critical' approach so popular today, which sees Luke above all as a freely inventive theologian, mistakes his real purpose, namely that as a Christian 'historian' he sets out to report the events of the past that provided the foundation for the faith and its extension. He does not set out primarily to present his own 'theology'.⁴⁷

Further, the role of Paul himself in Luke's writings is not primarily as a theologian, but 'as the missionary, the charismatic and the founder of communities.'⁴⁸ That is, the nature of Acts as a source is not necessarily conducive to reading off Paul's theology as Luke understands it.

In the light of this paucity of information, Gasque argues that we should be cautious, comparing the knowledge of Paul available from such

42 Davies 1974, 285.

43 Hengel 1979, 3.

44 Hengel 1979, 43.

45 Hemer & Gempf 1989, 246; similarly Jervell 1984, 52f.

46 Barclay 1970, 165. Marshall 1980, 41 argues forcefully that the speeches were never meant to be verbatim reports, since: (a) it would only take a few minutes to read each one, whereas Luke indicates that Paul spoke at length (Acts 20:7!); (b) it is unlikely that audiences remembered what early Christian preachers said, or that the preachers themselves kept records; (c) at times it is evident that Luke is summarising by the variant forms of the same speech that are reported (e.g. the message of the angel to Cornelius: Acts 10:4-6, 31f); (d) on some occasions it is impossible for Luke to have known what was said, such as Festus and Agrippa's private conversation (Acts 25:13-22; 26:30-32).

47 Hengel 1979, 67f.

48 Hengel 1983, 110.

limited sources with the picture of Augustine or Luther or Barth which we would have with a similarly limited range of source material.⁴⁹

A second methodological objection is raised against the alleged contrast between history and edification. Haenchen, Gasque observes, alleges that Luke has no concern for historical accuracy, but rather is concerned to edify the church.⁵⁰ Gasque properly asks whether the two are mutually exclusive. Indeed, Haenchen is confusing two issues: the distinction between aiming at history or edification; and measuring a writer's accuracy in recording history. Hemer stresses that sweeping statements that ancient historians felt free to be creative are too strong, for 'at least some of the ancients were moved by a lively concern for historical accuracy'.⁵¹

Bruce suggests that differences between the 'two Pauls' may be those which would be expected between a portrait by another and a self-portrait.⁵² Marshall argues in a related vein that the differences may be explicable by the dissimilar interests and audiences of the writers – Luke's concerns being with the evangelistic mission of Paul and his relation with Jewish Christians, and Paul's with problems in emerging new churches and freedom from the law for Gentile Christians.⁵³ Nolland affirms that 'Luke has simplified Paul...but he has not falsified Paul.'⁵⁴

Then, Gasque believes that Haenchen is antipathetic to Luke's theology (as understood by Haenchen).⁵⁵ In particular Gasque believes that Haenchen reads Lukan theology in Acts through existentialist Lutheran

49 Gasque 1975, 289.

50 Gasque 1975, 246, citing this quotation from Haenchen 1968, 278: 'The question of the historical reliability of the book of Acts does not touch the central concern of the book. By telling the history of apostolic times through many individual stories, the book primarily intends to edify the churches and thereby contribute its part in spreading the Word of God farther and farther, even to the ends of the earth.' It is inaccurate of Gasque 1975, 206f to describe Dibelius as pre-judging the question of historicity. Rather, Dibelius appears to shelve the question, e.g., 'The very admission that the author worked historically [*sc.* using the conventions of ancient historiography] prevents the speeches in Acts from being used as sources for the ideas and words of the speakers themselves' (Dibelius 1956, 184). It is Dibelius' successors, such as Haenchen, who assume that Dibelius has shown that certain events were unhistorical, e.g. Haenchen 1971, 590 on the Miletus speech. See further Gempf 1988, 70f.

51 Hemer & Gempf 1989, 69.

52 Bruce 1975-76, 282; see also § 2.5 on Acts' categorisation as 'secondary'.

53 Marshall 1980, 43 n 4. cf. Marshall 1992, 96 for a later re-statement.

54 Nolland 1989, xxxvi.

55 Gasque 1975, 246.

spectacles, with the result that Luke comes off second best. Wilckens concludes his discussion of Lukan eschatology:

It is Paul, interpreted existentially, who is so sharply set against Luke as the great but dangerous corrupter of the Pauline gospel. But the existentially interpreted Paul is not the historical Paul. And the essential points of theological criticism leveled against Luke are gained not so much from early Christian tradition itself as from the motifs of a certain modern school of theology which disregards or misinterprets essential aspects of early Christian thought.⁵⁶

Thus Gasque criticises Haenchen and Vielhauer for misrepresenting both Luke and Paul, since Luke is presented as the father of *Frühkatholizismus* and Paul as the great existentialist Lutheran.

A final methodological criticism is that the comparison made is the wrong one. There is a *prima facie* likelihood that Paul's preaching outside the Christian community would be different from his teaching within that community.⁵⁷ Accordingly, it is mistaken to compare the theology of Paul in his speeches in Acts as a whole with that in his epistles as a whole.

Jervell's work develops this point in arguing that the historical Paul may well have agreed on much with the generality of early Christians, but that we only see hints of this in the epistles, because of their (often) polemical content. Moreover, he criticises Vielhauer for his reliance on the theology of Paul, seen separately from his actions, as his source for Paul's beliefs. Jervell finds hints in the epistles of a Jewish-Christian Paul who lived in accordance with the law (e.g. 1 Cor. 9:19-21), and argues that this is the Paul of the oral tradition that lies behind the portrait of Paul of Acts. Accordingly, he claims, we need to look carefully into the epistles and Acts for the Paul who is in agreement with other Christians, rather than polarise the two portraits.⁵⁸

Evidential responses

By 'evidential' we understand responses to Vielhauer and Haenchen focusing on the use of the evidence, rather than on principles of approach.

A number of scholars from Mattill's first two 'schools' point to similarities in the two portraits of Paul, notably Bruce.⁵⁹ He observes a

⁵⁶ Wilckens 1968, 76f.

⁵⁷ Barclay 1970, 175; Marshall 1970, 291; Bruce 1943, 26.

⁵⁸ Jervell 1984, 52-76.

⁵⁹ Bruce 1952, 36f; Bruce 1975-76; Bruce 1985, 2580f; Bruce 1990, 46-59.

number of 'undesigned coincidences' between the two, including biographical and similar information⁶⁰ and, more significantly for our discussion, the impression of Paul given by the two sources.⁶¹ Bruce draws attention to Paul's self-support (Acts 18:3; 20:34; 1 Thess. 2:9; 2 Thess. 3:7f; 1 Cor. 9:18); his policy of going first to Jews and then to Gentiles (Acts 13:46; Rom. 1:16; 2:9f); his adaptability (in Acts to Jew and Gentile, learned and unlearned, Athenians and Sanhedrin, cf. 1 Cor. 9:19-23), which Bruce believes explains why Paul at times lives as a Jew among Jews (e.g. Acts 18:18; 21:23ff). Bruce argues that the circumcision of Timothy (Acts 16:3) does not contradict Paul's hostility to circumcision in Galatians (e.g. Gal. 5:3), for Paul takes issue in Galatians with the view that circumcision is necessary for salvation, while stating that circumcision is *of itself* a matter of indifference (Gal. 5:6; 6:15). Hengel, likewise, argues that if Paul had refused to circumcise Timothy, Paul would have been supporting apostasy and synagogue doors would close to him. Therefore it is feasible that Paul did circumcise Timothy.⁶²

A second area of criticism relates to speeches. Vielhauer bases his work on a comparison of the theology of the speeches of Paul in Acts with the theology of his epistles. He and Haenchen build their study of the speeches on the earlier work of Dibelius,⁶³ and his work is strongly criticised by later scholars of the 'One-Paul' and 'Lopsided-Paul' schools.

Dibelius focuses on the literary artistry of Luke in the speeches, continually asking the question, 'What did *Luke* intend to put across by this speech?'⁶⁴ This is predicated on two axioms: that the speeches in their present form are the work of Luke;⁶⁵ and that the question whether the speeches were delivered is irrelevant – to the extent that Dibelius hardly discusses it. At times he seems to assume that a speech cannot even be a summary of what was said, but without really discussing his reasons for this axiom.

⁶⁰ Bruce 1975-76, 285-293.

⁶¹ Bruce 1975-76, 293-298.

⁶² Hengel 1979, 64.

⁶³ Vielhauer 1968, 33 n 1; Haenchen 1971, 34-37, 39-41. Both differ from Dibelius over the identity of 'Luke', whom Dibelius saw as the travel-companion of Paul.

⁶⁴ e.g. Dibelius 1956, 144, writing about ancient historians, asserts: 'What seems to the author his most important obligation is not...establishing what speech was actually made; to him, it is rather that of introducing speeches into the structure in a way which will be relevant to his purpose.'

⁶⁵ Dibelius 1956, 3.

Criticisms of Dibelius have been legion. His view of the role of speeches in the ancient historians has been challenged.⁶⁶ Gasque and Hemer argue that the evidence contradicts Dibelius' assertion that ancient historians uniformly invented speeches for historical figures where source material was lacking; they reply partly by producing claimed counter-examples, and partly by claiming that the interpretations of a key passage in Thucydides (1.22.1) offered by Dibelius is mistaken.⁶⁷

Gasque also offers evidence that Luke himself did not freely compose speeches.⁶⁸ Gasque sees a contrast between the speeches in Acts and those in 'obviously inferior Greek historians', such as Josephus. He cites with approval Ehrhardt's observation⁶⁹ that there are obvious occasions in Acts where Luke could have inserted a speech (e.g. after 5:21 and 28:6⁷⁰), claiming that the lack of a speech at such points simply results from the author's lack of knowledge of a speech on these occasions.

Gasque believes that the Third Gospel, in its use of Mark, provides evidence of the author's method: in that book he does not freely invent speeches of Jesus. Therefore, Gasque asserts, the possibility should be considered that in Acts the author is following a similar method.

The linguistic and theological diversity of the speeches in Acts is a further argument used by Gasque. He offers examples of this diversity by referring to the speeches of Stephen, Peter, Paul in Athens and at Miletus, citing Moule's view that there are different Christologies within these speeches⁷¹ as one example of his point.

Jervell believes that Luke had access to traditions about the apostles and early churches in composing Acts.⁷² He finds places in the Pauline epistles where Paul shows that the formation of an already existing church is part of the missionary proclamation of the gospel in another place (e.g. Rom. 1:8; 1 Thess. 1:8ff; 2 Cor. 3:1-3).⁷³ He further identifies allusions to stories about the life of a congregation being used in paraenesis and

⁶⁶ Gasque 1974, 242-246; Gasque 1978, 59-61; Hemer 1977, 29-34; Hemer & Gempf 1989, 63-100. For critical discussion of Gasque's arguments in the light of study of Graeco-Roman historical writing, see Gempf 1988, 70f; Gempf 1993b, esp. 295f.

⁶⁷ See on the Thucydides passage, Porter 1990.

⁶⁸ Gasque 1978, 61-63.

⁶⁹ Ehrhardt 1964, 88.

⁷⁰ Cited by Ehrhardt 1964, 88 as 28:16, and reproduced by Gasque 1978, 62.

⁷¹ Moule 1968, esp. 166-172.

⁷² Jervell 1972, 19-39; cf. summary in Munck 1967, xxxix-xli, agreeing with Jervell.

⁷³ Jervell 1972, 23-28.

paraclesis (e.g. 1 Thess. 3:6; 2 Thess. 1:3ff).⁷⁴ Finally, Jervell finds the Jerusalem church being used by Paul as a model for other churches (e.g. 1 Thess. 2:14; Rom. 15:6-28).⁷⁵ Accordingly, Jervell concludes:

On the basis of our considerations here we can now reject as incorrect the assertion that conditions were unfavorable for the formation of a tradition about apostolic times. There was preaching about the apostles. The report of the establishment of a congregation played an important role in the missionary proclamation. Stories of the life in faith of a congregation were used in paraclesis and parenesis. A remarkable amount of information about the Jerusalem congregation was available. All of this was important to all the other congregations.⁷⁶

'One-Paul' and 'Lopsided-Paul' scholars also seek to provide an historical framework for Luke's writing on the basis of the evidence available, seeing this task as undercutting some claims that Acts is entirely unhistorical, while accepting that the establishment of such a framework does not necessarily demonstrate the historicity of the events described. Hemer cites Ramsay's work,⁷⁷ which establishes Luke's accuracy on small points of administrative and geographical detail:

I submit that it is exceedingly hard to reproduce at second hand in one's own style intricate reports of fact. Yet we can check the trivia of Acts against the inscriptions...There are in fact incidentals in Acts which contribute unemphatically to the building of a picture which correlates with external literature and with archaeology.⁷⁸

Similarly, after an extensive discussion of his own of a considerable number of points of contact between Acts and external evidence, Hemer affirms that he is not seeking 'to *prove* the historicity of Acts',⁷⁹ but believes that the accuracy on detail which Luke demonstrates is an important factor in an estimation of Luke as a writer.

Bruce likewise quotes with approval Sherwin-White's verdict:

...the confirmation of historicity is overwhelming. Yet Acts is, in simple terms and judged externally, no less of a propaganda narrative than the Gospels, liable to similar

74 Jervell 1972, 28-30.

75 Jervell 1972, 32f.

76 Jervell 1972, 36.

77 e.g. Ramsay 1930; cf. Gasque 1978, 54-58, who argues along similar lines.

78 Hemer 1977, 36f.

79 Hemer & Gempf 1989, 219 (italics his).

distortions. But any attempt to reject its historicity even in matters of detail must now appear absurd. Roman historians have long taken it for granted.⁸⁰

In a related vein, Wenham⁸¹ sets out the parallels between Acts and the Pauline epistles concerning Paul's movements, outlining various conclusions that have been drawn, but arguing that the data of Acts and epistles are essentially compatible.

Responses on particular issues

As we have indicated above, Vielhauer cites four areas where the 'Paul of Acts' has different beliefs to the epistles: natural theology, the law, Christology and eschatology. There have been responses in each area.

Vielhauer's view of the natural theology of the Areopagus speech (Acts 17:22-31) is dependent upon the work of Norden, via Dibelius.⁸² Ellis responds by citing the work of Gärtner, which offers a different perspective on the speech.⁸³ Gärtner argues that the speech is rooted in Semitic thought, rather than Greek, which means that the 'ignorance' motif in the speech should be understood as producing a state of guilt, not innocence.

Bruce, in similar vein, argues that it is mistaken to set the theology of Rom. 1:18-23; 2:12-16 (written to Christians) against that of the Areopagus speech (delivered to pagans), given the adaptability of the apostle to different situations and his evident oratorical abilities (shown by his success in evangelising Gentiles up to that point).⁸⁴ Thus Paul would be likely to draw from the Jewish Scriptures' critique of idolatry, while first finding points of contact with his hearers' world view. Further, Bruce claims that the parallel between the Areopagus speech and 1 Thess. 1:9f shows that Paul could, and did, argue along the lines of the Areopagus speech in his epistles – in the case of 1 Thess. 1:9f in describing the content of his message when first evangelising Thessalonica.⁸⁵

80 Sherwin-White 1963 rp 1981, 189, quoted by Bruce 1985, 2576f.

81 Wenham 1993.

82 See n 25.

83 Ellis 1974, 45f, following Gärtner 1955; cf. Gasque 1975, 213f, 288, 290.

84 Bruce 1977, 64f; Bruce 1975-76, 301-303; cf. Marshall 1992, 96f, who also highlights the different audiences.

85 Bruce 1975-76, 303. cf. Marshall 1992, 96; Wenham 1987-88, 54, who also notice the chronological closeness of the Areopagus speech and the writing of 1 Thessalonians. Moule 1968, 173 observes that Paul is recalling his initial evangelism in 1 Thess. 1:10.

Regarding the Jewish law, the contrast between the 'two Pauls' is over-sharp, and based on the belief that Paul (in his epistles) has an entirely negative view of the law. Ellis wryly comments, 'Sometimes the argument approaches a legalistic fervour to keep Paul unlegalistic.'⁸⁶ By contrast, Rom. 3:31; 7:12 and chs 9–11 offer a more positive understanding of the law than reading Vielhauer or Haenchen would suggest was possible.⁸⁷ Paul (in his epistles) should therefore not be understood as being anti-law, but anti-legalism, that is, the belief that the law is a means of salvation.⁸⁸

Additionally, the two pictures of Paul's practice should be seen as complementary. Marshall argues that, whereas in the epistles Paul is defending the freedom of Gentile Christians from the law, in Acts Luke shows that Paul was not opposed to Jewish Christians continuing to observe Jewish rites and ceremonies.⁸⁹ This is why Paul can circumcise Timothy (Acts 16:3).⁹⁰

Regarding Christology, Ellis' response is not untypical, namely to agree that 'the Christology of Paul in Acts is neither Pauline nor Lukan but early Christian.'⁹¹ Ellis accepts that characteristic Pauline Christological themes, such as the 'cosmic Christ', are absent from Acts, but draws attention to the 'adoptionistic' Christology of Rom. 1:4, which he parallels with Acts 13:33, in contradistinction to Vielhauer.

Marshall argues that the variety of Christological formulations in the NT reflects a variety of evangelistic preaching by the early Christians, and that Luke has presented one particular form because he wishes 'to stress the lordship and messiahship of Jesus in relation to the Jews'.⁹² This echoes Moule's view that within Acts there is a range of Christological formulations, which he characterises as 'variation, though not discrepancy'.⁹³ So

...it is flying in the teeth of the evidence to claim that Luke has uniformly imposed this mentality of his; on the contrary, the number of seemingly undesigned coincidences and

86 Ellis 1974, 46.

87 Gasque 1978, 66 n 39. For discussion of Paul's view of the law, see (e.g.) Cranfield 1979, 845-862; Wright 1980, 99-103; Sanders 1983; Wright 1991, esp. 208.

88 Gasque 1975, 288.

89 Marshall 1992, 97.

90 Bruce 1990, 58 n 36.

91 Ellis 1974, 46.

92 Marshall 1992, 62.

93 Moule 1968, 171.

subtle nuances that have emerged suggest strongly that Luke either dramatized, thoughtfully and with considerable versatility, in an attempt to impersonate various outlooks, or else used sources. If he did this, he no doubt adapted and arranged them with a free hand, but nevertheless retained their essential character.⁹⁴

This means that Vielhauer is accepted as partially right at this point, but that he is criticised for inconsistency, for he argues that the Christology of Acts should be seen as Lukan, but allows that at least some of it is from the earliest congregations.

Regarding eschatology, Hengel roundly asserts that Luke is not anti-expectation of the parousia, but rather that he attacks a misguided enthusiastic expectation of the parousia in the imminent future. Thus Hengel believes it is mistaken to see Luke as anti-eschatological.⁹⁵

Ellis criticises the existentialist picture of a Paul who held a one-sided view of the imminence of the parousia, with no possibility of a period before that event.⁹⁶ He draws attention to Munck and Borgen's work, which shows the presence of an understanding of 'salvation history' in Paul not unlike that claimed in Luke-Acts.⁹⁷ He points to passages in the epistles where Paul can identify himself with either the living or the dead at the parousia, which imply that Paul's expectation was not uniformly 'imminent'.⁹⁸ Ellis further criticises the existentialist interpretation of Paul for dispensing with the historical character both of the resurrection of Jesus and of his followers at the parousia.

From another perspective, Maddox argues that Luke-Acts contains material which demonstrates an expectation that the parousia might come at any time.⁹⁹ He discusses Luke 21:5-36, arguing that the passage may not be directed to the situation of Luke's day at all, and showing in detail that the text need not be understood in support of a 'delay' theory.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁴ Moule 1968, 182.

⁹⁵ Hengel 1979, 59.

⁹⁶ Ellis 1974, 48-50.

⁹⁷ Munck 1959, 36-55; Borgen 1969. Borgen suggests that the 'salvation historical' theology of Luke-Acts is a development of ideas already present in Paul's epistles, and provides examples of such development.

⁹⁸ Ellis 1974, 49 lists 1 Thess. 4:15; 5:10; Rom. 14:8f; 1 Cor. 6:14; Phil. 1:20ff. See further, Wenham 1995, 297-304.

⁹⁹ Maddox 1982, 115-132. Moore 1966 argues persuasively that all the NT writers combine an imminent expectation and a salvation-history perspective.

¹⁰⁰ Similarly France 1971, 227-239 (on Mk 13:24-27); France 1985, 333-346 (on Mt 24:1-35) offer an understanding of the Markan and Matthean parallels, which sees

Accordingly, he rejects the sharp division between Luke and Paul's eschatologies proffered by Vielhauer and Haenchen.

Maddox also criticises Vielhauer's argument that those who are expecting an imminent parousia do not write histories by noting both that Mark, who is often claimed as holding a view of an imminent parousia, did write a Gospel; and that the Jewish apocalypticists wrote books too.¹⁰¹

Haenchen's additional points are taken up by Longenecker, who argues that our perspective on the two portraits of Paul should be similar to the discussion of the two portraits of the Gracchus family in Plutarch and Appian.¹⁰² Longenecker notes that the two writers had differing interests – Plutarch being mainly interested in the family as statesmen and Appian interested in them as generals – which meant that they wrote differently. He sees the portraits of Paul in Acts and the epistles as likewise complementary. Therefore, he argues, it should not be seen as surprising that, although Luke and Paul agree that he worked miracles, Paul only admitted this point when forced to assert his apostleship (2 Cor. 12:12). Nor should it be unexpected that Luke presented his hero Paul as an outstanding orator, whereas Paul himself acknowledged the criticism that he was not a great speaker (2 Cor. 10:10). One might also expect that Paul might act differently in a fractious Christian community and when 'hurling the gospel at the Lycaonians'¹⁰³. Finally, it should not be regarded as extraordinary that Luke presents the apostleship of Paul as in continuity with the Jerusalem apostles, whereas Paul himself asserts that his apostleship was genuinely unique.¹⁰⁴

the primary reference as to the fall of Jerusalem, and therefore involves no issue of the 'delay of the parousia'; cf. Wright 1996, 339-367, arguing that this was the view of the historical Jesus.

¹⁰¹ Maddox 1982, 131; 152 (n 108).

¹⁰² Longenecker 1981, 226f in dependence on Underhill 1892, xviii-xxxii. cf. discussion of the parallels, found in Cicero and Sallust; Favorinus, Gellius and Philostratus; and Julian and Ammianus Marcellius in Hillard, Nobbs & Winter 1993.

¹⁰³ I owe the thought, as well as the phrase, to Prof. C. F. D. Moule; cf. Moule 1968, 173.

¹⁰⁴ Marshall 1980, 233f, in dependence on Wilson 1973, 113-120, argues that Luke used the term 'apostles' both as a shorthand for the Twelve and for a wider group of apostles, including Paul and Barnabas (Acts 14:4, 14) – a group recognised by Paul as apostles too (e.g. Rom. 16:7; Gal. 1:1; 1 Cor. 9:6; 15:5); cf. Orr & Walther 1976, 48 who make similar points.

1.1.4. The relevance of the Miletus speech

The speech to the Ephesian elders at Miletus (Acts 20:18-35) is central to this discussion. It contains a number of parallels of vocabulary with the Pauline epistles, so that Dodd remarks:

...the speech of Paul to the elders of the Ephesian Church in xx.18-35 contains so many echoes of the language of Pauline epistles that we must suppose, either that the writer had access to these epistles (which is on other grounds improbable), or that he worked upon actual reminiscence of Paul's speech upon this or some similar occasion.¹⁰⁵

The Miletus speech occurs within a 'we' section of Acts¹⁰⁶ and is, indeed, the only speech of Paul to occur within such a section. Bruce therefore believes the author was present and suggests that Luke may have taken shorthand notes.¹⁰⁷ At least, the 'we' sections have been understood as indicating a source used by Luke which goes back to eyewitness testimony.¹⁰⁸

Again, the theology of the Miletus speech contains echoes of the theology of Paul. Most notably, v 28 contains the most explicit reference to the redemptive significance of the death of Jesus in Acts, which leads Moule to observe:

This is Paul, not some other speaker; and he is not evangelizing but recalling an already evangelized community to its deepest insights. In other words the situation, like the theology, is precisely that of a Pauline epistle, not of preliminary evangelism.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵ Dodd 1936, 32. For verse by verse lists of parallels, see, e.g., Rackham 1904, 389-396; Bruce 1990, 429-437; Conzelmann 1987, 173-176; Johnson 1992a, 360-366.

¹⁰⁶ Although 20:18-38 itself is in the third person. The first person plural is found in 20:6-15; 21:1-18. Nonetheless, the first person plural in 20:15, recording the arrival in Miletus, implies that 20:18-38 should be seen as part of the 'we' section.

¹⁰⁷ Bruce 1952, 377. Haenchen 1971, 590 can only respond with an exclamation mark to this suggestion, but Bruce 1974, 63 argues that shorthand was not unknown in the first century and that Luke is the kind of man who would use it. For evidence of shorthand in our period see Milne 1934, 1; Kenyon 1970, both citing Diogenes Laertius 2.48 (concerning Xenophon [4th century BC] being the first to represent spoken words using signs [ὑποσημειωσάμενος τὰ λεγόμενα]); Plutarch *Cato Minor* 23.3 (attributing the introduction of shorthand in Rome to Cicero in 63 BC); Cicero *Letters to Atticus* 13.32 (3 June 45 BC, where Cicero suggests that Atticus might not have understood what he wrote concerning the ten legates, because he wrote it διὰ σημείων; the use of the Greek term in a Latin author Milne and Kenyon understand to mean that the Greek shorthand system preceded the Latin).

¹⁰⁸ Pace Robbins 1978, 215-243. For critique see Porter 1994, esp. 554-558; Hemer 1985 or, more briefly, Hemer & Gempf 1989, 317-319.

¹⁰⁹ Moule 1968, 171; cf. Bruce 1974, 63; Longenecker 1981, 513.

The audience of the speech is also significant. Moule goes on to notice that there is an *a priori* likelihood that a speaker's initial message for a non-Christian audience would be different in some respects to the same speaker addressing those who are already Christians. This is why the Miletus speech is a key point for the comparison of the two portraits of Paul, for it is the only occasion where Paul speaks to Christians: all the other Pauline speeches are evangelistic.¹¹⁰

Haenchen is quite dismissive of the possibility that the Paul of the Miletus speech may be similar to the Paul of the epistles, claiming, 'Dibelius finally proved the speech to be Luke's work and evaluated it.'¹¹¹ However, Dibelius himself carefully differentiates the task he performs, of examining the artistry of Luke in writing the speech, from the question of the origins of the speech: 'This judgment is quite independent of our answer to the question, which can never be answered for certain, as to whether Paul spoke in Miletus at all and, if so, in what words.'¹¹² Dibelius thus side-steps the question of the historicity of the speech and the portrait of Paul it offers.

The claim that the Miletus speech gives us access to a portrait of Paul similar to that in the epistles is a significant test case for the Vielhauer-Haenchen thesis that the 'two Pauls' are at variance theologically. If the Paul of the speech proves to be quite different from the Paul of the epistles, the Vielhauer-Haenchen thesis may be well-grounded; if not, questions are raised against it.

1.2. Luke's knowledge of the Pauline epistles

A second debate, linked to the debate about the portrait of Paul in Acts, concerns whether Luke knew and used the Pauline epistles in writing Acts. The 'Tübingen school' of the last century worked with the assumption that Luke was writing Acts in the second century to reconcile

¹¹⁰ Moule 1968, 173. He further observes that there are a small number of occasions within the epistles (where Paul is undoubtedly addressing professing Christians) where Paul recalls, his initial evangelistic message (he cites 1 Thess. 1:10; Rom. 1:3f; 1 Cor. 15:1ff), and it is notable that these summaries approximate to the 'bare κήρυγμα of the Acts'. The first proponent of the similarity of the situation at Miletus to the Pauline epistles seems to be Tholuck 1839.

¹¹¹ Haenchen 1971, 590.

¹¹² Dibelius 1956, 158.

the Petrine and Pauline versions of Christianity, and therefore believed that Luke had access to the epistles.¹¹³

Subsequent research tended to react against this axiom as part and parcel of the reaction against the Tübingen reconstruction of early Christianity.¹¹⁴ It was left to Enslin in 1938 to attempt to re-open the question.¹¹⁵ More recent work has divided on this issue, with some arguing that Luke knew the epistles, but did not utilise them in writing Acts; some that Luke knew and used the epistles; and some that Luke did not know the epistles at all. We shall briefly summarise the main lines of argument before indicating the relevance of the Miletus speech for this debate.

1.2.1. The case for no knowledge

The case for Luke not having known the letters hinges on three points.¹¹⁶ First, if Luke had known the letters, he would surely have used them in writing Acts. Scholars believe it is incredible that Luke, having such a rich source at his disposal, would decline to use it.¹¹⁷

Second, there is no hint in Acts that Paul wrote letters. But if Luke had known that Paul wrote letters, even if Luke had no access to them, he would have mentioned that fact in Acts, not least because Paul's letters were acknowledged to be 'weighty and strong' (2 Cor. 10:10).

Third, Luke provides quotations from letters elsewhere in Acts (e.g. 15:23-29; 23:26-30). This shows that he had no *a priori* objection to letters as such. Therefore, if he had access to Pauline epistles, there were natural opportunities within the narrative to quote them. The lack of such quotations demonstrates that Luke did not have such access.

Thus the case for Luke's lack of knowledge of the epistles is put.¹¹⁸ This argument is combined by some with the view that Luke was the

¹¹³ For a helpful summary of the so-called 'Tübingen school', which developed from the work of F. C. Baur, see Gasque 1975, 21-54.

¹¹⁴ Thus Emmet and Windisch in Foakes Jackson & Lake 1920-33, I:297, 308 putting the cases respectively for and against the identification of Luke as the travel companion of Paul, both agree that Luke did not know the Pauline epistles.

¹¹⁵ Enslin 1938.

¹¹⁶ e.g., Enslin 1970, 253; Walker 1985, 3.

¹¹⁷ e.g. Zahn 1909, 119.

¹¹⁸ e.g. Bruce 1988, 15; Conzelmann 1987, xxxiii; Foakes Jackson & Lake 1920-33, I:297, 308; Haenchen 1971, 125f; Hemer & Gempf 1989, 245; Hengel 1979, 38, 66; Longenecker 1981, 237f; Maddox 1982, 68; Marshall 1980, 48.

travel companion of Paul. Some of these scholars then argue that Luke knew Paul so well that he would not need to use the epistles, which makes the case not one for having knowledge, but not using it.¹¹⁹ Others who believe that Luke did not know the Pauline epistles also hold that Luke never knew Paul.¹²⁰

1.2.2. The case for knowledge

Enslin, Knox and Walker argue that Luke had access to the Pauline epistles.¹²¹ Enslin and Walker hold that Luke used the letters, whereas Knox believes that Luke preferred to use independent traditions, because of the association of Paul with schism in Luke's day.¹²² In favour of Luke knowing and using the letters three lines of argument are used.

First, it is mistaken to claim that Luke would not have modified and transformed his sources. On the basis of the freedom with which he believes Luke handles Matthew and Mark¹²³ Enslin claims that Luke handled the Pauline epistles with liberty, amending the information they offer at various points.

Second, examples of Luke using the letters are proposed: the destinations visited by Paul in Acts are either destinations for the epistles, or places mentioned in the epistles;¹²⁴ 1 Cor. 15 is the source for the appearance to Simon (Luke 24:34) and the period of time after the resurrection during which Jesus was seen (Acts 13:30f);¹²⁵ some unusual

¹¹⁹ e.g. Bruce 1956, 25 n 30. He appears to have changed his mind on the grounds for this view, while continuing to hold that Luke was Paul's travel companion, in Bruce 1990, 53. Siotis 1972 proposes that Luke is the unnamed collaborator of Paul in 2 Cor. 8:18f, 22, and suggests that Luke is unnamed because of Paul's need to protect his collaborators from his adversaries, such as the Judaizers. Hengel 1979, 66 suggests that the reason for Luke's lack of knowledge of the letters is that, by the time he began travelling with Paul, almost all of the letters (save Philippians and Philemon) were already written. Marshall 1980, 48 n 1 suggests that the epistles are not mentioned because Luke's concerns were with the progress of the gospel, rather than the internal problems of Paul's churches – thus the crisis in Corinth, known to us from the epistles, receives no mention in Acts.

¹²⁰ e.g. Conzelmann 1987, xxxiii.

¹²¹ Enslin 1938; Enslin 1970; Enslin 1972b, 25f; Enslin 1972a; Knox 1968; Walker 1985.

¹²² Knox 1968, 281-286; cf. Schmithals 1982, 15f, who argues that Luke saw the epistles as 'suspekt' because of their use by 'hyperpaulinischen Irrlehrer' against which Luke was directing a polemic.

¹²³ Enslin 1938, 82f, Enslin 1970, 256. Enslin rejects the existence of Q.

¹²⁴ Enslin 1938, 84f; Enslin 1970, 258-260; Lindemann 1979, 165. Thiering 1967, 185f argues that the places where Paul is persecuted in Acts are all mentioned in the epistles. But Alexander 1995 shows that Acts includes many places not mentioned in the epistles.

¹²⁵ Enslin 1938, 86f; Enslin 1970, 260f.

vocabulary is shared by Acts and the Paulines;¹²⁶ Paul's escape from Damascus (Acts 9:23-25; 2 Cor. 11:32f);¹²⁷ the Jerusalem Council (Acts 15:1ff; Gal. 2:1-10, 11-14);¹²⁸ the (fictional) presence of Paul at Stephen's stoning;¹²⁹ the visit to Corinth (Acts 18:1-17; 1 Cor. 1);¹³⁰ Paul's change of plans (Rom. 15:31; 2 Cor. 1:15ff);¹³¹ the circumcision of Timothy (Acts 16:1-3; Gal. 2:3-5).¹³²

Third, Luke did not mention Paul's letter-writing because he tones down controversy within the church in Acts – for the epistles are full of controversy.

1.2.3. Responses to the case for knowledge

Barrett¹³³ acknowledges that Luke could have had an apologetic motivation which led him to minimise church conflicts, but argues that Luke could have made selective use of the epistles.¹³⁴ Barrett rejects the argument that Acts is late enough for Paul to need recovering from the clutches of heretics. His proposal is that Luke knew of Paul, although not personally, and knew that Paul wrote letters, but did not have access to any. In favour of this Barrett argues: Paul's epistles were not regarded as 'canon' at the time of the writing of Acts – indeed, some were lost and others may have been deliberately suppressed – and therefore they were not carefully preserved; Acts is early enough for this view, for there are no traces of *Frühkatholizismus* within Acts; it is unlikely that Luke knew Paul personally; and the 'we document' used by Luke was most likely a bare itinerary, rather than a diary including references to letters.

Lüdemann is similarly critical of the arguments for use of the epistles by Luke. He accepts that there are genuine parallels between Acts and the epistles at a number of the points noted, but concludes that Luke has

¹²⁶ *πορθεῖν* in Acts 9:21; Gal. 1:13, 23 (the only NT uses); the instrumentality of angels, and the verbal similarity in Acts 7:53; Gal. 3:19f; similarities between Acts 22:3; Gal. 1:14 and Acts 11:30; Gal. 2:10 (Enslin 1938, 87f; Enslin 1970, 262).

¹²⁷ Enslin 1938, 88f; Enslin 1970, 263.

¹²⁸ Enslin 1938, 89; Enslin 1970, 263 believes Acts 15 to be dependent on Gal. 2:11-14; Walker 1985, 11f prefers Gal. 2:1-10.

¹²⁹ Enslin 1938, 89; Enslin 1970, 264.

¹³⁰ Enslin 1938, 89f; Enslin 1970, 264f.

¹³¹ Enslin 1970, 266f.

¹³² Walker 1985, 11.

¹³³ Barrett 1976-77.

¹³⁴ For example, the collection is mentioned relatively little in the letters, so Luke could have used those letters selectively.

independent traditions from the Pauline mission territories, without specifying how Luke obtained them.¹³⁵

1.2.4. The relevance of the Miletus speech

The Miletus speech is central to this discussion, for it is acknowledged on all sides to be the speech in Acts with most points of contact with the Pauline epistles.¹³⁶ Both conclusions about Luke's knowledge of the epistles have been drawn from these links.

Schulze and Soltau seek to demonstrate by synoptic tables that the speech is derived from 1 Thessalonians.¹³⁷ More recently, Aejemelaus has argued for the dependence of the Miletus speech on 1 Thessalonians on the basis of a detailed redaction-critical study of the speech.¹³⁸ He concludes, 'In allen Versen konnte man eine mehr oder minder starke Verbindung zwischen der Rede und dem Brief für möglich halten.'¹³⁹ We shall consider Aejemelaus' arguments following our discussion of possible parallels between the speech and 1 Thessalonians, but for now we note that the relationship between the material in the speech and 1 Thessalonians is potentially significant for the question whether Luke knew the Paulines.

1.3. Review of previous work on the speech

To provide orientation for our detailed study, and to help identify potentially helpful (and unhelpful) approaches to the study of the Miletus speech, we shall review previous work on the speech, before outlining our own plan.

1.3.1. Pauline tradition

One stream of scholarship regards the speech as testifying to Pauline thought and therefore looks to the epistles as a basis for interpreting the speech. This line of thought begins with Tholuck's suggestion that the

135 Lüdemann 1987, 8f.

136 e.g. Gardner 1909, 401, who believes that Luke did not know the Pauline epistles, notes that 'the speech...at Miletus has the best claim of all to be historic...This view is confirmed by the fact, noted by the commentators, that we find in the address constant parallels, to the Epistles.'

137 Schulze 1900; Soltau 1903.

138 Aejemelaus 1987.

139 Aejemelaus 1987, 183.

Miletus speech is the only speech in Acts which really parallels the epistles, since it alone is pastoral in nature.¹⁴⁰

Historical tradition about Paul (as distinct from the epistles) is the most significant source of the speech for many scholars, usually combined with seeing Luke as Paul's travel-companion.

Gardner¹⁴¹ cites parallels from Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Colossians and 2 Thessalonians. He gives particular weight to these parallels because he considers that the author of Acts had not read the epistles. Accordingly he views the Miletus speech as evidence that the author of Acts was Luke, the travel-companion of Paul, while allowing that there are non-Pauline elements, such as the use of ἐπισκόπος (Acts 20:28).¹⁴² Dodd¹⁴³ likewise sees the echoes of Pauline language as so clear that the author must have used actual reminiscences of the speech delivered.

Rackham¹⁴⁴ regards the speech as 'a faithful report of what was uttered on this occasion' because: there is 'a real advance [*sc.* development] in thought'; the speech reflects the circumstances of its delivery as presented in Acts; the speech is 'full of Pauline characteristics' in vocabulary and ideas; the local colour accords with Paul's ministry at Ephesus in Acts and shows affinities with Ephesians and Colossians; there are resemblances in style to the Pastoral Epistles¹⁴⁵ (which he regards as Pauline), some of which are written to Timothy at Ephesus; and the signs of dramatic delivery, even in the written form.

In the post-war era, a significant group continues to regard the Miletus speech as derived from non-epistolary Pauline tradition, from Bruce (writing first in 1943) to Hemer (1989). Such a perspective agrees that the actual *wording* of the speech is Lukan, while holding that it reflects Pauline thought and usage.

¹⁴⁰ Tholuck 1839, 312 : 'So markierte Charakterzüge tragen die paulinischen Briefe, daß es nicht schwer fällt, denselben Mann anderswo wieder zu erkennen.' So also Foakes Jackson & Lake 1920-33, IV:259.

¹⁴¹ Gardner 1909, 401-404

¹⁴² Gardner 1909, 403 argues that the term is post-Pauline. He recognises that ἐπισκόπος is used in Phil. 1:1, but claims (n 1: without offering any supporting evidence) that it is 'an early insertion' there.

¹⁴³ Dodd 1936, 32f.

¹⁴⁴ Rackham 1904, 384.

¹⁴⁵ Foakes Jackson 1931, 191 observes the pastoral *tone* of both the speech and the Pastorals.

Bruce is representative; he classifies the Miletus speech as the sole 'hortatory' speech in Acts, by which he appears to mean that the speech is paraenetic, combined with apologetic for Paul's conduct in Ephesus.¹⁴⁶ Bruce cites extensive parallels with the epistles,¹⁴⁷ combined with Luke's lack of knowledge of the epistles, as evidence for the authenticity of the speech. Bruce's work continues along those lines throughout his publications on Acts. When criticised by Haenchen¹⁴⁸ and others, Bruce responds by reasserting his views (sometimes with further evidence).¹⁴⁹ He rarely offers direct critique of the views of others, seeming to prefer to give the positive case for his own perspective.¹⁵⁰

That said, Bruce is not insensitive to the purpose of the Miletus speech for Luke or, indeed, to the Lukan composition of the speech as recorded. He agrees that the speech is in the style of Acts,¹⁵¹ and regards it as

(so far as the perspective of Acts is concerned) his last will and testament to the churches which he had planted both east and west of the Aegean [and]...more than the sort of thing that Paul was accustomed to say to Christian audiences: it is a farewell speech, suited to the special occasion on which it was delivered.¹⁵²

Marshall, who sees the farewell nature of the speech as important for its interpretation, comments on the parallels with the epistles:

there are direct and close parallels in the writings of Paul himself which show that this was how he thought of his ministry and admonished his converts...the total impression gained from the speech is that here we are in touch with Paul himself.¹⁵³

Longenecker argues that the theology of Paul in the speech reflects not only what we know of Paul's thought from the epistles, but also the thought and expression of Paul at the particular stage in his life to which

146 Bruce 1943, 5, 26f.

147 Listed in detail in Bruce 1988, 387-395; Bruce 1990, 429-437. Bruce 1975-76, 304 notes the mention of the redemptive efficacy of the death of Christ in Acts 20:28 as the most explicit anywhere in Luke-Acts, and something with ready parallels, in the epistles.

148 e.g. Haenchen 1971, 590.

149 Bruce 1974, 63.

150 'He [sc. Haenchen] seems, moreover, to assume that if Dibelius has argued for a case, the case is thereby established' (Bruce 1982-83, 44) is an exception.

151 Bruce 1988, 388; similarly Marshall 1980, 329.

152 Bruce 1988, 387f.

153 Marshall 1980, 330; cf. Longenecker 1981, 511.

the Miletus speech purports to belong; he cites parallels from 1 and 2 Corinthians (written in Ephesus and Macedonia respectively) and Romans (written in Corinth) – letters sent in the recent past.¹⁵⁴

Williams cites the farewell speech form of the Miletus speech as evidence for its authenticity, arguing that the theme of offering oneself as a model in that form disposes of the criticism that Paul would not have paraded himself in this way.¹⁵⁵ Neil, in a brief discussion, views the speech as indubitably Pauline because of its presence in a 'we' section.¹⁵⁶

Hemer offers a more extensive study, focused on historical questions.¹⁵⁷ He is critical of the lack of evidence for Dibelius' conclusions on the literary form of the speech, as well as of the evidence he does offer, arguing that the parallels adduced are not real parallels. This makes Hemer cautious of seeing the speech as a farewell speech. He sees the speech as a précis of a Pauline speech, citing extensive parallels of language, biographical information and theology with the epistles.¹⁵⁸

In sum, the approach represented by these scholars focuses on the Pauline connections of the Miletus speech and is inclined to see non-epistolary Pauline tradition as lying behind the speech as recorded by the author, who is generally seen as the travel-companion of Paul. Luke's creative role is limited to working with the material provided by these traditions, which he exercises in a conservative manner, although the final form of the speech bears the marks of Lukan style.

1.3.2. Lukan composition

A second group of scholars focuses on Luke's creative role in composing the Miletus speech.

The speech derived from the epistles

The oldest suggestion of this type sees the speech as derived directly from the epistles. Schulze is the first to raise this idea (1900); his ideas are developed by Soltau (1903).

Schulze sets out a synoptic comparison of the Miletus speech and the epistles. He finds extensive verbal parallels, particularly with

154 Longenecker 1981, 513.

155 Williams 1985, 347.

156 Neil 1973, 213.

157 Hemer 1989.

158 Hemer 1989, 82 n 18, citing Hemer & Gempf 1989, 425f.

1 Thessalonians, but also with Ephesians, Philippians, Philemon, Romans, 1 and 2 Timothy and 1 Corinthians. From these parallels he concludes that the influence must run from the epistles to Luke's writing and that 1 Thessalonians is the *Grundlage* for the Miletus speech.¹⁵⁹

Soltau sees 1 Thess. 2–4 as the most significant source for the speech, but he also regards the Miletus speech as paralleling material from 1 Thess. 5, Ephesians, Romans and 1 and 2 Timothy (without necessarily suggesting that Luke was using these other letters). His method is also to present a synoptic parallel.¹⁶⁰

Both scholars seem to assume that to exhibit a parallel is to show dependence. Perhaps they have undeclared premises about Luke's dating or identity, but at most they have given examples of parallels without necessarily offering a cogent explanation – alternative explanations can be offered.¹⁶¹

Style criticism

With the work of Dibelius a new era in Acts scholarship begins.¹⁶² Dibelius is thoroughgoing in asking the question, 'What was *Luke* doing?' at every point in Acts. Dibelius believes that in Acts Luke had the scope to exercise a creativity which he did not exercise in writing his Gospel. This leads to the method of *Stilkritik*, which focuses on the literary method of Luke.¹⁶³ Dibelius tries to trace the traditions with which Luke worked and then to look at how Luke utilised this material. Dibelius uses a form-critical approach not dissimilar to that applied to the Gospels.¹⁶⁴ In this process historical questions are by and large ignored.

When Dibelius considers the Miletus speech¹⁶⁵ he notes its importance for the narrative of Acts, particularly that it is Paul's last speech as a free man. Thus a key function of the speech is that, like a will, it is providing

159 Schulze 1900. His presentation of his case is not helped, it must be said, by his use of his own (somewhat idiosyncratic) translation of the text into German in the synoptic comparison.

160 Soltau 1903, 133-135. Soltau's work is superior to Schulze's, in that he works with the Greek in his synoptic comparison.

161 See also *Redaction criticism* (below) on Aejmelaeus.

162 Dibelius 1956 brings together work published in German between 1923 and 1949.

163 Dibelius 1956, 1-25 outlines his method.

164 Dibelius thus develops tools, which form the basis of (later) redaction criticism.

165 Dibelius 1956, 155-158.

for the future; it is 'an encomium of the kind that biographies are wont to give to their heroes'.¹⁶⁶

It is the nature of such a speech, Dibelius believes, to contain apologetic such as Acts 20:20, 26f, 31, 33f. This apologetic is aimed not at the elders of Ephesus, who would scarcely have needed such persuasion, but at the church leaders of Luke's day. Dibelius shelves the question of the speech's authenticity¹⁶⁷ and argues that only by this means can Paul's mention of his death (Acts 20:23-25) be understood correctly, that is in terms of its significance for Luke's narrative.¹⁶⁸

Dibelius concludes that the speech is located in the only place it could go, at the end of Paul's public ministry and at the point of Paul laying down his missionary work in the east. The speech serves as Paul's testament to the church of Luke's day.

Conzelmann¹⁶⁹ and Haenchen¹⁷⁰ develop Dibelius' analysis. Both assume that Dibelius has shown that Luke created the speech virtually *ex nihilo*.¹⁷¹

Conzelmann sees the key function of the speech as marking the close of Paul's missionary activity, and a subsidiary function as edifying the church of Luke's day. The second function is accomplished, first, by an idealised portrait of Paul from a later time being 'read back' into the apostolic age and, second, by the use of conventional themes from the 'farewell speech' genre.

Conzelmann see the speech as unhistorical because the institution of elders in the Pauline churches (Acts 20:17) is assumed, along with a concept of ecclesiastical office from a later period being present (notably the use of ἐπίσκοπος in conjunction with reference to false doctrine, Acts 20:28). Like Dibelius, Conzelmann believes Acts 20:25 presupposes the death of Paul,¹⁷² so that the speech is Paul's testament.

¹⁶⁶ Dibelius 1956, 155 cites (n 42) Peregrinus' farewell speech as an example (Lucian, *The Passing of Peregrinus* 32).

¹⁶⁷ '...the question, which can never be answered for certain, as to whether Paul spoke in Miletus at all and, if so, in what words' (Dibelius 1956, 158).

¹⁶⁸ Dibelius 1956, 158 n 46 believes Paul was dead when Luke wrote.

¹⁶⁹ Conzelmann 1987, 172-176.

¹⁷⁰ Haenchen 1971, 589-598.

¹⁷¹ Conzelmann 1987, 173; Haenchen 1971, 590.

¹⁷² Conzelmann 1987, 174 n 17 refers to Dibelius & Conzelmann 1972, 121, who compare 2 Tim. 4:7 ('I have completed my course', using the same language as Acts 20:24) with Virgil *Aeneid* 4.653: 'I have lived and accomplished the course which

Haenchen regards the speech as Luke's testimony to Paul, partly because there would have been no need for Paul to defend himself before the Ephesian elders. Luke thus offers, at the last point in Acts where Paul speaks as a free man, an idealised portrait of Paul for later Christians to follow.

Haenchen takes issue with Dibelius' view that the motif of Paul's innocence comes from the 'farewell speech' genre. Rather, it should be seen as an attempt to distance Paul (as the representative of the valid church) from the capture of the Asian churches by Gnosticism after his death.¹⁷³ This does not exhaust Luke's intention in presenting Paul as innocent, for Luke also offers Paul as a model of church and missionary leadership to his own age.¹⁷⁴

A further important theme for understanding the speech is the 'prophecies of suffering'. Haenchen believes that because Luke has made it clear (Acts 20:25) that Paul is to be martyred, he can then disregard that fact for the remainder of Acts. This explains the victorious note running through the trials and journeys that follow.

Overall, Conzelmann and Haenchen develop Dibelius' approach along lines which are doubtful of the value of Luke's narrative as an historical record of Paul, especially at this point. They use Dibelius' analysis mainly to draw conclusions about Luke's own concerns and the issues of Luke's day, thus 'mirror-reading'¹⁷⁵ Acts. Conzelmann and Haenchen thereby initiate redaction-critical studies, which see a burgeoning of work on the Miletus speech.

Redaction criticism

Redaction critics approach the Miletus speech asking the question what Luke was doing in composing the speech thus. They posit various degrees of freedom to be exercised by Luke in composing the speech, dependent upon their estimate of the likelihood that Luke had traditions about Paul at this point in Acts.

fortune appointed.' However, as Houlden 1976 rp 1989, 133 notes, the relationship between the Pastorals, and the Miletus speech could be one of several possibilities: 'The options are: genuine Pauline speech and writing; coincidental use of the same imagery; our writer's [sc. the author of the Pastorals] use of a crucial Pauline speech in Acts; the incorporation by the writer of Acts of what he took to be a vivid Pauline image.'

173 Haenchen 1971, 596.

174 Haenchen 1971, 597.

175 See § 5.2.2.

Scholars in this group use redaction criticism as their main tool: there are, of course, others who espouse redaction criticism, but who use it in conjunction with, for example, an understanding of the Miletus speech as an *Abschiedsrede* which takes greater prominence in their study. We shall consider such scholars elsewhere in our survey.

Klein's study of the apostles discusses the Miletus speech as one example of Paul's relationships with the young churches.¹⁷⁶ His overall thesis asserts that Luke subordinates Paul to the Jerusalem Christian authorities because Luke is trying to rescue Paul from gnostic associations in the second century.¹⁷⁷ He regards our speech as ^atheologically important statement ^{since} it is the only address to Christian office-bearers in Acts. Klein sees v 32 as central to the speech, since it provides for the safeguarding of the church as the authorised bearer of the tradition. He believes there to be a principle of 'apostolic succession' at work in the speech here, based on the use of παρατιθέναι. Thus Paul is equipping the elders with authority as church leaders because he himself is about to leave the scene: 'Zunächst bringt v. 25 den Grund der Abschiedsrede zur Sprache: Paulus wird für die Gemeinde endgültig unerreichbar.'¹⁷⁸ Klein thus places Luke in the *frühkatholisch* period of the development of early Christianity, concerned with the safeguarding of the faith through a succession of office-bearers.

Schürmann also believes that Luke is providing for the post-apostolic church in a situation where Gnosticism (or perhaps proto-Gnosticism) is the enemy.¹⁷⁹ The Miletus speech is therefore aimed at the elders of Luke's day and, through them, at the whole church:

Die Rede sagt den Presbytern von Ephesus, was allen Amtsträgern der Kirche gesagt werden muß, was darüber hinaus für die nachapostolische Kirche überhaupt von Bedeutung ist...Indem sie zu den Amtsträgern spricht, sagt sie indirekt der ganzen Kirche, daß in den Unsicherheiten der nachapostolischen Zeit ἀσφαλεια (Lk 1,4) nur von der apostolischen Paradosis, die den Amtsträgern übergeben ward, und vom Amt, bzw. von dessen rechtem Einsatz, zu erwarten ist.¹⁸⁰

176 Klein 1961, 178-184.

177 For summary and critique, see Rohde 1968, 219-229; Haenchen 1971, 122-128.

178 Klein 1961, 180.

179 Schürmann 1968.

180 Schürmann 1968, 311.

Thus Schürmann treats the speech's focus as the handing over of church order, through a 'testamentary transfer',¹⁸¹ to the post-apostolic church: 'In der Form eines testamentum paulinum wird hier Kirchenordnung für die nachapostolische Zeit gegeben.'¹⁸² And it is not only church order that Luke presents Paul as passing on, but also the content of the faith.¹⁸³ In Schürmann's view, it is through 'Paradosis und Amt' that Luke believes the church will be preserved against Gnosticism.

Hanson treats the speech as a Lukan composition, rejecting the possibility of finding Pauline *ipsissima verba*.¹⁸⁴ His main reasons for thinking this are two: the need for Luke to 'diversify his narrative' by introducing a speech here; and evidence of a pattern in speeches in Acts generally, which suggests that Luke is working on traditional material – a pattern which the Miletus speech lacks; thus our speech was composed by Luke for this occasion: 'it fits the occasion in a dramatic and literary sense, that is, not in an historical one.'¹⁸⁵

While Hanson admits the presence of Pauline language in the speech (in vv 18-21, 24f, 32, 34), he is clear that the 'fit' of the speech to the 'farewell' situation (which Hanson views as Paul saying farewell to his whole work around the Aegean) means that it should be treated as a Lukan creation. He does not discuss the question as to whether Paul ever met the Ephesian elders at Miletus. Like others we have already considered, Hanson reads v 25 as implying that Paul is already dead by the time of writing.

Knoch also approaches the Miletus speech as Luke's handiwork, using the Hebrew Bible/Jewish and hellenistic genre of 'farewell speech' as the basis for his work.¹⁸⁶ He believes Luke's portrays Paul providing for the period after his death, which Paul knows will soon to take place (v 25).¹⁸⁷ Luke is reading back the church structures and offices of a later period into the apostolic age in order to protect the church of his day (late first

181 Schürmann 1968, 312.

182 Schürmann 1968, 337.

183 Schürmann 1968, 323-330.

184 Hanson 1967, 202-206.

185 Hanson 1967, 202.

186 Knoch 1973, 32-43.

187 Knoch 1973, 33.

century) from proto-gnostic heretics.¹⁸⁸ Luke is also using Paul to speak to the church leaders of his own day, in the face of this threat.

Budesheim proposes that Acts 20:18-35; 22:1-21 are two parts of one speech, which Luke has edited.¹⁸⁹ He claims first that Acts 22:1-21 shows significant redactional alterations which tie it to the context in Acts and leave loose ends, which leads him to believe that 22:1-21 is based on a pre-formed unit.¹⁹⁰ He analyses the Miletus speech in similar manner to show that it too has been redacted to fit its context.¹⁹¹ The key step in his argument is to classify the Miletus speech as an *Abschiedsrede*, and then to observe the lack of a narrative of the departing one's life at the start of the Miletus speech – a normal feature in farewell speeches.¹⁹² However, there is an outline of Paul's life in Acts 22:1ff. Accordingly, the two speeches are parts of one original, and have been separated by Luke.

Budesheim then deduces the sense of βουλή (Acts 20:27) from Acts 22:1-22: it is the Jewish tradition which Paul learned in conjunction with the Christian message. The likely *Sitz im Leben* of the material is a hellenistic Jewish Christian community, and the Miletus speech derives from an appeal to the name of Paul in the original speech, an appeal which could have been to Gentile non-Christians or to Jewish Christians.

Barrett¹⁹³ recognises the importance of the speech for the debate about the portrait of Paul in Acts. He views this address as displaying the relation between the time of Paul and the time of Luke. The Miletus speech presents Paul as 'the chief and exemplary evangelist and pastor, who instructs the new generation in their duties.'¹⁹⁴ Thus Luke is rounding out a portrait in which, through speeches, he has already presented Paul as a missionary to Jews and Gentiles.

Barrett observes that Munck's belief that the speech is a farewell speech does not help either way in deciding about its historicity.¹⁹⁵ More significant for the question of historicity are the considerable number of

188 Knoch 1973, 39. He concedes that the Philippian church had ἐπίσκοποι, but disallows this as evidence for the polity of Pauline churches without explanation (39, 41).

189 Budesheim 1976.

190 Budesheim 1976, 11-17.

191 Budesheim 1976, 18-24.

192 Budesheim 1976, 25-29.

193 Barrett 1977.

194 Barrett 1977, 108.

195 Barrett 1977, 109.

echoes of the epistles, which Barrett takes to imply that Luke used 'general Pauline tradition' in composing the speech. He believes that Luke has 'read back' into Paul his own, later beliefs.

Barrett analyses the speech in some detail, considering in particular the Pauline echoes within it. He concludes, 'the general picture of Paul that is presented is in harmony with that which can be deduced from the letters.'¹⁹⁶ However, the provision for the role of the elders lacks any evangelistic imperative or, indeed, arrangements for succession. Paul is presented as opposed to a paid ministry, which is at variance with Paul's ostensible views in the epistles.¹⁹⁷ The purpose of the passage for Luke is the transfer of the apostolic task to Luke's (post-apostolic) time.¹⁹⁸

Lambrecht¹⁹⁹ surveys previous work on the speech²⁰⁰ before turning to the question of structure.²⁰¹ He reviews previous proposals and identifies features to consider in seeking a structure for the speech.²⁰² The formal structure produced (dividing the passage at v 27) leads him to suggest that the key focus of the speech is paraenetic: even the presentation of Paul's past conduct in the first half of the speech is as a model to be followed, rather than offering an apologetic for Paul's conduct.

Lambrecht goes on to consider the relation of tradition and redaction in the speech.²⁰³ He argues that there is no direct dependence of the speech upon the epistles, but that Luke shows knowledge of biographical traditions about Paul; Luke is using 'universally admitted Christian tradition' to emphasise Paul's orthodoxy. Lambrecht lists Lukanisms within the speech (without any evidence that they *are* Lukanisms being offered!). He concludes that the Miletus speech must be considered 'in the light of Luke's conceptions and theology'.²⁰⁴

Finally, Lambrecht cites several key issues in identifying the function of the speech in Acts:²⁰⁵ Paul's journey to Jerusalem; problems raised by

196 Barrett 1977, 117.

197 Barrett 1977, 118.

198 Barrett 1977, 119.

199 Lambrecht 1979.

200 Lambrecht 1979, 308-314 considers Dibelius, Klein, Dupont, Schürmann, Michel and Knoch.

201 Lambrecht 1979, 314-318.

202 Discussed § 3.3.2.

203 Lambrecht 1979, 319-328.

204 Lambrecht 1979, 328.

205 Lambrecht 1979, 328-337.

the location of the discourse in Miletus; the reason for the delivery of the speech at precisely this point in the narrative; and Luke's aims in presenting the speech to the church of his day. His view of the last is that Luke is using Paul to urge the church of his day to be alert to the dangers of internal false teachers (v 30) and external 'fierce wolves' (v 29), and to encourage proper care for the weak (vv 33ff).

Prast²⁰⁶ argues that continuity is crucial for the speech, which seeks a continuity of spiritual authority, rather than a continuity of authority based on office.²⁰⁷ Prast offers six reasons for seeing the speech as a Lukan composition: an historical doubt that Paul would give such a speech at Miletus, rather than Ephesus;²⁰⁸ the speech is sandwiched between two 'we' sections (Acts 20:5-15; 21:1-18), which implies that the author was not present;²⁰⁹ the speech seems to show a closed conception of leadership;²¹⁰ the vocabulary of the speech is strongly Lukan, which implies that the speech is not based on a source;²¹¹ some themes have little or no Pauline parallel (such as the division between apostolic and post-apostolic times implied by ἄφιξις, v 29, the beginnings of the hardening of the Pauline gospel into a tradition, the development of church organisation in the form of elder-bishops, the background of the church which is envisaged, vv 29f, and the clear knowledge of the death of Paul, v 25);²¹² and the *Gattung* of the speech as an *Abschiedsrede* suggests that it is a Lukan composition, since a truly Pauline speech would not reflect the concerns of this *Gattung* so clearly.²¹³

Prast carries through his aim, to treat the speech as a Lukan composition, by seeing it in the context of Luke-Acts, drawing parallels with Acts 14:21-23²¹⁴ and passages from Luke's Gospel (especially 12:35-48; 17:7-10; 22:24-27).²¹⁵ He also considers parallels with the Pauline epistles, generally regarding these parallels as not indicating that Luke used the letters.

206 Prast 1979.

207 Prast 1979, 205.

208 Prast 1979, 30.

209 Prast 1979, 31f.

210 Prast 1979, 32.

211 Prast 1979, 34f.

212 Prast 1979, 35.

213 Prast 1979, 36.

214 Prast 1979, 212-222.

215 Prast 1979, 228-259.

During a four year period Roloff, Schmithals, Schneider and Weiser all published redactionally-oriented commentaries on Acts. Roloff²¹⁶ believes that Luke is making use of traditions about Paul, although the language and style of the speech is Lukan and the ecclesiastical situation is that of a later time; for example, Acts 20:17 speaks of πρεσβύτεροι, whereas Paul had ἐπισκόποι (Acts 20:28). Accepting the consensus view, that the speech is an *Abschiedsrede*, Roloff suggests particularly that 'v. 24 kann nur als Ankündigung des nahen Todes des Paulus verstanden werden.'²¹⁷

Schmithals also sees the speech as a farewell, believing that Luke uses the speech to address issues of his own day;²¹⁸ the false teachers attacked in the speech (v 29) are in reality later hyper-Paulinists. Schmithals claims that the issues addressed by the speech and the Pastorals are those raised by gnostic teachers who were introducing dualistic ideas and mythological speculations into the churches of Luke's time. Luke used Paul-sources for the speech similar to those used by the composer of the Pastorals, with the same purpose.²¹⁹ Specifically, Schmithals proposes that the speech's basis in tradition is found in vv 18b, 19a, 25a, 26-32.²²⁰

Schneider's massive and erudite commentary²²¹ seeks to come to a balance between views of Acts as primarily theological or primarily historical. Schneider believes that Luke was never a companion of Paul and had not read any of his letters, but that he was using Pauline tradition in composing the Miletus speech.²²² He identifies numerous parallels with the Pauline corpus – drawing on all the letters attributed to Paul except Philemon.²²³ Schneider see the speech as an *Abschiedsrede*, a type of speech not found earlier in Acts, although Luke's Jesus has such a speech (Luke 22:21-38).²²⁴

Weiser likewise sees the speech as an *Abschiedsrede*²²⁵ and believes Luke presents the speech to his church at the end of the first century as an

216 Roloff 1981, 300-307.

217 Roloff 1981, 304.

218 Schmithals 1982, 186-191.

219 cf. Schmithals 1991, a detailed comparison of the speech and the Pastorals.

220 Schmithals 1982; for critique, see Lüdemann 1989, 229.

221 Schneider 1980, 1982

222 Schneider 1980, 1982, 2:41-45, 293.

223 Schneider 1980, 1982, 2:294-299.

224 Schneider 1980, 1982, 2:293 n 4.

225 Weiser 1981, 1985, 2:567.

example.²²⁶ The style of the speech is strongly Lukan, and the flow of thought is confused; hence the speech is a Lukan creation, although there are elements of early Christian tradition – and specifically Pauline tradition – worked into the speech.²²⁷

Lüdemann aims to distinguish tradition and redaction at every point in Acts,²²⁸ and assumes that Luke did not know the Pauline letters, but did have access to Pauline tradition.²²⁹ He doubts whether a meeting between Paul and the Ephesian elders ever took place, not least at Miletus, because of extensive Lukan ‘linguistic peculiarities’.²³⁰ Lüdemann believes Luke wrote a testament from the Paul of Acts to Luke’s own church, using some Pauline tradition; v 28 is based on Pauline material, for it uses ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ and mentions the blood of Jesus.²³¹ The *agraphon* (v 35) is a christianisation of a pagan saying.²³² Overall Lüdemann is pessimistic about the amount of Pauline tradition which is present in the speech.²³³

Aejmelaeus, in contrast to others, is confident that he can identify the Pauline tradition used by Luke in composing the speech.²³⁴ He meticulously analyses the speech word by word for Lukan and Pauline vocabulary using statistical methods,²³⁵ and argues that the Pauline parallels are derived from Luke’s knowledge of the Pauline letters. Aejmelaeus detects parallels of the sequence of material as well as coincident vocabulary or the use of synonyms. He also believes that Luke, writing early in the second century, uses 1 Clement as a source.²³⁶

Aejmelaeus argues a cumulative case for the use of the Pauline letters by Luke, rather than depending on one particular parallel. However, he must also explain the non-parallels between the Miletus speech and the Pauline letters, and he claims that the differences between Paul’s and

226 Weiser 1981, 1985, 2:569.

227 Weiser 1981, 1985, 2:571f.

228 Lüdemann 1989, esp. 1-18.

229 Lüdemann 1989, 7-9, where he considers the case for Lukan knowledge of the Pauline letters and declares himself unconvinced.

230 Lüdemann 1987, 226f.

231 Lüdemann 1987, 228.

232 Lüdemann 1987, 229.

233 Lüdemann 1987, 226; see below for an outline of Aejmelaeus’ position, and § 6.2.2 for discussion of his proposals.

234 Aejmelaeus 1987.

235 Aejmelaeus 1987, 89-95, esp. the table on 90f.

236 Aejmelaeus 1987, 175-183.

Luke's situations are key to understanding Luke's use of different vocabulary. His work will require careful response.²³⁷

Lövestam believes the background to the Miletus speech is Ezek. 33ff.²³⁸ The introduction of the shepherd motif in Acts 20:28ff is the spur to Lövestam's thinking, for he claims that this motif is neither Lukan (it does not appear elsewhere in Acts) nor Pauline.²³⁹ He sees Paul/Luke reapplying Ezekiel's teaching to a new situation.²⁴⁰ He concludes that the speech's main focus is the shepherding work of the elders with whom Paul speaks.

Donelson's²⁴¹ interest is in the sources of Acts, and he writes to test a hypothesis that local cult histories form a source for Luke's writing.²⁴² He proposes that the Miletus speech and 2 Timothy use a local tradition from Ephesus that Paul gave a testamentary address to the church elders, handing them particular responsibilities and giving them authority to carry those tasks out.²⁴³ He identifies five features of the Miletus speech which significantly modify the standard testamentary form in the direction of the later heterodoxy-orthodoxy debates:²⁴⁴ the presentation of Paul as a paradigm to be imitated, especially in his faithfulness under persecution; Paul handing over control to the elders; Paul predicting the coming of 'wolves'; Paul promising the elders that God will equip and sustain them, and will reward them in the future life; and the imminence of Paul's death. Accordingly, the memory of a Pauline testament has been shaped by the contemporary debates in the Ephesian church, and Luke has used it in that form in Acts.²⁴⁵ Nevertheless, Donelson is not sanguine about recovering the original form of the tradition about Paul's testament, since Luke grafted the material so seamlessly into his own garment.²⁴⁶

²³⁷ See further § 6.2.2.

²³⁸ Lövestam 1987.

²³⁹ Lövestam 1987 in dependence upon Dupont 1962, 145-149.

²⁴⁰ Lövestam 1987, 5; he never answers the question whether the reapplication of the Ezekiel material is the work of Paul or Luke or someone else. Others have previously noted the 'shepherd' motif and its parallels, in Ezekiel, including Williams 1957, 233f; Neil 1973, 214.

²⁴¹ Donelson 1987.

²⁴² Donelson 1987, 1-10.

²⁴³ Donelson 1987, 11.

²⁴⁴ Donelson 1987, 14f.

²⁴⁵ Donelson 1987, 18f.

²⁴⁶ Grafting is a method of joining two pieces of knitted fabric so that it appears that they have been knitted as a whole (Norbury & Agutter 1957, 66f). I owe both metaphor and reference to my colleague, the Revd Gillian Cooper.

1.3.3. Farewell speech as genre

The presupposition of many studies is that the Miletus speech fits into a 'farewell speech' genre which would have been recognised by Luke's readers.²⁴⁷

Dupont draws attention to farewell discourses which are significant backgrounds to the Miletus speech:²⁴⁸ OT examples (particularly 1 Sam. 12; 1 Macc. 2:49-70), intertestamental Jewish examples (especially the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and the farewell speeches in Jubilees); and NT examples (notably Luke 22:24-38; John 13-17; the Pastorals; 2 Peter). He concludes that the Miletus speech fits this genre, and has the character of a pastoral testament of Paul as the great founder of the churches. His exegesis of the speech focuses on this theme.

Luke, Dupont believes, seeks to pass on the Pauline tradition to his generation, and this makes it less than straightforward to decide where Luke is using Pauline tradition, and where he is building on traditional material. So Dupont states a methodological principle which will be important for our discussion:

It is necessary to illuminate the text by reference, on the one hand, to similar expressions and ideas which we meet elsewhere in Luke's two volumes and, on the other hand, to that which Paul writes in his letters.²⁴⁹

Dupont does not enumerate the characteristics of this genre; this task is left to others. Munck draws upon his earlier work on the farewell speech genre²⁵⁰ in his all-too-brief analysis of the Miletus speech.²⁵¹ He identifies four characteristics of a farewell speech which fit the Miletus speech.²⁵²

Michel also attempts to identify a genre of farewell speech.²⁵³ He considers the speech an undoubted example of the genre because of the presence of nine of the thirteen characteristic marks he identifies. Overall,

²⁴⁷ e.g. Roloff 1981, 302, who sees 2 Timothy, and the Pastorals, in general, as the nearest analogy in the NT to the Miletus speech; Schneider 1980, 1982, 293; Lüdemann 1989, 226f; and Lambrecht 1979, 332, cautiously.

²⁴⁸ Dupont 1962, 11-21.

²⁴⁹ Dupont 1962, 30 (my translation).

²⁵⁰ Munck 1950.

²⁵¹ Munck 1967, 202-205.

²⁵² Munck 1967, 205; discussion in § 3.2.2. The examples which he cites to identify the form come from the Hebrew Bible, the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, and the NT.

²⁵³ Michel 1973; discussion in § 3.2.1.

he sees Luke using the speech at a transition-point in the life of the early church to indicate the continuity of Luke's church with the apostolic age.

Schille, similarly, see the Miletus speech as a nodal point in deutero-Pauline times.²⁵⁴ The speech is distinct from the other Lukan speeches in Acts, for it is not a mission-speech, but a church-speech. A comparison with the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, John 13ff, 2 Timothy and 2 Peter demonstrates that it is an *Abschiedsrede*. In particular, comparing 2 Tim. 4:7 with Acts 20:18, 24 shows that Paul is dead by the time of the writing: 'Die Aussage [v 25] ist in Wissen den Tod des Paulus formuliert.'²⁵⁵

A criticism of the approach of Dupont and Michel has been that they consider only Jewish examples in delineating the characteristics of a farewell speech genre.²⁵⁶ Kurz' article also considers Graeco-Roman examples,²⁵⁷ concluding that the Miletus speech is closer to the Jewish style than the Graeco-Roman.²⁵⁸ The functions of a farewell address include the paraenetic, both within the story and for the readers of the story, and the historiographical. Under the latter Kurz includes justifying the transfer of authority, recalling the foundations of the community's teaching and practice, apologetic for the founders of the community, and future predictions (the last is missing from his Graeco-Roman examples).

Kurz later applies this approach to the Miletus speech,²⁵⁹ claiming that the primary function of biblical examples of a farewell speech is 'to describe and promote transition from original religious leaders like Jesus, Moses, David, and Paul to their successors. It is especially concerned with maintaining community tradition and the authority to preserve that tradition for later generations.'²⁶⁰ He identifies nine key 'farewell' features found in the Miletus speech,²⁶¹ and offers a careful exegesis.

254 Schille 1983, 401ff.

255 Schille 1983, 403.

256 e.g. Talbert 1975.

257 Kurz 1985: he provides a helpful table of features and their occurrences in the various speeches on 262f.

258 Kurz 1985, 252f, 257, 261; cf. Kurz 1990, 16-32, esp. 17.

259 Kurz 1990, 33-51.

260 Kurz 1990, 50.

261 Kurz 1990, 33. Kurz' list is different to the ten features identified by Michel as marking the Miletus speech as a farewell address: see Michel 1973, 68-71.

Nelson evaluates the evidence for a farewell speech genre helpfully.²⁶² He comes to similar conclusions, especially that a list of features of a farewell speech genre needs to be seen flexibly, rather than as a straitjacket. He too draws attention to the role of a farewell speech in ensuring and legitimating succession, both for the immediately following generation and for generations who read the account at a later date.

Nelson briefly examines the Miletus speech in the context of his discussion of farewell addresses,²⁶³ noting the lack of a report of Paul's death. This is important for his argument that Luke 22:14-38 should be seen as a farewell speech, even though the death of Jesus does not occur within that scene.

1.3.4. Structural studies

Study of the speech has throughout included debate over its structure.²⁶⁴ At this stage, suffice to note three studies which focus on this question.

Exum and Talbert propose a structure for the speech as chiasmic, focusing on v 25, which is the centre of their chiasm.²⁶⁵

Dupont catalogues the variety of views (including changes in his own view),²⁶⁶ before seeking criteria for a structural analysis. He identifies (in sympathy with Lambrecht²⁶⁷): the Greek sentences; the repetitions; and the progression of thought.²⁶⁸ He concludes that the Miletus speech shows a coherent train of thought, centred on the responsibilities of the church leaders at the end of the first century. Luke presents the speech in order to point the elders of his day to Paul as their model.²⁶⁹

Kilgallen also reviews suggested structures²⁷⁰ before proposing a fresh approach based on the use of key Greek causal terms. He sees words such as γάρ (v 27), διότι (v 26), καί (v 30) and διό (v 31) as determinative for structure, since these words indicate ideas or sentences which are

262 Nelson 1991, 105-116.

263 Nelson 1991, 123f.

264 See § 3.3.

265 Exum & Talbert 1967; discussion in § 3.3.2.

266 Dupont 1984; the review covers 424-429.

267 Lambrecht 1979, esp. 314-317.

268 Dupont 1984, 429-445.

269 Dupont 1984, 445.

270 Kilgallen 1994: the review covers 112-114; see discussion § 3.3.1.

subordinate to others, either as justification for or result of a statement. Kilgallen concludes that vv 25, 28 contain the central ideas of the speech.

1.3.5. An attempt to re-set the agenda

Gempf seeks to move beyond the categories of previous discussion, because he doubts whether the debate over 'accuracy' versus 'invention' in the Acts speeches can ever be answered with the data at our disposal.²⁷¹ Rather, 'We must ask not "how close is this account to what was said?", but rather "how close is this account to what happened?"'²⁷² Accordingly, Gempf outlines two key criteria which might help in evaluating the historical faithfulness of a speech, that is, how in tune with the situation and the speaker the speech seems: whether a speech shows traces of the situation in which it appears; and whether the speech displays the character and traits of the speaker.²⁷³

Regarding the Miletus speech,²⁷⁴ Gempf argues that questions should be asked in terms of an *Abschiedsszene*, for he notices that criteria for a farewell speech spill out from the speech into the narrative, such as calling of the hearers together. Gempf rejects proposals that the speech's location in Acts can be explained entirely as a 'hinge point' in the story of Paul or the church.²⁷⁵ Two factors suggest that the speech shows literary and historical appropriateness: the likeness of the Paul of this speech to the Paul of the letters; and the probability that Luke is here answering the questions, 'How did Paul preach to Christians?' and 'How did Paul view his approaching death?'²⁷⁶ Nevertheless, Gempf is pessimistic about recovering the Pauline tradition used by Luke, because of 'the nature and completeness of Luke's redaction'.²⁷⁷

1.3.6. Narrative-critical approaches

An important trend in recent biblical study is the use of narrative-criticism, and these perspectives have found application to Acts. Such approaches focus on the final form of the text, rather than seeking 'seams'

271 Gempf 1988, 145; Gempf 1993b, esp. 298-303.

272 Gempf 1993b, 300.

273 Gempf 1993b, 301.

274 Gempf 1988, 268-340.

275 Gempf 1988, 327-331.

276 Gempf 1988, 334-339.

277 Gempf 1988, 339.

and other signs of the material from which Luke composed Acts, narrative critics look for the flow of the story and the unity of the text.²⁷⁸

In the case of passages within Acts, narrative critics seek parallels of wording or actions (both of similarity and of contrast) in both Luke and Acts, in line with the parallelism between different characters in Acts and in Luke-Acts.²⁷⁹

Tannehill sees the speech as an example of a the widespread Lukan device of previews and reviews.²⁸⁰ Paul is reviewing his past ministry and previewing events yet to come. These two themes are intertwined in the speech, which makes its structure more complicated than some have supposed. Within the speech Tannehill sees literary devices at work, particularly the use of repeated words (or synonyms) in the two halves of the speech. More widely, there are links with Luke's Jesus,²⁸¹ such as the use of the εὐαγγέλιον word group (Acts 20:24; Luke 4:18, 43f), the inclusive nature of the gospel for both Gentiles and Jews (Acts 20:21; Luke 24:47; Acts 15:7, 11; 10:34-43), divine necessity (Acts 20:22, 23; 21:11; 19:21; Luke 13:33; 9:22; etc.), leadership as service (Acts 20:19, 34f, 24; Luke 22:26f), the role of possessions (Acts 20:33-35; Luke 12:33; etc.), and the need for alertness (Acts 20:28, 31; Luke 12:37; 21:34).

Johnson observes numerous parallels between the Miletus speech and the Pauline letters.²⁸² He identifies parallels with the travel narrative in Luke's Gospel in the repeated use of the name 'Jerusalem'. On a number of points of detail he draws attention to words in the speech used by Luke most (or alone) of NT writers. Johnson sees a parallel with the Lukan Last Supper discourse (Luke 22:24-38),²⁸³ also a farewell speech. But the note which Johnson sounds most strongly is Luke's ability to compose a speech fitting for Paul, using Pauline language and themes.²⁸⁴

Gooding identifies a contrast between Paul's model of defence of the gospel and Demetrius' defence of his religion and his trade (Acts 19:23ff), but fails to give much detail,²⁸⁵ merely observing that Paul had done

278 For a valuable introduction, see Powell 1993.

279 See, e.g., Rackham 1904, xlvii-xlix; Talbert 1974, 15-65; Johnson 1977, 38-69.

280 Tannehill 1990, 252; cf. Tannehill 1986, 21; § 2.

281 Tannehill 1990, 255-261.

282 Johnson 1992a, 360-366.

283 Johnson 1992b, 344-349; see § 4.2.

284 Johnson 1992a, 367.

285 Gooding 1990, 357.

everything he could for the salvation of his hearers (Acts 20:25f), whereas Demetrius is motivated by monetary constraints (Acts 19:24f).

Neyrey outlines parallels between the Miletus speech and the Lukan Jesus' farewell discourse (Luke 22:14-38) in context, content and function.²⁸⁶ Concerning context, a journey to Jerusalem is involved (Jesus is already there; Paul is on the way there), both Paul and Jesus are constrained by the divine 'must' ($\delta\epsilon\iota$), there are plots by the Jews against both, and both give their farewell speech to their favourite disciples and associates. Concerning content, both are farewell speeches and therefore contain predictions of death and of attacks on the disciples, both urge ideal behaviour, both provide for succession, and both contain protestations of innocence. Neyrey proposes a number of verbal and thematic links between the two speeches – and the function of the speeches is similar, focused on the proper succession of authorised leadership in the church.

1.3.7. Rhetorical-critical approaches

Rhetorical criticism has recently revived,²⁸⁷ and this has led some to examine the speeches of Acts from the perspective of ancient rhetoric. Bruce's survey of the speeches includes a brief consideration of the Miletus speech, which he classifies as 'hortatory' – the only such speech in Acts in his view.²⁸⁸ This classification stems from the uniqueness of the speech – it is the only speech in Acts by Paul given to Christians – and the content, in which Paul calls the elders to their task, while also making a self-defence.

Kennedy, like Bruce a classicist, uses the ancient rhetorical groupings of deliberative, judicial or epideictic to classify speeches. He sees the Miletus speech as an epideictic form (the farewell address: Kennedy observes this form in Menander Rhetor), but with a future orientation, for 'the apostle's major concern throughout is with the future'.²⁸⁹ Thus, Kennedy sees the discussion of Paul's past ministry as concerned with how Paul will be perceived in the future. Within ancient rhetoric this normally means the speech is deliberative, but Kennedy does not make this conclusion explicit.

286 Neyrey 1985, 43-48.

287 See my review of research, Walton 1995-96.

288 Bruce 1943, 5, 26f. Bruce's other groupings are evangelistic, deliberative and apologetic (5).

289 Kennedy 1984, 133.

Alexander's dissertation is the most thorough rhetorical study of the Miletus speech.²⁹⁰ After a review of previous work, he sets his work as oriented towards literary and rhetorical issues.²⁹¹ He then considers the address in the context of Jewish and Graeco-Roman farewell discourses, finding significant parallels in both cases.²⁹² In particular, there are Graeco-Roman *συντακτικοί* located in a narrative before the speaker departs on a ship.²⁹³

Alexander considers rhetorical topics in the Miletus speech and the Pauline letters, and stresses that the narrative framework of the speech (Acts 20:17-18a, 36-38) is part of the rhetorical unit, since it 'suppl[ies] significant aspects of the setting of the speech'.²⁹⁴ He concludes that the speech is epideictic, for Paul is re-calling the elders to things they know, rather than offering new advice.

Alexander's comparison with the Pauline letters focuses on rhetorical topics, particularly the appeal to the knowledge of the audience, Paul's present and future conduct, the admonition to proper conduct in the face of opposition, and the commendation to God and his word.²⁹⁵ In each case he proposes extensive parallels between the speech and the Pauline corpus. There are also elements in the narrative framework which can be paralleled from the Pauline letters: the epistolary prescript and prayer requests and reports.²⁹⁶

Finally, Alexander focuses attention on style, invention and arrangement. By using a rhetorical approach to arrangement he seeks to decide the structure of the speech – although he is finally doubtful that a clear-cut structure can be identified.²⁹⁷ However, he is clear that the speech reflects the exigencies of Paul's situation as Acts presents it. Alexander focuses the remainder of his work on invention and style, using cross-references to classical authors to identify styles of presentation and argument used.²⁹⁸

²⁹⁰ Alexander 1990b.

²⁹¹ Alexander 1990b, 1-42, 43.

²⁹² Jewish parallels: Alexander 1990b, 73f; Graeco-Roman parallels: Alexander 1990b, 114-122.

²⁹³ Alexander 1990b, 126-131, 136f; see § 3.2.2.

²⁹⁴ Alexander 1990b, 148.

²⁹⁵ Alexander 1990b, 159-216.

²⁹⁶ Alexander 1990b, 217-229.

²⁹⁷ Alexander 1990b, 261-272.

²⁹⁸ Alexander 1990b, 284-329.

Alexander concludes that the Graeco-Roman farewell speeches offer a better 'form' for the speech than the Jewish examples, since the Graeco-Roman examples do not always end with the death of the speaker.²⁹⁹

Watson applies Kennedy's method of rhetorical criticism to the Miletus speech. Watson sees the speech as a farewell address from the epideictic species.³⁰⁰ Having identified the rhetorical unit as Acts 20:18b-35, Watson works through the speech picking out examples of ancient rhetorical topics and forms of argumentation. The speech follows a classical epideictic pattern: *exordium* (vv 18b-24), *probatio* (vv 25-31), and *peroratio* (vv 32-35), surrounded by an historical preface (vv 17-18a) and a narrative summary (vv 36-38).³⁰¹ Watson notes a number of passages in the Pauline letters which parallel points in the speech, while making it clear that he regards the speech as a Lukan creation using the device of *prosopopoeia*.³⁰²

1.3.8. Studies of individual points

DeVine attempts a fresh look at the knotty problem of the phrase διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἰδίου/θεοῦ/κυριοῦ (v 28). After an extensive discussion of the textual evidence he concludes that θεοῦ is the correct reading.³⁰³

Schmeichel also considers v 28, arguing that it should be read in a martyriological/apologetic context summarising the first two parts of the speech (vv 18b-27). He believes that v 28 is an apologetic statement which sees Paul's martyrdom as an epitome of his strenuous efforts for the church; that is, Paul himself is 'God's own one' here, and it is Paul whose blood is expended to establish and obtain God's church.³⁰⁴

Giles considers the use of ἐκκλησία (v 28),³⁰⁵ arguing that the word is not used in its usual Lukan sense. Giles also sees the soteriology here as resembling Paul's view.

Lampe studies the prediction of 'grievous wolves' (v 29) to come,³⁰⁶ in the context of discerning of true and false belief in sub-apostolic times, including in the Pastorals, 1 Clement and Ignatius. The evidence points,

299 Alexander 1990b, 340-342.

300 Watson 1991, 184-191; so also Soards 1994, 104-108.

301 Watson 1991, 193-208.

302 Watson 1991, 208.

303 DeVine 1947, 382-397; discussion in Appendix 1.

304 Schmeichel 1982, 510f, 513f; discussion in Appendix 1.

305 Giles 1985, esp. 136f.

306 Lampe 1973.

Lampe argues, to a 'Judaizing counter-mission'³⁰⁷ responding to Christian evangelism.

1.4. Orientation of this study

After such a wide-ranging survey, the reader might be left wondering what else can be said about the Miletus speech. What perspectives and orientation does this study have to offer?

This dissertation aims to contribute to the debate about the Paul of Acts and the Paul of the epistles by considering a key case study, namely the Miletus speech. Past scholarly work suggests that within the speech there is evidence both of Lukan style and composition and of Pauline vocabulary and concepts. A key question is the balance of these two elements.

Dupont's principle is therefore important, that the speech should be examined in the context of Luke-Acts and in the context of the Pauline letters.³⁰⁸ While this has been attempted before, no previous attempt has been made to compare the speech as a whole with a Pauline letter as a whole. This is the approach taken here.³⁰⁹ What follows outlines the structure of this dissertation so that the reader is aware of the key lines of argument we shall pursue.

Our first task is to understand the speech as Luke presents it. This will be attempted in two stages. First (ch. 3), we shall study the speech in its immediate context (Acts 20:17-38), considering its genre, seeking its structure, analysing its contents and development of ideas, and identifying key themes.

Second (ch. 4), we shall consider the place of the speech in Luke-Acts, and seek speeches which parallel the Miletus speech, as well as seeking parallels to particular points in the speech. This will allow us to state Luke's understanding of the speech. In turn, it may throw light on issues raised by the speech.

Turning to Paul, we shall examine 1 Thessalonians for parallels to the Miletus speech (ch. 5).³¹⁰ We shall first move from the Miletus speech to

307 Lampe 1973, 268.

308 See § 1.3.3.

309 Ch. 2 considers methodological questions.

310 A natural place to look for parallels, would have been the Pastoral Epistles, especially 2 Timothy (cf. Schmithals 1991). However, the nature of our enquiry is to

1 Thessalonians, to see whether the key themes of the speech are present in the letter. Then we shall reverse the comparison, and ask if there are other themes and ideas in 1 Thessalonians which are present in the speech.

This two way process should help us to compare the thought of the speech and the letter, and permit us to weigh the relative Lukan and Pauline contributions to the speech, as well as to ask what knowledge of the Pauline letters (if any) Luke might have. Thus the detailed work of chs 3–5 forms the heart of the argument. Our conclusion (ch. 6) will summarise our results, consider issues arising from our study, and identify areas for further research.

Chapter 2

Are Parallels in the Eye of the Beholder? – Questions of Approach

2.1. Introduction

What constitutes a valid parallel? This question has recurred regularly in biblical scholarship over many years, famously provoking Sandmel's 'Parallelomania',¹ warning against the assumption that parallels automatically imply dependence of one upon the other, or of both upon a common source.

This chapter will explore issues raised by this exercise and outline our approach. We shall notice the widely-recognised use of parallelism by Luke and discuss what kind of 'unity' the Gospel and Acts might have. Then we shall consider criteria for parallels, and outline how we shall seek parallels within the Lukan *Doppelwerk*, including some consideration of the strategy for listening to the texts which is involved. Finally, we shall consider the application of this method to parallels between Acts and the Pauline letters in the light of past scholarly work.

2.2. Parallelism in Luke-Acts

A number of competent surveys of the history of research of this topic exist,² and we shall not repeat the substance of those studies. Rather, we shall briefly discuss three key approaches to parallels within Luke-Acts – those of Rackham, Goulder and Talbert³ – as a way of showing that our approach to seeking parallels has a sound basis in the texts generally – but without necessarily buying into everything written by each scholar. Our point is simply that the phenomenon of parallelism in the Lukan writings

¹ Sandmel 1962; cf. the helpful survey and methodological proposals for history-of-religions parallel study in Donaldson 1983, esp. 193-204.

² e.g. Praeder 1984; Gasque 1975, *passim*; Clark 1997, 44-52.

³ Other examples include: Cadbury 1927 rp 1958, 233; Morgenthaler 1949 (see discussion in Barrett 1961, 36-40); Flender 1967, 8-35; Thiering 1967; Bruce 1988, 364 n 14; Stolle 1973; Mattill 1975; Radl 1975; Petersen 1978, 83-86; Trompf 1979, 116-178; Muhlack 1979; O'Toole 1983; Moessner 1986; Tannehill 1986, 20, 33; Green 1996; Clark 1997.

is widely recognised, even though there is not full agreement on every example proposed.

2.2.1. Rackham

Rackham is not the first to remark on the parallels within Acts,⁴ but he works the parallels out in considerable detail and lays them out with particular clarity.⁵ He sees a 'general parallel' between Luke and Acts, including a common period of waiting (Luke 1–2; Acts 1), a baptism by the Spirit (Luke 3; Acts 2), a time of active ministry and a 'passion' – a time of suffering – which takes up an apparently disproportionate amount of the two books. Each book ends with a time of 'victorious but quiet preparation'.

Rackham goes on to identify a similar parallel between the two divisions of Acts: chs 1–12 and 13–28. Both begin with a particular appearance of the Holy Spirit (2:1-4; 13:1-3) which leads into a time of preaching, suffering and opposition (2:14–9:43; 13:4–19:41), and both close with the departure of the chief actor via suffering to deliverance (12; 20–26). Further, Rackham argues that both sections of Acts focus on a particular character – Peter (chs 1–12) or Paul (chs 13–28) and 'Whatever Peter does, Paul does, and (we might add) more also.'⁶ Rackham itemises parallels as follows:⁷

	<i>Peter</i>	<i>Paul</i>
new name after conversion	? <i>Luke 5:8 (cf. John 1:42)</i>	13:9
equipping of Spirit	2:1-4 (baptised)	13:1-3 (set apart)
accusations about them and their solemn 'forth-speaking'	2:13f (drunk)	26:24f (mad)
gospel for Jews	2	13
healing of a lame man which brings trouble	3:1ff	14:8ff
silver and gold	3:6	20:33
arrested in temple and brought before Sanhedrin	4:1ff; 5:25ff	21:27ff; 23
filled with Spirit	4:8	13:9
fear upon all	5:5, 11 (sin of Ananias and Sapphira)	19:17 (Ephesus)

⁴ His predecessors include Schneckenburger 1841 (for summary, see Gasque 1975, 34).

⁵ Rackham 1904, xlvii-xlix.

⁶ Rackham 1904, xlviii.

⁷ Rackham 1904, xlviii: references listed are those given by Rackham. Occasionally (where the reference is in *italics*) he does not give the relevant references.

	<i>Peter</i>	<i>Paul</i>
signs and wonders by their hands	2:43; 4:30; 5:12	14:3
miracles	5:15f (Peter's shadow)	19:11f (Paul's skin)
jealousy of Jews	5:17	13:45
Gamaliel and Gallio's policies	5:34-39	18:14-17
a beating follows	5:40	18:17 (cf. 16:22)
ordinations	6:6 (the seven)	14:23 (presbyters)
laying on of hands for gift of Spirit	8:17f	19:6
speaking in tongues	10:46	19:6
denouncing of people	8:20ff (Simon Magus)	13:9ff (Bar-Jesus)
healing of sick lying on beds	9:32-35 (<i>Aeneas</i>)	28:8 (<i>Publius' father</i>)
raising dead (use of 'alive')	9:36-41 (<i>Dorcas</i>)	20:7-12 (<i>Eutychus</i>)
converts with Latin names	<i>Cornelius</i>	<i>Sergius Paulus</i>
Caesarea and centurions	10:1 (<i>Cornelius there</i>)	27:1 (<i>in care of centurion Julius there</i>)
three times told stories involving voice from heaven at midday	10:9-16, 28; 11:5-10	9:1-9; 22:6f; 26:12f
visions in the above stories	10:3 (<i>Cornelius</i>)	9:10 (<i>Ananias</i>)
worshipped	10:25 (<i>Cornelius</i>)	14:13 (<i>Lycaonians</i>)
falling at feet	10:25 (<i>Cornelius</i>)	16:29 (<i>Philippian jailer</i>)
Jewish Christian opposition	11:3	15:1-5
defences	once	several
Agrippas ⁸	12 (<i>Agrippa I arrests Peter</i>)	25:13ff (<i>Agrippa II hears Paul</i>)
miraculous deliverance from jail ⁹	12:6ff	16:25ff
angelic help	12:7	27:23
earth shaking events following prayer	4:24-31	16:25f

Rackham believes that this parallelism 'arises out of the facts',¹⁰ that is, the common apostolate of the two leads to similar experiences – indeed, he suggests that the Christian life generally has this common pattern because it is modelled on the life of Jesus.

Rackham's work is very influential on subsequent scholarship, for Luke's use of parallelism is very widely recognised,¹¹ while later critics also feel free to disagree with individual items in Rackham's list.

⁸ This 'parallel' is less than persuasive, for the former Herod Agrippa is not called 'Agrippa', but Ἡρώδης ὁ βασιλεύς (12:1) and the latter is not called 'Herod', but Ἀγρίππας ὁ βασιλεύς (25:13).

⁹ Rackham 1904, xlviii lists other detailed parallels between the two stories.

¹⁰ Rackham 1904, xlix.

¹¹ Mattill 1975, 15, 20; see below on Goulder.

2.2.2. Goulder

Typology is Goulder's key category.¹² His basic thesis is that Acts is cyclical because Jesus' life, especially his death and resurrection, is a type of the church's life.¹³ Goulder acknowledges a debt to Rackham, whom he regards as 'a typologist before his time'.¹⁴ He sets out large scale parallels between Luke and Acts in a manner similar to Rackham (although the substance differs), which lead him to state:

The story of Acts is a re-enactment of the story of the Gospel. It consists of a catena of parallels covering all the major incidents of Jesus' incarnate life. Christ lives on in his Church, and continues from the ascension all that he had begun from the beginning of the Gospel.¹⁵

Goulder builds on the widely canvassed view that Luke parallels the journeys of Jesus and Paul to Jerusalem, and suggests that there are three 'passion predictions' for each man (Luke 9:22, 44; 18:31f; Acts 20:23; 21:4, 10f). He also notes that Luke does not parallel the accusation that Jesus would destroy the temple (Mark 14:58) in his Gospel, but in Acts (21:28), where it is the cause of Paul being arrested.¹⁶ Further, the crowd's verdict in both cases is, 'Away with him.'¹⁷ The shipwreck and deliverance of Paul he sees as paralleling the death and resurrection of Jesus.¹⁸ His overall plan of the parallel is:¹⁹

<i>chapter(s)</i>	<i>Gospel</i>	<i>chapter(s)</i>	<i>Acts</i>
1-2	Incarnation	1	Ascension
3	Jesus baptised in water	2	Church baptised in Spirit
4	Jesus' κήρυγμα rejected in <i>patris</i> Attempt to do away with Jesus	3-5	Church's κήρυγμα rejected in Jerusalem Attempt to do away with apostles

12 Goulder 1964, esp. chs 1-4.

13 Goulder 1964, 34.

14 Goulder 1964, 34 n 1. Indeed, Goulder's typology theory looks similar to Rackham's thesis about the nature of the Christian life, although Goulder regards it as a construct of Luke, whereas Rackham sees it as 'arising from the facts'.

15 Goulder 1964, 52

16 He claims this point is in dependence on Bruce 1952, 224, but it is difficult to see how Bruce supports his (valid) point. Goulder 1964, 35 also claims that both Jesus and Paul are accused of defiling the temple, but without a supporting reference concerning Jesus.

17 αἶρε τοῦτον (Luke 23:18 [Luke alone]); αἶρε αὐτόν (Acts 21:36); αἶρε...τὸν τοιοῦτον (Acts 22:22).

18 Goulder 1964, 36-41.

19 Goulder 1964, 61.

<i>chapter(s)</i>	<i>Gospel</i>	<i>chapter(s)</i>	<i>Acts</i>
4:31-39	Galilean ministry		(Parallels distributed)
9:10	Feeding of 5000	6	Feeding of widows
9:28	Three see Jesus in glory	7:55	Stephen sees Jesus in glory
9:51	Samaritan village	8	Philip in Samaria
10	Mission of seventy	6-8	Mission of seven
10-13	First half of journey: condemnation of Israel	8-13	Church leaving Israel behind, turning to Gentiles
13:31	Herod's intention to kill Jesus	12	Herod's attempt to kill Peter
14-18	Second half of journey: gospel of the outcast	13-20	Gospel to the Gentiles
9-19	Jesus' long journey to Jerusalem	19-21	Paul's journey to Jerusalem
20-23	Jesus' passion, and four trials	21-26	Paul's passion, and four trials
23	Jesus' death	27	Paul's 'death'
24	Jesus' resurrection Jesus' ascension	28	Paul's 'resurrection' Paul's arrival at Rome

As well as Jesus-Paul parallels, Goulder sees Jesus-Stephen parallels,²⁰ Jesus-Peter parallels,²¹ and Jesus-Twelve parallels.²² He understands Luke to use a death and resurrection type derived from Jesus, upon which Luke then models his presentation of the body of Christ, the church. Goulder believes Luke has drawn his typological approach from Paul's understanding of the church as Christ's body (Rom. 12; 1 Cor. 12).²³ Luke thus re-shaped the material he found in Mark around this skeleton.²⁴

Goulder briefly discusses criteria for parallels – an advance on Rackham – and offers three 'safeguards'.²⁵ First, there is a need to find 'catenas' of correspondences; second, the Greek words used should agree between type and antitype²⁶ – and the rarer the words the better; third, there should be a persuasive reason for the author to construct such a parallel scheme. Not all subsequent scholars agree that Goulder carries these safeguards through consistently. Clark summarises: 'the reader is sometimes left wondering how much of the analysis is due to the

20 Goulder 1964, 42f.

21 Goulder 1964, 43f.

22 Goulder 1964, 44-46.

23 Goulder 1964, 52.

24 Goulder 1964, 61 n 1.

25 Goulder 1964, 10.

26 cf. criticism above of Rackham's 'parallel' between the two Agrippas.

remarkable creative imagination of Goulder rather than to intentional patterning by Luke.²⁷

2.2.3. Talbert

Talbert also builds on the work of Rackham²⁸ and other predecessors. He calls his approach 'architecture analysis', and believes that it is similar to methods used in classical studies. He seeks structural similarities between Luke and Acts and, within each of the books, looks for correspondences at large-scale level and in detail. This stylistic approach he contrasts with redaction criticism, which seeks *theological* views which the evangelists impose on their source material.²⁹

He begins by focusing on parallels between Luke and Acts, both of content and sequence³⁰ – although some parallels he proposes lack correspondence of vocabulary and exist only at the level of general content.³¹ He goes on to argue that the parallels he observes (by using redaction critical tools) are the result of Luke's editorial activity,³² although conceding that this is harder to defend in Acts, since we have there no extant sources.³³

A second group of parallels are those between the two 'halves' of Acts, chs 1-12 and 13-28, again suggesting that Luke's editorial activity is the cause of these parallels.³⁴ Talbert goes on to identify parallels within the Gospel, especially between Luke 9:1-48 and 22:7-23:16.³⁵ He compares Luke with his putative sources (Mark, Q and L) and contends that Luke deliberately modifies his sources in the interests of parallelism.

Talbert sees smaller scale parallels, too, and proposes 'that one series of persons and events is balanced off against another such series at the

27 Clark 1997, 48.

28 Talbert 1974, 15, 30 n 5.

29 Talbert 1974, 7f.

30 Talbert 1974, 15-18.

31 e.g. He proposes that Luke 19:45-48; Acts 21:26 should be seen as parallel, since both Jesus and Paul enter the temple and have 'a friendly attitude toward it' (Talbert 1974, 17).

32 Talbert 1974, 18-23.

33 Talbert 1974, 14 n 69, 18 assumes Markan priority, and believes that Luke's other sources are Q and L, although he is not specific about the forms of Q and L which he envisages.

34 Talbert 1974, 23-26.

35 Talbert 1974, 26-29.

beginning of Luke and Acts.³⁶ Thus Acts 1:12–4:23 parallels 4:24–5:42³⁷ and Luke 4:16–7:17 parallels 7:18–8:56.³⁸ Further, Luke 1:5–38 and 1:57–2:52 are both two-part cycles of seven panels within each cycle, each section having internal parallelism between the two cycles.³⁹ A similar pattern exists in Luke 3:1–4:15, where John and Jesus are balanced against each other.⁴⁰

Another literary feature Talbert sees is chiasm, so that Luke's journey (Luke 10:21–18:30) forms an eleven-part chiasm constructed by the evangelist.⁴¹ Talbert similarly believes Paul's journeyings (Acts 15:1–21:26) form a chiastic pattern of six items.⁴²

Further, Talbert discusses some close correspondences between Luke 24 and Acts 1,⁴³ and between Luke 9 and Acts 1 (suggesting that the ascension is modelled on the transfiguration).⁴⁴

Talbert sees such construction techniques as derived from classical culture, although he also draws attention to parallelism in Hebrew poetry: 'the very law of duality by which one part is made to correspond to another by either being analogous or contrasting seems deeply rooted in Near Eastern mentality.'⁴⁵

Talbert goes further than Rackham and Goulder in seeing parallelism as a near all-pervasive Lukan architectural principle. Later scholars have not generally been persuaded by Talbert, suspecting that, in spite of his attempt to avoid subjectivity by internal and external controls,⁴⁶ at times the parallels are in his eyes alone.⁴⁷ Talbert never offers criteria by which

36 Talbert 1974, 35.

37 Talbert 1974, 35–39.

38 Talbert 1974, 39–43.

39 Talbert 1974, 44f.

40 Talbert 1974, 45–48.

41 Talbert 1974, 51–56; for criticisms, see Blomberg 1983, 236f, noting the lack of parallels of vocabulary when Luke could have used the same word-group.

42 Talbert 1974, 56–58.

43 Talbert 1974, 58–61; cf. Parsons 1987.

44 Talbert 1974, 61f, in dependence on Davies 1955.

45 Talbert 1974, 67.

46 Talbert 1974, 8f.

47 e.g. 'I find the study to be an excellent example of industrious and ingenious parallelomania. So many instances are cited of the architectural symmetries that I became more sceptical of them all. Each thesis is driven so hard, is buttressed by such a vast army of footnotes, as to increase doubts concerning both method and conclusions.' (Minear 1977, 85f)

parallels are to be recognised, apparently assuming that they will be clear to all.⁴⁸

2.2.4. Conclusion

These three scholars are representative of approaches to parallels in Luke-Acts over the last century, and form the tip of a very large iceberg of agreement that Luke writes using parallelism as a conscious literary technique to structure his material, both at macro- and micro-level. We may take it that the search for parallels is a legitimate exercise, but the great need is for adequate criteria for valid parallels. Granted that there is an inevitable subjectivity in reading a text – for readers contribute to the ‘meaning’ of texts – safeguards are required to ensure that the author is not entirely sidelined.⁴⁹

2.3. What kind of unity have Luke and Acts?

A key to the study of parallels in Luke’s two books this century is the consensus that Luke and Acts should be read as two parts of one work, and not merely as two books from the same hand. This finds classic expression in Cadbury’s work;⁵⁰ he is the father of the hyphenation of the two books as ‘Luke-Acts’. Until recently the unity of the two books was taken as read in a wide range of scholarship,⁵¹ to the extent that Johnson writes on ‘Luke-Acts, *Book of*’ (italics mine) in the *Anchor Bible Dictionary*.⁵² However, a challenge comes from Parsons and Pervo,⁵³ who wish to restate the nature of the relationship of the two books. This section will briefly summarise the nature of their challenge, and outline the kind of unity between the two books which is assumed in this study.

Parsons and Pervo examine the unity of Luke and Acts at the levels of authorship, canon, genre, narrative and theology. They have no argument

48 See further Clark 1997, 49.

49 See §§ 2.4, 2.5.2 for discussion of the criteria adopted in this study.

50 Cadbury 1927 rp 1958; cf. Parsons & Pervo 1993, 3f.

51 e.g. Barrett 1961; Keck & Martyn 1968; Marshall 1970; Filson 1970; O’Brien 1973; Talbert 1974; Radl 1975; Hubbard 1977; Schneider 1977b; Talbert 1978; Tiede 1980; Maddox 1982; Seccombe 1982; Juel 1983; Blomberg 1984; Cosgrove 1984; Talbert 1984a; Talbert 1985; Tannehill 1986; Tyson 1986; Brawley 1987; Barrett 1988; Kurz 1987; Esler 1987; Sanders 1987; Tannehill 1990; Brawley 1990; Weatherly 1991b; Johnson 1992c; Tyson 1992; Kurz 1993; Peterson 1993; Squires 1993.

52 Johnson 1992c.

53 Parsons & Pervo 1993.

with shared authorship,⁵⁴ but contend that scholarship has too quickly assumed that authorial unity necessarily implies other levels of unity.

The canonical disunity of the two books is problematic for the consensus view, they argue,⁵⁵ for there is no extant canonical list or NT manuscript in which Luke and Acts are adjacent. The compilers of the NT canon located the Gospel with other generically similar books, and Luke stands alone in providing a volume about the life of the followers of Jesus after his departure. Thus, a key question is why Luke chose to write Acts at all, given that what he was doing was probably *sui generis*.⁵⁶

In considering this question, the lack of generic unity is a stumbling block, for it is not straightforward to associate both works with one genre.⁵⁷ Indeed, they see little to be gained by pressing the idea of generic unity – even if an ancient model like Luke and Acts can be found (which they doubt) – and much to be lost in hearing the two books as themselves, with their differences and individualities. The danger is that one of the two books is subordinated to the other in reading.⁵⁸

The more crucial parts of Parsons and Pervo's book are the two chapters on narrative unity and theological unity, for these have been the types of unity most assumed – and most important – in recent scholarship. Regarding narrative unity, while not denying that there are elements of literary and narrative unity (including parallels⁵⁹), they assert that the differences between Luke and Acts are in danger of being submerged in a sea of unity. They see Tannehill's differing approaches to the two books as evidence for diversity:⁶⁰ he studies the Gospel thematically, frequently drawing together material on a topic from different parts of the Gospel,⁶¹ but takes Acts passage by passage consecutively.⁶²

Concerning theological unity, they note that interest in Lukan theology grew up with redaction criticism, and they have no quarrel in principle

54 Parsons & Pervo 1993, 7f, 116; *contra* the linguistic arguments of Clark 1933; Argyle 1974 (on which see the critique of Beck 1977).

55 Parsons & Pervo 1993, 8-13, 116-119.

56 Parsons & Pervo 1993, 86.

57 Parsons & Pervo 1993, 25-37, *contra* especially Aune 1988, 77-157 ('Luke-Acts *must* be treated as affiliated with *one* genre', 80, italics his).

58 Parsons 1987, 120.

59 Parsons 1987, 57-59.

60 Parsons 1987, 48, 123 n 21;

61 Tannehill 1986, esp. chs 3-7.

62 Tannehill 1990.

with the search for a Lukan theology. But redaction criticism in Acts is much harder than in the Gospel, for the sources are not available for inspection. The result is that Acts is effectively treated as secondary in seeking Luke's theology.

Further, they believe that the unity of Lukan theology has more often been assumed than demonstrated; an example is the shift in Christology from the Gospel to Acts, where (in Bultmann's phrase) the proclaimer becomes the proclaimed.⁶³ So although they welcome the quest for theological unity,⁶⁴ they see methodological difficulties in it.

A number of responses can be made to these points,⁶⁵ but here we simply note that Parsons and Pervo raise important questions for the consensus position. We may summarise our view of unity in three affirmations. First, the author of the two books is the same person – one mind is behind the Gospel and Acts.

Second, this author himself draws attention to the links between Acts and the Gospel by the introduction of Acts (esp. 1:1). Luke points back to his *πρῶτον λόγον*, which must refer to the Gospel. Alexander argues, on the basis of parallels with ancient 'scientific' treatises, that a recapitulation of this kind need not imply the kind of close literary relationship assumed in contemporary scholarship.⁶⁶ Marshall responds:

more often than not the recapitulation is used where the works are closely linked, and further...the similarity in theme between the Gospel and Acts as well as the close chronological relationship make it extremely likely that Luke saw Acts as being tied closely to the Gospel.⁶⁷

⁶³ Parsons & Pervo 1993, 86, drawing upon Bultmann 1952, 33-37.

⁶⁴ '[T]he theological unity of Luke and Acts is a good idea' (Parsons & Pervo 1993, 123).

⁶⁵ See Marshall 1993, who ably surveys views of the relationship between Luke and Acts, and argues for a strong view of unity on the basis of: (i) the prologues; (ii) evidence that the Gospel has been redacted in the light of material in Acts; (iii) the ending of the Gospel, which implies that the Gospel was published as a first part. Marshall 1997 (forthcoming) explores the question of theological unity, and argues that there are unifying themes to the two books: Jesus himself; the role of apostles and witnesses; the kingdom and the Messiah; discipleship; and salvation for all people. (I am grateful to Prof. Marshall for a copy of the latter paper, presented to the Synoptic Evangelists' seminar of the British New Testament Conference, September 1995.)

⁶⁶ Alexander 1993, 145f; more fully, Alexander 1996, 76-82.

⁶⁷ Marshall 1993, 172f (responding to Alexander 1993); see also Marshall 1994.

Accordingly, Marshall sees Luke 1:1-4 as covering the whole of the *Doppelwerk*.⁶⁸

It is not necessary to resolve this debate here: what is significant for our purposes is that there is an undoubted reference back to the Gospel, which means that Luke is writing his second book with an awareness (to which he deliberately draws Theophilus' attention) of his former book. Indeed, he goes on to write that his former book described 'everything which Jesus began to do and teach' (1:1), and the use of ἤρξατο is no Semitic redundancy, but implies that Acts describes the continuing ministry of Jesus through his Spirit and the church.⁶⁹ Barrett is thus correct to observe that the introduction to Acts (1:1-14) points the reader to the book which follows, and indicates the continuity between the Gospel and Acts.⁷⁰

Third, in the light of this back-reference we should take seriously the possibility of links from Acts to the Gospel, including verbal echoes and parallels. For Luke to refer back in this way suggests, *prima facie*, that he might wish to show how events in the Gospel continue into Acts – so that, for example, both Jesus and his apostles heal (e.g. Luke 5:17-26; Acts 3:1-10⁷¹). In similar manner, prophecies made in the Gospel are fulfilled in Acts (e.g. Luke 21:12-15 predicts tribulation for Jesus' followers and Acts 4:3-5, 14; 5:17-42 fulfil this⁷²). The quest for parallels in Luke's writing is legitimated by the hints which Luke himself has given.

Hence we should seek internal connections in the narrative with a view to a greater understanding of the significance of specific parts:

I am concerned with a text not as an isolated datum, but as a functional member of the total narrative. I am also concerned with the meanings and suggestions of meaning which emerge when we note how part interacts with related part.⁷³

⁶⁸ So also Bruce 1990, 97.

⁶⁹ With Bruce 1990, 98; Longenecker 1981, 49 (who compares Acts 11:15); Barrett 1994, 66f; Johnson 1992a, 24 (comparing Luke 3:23; Acts 1:22); Rackham 1904, 4; Marshall 1980, 56; *contra* Conzelmann 1987, 3; Haenchen 1971, 137 n 4.

⁷⁰ Barrett 1994, 63.

⁷¹ The echo of ἔγειρε καί in Acts 3:6 (cf. Luke 5:23) may be a result of a scribe noticing the similarity of the two stories or, if the reading is original, of Luke emphasising the similarity of the stories (for discussion, see Metzger 1975, 307). Either way, the connection is close.

⁷² cf. Johnson 1992b, 322.

⁷³ Tannehill 1986, 3.

2.4. A hierarchy of connections

In the light of the above, seven points are significant in our detailed discussions in the subsequent chapters.⁷⁴ The first four form a hierarchy, from those most encouraging of seeing parallels (the first) to the more debatable (the third and fourth). In the nature of the case, the connections are mostly at the level of discourse, that is, the way Luke constructs the narrative, rather than story, the content of the narrative.⁷⁵

First, the repetition of a key word or phrase from another part of the same work may be significant in understanding the fuller significance of the passage in question. Coincidence of Luke's lexical choices should alert us to connections of potential importance. It is, of course, possible that these are mere coincidences, and we shall therefore need to consider the actual use of the words. For example, Clark observes that εὐαγγέλιον is found only twice in Acts (15:7; 20:24), once spoken by Peter and once by Paul. He rightly suggests that it would be unwise to use this as a major plank in an argument for Peter-Paul parallelism, since the nature of the occasions is so different.⁷⁶ On the other hand, the use of αἵματος in Luke 22:20; Acts 20:28 may be a legitimate parallel, since it is an unusual use of the word in a redemptive context in the Lukan corpus.⁷⁷

In seeking verbal echoes, we shall be alert to the use of cognate forms from the same root, for it would be over-precise to seek only (e.g.) nouns where it is a noun we are considering – the use of a verbal or adjectival form may be of significance. Likewise, the use of compound verbs may echo the simple form, given Luke's proclivity for compound verbs.⁷⁸ For example, the repetition of words from the μαρτύρω word-group in Luke 21:13 and Acts 20:21, 24 raises the possibility of a connection between those passages.⁷⁹

It is possible, clearly, to argue too much from such coincidences of vocabulary, and a certain amount of caution is necessary. We shall seek

74 cf. Clark 1997, 52-57, offering a not dissimilar account, although his categories are different.

75 For this distinction, see Powell 1993, 23-34, esp. 23.

76 Clark 1997, 53 n 119.

77 See § 4.2.3.

78 Plummer 1913, liif. e.g. Moulton & Howard 1929, 300 notes that 200 of the 343 NT uses of διά compound verbs occur in the Lukan writings. cf. Cadbury 1927 rp 1958, 163, 174, 305, noting that Luke frequently uses a compound verb where Mark uses the simple form.

79 See § 4.4.

significant words, rather than the repetition of common particles and the like. Where such coincidences of vocabulary also represent uses of rare words (or unusual collocations of words) – either rare in Luke-Acts or used only or mainly by Luke in the NT – the presumption of connection is thereby strengthened.⁸⁰

The second kind of link we shall seek is the use of synonyms.⁸¹ Many ideas are not tied only to one form of verbal expression, and the same idea may be present where the vocabulary differs. Luke has a penchant for synonyms,⁸² which suggests that he may vary language while working with similar ideas. As with more exact parallels of vocabulary, we shall also consider cognate and compound forms of synonyms.

Third, we shall seek conceptual parallels where synonyms are not necessarily involved. This is a more subtle method of showing that an idea is shared than simple echo of vocabulary or the use of synonyms. Possible examples for our study might include actions or teaching which offer instantiations, re-interpretations or applications of the teaching found in the Miletus speech. The material of the speech may be re-applied to fresh circumstances or needs – or the speech may include material which offers a renewed understanding of teaching from Luke's Jesus for a new situation or context. There may be stories of a character which exemplify a particular point from the Miletus address – or the speech may contain words which epitomise an action found in the Gospel or elsewhere in Acts. These sorts of links will often be more debatable than connections of coincident vocabulary or synonyms, but they are nonetheless important. Gooding goes so far as to state:

It is in these repeated ideas, themes and emphases that the author's thought and his insights into the significance of his material are most likely to be detected.⁸³

⁸⁰ In agreement with Goulder 1964, 10.

⁸¹ Blomberg 1983, 233, 260f observes the danger of taking this too far for OT passages thought to be behind the structuring of the 'central section' of Luke (9:51–20:18), and produces a list of 'coincidental parallels' between Luke 1:1–4:37 and Pss 1–10. Parallels of vocabulary are not in use here, but, in dialogue with Evans, Drury and Goulder, parallels of ideas.

⁸² Ropes 1904, 301-303 observes that Luke varies words in the same context (e.g. four different verbs for 'enter' in Acts 3:1, 2, 3, 8) and in different contexts (e.g. compare λαλούντων...τὰ μεγαλεῖα τοῦ θεοῦ, 2:46, with μεγαλυνόντων τὸν θεόν, 10:46); Cadbury 1968, 88-97 lists numerous examples.

⁸³ Gooding 1987, 16.

A fourth level of connection is in style of argumentation, where Luke's Paul uses similar methods or structures of teaching to other figures in the narrative. If there are places where the Miletus speech argues in the same manner as other speeches or pieces of teaching, a connection may be present.

This spills over into the fifth point, which is that clustering of parallels to the Miletus speech (found using the four approaches above) in another speech or narrative section suggests that we should see these links as especially significant. It also assists in reducing the chance that the parallels are merely in the eye of the beholder. Structure of argumentation is a special case of this wider point, for the presence of a speech organised to persuade – whether the audience in Miletus or Luke's later audience – opens the possibility that Luke organises another speech or section similarly. A further dimension of the search for clusters of parallels is that the discovery of sequences of parallels in groups, especially when extensive, provides a strong argument for intentional parallelism. An observable sequential parallel should not be seen as a *sine qua non* of genuine parallelism – for more subtle methods of showing parallelism exist, and Luke may at times have been constrained by historical sequence⁸⁴ – but it would provide a particularly persuasive example.

Sixth, our quest for parallels will require sensitivity to questions of genre. We shall need to consider the generic classification of the Miletus speech, and then ask whether any clusters of parallels can be attributed entirely or mainly to generic considerations, or may be more specifically linked to the particular situation or context.

Finally, in reading Luke's Gospel we shall look for evidence that Luke has provided a particular emphasis or slant to the text by synoptic comparisons with Matthew and Mark. If material parallel to the Miletus address shows signs of being either Lukan redaction or from Lukan *Sondergut*, that will add to the expectation that Luke has something particular to communicate – and thereby it will increase the probability of

⁸⁴ cf. Barrett 1978, 43, who sees a common sequence of events in John and Mark, and argues that this shows that John has used Mark: but his list includes the sequence of the departure for Jerusalem, the entry into Jerusalem, the last supper, the arrest, the passion and the resurrection, a sequence which it is hard to imagine coming in another order – and it is at such points that John and Mark were, surely, constrained by historical sequence. See the criticisms made by Morris 1969, 17 (responding to the earlier edition of Barrett's commentary, which contains the same argument as the 1978 edition).

an intended parallel with the speech where other signals are present. In pursuing this search we assume the still-dominant hypothesis of Markan priority, and that Luke and Matthew draw on a common stream of tradition (which may be written, oral or some combination of the two) usually known as Q.⁸⁵

In working this way, we are seeking connections which might be noted on second, third or fourth hearing⁸⁶ of the text.⁸⁷ This strategy, we believe, is one which Luke wished his readers/hearers to adopt, since it seems *prima facie* likely that books of the length and complexity of Luke and Acts were intended as manuals of instruction for Christian people, so that they might learn and develop in their faith (Luke 1:1-4⁸⁸). Of necessity this involves hearing the book more than once and reflecting on the listening process – with the result that parallels begin to be noticed on second, third, fourth and subsequent hearings, as well as some being signalled so clearly that they would be stand out first time through.⁸⁹

In pursuing this quest, we shall be helped to see how Lukan the Miletus speech appears to be. Strong evidence for parallels to the address within Luke-Acts would suggest that Luke's hand is particularly evident in the final form of the speech.

2.5. Acts and the Pauline parallels

The other side of our study is to consider how Pauline the Miletus speech is. We discuss below the value of reading 1 Thessalonians alongside the speech;⁹⁰ here our purpose is to consider criteria for parallels which assist in reading the letter and the speech together.

It is a commonplace of scholarship to categorise the (authentic) Pauline letters as 'primary' and Acts as 'secondary' when studying the history and

⁸⁵ The literature is vast. For recent statements of the case for this position, see Stein 1988; Evans 1995, 19-27; Sanders & Davies 1989, 51-67 (68-119 consider evidence which is harder for this theory and outline alternative theories).

⁸⁶ The kinds of parallels signalled by common vocabulary, or by words or phrases which echo other words or phrases, will be those which are *heard*, for ancient reading was normally aloud (e.g. Acts 8:30). The NT documents should therefore be seen as having an oral quality. See further Walton 1995-96, 6, 8 n 53 (and the literature there cited); Downing 1995, 91f; Gempf 1993b, esp. 260-264; Alexander 1990a; Dean 1996.

⁸⁷ Tannehill 1986, 6.

⁸⁸ See discussion in Alexander 1986, 102-142, concluding that Luke's intended readership should not be seen as particularly highly educated or upper class.

⁸⁹ cf. Gaventa 1988, esp. 149-152.

⁹⁰ § 5.1.1.

thought of the earliest Christians.⁹¹ At one level this distinction is unexceptionable, for it distinguishes material 'from the horse's mouth' and that from others; however, in some hands the primary/secondary distinction is elevated into a statement of historical reliability in principle, on the assumption that primary sources must be more dependable. Knox asserts, 'of our two sources [*sc.* for the life of Paul], the letters of Paul are obviously and incomparably the more trustworthy.'⁹²

But it is a gratuitous assumption that Paul's letters are more 'objective' than someone else writing at a later date. The distorting effect of polemics can cause the presentation of information or opinions in a slanted form (e.g. Paul's language about his opponents in Galatians or Philippians), and we need therefore to allow for such distortions in reconstructing the circumstances of a document. Riesner rightly asserts that we can speak 'nur von einer *relativen* Priorität der Paulusbriege vor der chronologische Angaben der Apostelgeschichte.'⁹³ Similarly, Lüdemann observes, 'Paul did not write as a historian either. His statements require critical consideration, due weight being given to the circumstances in which he wrote and to the literary genre of his statements.'⁹⁴ Thus both sets of data require critical reading.

2.5.1. A parallel question?

Thompson's investigation of allusions to Jesus tradition in the Pauline letters,⁹⁵ although different from – but not entirely unrelated to – our task, is suggestive for our work. Like him, we are seeking passages in one author which allude to material from another. Thompson lists eleven criteria: (a) verbal agreement of significant words, especially where the words are rare in either or both sources; (b) conceptual agreement, that is, similarity in meaning, especially where there is an unusual combination of ideas; (c) parallel form; (d) the place of a Gospel saying in the tradition, its authenticity; (e) similar motivation or rationale for ethical material;

91 e.g. Longenecker 1964 *rp* 1976, 14f; Lüdemann 1984, 289f; Jewett 1979, 23; Bruce 1977, 16f; Hengel 1979, 38; Fitzmyer 1988, 82f.

92 Knox 1987, 18; cf. Jewett 1979, 23: 'These data from the letters have *intrinsic superiority* over anything contained in Acts.' (italics mine)

93 Riesner 1994, 27 (italics his).

94 Lüdemann 1983, 294; cf. Taylor 1992, 50f.

95 Thompson 1991, 28-36. There is again a large literature on this topic, including Stanton 1974, 86-110; Richardson & Hurd 1984; Wedderburn 1989; Kim 1993 (with valuable bibliography); Wenham 1995 (see 19 n 37 for a list of recent key studies, and 412-428 for an excellent bibliography).

(f) dissimilarity to Graeco-Roman and Jewish traditions; (g) the presence of 'dominical indicators' in the context, such as mentions of Ἰησοῦς, Χριστός or κύριος; (h) the presence of 'tradition indicators', such as disturbance in the syntax, change of style, introductory formulae, tradition words, or interruption of the flow; (i) the presence of other dominical echoes or clusters of words or concepts in the context; (j) the likelihood that the author knew the saying; (k) the importance of the saying to the argument of the epistle.

It is striking how many of Thompson's criteria coincide with our criteria for parallels within Luke's writings. Clearly some (especially d, g, h, i and j) are particular to his search for allusions to Jesus tradition, but his other criteria will be helpful in seeking parallels to the Miletus speech in 1 Thessalonians.

2.5.2. The use of criteria

Like Thompson,⁹⁶ we shall not expect to apply criteria mathematically to prove parallelism; such a process would not be nuanced or subtle enough. The value of the criteria which follow is in assessing relative probabilities, for certainty is a chimera in our quest.

In broad terms similar criteria can be used in comparing the Miletus speech and 1 Thessalonians as in our search for parallels in Luke-Acts, apart from our final two criteria, for there are no obvious synoptic comparisons to make in the case of the letter, and the speech and the letter are different in genre.

Thus we shall seek parallels of vocabulary first, with the same readiness to notice cognate vocabulary or the use of compounds. As with the Lukan parallels, we shall regard as particularly significant rare words or unusual combinations of words – rare both in NT use and in each individual author. We shall see as second in importance the use of synonyms (and their cognate and compound forms), since both Luke and Paul have favourite words for particular ideas, as well as because both authors can use different words for an idea.

Third, we shall seek conceptual parallels where vocabulary is neither the same nor synonymous. Possibilities include: an action epitomising teaching found in the other document; a piece of didactic material drawing out the significance of an action or event; or an event or piece of teaching

⁹⁶ Thompson 1991, 36.

re-interpreting or re-applying material found in the other source. These links are likely to be more arguable than those with clearer vocabulary or synonym links, but they should not be by-passed.

Fourth, styles of argument are of importance. We shall consider whether the Paul of the Miletus speech seeks to persuade in similar manner to the Paul of 1 Thessalonians.

Fifth, if the parallels seem to be 'clustered' or grouped in the one letter, and cover many of the major themes of the Miletus speech, that would be of interest, for it would present a portrait of Paul in the two sources using similar themes grouped together.

2.6. Conclusion

We have attempted to provide a framework for thought and study in what follows. However, the value of this study should not stand or fall by the criteria alone, but by the coherence of the whole picture of Luke's Paul, and his relation both to Luke's Jesus and to the Paul of 1 Thessalonians which results – along with the correspondence of these portraits to the realities of the texts. To that central task we now turn.

Chapter 3

The Miletus Speech in Context

3.1. Immediate context¹

The speech at Miletus falls into the so-called 'third missionary journey' of Paul (Acts 18:23-21:17), and within that section into the journey to Jerusalem. The intention of Paul to go to Jerusalem is noted in 19:21, following on a summary statement (19:20),² although the journey itself does not begin until 20:3. At that point, the intention is to go from 'Greece' (?= Corinth³) to Syria via Macedonia.

The journey develops as Paul visits Philippi (20:6), Troas (20:6-12), Assos (20:13), Mitylene (20:14) and Miletus (20:15). At Miletus Luke notes that 'Paul had decided to sail past Ephesus, so that he might not have to spend time in Asia; he was eager to be in Jerusalem, if possible, on the day of Pentecost' (20:16). This, in Luke's understanding, is why Paul then sends to Ephesus for the elders to come to Miletus and addresses them there, rather than going to Ephesus itself. The meeting with the elders then takes up 20:18-38, and the journey resumes, on to Cos, Rhodes and Patara (21:1), and then Syria (21:2-6). They then travel by ship along the coast to Ptolemais (21:7) and Caesarea (21:8-14), where several days are spent. Finally, the group travels on to Jerusalem (21:15-17).

¹ See the helpful introductory discussion in Lambrecht 1979.

² Some take 19:20 as a section ending marker, by analogy with the statements in Acts 6:7; 9:31; 12:24; 16:5; 28:31; that would suggest that a new section begins at 19:21, e.g. Longenecker 1981, 233f, 499; Gooding 1990, 11. Filson 1970, 72f takes a similar view, arguing that 19:21 marks the beginning of the final section of Acts, Paul's journey to Rome (in agreement with Bruce 1952, 360).

³ This seems the likely place, given that Corinth was the most significant Pauline church established in Greece (i.e. Achaia) itself; so Jewett 1979, 55, 58; Lüdemann 1984, 17, 155; Hemer & Gempf 1989, 188, 258-260 (Jewett, Lüdemann and Hemer all draw attention to the link with Paul's expressed intention to winter in Corinth, 1 Cor. 16:5f, although Fee observes that 2 Cor. 1:15-2:4 suggests that Paul in the event did the opposite of his plans in 1 Cor. 16:5ff, Fee 1987, 817f); Bruce 1988, 381f; Conzelmann 1987, 167; Foakes Jackson & Lake 1920-33, IV:252f; Lüdemann 1989, 224f (who regards the journey of 20:1-3 as 'historical'); Haenchen 1971, 581; Fitzmyer 1993, 85f; Cranfield 1979, 12; Dunn 1988, 1:xliv.

During the journey two motifs may be noted which will affect our understanding of the Miletus episode, namely the focus on Jerusalem and the sense of divine constraint.

The *focus on Jerusalem* is clear from the earliest stages of the journey in 19:21, and continues with the note of 20:16 mentioned above. Paul speaks of his sense of divine compulsion to go to Jerusalem at Miletus (20:22), and the church at Tyre attempts to dissuade him from going on to Jerusalem (21:4), as does the church at Caesarea (21:11f). Paul responds by repeating his intention to go (21:13), and the closing verses of the journey continue to mention the city by name (21:15, 17).⁴

The *sense of divine constraint* is also present from the beginning of the journey, with Paul resolving ἐν τῷ πνεύματι (19:21) to go to Jerusalem. It is further developed with the haste to get there for Pentecost (20:16), and mentioned again by Paul in the Miletus speech (20:22f: δεδεμένος...τῷ πνεύματι⁵). This resolve even overcomes the churches' opposition to Paul travelling on (21:4f, 11-13). The church at Caesarea submits to the will of the Lord in the matter (21:14). The sense of divine constraint acts as a counterpoint to the theme of suffering to come for Paul which also runs through these chapters (e.g. 20:23; 21:11, 13).

Lambrecht⁶ suggests that a double shift of perspective occurs as the journey develops: from Rome to Jerusalem as Paul's destination (19:21) and from Jerusalem as the scene of the feast of Pentecost to Jerusalem as the place of Paul's sufferings. Certainly he is right to emphasise the focus on Jerusalem in the journey, along with the growing sense that Paul will suffer at Jerusalem, both of which have obvious parallels in the last

⁴ There are two different spellings of 'Jerusalem' in this section, as wider within Acts: Ἱερουσαλήμ is used in 20:22; 21:11-13, and Ἱεροσόλυμα in 19:21; 20:16; 21:4, 15, 17. The variety of spelling has given rise to a number of explanations: see, e.g., De Young 1960, 15-22; Elliott 1977 (both arguing that Ἱερουσαλήμ is used in Jewish or ecclesiastical contexts, or when Luke reports words from Palestinians in their home setting, and that Ἱεροσόλυμα is used for the city as a city within the Roman world); de la Potterie 1982 (suggesting that Luke uses Ἱερουσαλήμ for Jerusalem as the holy city, where Jesus accomplished his work of salvation, and where the apostles were based and Ἱεροσόλυμα in mission and diaspora contexts); Sylva 1983 (proposing that Luke deliberately used the two terms unpredictably in order to convey his view that the city was 'holy Salem'); Ross 1992 (arguing that the gradual decrease in use of Ἱεροσόλυμα through Acts reflects Luke either forgetting, or deliberately choosing to ignore, his preference for the other form).

⁵ See § 3.5.2 for discussion.

⁶ Lambrecht 1979, 308.

journey of Jesus to Jerusalem in Luke's Gospel.⁷ It is therefore possible that Luke is presenting Paul as one who follows his Master on the road to suffering in Jerusalem. This might be for a variety of purposes, such as Paul being presented as a model of Christian discipleship, or Luke stressing the continuity of Paul with Jesus. In either case the point could have a polemical thrust against opponents of Paul in Luke's day.

For Luke, therefore, this journey to Jerusalem has growing storm clouds around it: Paul is on his last journey to Jerusalem,⁸ and for the remainder of Acts (from 21:27 onwards) he will be under arrest or imprisoned. The Miletus speech comes at a significant point in the narrative, and its importance stems partly from Paul's soon-to-follow loss of freedom.

A further question in this regard is how far the Miletus speech also comes as a watershed between the first and second generation church. Is Paul being presented here as handing the torch on to the second generation of Christian leaders? This raises the wider issue of why Luke places a farewell speech at *this* point in the narrative, rather than at the end of Acts.

Again, Luke obviously regards the meeting at Miletus as important, describing it very fully, while only giving a bare itinerary for the rest of the journey to Jerusalem. Compare this with the journey to Rome (Acts 27:1–28:16) – full of colour and incident, with vignettes of characters drawn with a few strokes of Luke's pen.⁹ It is therefore the more significant that Luke spends 22 verses describing the meeting with the Ephesian elders, compared with only 31 verses on the remainder of the journey. Luke is saying by the sheer quantity of space given to the episode that it is important.¹⁰ The key question in what follows will be why the meeting and the speech are important.

⁷ Luke 9:51ff describes the last journey; the development of the thought that Jesus must go and suffer there can be seen from such passages as Luke 12:50; 13:22, 33-35; 17:11; 18:31-34; 20:9-18. See Blomberg 1983; Filson 1970, 70-72.

⁸ Note particularly 20:25, 28 which set the Miletus speech in a 'farewell' context. See discussion on the genre of the speech (§ 3.2) and the meaning of 20:25 (§ 3.4.3).

⁹ e.g. the centurion Julius (27:1, 3, 11, 43f), the sailors (27:17-20, 27-32, 36-38), the soldiers on the ship (27:42), Publius (28:7-10), the believers at Puteoli (28:13b-14a), the believers from Rome (28:14b-15), the Jewish leaders in Rome (28:17, 23-25).

¹⁰ As he does elsewhere by, e.g., the space given to the conversion of Paul (Acts 9; 22 and 26) or the conversion of Cornelius (Acts 10-11). See Witherup 1993 for discussion of the latter.

3.2. Literary genre

Considerable amounts of scholarly ink have been spilled over the question of the genre of the Miletus speech, but with a remarkable degree of consensus that it should be regarded as a 'farewell speech' or 'testament'.¹¹ Two qualifying cautionary notes are entered, by Gempf and Hemer,¹² who respectively suggest that we ought to speak of an *Abschiedsszene* (not merely an *Abschiedsrede*), and warn against making the genre a Procrustean bed. We shall consider what qualifications of the genre identification might be necessary below after reviewing the case for the consensus position. Discussion of this falls into two separate issues: first, is there an identifiable genre 'the farewell speech'; and second, should the Miletus speech be identified as belonging to this genre?

3.2.1. Is there a genre 'farewell speech'?

Three scholars' work is used by the large majority of others in their analysis of the Miletus speech as a farewell speech: Michel, Munck and Stauffer.¹³ Each has analysed speeches given on farewell occasions, particularly in the Hebrew Bible and other Jewish writings, seeking a description of a genre. Subsequently Alexander has offered an analysis of Graeco-Roman farewell speeches, taking up Talbert's complaint that Luke's writings should be seen in both the Graeco-Roman and the Jewish literary contexts.¹⁴

But before we can ask whether there is a genre of farewell speech, we need briefly to consider what constitutes a literary genre. Genre can be thought of as an implicit contract between writer and reader which ideally allows a reader to share the expectations of the writer in order that good communication takes place. In practice, readers studying a particular text (regardless of length) will have their initial genre expectations modified and focused as they read the text. Thus there is a process of trial and error

11 So Alexander 1990b, 135f; Lambrecht 1979, 332f; Barrett 1977, 109; Kurz 1990, 33; Bruce 1990, 429; Johnson 1992a, 366; Lüdemann 1989, 227; Prast 1979, 36; Michel 1973, 68-71; Roloff 1981, 302; Conzelmann 1987, 173; Aejmelaeus 1987, 79-83; Budesheim 1976, 25f; Dupont 1962, 11-21; Lövestam 1987, 2f; Marshall 1980, 328f; Munck 1967, 205; Watson 1991, 185; Tannehill 1990, 252.

12 Gempf 1988, 319; Hemer 1989, 78f, esp. 79 n 11.

13 Michel 1973, esp. 35-56; Munck 1950; Stauffer 1955, 344-347; see also Kolenkow & Collins 1986.

14 Alexander 1990b, 76-134; Talbert 1975.

by which the readers narrow the field of possible genres to identify one particular genre to which the text belongs.¹⁵

The reader's developing grasp of the conventions used by the author includes understanding the literary structure, content and function. In seeking to define a genre we are looking for a combination of motifs and conventions which can be found across a range of examples, and which are well-defined enough to be recognisable when they recur in combination.

Of course, an author can break the bounds of a recognised genre and introduce novel elements or use it for a novel purpose.¹⁶ Thus in this particular study we shall need to be alert to the possibility that one or more of the generally-present markers of a 'farewell speech' genre might be absent in the case of the Miletus speech, or that Luke may present 'classic' motifs or themes in an unusual or idiosyncratic way.

Michel suggests four criteria which are decisive in identifying a 'farewell speech' genre, namely: (1) the writing of the speeches arises from a well-defined common spiritual and religious milieu (in our case, in his view, the Hebrew Bible and Judaism); (2) each speech contains subjects or motifs which point naturally to a farewell situation; (3) there is no other genre which explain the blend of subjects/motifs; (4) only subjects or motifs which recur regularly across the range of such speeches can be identified as typical of the genre.¹⁷

Jewish examples

There are numerous examples of speeches given on farewell occasions in the Hebrew Bible and later Jewish literature.¹⁸ Michel's summary of features of the farewell speech from Jewish contexts is typical, enumerating thirteen key characteristics: (1) nearness of death; (2) the

¹⁵ Osborne 1991, 150.

¹⁶ The debate over how far the NT Gospels are like other contemporary literature and how far they are different from such literature – and which literature they should be compared with in any case – shows the importance of discussion of genre, for the conclusions reached influence the expectations we bring to reading the Gospels. See, e.g., Burridge 1992, reviewed in Alexander 1994.

¹⁷ Michel 1973, 47f.

¹⁸ Michel briefly discusses Gen. 47:29–49:33; Deut. 31–33; Josh. 23:1–24:30; 1 Sam. 12:1–25; 1 Kgs 2:1–9; 1 Chr. 28–29; Tob. 14:3–11; 1 Macc. 2:49–70; Jub. 7:20–29; 20:1–10; 21:1–25; 22:7–30; 31:4–29; 36:1–18; 45:14f; various passages in T. 12 Patr.; T. Isaac; T. Abraham; Adam and Eve; Pseudo-Philo; As. Mos.; 4 Ezra 14:18ff; 2 Apoc. Bar. 31–34; 44–47; 2 Enoch 55; 57:1f; 58–66 (Michel 1973, 36–47). Stauffer 1955, 344–347 lists references from a similar range of literature, as does Munck 1950.

gathering of the hearers; (3) future-oriented paraenetic sayings, often illustrated by an historical review; (4) a prophetic section; (5) self-defence of the dying person; (6) the naming of successor(s); (7) the blessing; (8) prayer; (9) final instructions; (10) directions concerning burial; (11) promise and oath made by the hearer(s); (12) farewell gestures, such as kissing and weeping; (13) the death, usually only briefly described.¹⁹

Michel goes on to observe, however:

It is probable that, especially in shorter speeches, all of the motifs do not always appear; the proportions of the sections also changes. One should not expect [the authors] to be bound to a fixed plan in every case.²⁰

Michel explains that motifs (1), (2), (3) and (13) occur in just about every example, that motifs (4), (5), (7), (10) and (12) come moderately often, and that the other motifs are less frequent, but still present in a significant number of examples. Equally, he observes that the sequence of the motifs is not rigidly fixed, although on the whole the sequence is roughly in the order listed above. In the light of this variety, Michel concludes that there are four elements which form the basic framework (*Grundgerüst*) of a farewell speech: the introduction of the speaker; the assembling of the hearers; the exhortations and prophecies; and the closing (farewell gestures, death). Nelson concurs with Michel's four elements, but warns:

...the differing subforms make us cautious as to what does and does not constitute a true farewell testament. The testamentary genre is a family of literature, and its children have traveled widely and developed uniquely. In the end each farewell discourse must be analyzed with careful attention not only to the general nature of the literary tradition which it reflects, but also to its unique content and function in its literary context.²¹

For example, Nelson²² points to examples of Jewish and Graeco-Roman farewell speeches which contain dialogue (Josh. 23-24; 1 Sam. 12:1-25; Socrates' farewell speech in *Phaedo*). This observation both underlines the variety of form, and suggests that the features 'spill out of the speech and into the narrative framework in which it is located'.²³

19 Michel 1973, 48-53.

20 Michel 1973, 54 (my translation).

21 Nelson 1991, 113.

22 Nelson 1991, 122f.

23 Gempf 1988, 319.

Indeed, of Michel's four elements, only the exhortations and prophecies belong in the speech proper, and the other elements are part of the scene. It may be that exhortation is particularly characteristic of a farewell speech, at least of the Jewish examples.

The functions of a farewell speech can also be summarised, although the same caveat needs to be entered as in describing the genre, namely that the function of a particular speech depends on the context in which the speech appears, both literary and cultural. But a number of key functions for a farewell speech in a literary work emerge from the examples: it supplies continuity between author and readers; it lends authority to a message by associating it with a valued past figure; it offers paraenesis to the readers as to future conduct; it handles the matter of proper succession; and it can be apologetic for the views of the author.²⁴

Graeco-Roman examples

Alexander adds a number of Graeco-Roman examples drawn from historical writers,²⁵ biographies,²⁶ and philosophical literature.²⁷ (Many of

²⁴ See the discussions in Nelson 1991, 113-116; Kurz 1985, 264-267.

²⁵ Herodotus *History* 3.1-38, 61-88 (5th century BC Greek: the speech is 3.64-66); Sallust, *The War with Jurgutha* 9-11 (1st century BC Latin); Tacitus, *Annals* 15.61ff (1st/2nd century AD Latin: but hardly a speech, since it only refers to a speech by Seneca which Tacitus says is recorded elsewhere); Herodian, *History of the Kingdom after Marcus* 1.3-5 (3rd century AD Greek: the speech is 1.3-4); Ammianus Marcellinus 25.3.1-23 (4th century AD Latin: the speech is 25.3.15-20, being the dying words of Emperor Julian, fatally wounded in battle with the Persians); discussed Alexander 1990b, 76-88.

²⁶ Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 8.7.1-28 (5th/4th century BC Greek: the speech is 8.7.6-28); Tacitus, *Life of Agricola* 44f (1st century AD Latin: a farewell by Tacitus, Agricola's son-in-law, to Agricola, composed some years after the event, and not a farewell speech by the departing one); Plutarch (1st/2nd century AD Greek), *Parallel Lives: Pericles* 38.1ff (not a speech in the mouth of Pericles, but a description of the circumstances of his death with a few brief words); *Pompey* 77-79 (a description of the murder of Pompey, with few words from the man himself); *Caius Marius* 45.5-7 (a description of the circumstances of his final illness and death, with some reported speech); *Cato Minor* 66.3-70.6 (an outline of the circumstances of Cato's suicide, with some reported speech and a little direct speech from Cato, but no 'set piece' farewell speech); *Otho* 15.3-18.1 (a narrative of Otho's suicide, with a longer speech [15.3-6] and a few shorter words from Otho); discussed Alexander 1990b, 89-100.

²⁷ Plato, *Phaedo* (4th century BC Greek: a description of the final dialogue of Socrates before he committed suicide by drinking poison); Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 4.7.1-8.11 (5th/4th century BC Greek: summarises Socrates' virtues, and only alludes to his manner of death); Dio Chrysostom, *Oration* 30 (1st century AD Greek: a [possibly fictional] farewell discourse written by Charidemus for his father, brother and friends, and read after his death); Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 10.15f, 17-22 (3rd century AD Greek: outlines the circumstances of Epicurus' death and records his will); discussed Alexander 1990b, 101-108.

these texts are later than NT times.) He later turns to discuss the Graeco-Roman *συντακτικός* or speech of leave-taking, particularly as found in Menander Rhetor (430:10–434:9).²⁸

Alexander's work leads him to a list of ten marks common to the scenes of farewell: (1) the imminence of separation, almost always because of the death of the speaker; (2) a reference to the permanence of separation; (3) a prior indication of the death of the speaker; (4) the presence of intimate acquaintances, giving a tone of intimacy to the scene; (5) the speaker summoning acquaintances; (6) the departing person's address; (7) an appeal to deity through prayer and/or sacrifice; (8) the grief of those left behind; (9) parting gestures; (10) the death of the speaker.

In the speech proper Alexander additionally identifies a number of recurring features: (a) self-references (e.g. acknowledgement of past mistakes, concern for the hearers, the speaker presented as an example, protestations of the speaker's innocence, affirmation of the speaker's courage and acceptance of his destiny); (b) concern for the hearers' future problems; (c) instructions for future conduct; (d) reminders of former teaching; (e) warnings of the results of keeping or neglecting the speaker's teaching; (f) an oath; (g) concern for succession (particularly in political examples); (h) words of consolation; (i) exhortations how the hearers should live in relation to the deity; (j) philosophical discussion (usually about death); (k) burial instructions; (l) specific final words.²⁹

His study of Menander Rhetor's theoretical discussion of the *συντακτικός* produces a different structure, which may be due to the fact that Menander Rhetor is thinking of a departure which does not involve the death of the speaker.³⁰ Menander Rhetor recommends three constituents: (i) acknowledging gratitude to the city which the speaker is leaving (430:30–431:6; 433:19–33), and expressing distress at leaving (431:6–10, 13–15); (ii) directing attention to the destination and the reason

28 Alexander 1990b, 123–134; the text (and an English translation) may conveniently be found in Russell & Wilson 1981, 194–201.

29 Alexander 1990b, 109–114.

30 e.g. 'The orator should acknowledge his gratitude to the city from which he is returning' (430:30f) and 'let the second part of your speech contain a praise of the city which is your destination' (432:2f) imply that the orator expects to go on living.

for leaving (431:15–433:9); (iii) prayer for those being left behind (432:22f; 433:10) and for the journey and possible return (431:27-29; 433:10-13).³¹

A distinctive feature of some of the Graeco-Roman speeches, according to Alexander, is that departure by ship is a significant component not found in the Jewish examples, which tend to focus upon departure by death.³²

Conclusion

We may agree with the consensus view that farewell speeches were known and recognised in antiquity across a range of cultures, and that there is a degree of commonality between the examples considered. There is a *prima facie* case for utilising both the Jewish and the Graeco-Roman examples in examining the Miletus speech, for the speaker is presented by Luke as living within both cultures, as a Jew with Greek and Roman citizenship (e.g. Acts 16:38; 21:39; 22:25-28).³³ Nevertheless, we shall want to take the cautions of Hemer, Gempf and Nelson seriously, in order to ensure that we listen carefully to *this* text and do not import mistaken assumptions by classifying the speech as a ‘farewell speech’.

3.2.2. Is the Miletus speech a ‘farewell speech’?

The overwhelming consensus of scholarship is that the Miletus speech should be seen as a ‘farewell speech’. This stems from both the occasion and the contents of the speech.

Occasion

Paul plainly states that the Ephesian elders will never see him again (v 25), and speaks of the time after he has departed (v 29). Luke draws attention to the fact that the reactions of the elders are occasioned by these

³¹ Discussion in Alexander 1990b, 123-125.

³² He cites Homer, *Odyssey* 13.64ff (8th century BC Greek: the farewell speech is 13:38-46, 59-62, but Odysseus expresses the hope of return, differing – naturally! – from farewells prior to death); Sophocles, *Philoctetes* 1450f, 1464f, 1469-71; (5th century BC Greek: here Philoctetes bids farewell to the island of Lemnos as he returns to Troy with Neptolemus); Virgil *Aeneid* 4.381f, 393ff, 571ff (1st century BC Latin: Aeneas’ farewell to Dido before leaving by ship, her response, pleading with him to stay, and Aeneas’ call to the men to unfurl the sails and prayer to the gods); Propertius *Elegies* 3.21.11-15 (1st century BC Latin: a seemingly hypothetical voyage is proposed to forget Cynthia, the poet’s love) (Alexander 1990b, 134). While departure by ship is a clear point of parallel with the Miletus speech (Acts 20:38), the hope of return in some cases is not, nor is the hypothetical nature of the journey.

³³ *Pace* Lentz 1993, this aspect of Paul’s portrait is historically plausible. For critique, see Rapske 1992, 7-15, 119-168; Rapske 1994b, 72-112.

statements (v 38).³⁴ The event has an unmistakable 'farewell' feeling about it.

Alexander sees the Miletus scene as having many elements found in the Graeco-Roman examples he discusses.³⁵ Specifically: (1) separation is imminent vv 24, 29;³⁶ (2) separation will be permanent vv 25, 38;³⁷ (3) Paul has insight into his destiny, although it is not necessarily death which awaits him v 23;³⁸ (4) Paul is well-known to the elders, which brings a sense of intimacy to the scene vv 18b, 20, 31, 34;³⁹ (5) Paul sends for the hearers vv 17-18a;⁴⁰ (6) Paul delivers the speech vv 18b-35 (which forms the major part of the scene);⁴¹ (7) they pray v 36;⁴² (8) those left grieve vv 37f;⁴³ (9) they make parting gestures v 37.⁴⁴

Although caveats need to be entered concerning some of these identifications, in general it seems clear that we are viewing an *Abschiedsszene*.

Contents

The contents of the speech also correspond to the 'classic' form of a farewell speech as identified by Michel and others.⁴⁵ Michel lists these correspondences:⁴⁶ (1) the announcement of death vv 22-25;⁴⁷ (2) the calling of the circle of hearers v 17;⁴⁸ (3) paraenetic sayings vv 28, 31, 35;⁴⁹

³⁴ So (e.g.) Lövestam 1987, 1, 3.

³⁵ See § 3.2.1 for discussion of Alexander's marks. Bracketed numbers in the following paragraph correspond to Alexander's ten marks above.

³⁶ Alexander 1990b, 116. Alexander concedes that the death of Paul is not imminent in this instance, which he argues it is in the Graeco-Roman examples.

³⁷ Alexander 1990b, 116.

³⁸ Alexander 1990b, 117.

³⁹ Alexander 1990b, 117.

⁴⁰ Alexander 1990b, 118.

⁴¹ Alexander 1990b, 118-122.

⁴² Alexander 1990b, 122.

⁴³ Alexander 1990b, 122; although it is not clear that those left will be survivors of the death of the speaker.

⁴⁴ Alexander 1990b, 122.

⁴⁵ See § 3.2.1.

⁴⁶ Bracketed numbers here refer to Michel's thirteen elements of a farewell speech: see § 3.2.1.

⁴⁷ Michel 1973, 69 argues that the combination of the Spirit's warning of suffering (v 23) and Paul's statement that they will never see him again (v 25) add up to foreknowledge of Paul's death. See discussion of v 25 (§ 3.4.3) and the following footnote.

⁴⁸ Michel 1973, 68. Michel sees this occasion as the handover to the next generation, and therefore sees the Ephesian elders as representative of the elders of *all* the churches; so also Aejmelaeus 1987, 79, 84; Lövestam 1987, 1; Schürmann 1968, 312;

(4) prophetic utterances vv 29f;⁵⁰ (5) an account of Paul's former conduct vv 18-21, 31, 33-35, and Paul's declaration of his innocence v 26;⁵¹ (6) succession of office v 28;⁵² (7) wish for blessing v 32;⁵³ (8) prayer v 36;⁵⁴ (12) farewell gestures v 37.⁵⁵

Munck, operating with looser criteria for a 'farewell speech', sees the speech as having these key characteristics:⁵⁶ (a) Paul gathers the elders from Ephesus to give them last instructions; (b) he speaks to those whom he will leave; (c) he offers himself as an example; (d) he predicts future problems of persecution and false teachers.

Alexander, in his discussion of the contents of the speech against the Graeco-Roman background, likewise argues that there is a close correspondence between the topics of this speech and the elements found in such farewell speeches. He notes:⁵⁷ (a) self-references: concerning positive relationships with the hearers vv 18b-20, 27, 31; remarks which reveal the speaker's character vv 18b-20, 24, 31, 33; the speaker presented as an example vv 19ff, 31, 34f; protestations of innocence vv 26f; affirmation of the speaker's courage and acceptance of his destiny vv 22-24; (b) concern for the hearers' future problems vv 29f; (c) instructions about future conduct vv 28, 31, 35; (d) reminder of former teaching vv 18b-20, 21, 25, 27, 31, 34, 35;⁵⁸ (g) concern for succession, by

Tragan 1985, 797 (aimed at the elders of all the churches of Asia Minor). On the other hand, Marshall 1980, 332f argues that v 25 states only that Paul will not return to *Ephesus*, and that Rom. 15:23 suggests that Paul intended to move to work in new areas. Thus, 'The case that Luke saw this speech as Paul's farewell address to all his mission churches...is not compelling' (333).

49 Michel 1973, 69. Johnson 1992a, 367 proposes in his discussion of the Miletus speech that 'the "Farewell Discourse" is in reality a kind of paraenetic discourse, in which the main point is the instruction of the listener in certain moral values.'

50 Michel 1973, 70.

51 Michel 1973, 69.

52 Michel 1973, 70 concedes that there is no formal handover of office in v 28, but argues that the statement that the Holy Spirit has made them overseers corresponds to the OT theme that God knows who the successor should be. This seems to be rather stretching a point.

53 Michel 1973, 70 suggests that v 32 functions as a wish-prayer for God's blessing. Again, this seems to be stretching a point.

54 Michel 1973, 70.

55 Michel 1973, 70, referring to weeping, embracing and kissing (I here assume that v 37 is misprinted as v 17 in Michel's book).

56 Munck 1967, 205.

57 Alexander 1990b, 118-122. Here, bracketed letters correspond to Alexander's points listed in § 3.2.1.

58 Alexander 1990b, 120 draws attention to references to the hearers' knowledge and instructions to remember (vv 18, 31, 34, 35), descriptions of the manner of Paul's

reminding the elders of their task vv 17, 28, 32; (h) words of consolation vv 22-24;⁵⁹ (i) the hearers' future life in relation to God v 32; (l) the words of Jesus as a specific final utterance v 35.

It is clear, however, that the *συντακτικός* of Menander Rhetor provides little correspondence to the Miletus speech, for none of the three emphases in that structure can easily be found in Paul's words.⁶⁰ Alexander acknowledges that the strongest link with the Miletus speech is the departure by ship, and claims that other classical examples show that there is a 'literary propriety' in a farewell discourse in a setting of travelling from one place to another.⁶¹ This seems little more than a statement of the obvious.

Discussion

That the Miletus scene and speech contain significant features to be found in other farewells seems beyond cavil. But there are also items present in each scholar's list of classic features of a farewell scene/speech, but absent from the Miletus story. From Michel's list of features there are no directions concerning burial (10), promise and oath made by the hearers (11), or record of the death of the speaker (13). From Alexander's list of features it is again the death of the speaker (10) which is absent, although he does observe that some Graeco-Roman examples contain a departure by ship.⁶² Likewise, from Alexander's list of features of the speech proper, several are not present in the Miletus speech: (e) the consequences of keeping or neglecting the speaker's teaching; (f) an oath; (j) philosophical discussion; (k) burial instructions.

Further, a number of the farewell motifs which Michel and Alexander confidently identify in the Miletus speech do not appear to be the same as the 'standard' motifs, especially given that Paul (within the horizon of Acts) does not die.⁶³ Thus it is vital to listen carefully to this particular

ministry (vv 18b-20, 27, 31, 34), mention of the content of Paul's teaching (vv 21, 25, 27), and the use of the word of Jesus (v 35).

⁵⁹ Alexander 1990b, 121 argues that vv 22-24 approach words of consolation, but if so, they are somewhat indirect.

⁶⁰ See § 3.2.1; so also Alexander 1990b, 132-134, agreeing with Kennedy 1984, 76, 132f.

⁶¹ Alexander 1990b, 134.

⁶² And, as noted above, some such examples show the expectation of meeting again, esp. Homer, *Odyssey* 13.64ff.

⁶³ Lövestam 1987, 2 notes that Paul in Acts is not about to die, but will continue his journey to Jerusalem (v 22). Gempf 1988, 169 observes that the speech is at the end of a *phase* of Paul's life, namely his free missionary work, rather than the end of his life.

speech, rather than force it into conformity with a pattern abstracted from elsewhere.

This point can be focused further, for there are features in the Miletus speech which fit *this* group of people well. One function of the speech may be to fill out the picture of Paul's ministry in Ephesus (Acts 18:19-21; 19:1-20:1), which Luke presents as a centre of considerable success for Paul.

As he does elsewhere for emphasis,⁶⁴ Luke devotes a significant amount of space to the time in Ephesus (which lasts more than two years, and likely close to three: 19:8, 10, 22), and informs his readers that 'all the residents of Asia, both Jews and Greeks, heard the word of the Lord' (19:10b). Luke signals, by slowing down narrative time and by this (rhetorically exaggerated) authorial comment, that Ephesus was a place where God was active through Paul's ministry. The sense that Luke regards Ephesus as a key place in Paul's mission is further reinforced by: reports of overcoming opposition in the synagogue (19:8f), from disease and evil spirits (19:11f), and from rioting crowds (19:21-41); believers abandoning magical practices (19:18f); and Luke's summary statement that 'the word of the Lord grew mightily and prevailed' (19:20).

A number of features of the Miletus speech refer back to the Ephesian ministry.⁶⁵ There are, most obviously, the references to the memory of the elders (vv 18b, 31, 34), but there are other links too. The length of Paul's stay (v 31) recapitulates the information in 19:8-10, 22.⁶⁶ There are phrases in the Miletus speech which echo similar phrases in the Ephesian ministry passages, such as πιστίν εἰς τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν (20:21, cf. ἵνα πιστεύσωσιν...εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν 19:4) and κηρύσσων τὴν βασιλεία (20:25, cf. βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ 19:8, the only previous use in Acts of this phrase to

⁶⁴ See n 10 above.

⁶⁵ Gempf 1988, 269f; so also Tannehill 1990, 258. There are, of course, features in the speech without antecedent in the account of the Ephesian ministry, such as the considerable 'gaps' which the reader must fill in. The mention of Paul's tears (20:19, 31) is such an example, where the reader must infer that Paul's ministry in Ephesus was not as plain sailing as a quick reading of Acts 19 might suggest. An alert reader will also wonder why there is no explanation why Paul delays a journey which Luke says he is in a hurry to complete (20:16), by sending for the elders. Gempf 1988, 270-272 discusses a number of possible *historical* explanations for this. Here we simply observe the *literary* phenomenon of the need for 'gap-filling'.

⁶⁶ Codex Bezae adds an explicit reference to the time in v 18b, ὡς τριετίαν ἢ καὶ πλεῖον (= 'for about three years or more'), presumably a deduction from 19:8-10, 22 or from 20:31 (Johnson 1992a, 360; Metzger 1975, 478f).

summarise Paul's message,⁶⁷ κηρύσσει 19:13⁶⁸). Ἰουδαίοις τε καὶ Ἑλλησιν (20:21) recalls the description of Ἰουδαίους τε καὶ Ἑλληνας (19:10) hearing the word of the Lord. The idea that Paul is going to Jerusalem δεδεμένος...τῷ πνεύματι (20:22) echoes Paul resolving ἐν τῷ πνεύματι (19:21) to go to Jerusalem.⁶⁹

An examination of the contents of the speech reveals Paul preparing the elders for problems to come (20:29f), and much of the content of the speech can be seen to meet this need, rather than the standard 'farewell' themes. The anticipation of future problems is certainly present in some farewell speeches, but the presence of this motif here may not be the result of the farewell nature of the occasion, but rather part of the Lukan Paul's foreboding about what will come – for he has already experienced persecution, not least in Ephesus (19:23-41), and he anticipates that his converts will face the same (cf. Luke 6:22; 21:12, 17).⁷⁰

In sum, then, we may accept the designation 'farewell speech' for the Miletus speech as a working hypothesis, while not being sanguine that this identification in itself will get us much further in understanding this speech – not least because of the caveats entered above. To label a section of text as belonging to a certain genre incurs the risk of not looking carefully enough at the particularities of the text in its specific setting. We shall need to ask carefully how Luke has presented the speech and what adaptations he has made of possible standard motifs: by doing this we shall move closer to a grasp of what Luke's Paul is saying and why.

⁶⁷ Tannehill 1990, 258. Although βασιλεία (τοῦ θεοῦ) is common in Luke's Gospel, it occurs much less frequently in Acts (8 times only). Two uses are βασιλεία alone (1:6; 20:25). In Acts it is found most frequently in Jewish contexts (1:3, 6; 19:8; 28:23, 31 – the uses in chs 1, 28 may form an *inclusio* for the whole book) or amongst Christian groups (14:22; 20:25). Both kinds of people may be assumed to have some understanding of what is essentially a Jewish concept (Tannehill 1990, 351f).

⁶⁸ κηρύσσω is used in Acts only 8 times, characteristically of Paul. His first act on becoming a follower of Jesus is to preach Jesus in the synagogues of Damascus (9:20), his Ephesian ministry is described as preaching (19:13; 20:25), and the final picture of him in Acts is preaching (28:31). The verb is also used of others – Moses (who is preached each sabbath, 15:21), John the Baptist (10:37), Philip (8:5) and Peter (10:42) – but the weight of emphasis is on Paul as preaching.

⁶⁹ Noted in § 3.1.

⁷⁰ cf. Kilgallen 1994, esp. 120f, suggesting that the farewell speech genre should not be allowed to dominate the exegesis of the speech, which he sees as focused on the forthcoming persecution which the Ephesian church will face.

3.3. Structure

The structure of the speech is important, for the proportions spent on different topics – and the place those topics have in the overall shape of the speech – significantly affect how the speech should be understood. Our discussion will give particular attention to the subdivisions of the speech.

The subdivision of the Miletus speech is much debated;⁷¹ the following table shows how the various scholars do the subdividing. First we note the sentence divisions in Greek, and then where the various scholars place dividing markers. The number after each name is the number of sections produced by that scholar.⁷²

<i>Greek sentences</i>	18-21	22f	24	25	26f	28	29f	31	32	33f	35
Marshall 2											
Bruce 3											
Michel 3											
Rackham 3											
Bruce, Haenchen, Longenecker, Kurz 4											
Conzelmann, Schneider 4											
Munck 4											
Dibelius 5											
Exum/Talbert 5											
Dupont 6											
Lambrecht, Gempf, Aejmelaeus 6											
Lüdemann 6											

There is evidently no consensus about the structure of the speech. Indeed, Barrett despairs of the possibility of a sensible analysis,⁷³ in similar vein to the verdict of Gardner, who writes of the 'faulty order of

⁷¹ Although some scholars do not offer a structure for the speech, e.g. Johnson 1992a, 359-368; Tannehill 1990, 252ff (who discusses structure without making a definite proposal); Hemer 1989. Kilgallen 1994 discusses the structure extensively without finally proposing a clear sub-division; see discussion in § 3.3.1.

⁷² Marshall 1980, 329; Bruce 1952, 377; Bruce 1956, 410-418; Michel 1973, 27; Rackham 1904, 385; Bruce 1988, 389-395; Haenchen 1971, 595; Longenecker 1981, 512; Kurz 1990, 33-51; Conzelmann 1987, 173; Schneider 1980, 1982, 293; Munck 1967, 203-205; Dibelius 1956, 157; Exum & Talbert 1967; Dupont 1984, 441; Lambrecht 1979, 318; Gempf 1988, 272-280; Aejmelaeus 1987, 84-88; Lüdemann 1989, 226. Bruce appears to change his mind in the revision of his commentary: hence there are two entries in the table for him.

⁷³ Barrett 1977, esp. 110.

the speech, which has offended the commentators'.⁷⁴ However, this may be too pessimistic.

3.3.1. Markers of structure

Dupont⁷⁵ helpfully suggests that any analysis of the speech should take account of two factors, namely the literary structure and the content;⁷⁶ this idea will be pursued below.

Four phenomena in the passage are suggestive as to structure, and each needs to be taken into account in producing an analysis. These are: the Greek sentence structure, the repetitions, the time references, and the shift in the subject of the content from Paul to the elders.⁷⁷

Greek sentence structure

The sentence divisions have already been noted above, in the table of analyses, and we suggest that any analysis ought to take cognisance of them. While we do not know for certain the sentence division Luke intended (because the oldest manuscripts available are uncials, which are little – if at all – punctuated⁷⁸), this at least provides a good clue as to how the structure was understood by early readers of Acts – and in this speech there are no differences in sentence breaks between the two main modern editions.⁷⁹

Kilgallen's proposal for understanding the structure of the speech begins by observing the sentence structure and, within the sentences, the grammatical structure.⁸⁰ He points to the key 'transition' words *διότι* (v 26), *γάρ* (v 27), *καί* (v 30) and *δίο* (v 31) as indicating which elements in the speech are grammatically dependent on others. Thus he argues that vv 25-27 form a unit with v 25 as its main focus, since *διότι* (v 26) indicates that v 26 is dependent on v 25 and *γάρ* (v 27) indicates that v 27 is a justification of v 26. In similar manner, Kilgallen argues that vv 28-31 are a unit, with v 28 as focus, since *καί* (v 30) 'links the ideas of vv 29 and 30'⁸¹, *δίο* (v 31) shows that v 31 is a conclusion from vv 29-30, and v 31 is

⁷⁴ Gardner 1909, 403. Johnson 1992a, 359-367 offers no structural analysis.

⁷⁵ Dupont 1984, 424-445.

⁷⁶ Conzelmann 1987, 173; Bruce 1952, 377; and Lüdemann 1989, 226 see the importance of content for analysis.

⁷⁷ cf. Lambrecht 1979, 314-316.

⁷⁸ Metzger 1968, 26f; Aland & Aland 1987, 282.

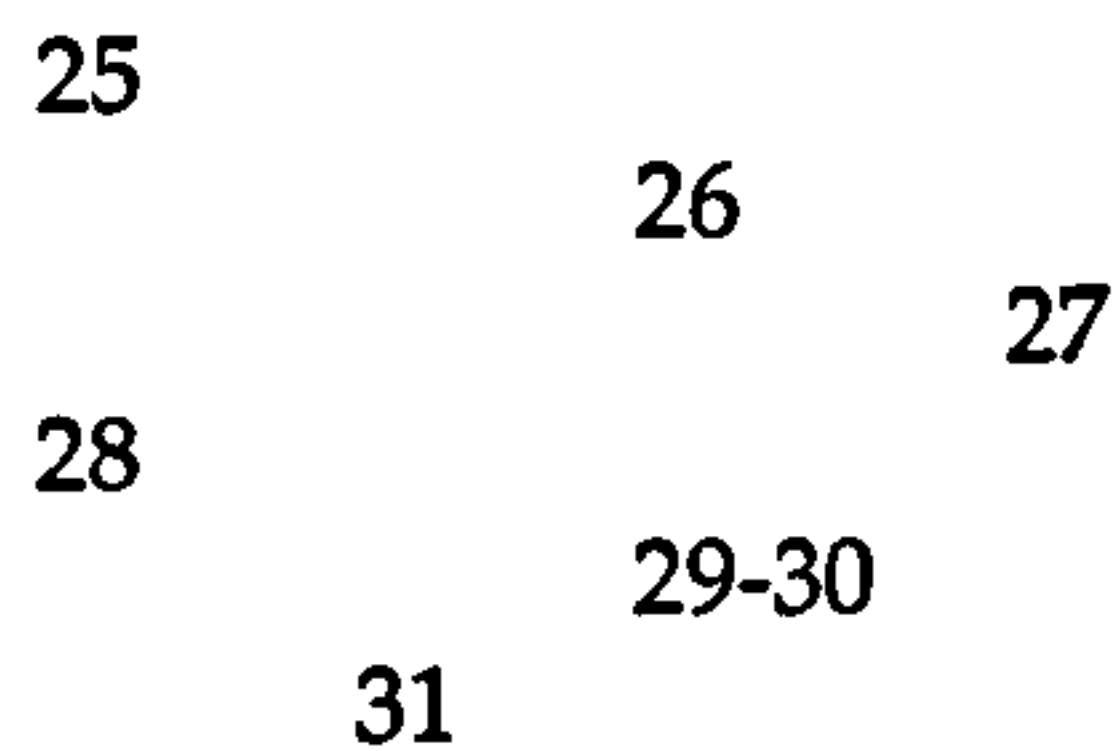
⁷⁹ UBS⁴ and NA²⁷.

⁸⁰ Kilgallen 1994.

⁸¹ Kilgallen 1994, 114.

'parallel in general import with v 28...[and] as a support and re-affirmation of v 28'.⁸²

Thus far Kilgallen's argument seems plausible, although it need not always follow that grammatical structure alone will indicate the central ideas of a text. He goes on to sketch the diagram of vv 25-31 shown below, which leads him to argue that vv 25, 28 are parallel to each other, implying that the reason for Paul's concern about the future (v 28) is that he himself will be unavailable to help.



It must be doubted whether Luke's readers would have noticed such a parallel, since Kilgallen's argument hinges on detailed study of a *written* text, and comes to conclusions that he himself admits no-one has noticed before,⁸³ whereas the ancients seem to have noticed – and expected – clues to parallelism in a text which would be evident to someone *hearing* the text read aloud. If Luke intended such a parallel to be vital to comprehending the speech, he would be likely to have given a clearer aural signal.

What is surprising is that when Kilgallen goes on to examine the other parts of the speech, which lack the connectives which he uses in analysing vv 25-27 and 28-31, he effectively puts on one side the structural markers provided by καὶ νῦν (vv 22, 25, 32), which is a grammatical signal of development in the speech – as may be πλὴν ὅτι (v 23) and the strong adversative ἀλλ' (v 24), both of which he also sidelines. This means that he has to use what he himself calls 'a rather subjective analysis'⁸⁴ for the other parts of the speech. The result is the structure below, which is more an analysis of the flow of thought than a formal structure:⁸⁵

82 Kilgallen 1994, 115.

83 Kilgallen 1994, 116.

84 Kilgallen 1994, 116.

85 Kilgallen 1994, 119.

18b-21: My work has been such and
 22-23: I now go to Jerusalem, warned
 24: but I am ready to die for the Gospel
 25: Note, I am never to see you again
 26: So I tell you of my innocence
 27: for I told you everything of God's plan
 28: Watch out for yourselves and for the flock
 29-30: there is danger from within and without
 31: so watch
 32: I leave you to God and to the word
 33: I desired no one's gold
 34: but rather supported myself and others
 35: so support the weak, as I have done, as Jesus has urged.

Kilgallen's analysis is not without difficulties, as we have noticed, but he is pointing to an important issue, which is the need to take the grammar and sentence structure of the text as the bedrock of any structural analysis of the speech. We shall return to this point below in proposing a working structure.

Repetitions

The repetitions cover four groups of phrases or words that are repeated in the passage.

First, *καὶ νῦν* is used three times in the speech (vv 22, 25, 32),⁸⁶ and in each case this phrase seems to lead on to a new point being discussed by the speaker: the move on to Jerusalem (v 22); the fact of Paul never seeing those to whom he speaks again (v 25); and Paul's committing the elders into God's care for the future (v 32).⁸⁷ Haenchen and Kurz⁸⁸ are surely right to notice this repetition as significant for the movement of the speech.

Second, emphatic personal pronouns are used at six points in the speech. Paul uses *ἐγώ* of himself three times (vv 22, 25, 29), and *ὑμεῖς* (vv 18, 25) or *αὐτοί* (v 34) of his hearers. In each case a point is being hammered home, and it is noteworthy that in v 25 two emphatic personal pronouns coincide.

⁸⁶ Tannehill 1990, 253 – amongst numerous others.

⁸⁷ Other uses of *καὶ νῦν* in speeches in Acts are at key 'hinge' points in the speeches, usually moving from past event to present implications for action, e.g. 3:17; 5:38; 10:5; 13:11; 16:37; 22:16. Particularly interesting is 4:29, when the 'speech' is a prayer to God, and the same shift from past event to present action is taking place – but God is being asked to do the present action.

⁸⁸ Haenchen 1971, 595; Kurz 1990, 41, 43, 48; *contra* Conzelmann 1987, 173: 'The threefold *καὶ νῦν ἰδοὺ*, "and now behold", or *καὶ τὰ νῦν*, "and now", yields only an apparent structure; in actuality, these do not mark off the major sections of the speech.'

Third, there is the use of verbs of knowing. This has been noted by Dupont,⁸⁹ amongst others, as important for the movement of the speech. The speech begins and ends with the use of such verbs: ἐπίστασθε⁹⁰ (v 18) and γινώσκετε (v 34). Three times within the body of the speech the verb οἶδα is used (vv 22, 25, 29). Knowledge (or the lack of it, v 22) is obviously an important commodity for this speech.

It is interesting how often these first three literary 'markers' coincide. All six uses of emphatic personal pronouns are close to verbs of knowing, and two of the uses of καὶ νῦν coincide with these places, as follows:

	<i>καὶ νῦν</i>	<i>emphatic personal pronouns</i>	<i>verbs of knowing</i>
v 18	no	yes (ὕμεις)	yes (ἐπίστασθε)
v 22	yes	yes (ἐγώ)	yes (οἶδα) ⁹¹
v 25	yes	yes (ἐγώ, ὑμεῖς)	yes (οἶδα)
v 29	no	yes (ἐγώ)	yes (οἶδα)
v 32	yes	no	no
v 34	no	yes (αὐτοὶ)	yes (γινώσκετε)

The fourth group of repetitions are particular words which recur within the speech. The idea that Paul has expounded 'the whole counsel of God' and not held back anything profitable, is repeated using the same verbs in the same forms: ὑπεστειλάμην and ἀναγγεῖλαι (vv 20, 27). δακρύων mark Paul's past ministry in Ephesus (vv 19, 31). Paul's apostolic ministry is characterised as using διαμαρτύρομαι (vv 21, 24) and the message he proclaims is τῆς χάριτος τοῦ θεοῦ/αὐτοῦ (vv 24, 32). And, strikingly, the elders are to remember both Paul's example (v 31) and the words of Jesus (v 35), using μνημονεύω in both places.

These repetitions may be less significant for the structure of the speech than for the emphasis which they demonstrate;⁹² repetition may be because the idea is important, and the exegetical material below will consider this point. On the other hand, perhaps we should see these verbal

⁸⁹ Dupont 1984, 439. cf. Rackham 1904, 389: 'knowing is a key-note of the speech.'

⁹⁰ A favourite word of Luke: of 14 NT uses, 9 are found in Acts. Luke uses it rhetorically to allow the speaker to refer to something already known (Acts 10:28; 15:7; 19:15, 25; 22:19; 24:10; 26:26) (ENDT, 1:37).

⁹¹ Codex Bezae and p⁴¹, which are both Western witnesses, have γινώσκων instead of εἰδώς.

⁹² Although Tannehill 1990, 253 observes how many of the first uses of the words repeated are in vv 18-21, the first sentence: 'Paul's initial statement about his ministry in vv. 18-21 is a resource for the rest of the speech.'

repetitions as being more like the interwoven colours in a tapestry, which may submerge for a time in the pattern and then reappear elsewhere, so that the eye notices the reappearance, but finds it difficult to trace the precise line from one to the other. Such an image is helpful as a way of understanding the whole speech, for it is the picture portrayed in the tapestry which provides the 'structure' – and the very complexity of the interweaving of the themes and words in the speech is suggestive as to why there is no scholarly consensus on the overall pattern, even though there are many structural signals.

Time references

Some time references have already been mentioned above, namely the uses of καὶ νῦν in vv 22, 25, 32. These mark points where implications for the future are drawn from earlier material in the speech, or new material is introduced which also looks towards the future. They are therefore significant for the structuring of the speech. Haenchen⁹³ sees these as the key to the structure of the speech, and divides the speech accordingly.

Change of subject

There is a shift in the speech at v 28, where the subject in the Greek changes from Paul to the elders and thenceforward they become the principal topic of discussion. Paul returns to his example in vv 31, 34, but by those points in the speech the focus has shifted from description of Paul's past activity to the use of Paul as an *exemplar* for the elders to follow.

These four phenomena are all important in considering the structure of the speech, along with the dictum of Dupont that a division should take account of both form and content.

3.3.2. Chiastic structure?

Two specific proposals for the structure of the speech merit comment at this stage, and they are those of Exum and Talbert, and Lambrecht. Both suggest that the speech may have a chiastic structure.⁹⁴

⁹³ Haenchen 1971, 595.

⁹⁴ Tannehill 1990, 253 suggests that some of the repetitions fall into a chiastic pattern, but does not draw conclusions about structure from this, not least because his chiasmus only includes vv 18-21, 24, 27, 31, 34.

Exum and Talbert argue that the speech as a whole is a chiasmus.⁹⁵ The particular significance of the chiasmus for them is that the central section of the chiasmus (v 25) contains the central point which Luke is communicating through the speech, namely that Paul's hearers will never see him again. This point is underlined by Luke's comment closing the scene in vv 36-38.

They begin by claiming that chiasmus is a recognised literary device used by Luke elsewhere, citing the overall organisation of Luke-Acts, the so-called 'central section' of the Gospel, and the miracles of Peter and Paul in Acts.⁹⁶ They therefore suggest that Luke may be organising the material chiastically here. In particular, they reiterate the oft-made suggestion that v 21 has a chiastic structure,⁹⁷ which might suggest that the primary need of the Jews to whom Paul has spoken is 'faith in our Lord Jesus Christ', and the primary need of the Gentiles is 'repentance toward God'.⁹⁸ Developing this point, they consider that Luke is using the chiasmus in v 21 to hint at a wider use of the device in the speech. The dividing markers for their sections are shown in the table above, and the chiasmus is set up as follows:

- A - vv 18-21 Paul testifies to his witness
- B - vv 22-24 Foreboding: Paul in Jerusalem
- C - v 25 To be seen by them no more
- B' - vv 26-30 Foreboding: False teachers from within and without
- A' - vv 31-35 Paul testifies to his witness

The dividing points of the first half of the speech are the uses of καὶ v̄v ἰδοὺ in vv 22 and 25, and in the second half of the speech the repetitions of 'therefore' (διότι, v 26; διό, v 31).

While this analysis has points to commend it, various questions need to be raised about it. Notably, it seems rather arbitrary to use two of the occurrences of καὶ v̄v in the speech as dividing markers and ignore the third in v 32, which might provide another natural division. This

⁹⁵ Exum & Talbert 1967, 233-236.

⁹⁶ Exum & Talbert 1967, ~~4f.~~ **234f.**

⁹⁷ Exum & Talbert 1967, 235, citing Williams 1957, 233 – although Williams does not argue that the chiasmus in v 21 indicates that Jews need to have 'faith in our Lord Jesus Christ' and Gentiles to exercise 'repentance toward God', by contrast with Stier 1869, 319f, who writes: 'repentance towards God would seem to refer principally to the Greeks, and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ to the Jews: but yet both of them apply equally to each people.' cf. Foakes Jackson & Lake 1920-33, IV:260; Lange 1869, 263.

⁹⁸ So, e.g., Dupont 1962, 82f.

repetition of καὶ vûv is, as we have noted, how Haenchen analyses the speech into four sections.⁹⁹

Further, the basis on which they proceed, of an assumed chiasmus in v 21, is at least questionable. Both repentance toward God and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ were marks of *all* who joined the Christian community,¹⁰⁰ and there were not two different membership requirements.¹⁰¹ This can be seen particularly from the summaries of Paul's message in Acts, such as 17:30f, where the Athenians are called to repent because of who Jesus is, and 26:20, where no differentiation between Paul's message to Jews and to Gentiles can be seen. That is not to deny that preaching in specific situations would be contextualised and thus given a particular 'slant', but it is to deny a hermetically-sealed division between the content of the message in Jewish and Gentile contexts. If a chiasmus is present, it is a literary device, but not a theological statement.

Moreover, Exum and Talbert's proposal appears artificial: apart from their title of 'foreboding', there is no obvious connection between their sections B and B' in content, for vv 22-24 are to do with Paul's future and vv 26-30 with the Ephesian church's future in general, and the role of the elders in particular.

Further, the assumption that a chiasmus focuses attention on its central section (an assumption shared by others in discussions of chiasmus¹⁰²) is not necessarily correct. For example, Greek rhetors were advised to organise their material so that the key points came at the beginning and the end of a speech, so that the hearer would be grasped by the strength of the case at the beginning and be left with the key issues at the end, and therefore not remember any weaker points which came in between.¹⁰³ Thus, accepting Exum and Talbert's proposal on structure need not lead to

⁹⁹ Haenchen 1971, 595.

¹⁰⁰ Marshall 1980, 331, citing Rom. 1:16; 10:9-13. Strelan 1996, 267 n 252 cites Jews being called to repentance in Luke (3:3; 5:22; 15:7; 24:47) and Acts (5:31), alongside Gentiles repenting (Acts 11:18) and believing (Acts 16:31; 18:8). Similarly, Stier 1869, 319f, cited above, and Williams 1985, 348f: 'But all, whether Gentile or Jew, need to repent and believe...and it is better to see in this verse a summary of Paul's preaching to all.'

¹⁰¹ Barrett 1977, 112 also notes Rom. 10:9 in this connection; Strelan 1996, 267 n 252 observes that Jews are called to repentance both in Luke (3:3; 5:22 [*sic*: presumably v 32]; 15:7; 24:47) and Acts (5:31).

¹⁰² e.g. Lund 1942 rp 1992, 40-44; Thomson 1995, 43, 224-226.

¹⁰³ Cicero, *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 2.18.

accepting their conclusion that the statement in v 25 is the main burden of the speech.

Lambrecht's proposal is rather different, in that he suggests a double chiasmus, based on a major division of the speech at v 28, where the shift from Paul talking about himself to Paul applying what he says to the elders occurs. His shape looks as follows:¹⁰⁴

I. Self defence and announcement (vv 18b-27)

a: vv 18b-21 Previous conduct (apology)

b: vv 22-25 Announcement of departure and future suffering

a': vv 26-27 Previous conduct (apology)

II. Exhortations and farewell (vv 28-35)

a: vv 28-31 Warning: vigilance in the face of imminent dangers (Paul's example)

b: v 32 Farewell

a': vv 33-35 Warning: help for the weak (Paul's example)

This looks rather more well-founded in the four phenomena noted above, but does the chiasmic structure stand up to examination? We may note several points.

First, the strength of this analysis is that it attempts to take seriously the content of the passage. Lambrecht attempts to find connections of content between his parallel sections, which we noted as being absent in Exum and Talbert's argument.

Second, however, it is doubtful whether vv 26-27 are a real *parallel* to vv 18b-21. Rather, they seem to develop further the points made in vv 18b-21. The use of *διότι* at the beginning of v 26 underlines this point.

Third, it seems strained to see vv 28-31 as parallel to vv 33-35. Vv 28-31 are discussing false teachers and the consequent need for good teaching from the elders, whereas vv 33-35 are to do with care for the poor, as Lambrecht himself notes.¹⁰⁵ Thus the only connection between them is Lambrecht's title of 'Warning', which hardly describes the content of vv 33-35, for no warning is contained in those verses.

Finally, we should apply the same caveat as above in relation to Exum and Talbert's work, that even if a chiasmus is present, that need not imply that the central section is where the main emphasis lies.

Overall, we therefore find Lambrecht's analysis, although a significant improvement on Exum and Talbert's approach, questionable.

¹⁰⁴ Lambrecht 1979, 318.

¹⁰⁵ Lambrecht 1979, 317f.

3.3.3. A proposed structure

What structure meets the four phenomena noted above better? In what follows we shall pursue the analogy offered above of seeing the speech like a tapestry. First¹⁰⁶ we shall look at the speech from the perspective of its sequential arrangement, utilising the verbal clues to structure which we have noted, and then¹⁰⁷ we shall consider the various 'colours' or major themes used in the tapestry and how they are woven into the speech.

A preliminary sketch of the movement of the passage might look as follows:

- vv 18-21 form an introductory retrospect.
- vv 22-24 focus on the future of Paul in Jerusalem.
- vv 25-27 return to retrospect in the light of Paul's belief that he will never see the Ephesian elders again, and underline the claim that Paul has faithfully discharged his responsibility towards the elders.
- vv 28-31 call the elders to their (present and future) task in the light of dangers to come, and urge them to be alert.
- vv 32-35 re-focus the elders on the grace of God, which is able to uphold them, and finally hammer home the example of Paul for his hearers in terms of the elders' responsibility to care for the poor, underlined by a saying of Jesus.

The major division in the speech is at v 28, the shift from Paul's description of himself in the past to consideration of the role of the elders in the future. The other divisions hinge on the *καὶ* *ὡς* markers (vv 22, 25, 32) and their coincidence with the use of emphatic personal pronouns and verbs of knowing (vv 22, 25).

3.4. Overview of contents

We therefore turn to consider the content and thread of thought of the speech both section by section (following the outline of the structure developed above) and by considering key themes in the speech. The section by section approach will allow us to see the main thread of

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107 § 3.5.

argument through the speech and the thematic consideration will allow us to see the development of thought within the speech.

3.4.1. vv 18-21: Retrospect

The focus in this long sentence is on Paul's fulfilment of his task in the past, and this theme has three main aspects in these verses. First (vv 18b-19a) Paul reminds the elders of his past conduct and appeals to their knowledge of that conduct, which is marked by humility. ταπεινοφροσύνη occurs only here in Acts; it is not common in the NT, occurring only seven times.¹⁰⁸ It does not occur in the LXX at all; the cognates ταπεινοφρονέω and ταπεινόφρων only occur once each,¹⁰⁹ and the noun itself is very little attested, if at all, in pre-Christian literature.¹¹⁰ Thus the noun ταπεινοφροσύνη, a combination of ταπεινός, 'lowly', and φρονέω, 'I think', may be a Christian coinage – or at least a word given an entirely different 'atmosphere' by its use by the earliest Christians, where it is contrasted (e.g. in Phil. 2:3) with ἐριθεία (seeking followers by means of gifts – hence, ambition, rivalry¹¹¹) and κενοδοξία (vanity, conceit, excessive ambition¹¹²).

Then (v 19b) Paul refers to the hardship and suffering he endured in his ministry, characterised by tears and trials resulting from the plots of the Jews against him.¹¹³ Grammatically, πάσης ταπεινοφροσύνης, δακρύων and πειρασμῶν are all dependent on the same μετά,¹¹⁴ which suggests that Luke's Paul sees all three as results or concomitants of his 'serving the Lord'.

¹⁰⁸ Acts 20:19; Eph. 4:2; Phil. 2:3; Col. 2:18, 23; 3:12; 1 Pet. 5:5.

¹⁰⁹ Respectively Ps. 130:2; Prov. 29:23 (Dupont 1962, 42.)

¹¹⁰ So Fee 1995, 187 n 73. Lightfoot 1889 rp 1993, 109 notes that uses of ταπεινός in pre-Christian writers are mostly negative, using the word in the sense 'grovelling' or 'abject', e.g. Epictetus, *Discourses* 4.1.2: Τίς θέλει ζῶν...ταπεινός; – Οὐδείς ('Who wishes to live...abject? No-one'). See further NIDNTT, 2:259-264; BAGD, 804.

¹¹¹ BAGD, 309 notes that the only pre-Christian attestation for this is in Aristotle with the sense of 'a self-seeking pursuit of political office by unfair means'.

¹¹² BAGD, 427.

¹¹³ Dupont 1962, 36 observes that the plots (ἐπιβουλαι) of 'the Jews' against Paul occur elsewhere in Acts (9:23f; 20:3; 21:27; 23:30; 24:19). Note also 23:27, which sets the context for 23:30 and clarifies that the plotters are 'the Jews'.

¹¹⁴ So Johnson 1992a, 360, who sees a distinction between the first two items, which refer to Paul's subjective inner attitudes, and the third, which refers to external pressures.

Paul then draws out the conclusion that he has faithfully fulfilled his responsibilities towards the church at Ephesus (vv 20-21).¹¹⁵ He has taught them all that could profit them. He has taught them in every possible situation. He has taught both sides of the great racial and religious divide between Jews and Gentiles. The message he has taught is summarised as εἰς θεὸν μετάνοιαν καὶ πίστιν εἰς τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν (v 21).

Several key themes are introduced in this first sentence, rather like (to change our simile for the speech) the overture of a longer piece of music. The links may be tabulated as follows. Some are precise verbal echoes and some use synonyms.¹¹⁶

ὕμεις ἐπίστασθε v 18	αὐτοὶ γινώσκετε v 34
τὸν πάντα χρόνον v 18	τριετίαν νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν v 31
δουλεύων τῷ κυρίῳ v 19	τὴν διακονίαν ἣν ἔλαβον παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ v 24;
	ὑπηρέτησαν v 34
δακρύων v 19	δακρύων v 31
ὑπεστειλάμην...τοῦ μὴ ἀναγγεῖλαι v 20	ὑπεστειλάμην...τοῦ μὴ ἀναγγεῖλαι v 27
διαμαρτυρόμενος v 21	διαμαρτύρασθαι v 24

It is also noticeable that the last paragraph of the speech (vv 32-35) echoes a number of themes from this paragraph, especially Paul's exemplary lifestyle, which is derived from the words of the Lord Jesus himself (v 35). This *inclusio*-type arrangement suggests that one of the major themes of the speech is Paul's ministry as an example to the elders for their ministry.

3.4.2. vv 22-24: The future of Paul in Jerusalem

The speech then turns towards the future of Paul, the shift being marked by the phrase καὶ νῦν ἰδοῦ (v 22). Paul is going to Jerusalem under the constraint of the Spirit,¹¹⁷ knowing little of what is ahead, save that suffering is being prophesied for him by the Spirit everywhere (v 23).¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵ Conzelmann 1987, 173 argues that this point is directed by Luke towards the advocates of 'gnostic' teaching which was being traced back to Paul in the church of Luke's day. Similarly, Haenchen 1971, 596, who suggests that Paul is being defended by Luke at the end of the first century from the responsibility for the loss of the Asian congregations to gnosticism; Barrett 1977, 111: 'It is hardly open to doubt that Luke has in mind the secret teaching of the gnostics.' But cf. Marshall 1980, 331: 'Such self-defence was typical of farewell discourses.'

¹¹⁶ cf. Tannehill 1990, 253f.

¹¹⁷ See § 3.5.2 for discussion of the possible understandings of πνεῦμα (v 25).

¹¹⁸ Echoing Acts 19:21; further examples are to follow in 21:4, 11f, as are other uses of the δέω word group in 20:23; 21:13, 33; 22:29; 24:27 (Johnson 1992a, 361).

The information that imprisonment is ahead adds to our knowledge of Paul's expectations.¹¹⁹

Paul's lack of detailed knowledge of the future does not produce any shirking from the way ahead, for he sees obedience to God as of greater importance than the preservation of his own life (v 24).¹²⁰ This develops the point from the earlier section (vv 18b-21), that just as Paul has been faithful in fulfilling his God-given task in the past, so he will be in the future. Paul is not to be deflected by the prospect of suffering to come.

The message he proclaims is characterised as τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς χάριτος τοῦ θεοῦ (v 24).¹²¹ This combination of εὐαγγέλιον and χάρις is unprecedented in Acts and in the Pauline letters – the noun εὐαγγέλιον is rare in Acts, occurring only here and at 15:7.¹²² Nevertheless, Haenchen believes, 'Luke wants to let a specifically Pauline catchword ring out.'¹²³ Barrett more cautiously claims, 'Luke uses words that are superficially Pauline, but improbably represent words that Paul actually used. They are significant as the...deposit of Paulinism that permeated to the next generation.'¹²⁴ Perhaps we might be closest to the truth in simply observing that Luke here uses language which Paul uses, but not in a combination used by Paul himself.

3.4.3. vv 25-27: Prospect and retrospect

With another καὶ νῦν vv 22-24 are drawn to a climax, further signalled by the introduction of ἰδοῦ. Paul states plainly that the elders will never see him again (v 25), now making the implications of the earlier hints of forthcoming suffering explicit. Haenchen¹²⁵ believes that there is a two-fold note in the speech here: it is not merely that Paul will never be seen again by the elders of Ephesus, but that 'you *all*' will never see him again.

119 Tannehill 1990, 254.

120 Rapske 1994a, 403-407 argues that Paul's imprisonment will be part of his obedient witness, not least because Διαμαρτύρομαι followed by λέγων [? misprint for λέγον] (Acts 20:23) suggests solemn testimony or witness *and carries no negative freighting*' (406, italics mine). See further § 3.5.2.

121 The Western manuscripts p⁴¹vid D, some Sahidic manuscripts and the Latin father Lucifer add, clearly from v 21, Ἰουδαίους καὶ Ἕλλησιν.

122 Although the verb εὐαγγελίζομαι is fairly frequent, occurring 15 times in Acts and 10 times in Luke, forming nearly half the NT uses (52 total). 21 of the other uses are in the Pauline corpus.

123 Haenchen 1971, 592.

124 Barrett 1977, 112.

125 Haenchen 1971, 592.

In other words, Paul is taking leave of *all* the churches at this stage of Acts.¹²⁶

A number of scholars believe that v 25, in combination with v 38, signals that Luke knows that Paul is dead at the time of the writing of Acts,¹²⁷ in spite of the hints in the Pastorals that Paul visited Ephesus at a later date (1 Tim. 1:3; 2 Tim. 1:15-18). The key question from our perspective is the character's knowledge within the 'world' of the narrative. We may identify two possibilities: that Luke's Paul knew of his forthcoming death, but did not know of its particular circumstances – thus locating the open-endedness of vv 22-25 in the detail; or that Paul was hoping to go on to evangelise other areas, but that he was ready for his plans to be curtailed by suffering and imprisonment.¹²⁸

It is not really possible, on the evidence of the text, to decide between these two possibilities, but it is unlikely that Luke would deliberately provide an anachronistic and misleading reference of this kind if he knew that Paul did, in fact, visit Ephesus again.¹²⁹ If Luke had known that Paul had re-visited, it is more likely that he would have phrased v 25 along the lines of 'I don't believe it is likely that you will ever see my face again.' This suggests that Luke did not hint at Paul's return to the area either because he wrote before it took place or because he simply did not know about it. Deciding between these two options involves larger issues than can be addressed on the evidence of this passage alone. Nevertheless, we may conclude that vv 25, 38 need not be read as implying knowledge by Luke of Paul's death, but may reflect Paul's (and Luke's?) uncertainty about the future at this stage – the definite expectation is that Paul will not return to Ephesus, but it is possible that circumstances will change and that Paul may at a future time find himself again in Ephesus.

¹²⁶ So also Bruce 1988, 387; Marshall 1980, 328; cf. n 48.

¹²⁷ e.g. Conzelmann 1987, 174; Hanson 1967, 203f; Haenchen 1971, 592; Brawley 1987, 25; Dibelius 1956, 158 n 46.

¹²⁸ Gempf 1988, 290f. The first possibility derives from Dibelius 1956, 158, who believes that Luke knows of Paul's death but does not narrate it because he wants his book to end in triumph. The second derives from Bruce 1952, 379f, although Bruce seems to change his mind in Bruce 1990, 433, where he agrees with Barrett 1977, 113 that it would be unlikely for Luke to perpetuate the impression that Paul did not revisit Ephesus if Luke knew the tradition in the Pastorals that Paul did later revisit. See also Conzelmann 1987, 174; Gasque 1975, 219 n 62; Haenchen 1971, 592, 595; Wilson 1973, 233, 235.

¹²⁹ Gempf 1988, 291f.

The look forward (v 25) is immediately followed by a look back (vv 26f), reminding the elders again that Paul has faithfully discharged his responsibilities to them, using the same words in v 27 as have already been used in v 20. The look back here is not simply reminder, but functions to tell the elders that Paul is *now* innocent (v 26). The language of 'innocent of blood' is reminiscent of the Hebrew Bible, particularly Ezek. 33:5f, 8f.¹³⁰

The summary of Paul's preaching as ἡ βουλή τοῦ θεοῦ (v 27) repeats language already used in Luke-Acts, and particularly in Acts (Luke 7:30; Acts 2:23; 4:28; 5:38f; 13:36), although it is also Pauline language (1 Cor. 4:5, but there of human plans; Eph. 1:11).¹³¹ The idea that God has a purpose which he is carrying out is a central emphasis of Acts,¹³² for God is arguably *the* key actor in the story of the Book of Acts – he directs the mission, especially by the Spirit's work and words (e.g. 8:29, 39; 10:19; 11:15; 13:2; 15:28; 16:6¹³³), and pushes out the boundaries into new ethnic groups (10:19; 11:12, 15) or new geographical areas (16:9f). But the use of βουλή in 20:27 does not immediately seem to refer to the 'plan' of God, but to the whole of God's will or mind¹³⁴ – a complete message for all kinds of people, both Jews and Gentiles (v 21).¹³⁵ 'It is a responsibility to all that arises from a gospel that offers salvation to all.'¹³⁶

¹³⁰ So esp. Lövestam 1987, 3, who discusses other possible Hebrew Bible parallels.

¹³¹ Barrett 1977, 113 also notes the five Pauline uses of βούλεσθαι (1 Cor. 12:11; 2 Cor. 1:15, 17; Phil. 1:12; Phlm 13), the two uses of βουλεύεσθαι in 2 Cor. 1:17, and the use of βούλημα in Rom. 9:19, while viewing the more frequent use of these words in Luke-Acts (βούλεσθαι 16 times, βουλεύεσθαι 3 times) as indicating that this is Lukan language (so also Squires 1993, 75 n 198; Marshall 1980, 333). cf. Gempf 1988, 293, who draws attention to the Judaizers' criticism of Paul that he had not given his converts the 'whole plan of God' in omitting circumcision and keeping the law (Gal. 1:10; 2:6).

¹³² Peterson 1993; Dupont 1962, 122f.

¹³³ Shepherd 1994, 186, 187, 199f, 204, 209f, 218, 221-223; Turner 1996, 402f.

¹³⁴ Dupont 1962, 123 remarks: 'Le mot βουλή n'est pas le synonyme exact de θέλημα, mais il s'emploie d'une manière à peu près équivalente: la volonté délibérée et réfléchie de Dieu ne concerne pas seulement le plan de salut qu'il compte réaliser lui-même, mais aussi, et davantage encore, les conditions à remplir par les hommes qui désirent avoir part aux bienfaits divins.' Squires 1993, 26 n 44 also sees βουλή as a reference to the message, because of the parallel with 'the kingdom' in 20:25 (mis-cited as 20:55).

¹³⁵ Note the stress on πᾶς in this section (vv 25, 26, 27).

¹³⁶ Tannehill 1990, 257.

3.4.4. vv 28-31: A charge to the elders

Paul therefore calls the elders to their task in the light of their knowledge that they will no longer have him to lean upon. They are to take heed (vv 28, 31)¹³⁷ both to themselves and to the church, pictured using the common biblical image of a flock (v 28: a metaphor used frequently for Israel), and they are to shepherd that flock.¹³⁸ Although this image is common in the Hebrew Bible and (therefore) the LXX, it is rare in Luke-Acts, where such a metaphorical use of the verb or the noun is only found here and at Luke 12:32, where the followers of Jesus are described as τὸ μικρὸν ποίμνιον.¹³⁹

Two points develop the understanding of their need to keep watch: first, their task has been assigned to them by the Spirit,¹⁴⁰ and second, the church is of tremendous value to God, having been obtained with the great price of the blood of God's own one.¹⁴¹ The explicit reference to the redemptive significance of the death of Jesus is rare in Luke-Acts.¹⁴²

Paul not only declares what the task of the elders is to be, but warns them of the dangers ahead – and this is why they must keep watch. False teachers will come from outside (εἰσελεύσονται...εἰς ὑμᾶς, v 29) and

¹³⁷ cf. Luke 21:34; 12:1.

¹³⁸ See 1 Kgs 20:27 (LXX 21:27); 22:17; Ps. 78:52 (LXX 77:52); Isa. 40:11; Jer. 13:17, 20; Ezek. 34:12, 31; Mic. 2:12; 4:8; 5:4 (LXX 5:3); Zech. 10:3, all using ποίμνιον in the LXX, the diminutive form of ποίμνη used in Acts 20:28a. Likewise, there is considerable use of ποιμαίνω in the LXX, the verb used in Acts 20:28b of the role of the elders. It is used of David or the king of Israel (2 Sam. 5:2 [cf. 1 Chr. 11:2]; 7:2 [cf. 1 Chr. 17:6]; Ps. 78:71f [LXX 77:71f]; Ezek. 34:10, 23), sometimes of the leaders of Israel (1 Sam. 7:2 [cf. 1 Chr. 17:6]) Jer. 3:15; 6:18 [LXX: MT has קהל, which BDB, 417 understands commonly to mean 'congregation', sometimes the whole congregation of Israel – but there is also a problem of textual corruption here, discussed in Bright 1965, 45; Thompson 1980, 259 n 3]; 23:2, 4), and, archetypally, of God himself (Ps 28:9 [LXX 27:9]; 48:14 [LXX 47:15]; 80:1 [LXX 79:2]; Isa. 40:11; Hos. 13:5; Mic. 7:14). For discussion of the shepherd and flock metaphors, see NIDNTT, 3:564-569.

¹³⁹ Indeed, the metaphorical use is quite rare in the NT, being found predominantly in the Johannine literature at John 10:2, 11f, 14, 16; 21:16; Rev. 7:17; 12:5; 19:5; as well as at Mk 6:34 (//Matt. 9:36); 14:27 (//Matt. 6:31, both quoting Zech. 13:7); Eph. 4:11; Heb. 13:20; 1 Pet. 2:25; 5:2f; Jude 12. Of these, only Acts 20:28; Eph. 4:11 and 1 Pet. 5:2f use the metaphor for church leaders, perhaps reflecting the relative reluctance the use the metaphor for the leaders of Israel in the Hebrew Bible (NIDNTT, 3:565f).

¹⁴⁰ It is unusual for it to be said in Acts that the Spirit appointed leaders: the only possible parallels are 6:3, 5; 13:2, and these are hardly the appointment of local church elders, as here. Indeed, Luke can state that elders were appointed without even mentioning the Spirit – e.g. it is Barnabas and Saul who do the appointing (14:23).

¹⁴¹ See Appendix 1 on the text and translation of v 28b.

¹⁴² See further § 3.5.4.

from within the church (v 30).¹⁴³ Indeed, the speech states that false teachers will come from amongst the very elders to whom Paul speaks (v 30).¹⁴⁴ These false teachers are imaged as 'grievous wolves', a particularly appropriate metaphor in the light of the 'flock' image for the church (v 28, cf. Luke 10:3).¹⁴⁵

This explicit warning against false teaching from within the church is unique in Acts¹⁴⁶ and is followed rapidly by Paul's repeated charge to the elders to be alert (v 31) in the light of the dangers ahead.¹⁴⁷ This is underlined by another reference to Paul's example (v 31) of persistence and sincerity in teaching the church at Ephesus, again noting that he missed no opportunity and used the time fully (cf. vv 20, 27).¹⁴⁸

3.4.5. vv 32-35: Conclusion

Again the shift of focus is marked by καὶ νῦν (v 32), and the farewell becomes quite explicit: Paul commits the elders to God and the word of his grace, which will empower them for their ministry as it has empowered him for his.

τῷ λόγῳ τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ (v 32) echoes τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς χάριτος τοῦ θεοῦ (v 24), and it seems likely that Luke intends his readers to notice the echo, particularly as the first readers of Acts would have read the book aloud. The phrase ὁ λόγος τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ has been used by Luke already (Acts 14:3, cf. Luke 4:22) and, although it sounds Pauline (since both λόγος and χάρις are favourite Pauline words¹⁴⁹), the phrase itself is only found in Luke's writings. As with ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ (v 28), 'it

¹⁴³ Haenchen 1971, 593; Marshall 1980, 334.

¹⁴⁴ Stier 1869, 330.

¹⁴⁵ For discussion of this metaphor, see Lampe 1973, esp. 256. Luke 10:3 is discussed in § 4.5.3.

¹⁴⁶ Hanson 1967, 205. Klein 1961, 180f suggests that Luke implies by this that the original epoch of peace in the church ended with Paul's death.

¹⁴⁷ Thus, although the vocabulary is different (προσέχετε, v 28; γρηγορεῖτε v 31), there is a 'chiastic' feel to this section, beginning and ending with an imperatival call to action. cf. Johnson 1992a, 364; Dupont 1962, 135: 'L'appel qui commence le v. 28, «Soyez attentifs», sera repris et précisé au v. 31: «Soyez vigilants».'

¹⁴⁸ Dupont 1962, 227f points to the motif of the appeal to the memory of the hearers in vv 18, 31, 34, 35 – the last appeals to their memory of a word of Jesus rather than the example of Paul.

¹⁴⁹ e.g. λόγος (in the sense of the message of the gospel) 1 Cor. 1:18; 14:36; 15:2; 2 Cor. 2:17; 5:19; Gal. 6:6; 1 Thess. 1:8; 2:13 (twice); χάρις Rom. 3:24; 4:16; 5:2, 15, 20f; 6:14; 2 Cor. 4:15; 6:1; 8:9; Gal. 1:6, 15; 2:21. cf. Aejmelaeus 1987, 156: 'it [sc. ο λόγος τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ] sounds very Pauline'; 157: 'one may see a conscious Pauline colouring in the deliberate use of this word [sc. λόγος] here' (both my translation).

would seem that Luke uses *Pauline* language but not *Paul's* language',¹⁵⁰ that is, Luke is using Pauline ideas and themes, rather than precise formulae (although we clearly cannot be certain that Paul never used such a phrase).

The final note of the speech is the elders' conduct over financial affairs (vv 33-35). Paul is again held up as an example to follow (vv 33f): he is an example to the extent that he even provided for his companions.¹⁵¹ There is an interesting word-play between *χρείαις* at the beginning of the *ὅτι* clause in v 34 and *χεῖρες* at the end of that clause – both in emphatic positions. Some suggest that the latter phrase would have been accompanied by an appropriate gesture,¹⁵² which would be natural – as Luke's Paul shows elsewhere (Acts 13:16; 21:40; 26:1). Moreover, Paul in Acts works with his hands (Acts 18:3) when necessary.¹⁵³

Therefore the elders are called to copy Paul, using the rare verb *ὑποδείκνυμι* (v 35).¹⁵⁴ The other use of this verb in Acts (9:16) shows 'the Lord' speaking to Ananias about Saul as one to whom the Lord will 'example'¹⁵⁵ how much he must suffer. If Luke has this other use in mind in using the verb here, it suggests that Luke sees Paul as following the path of suffering exemplified by Jesus.

The verb *ἀντιλαμβάνομαι* is similarly rare,¹⁵⁶ having the sense 'help', 'come to the aid of'.¹⁵⁷ Bruce suggests that the 'weak' to be helped are

150 Gempf 1988, 300 (italics his).

151 This point reflects a similar concern in Samuel's farewell, 1 Sam. 12:3 (Bruce 1988, 395; Conzelmann 1987, 176; Neil 1973, 215; Kurz 1990, 48f; Trites 1977, 72).

152 Bruce 1990, 436; Williams 1957, 235.

153 Johnson 1992a, 365; Dupont 1962, 299f. The fact that he stops working in this way when Silas arrives (18:5) may be due to Silas bringing a gift from Philippi, for which Philippians is possibly the 'thank you letter' (2 Cor. 11:9; Phil. 4:15). – but in any case this is not an explanation available within the horizon of Luke-Acts, and within that 'world' the reader has no insight into why Paul stops working when Silas and Timothy arrive; cf. the discussion of Kaye 1979, which deals with the Acts data. For discussion of the historical questions, see Bruce 1990, 374f, 392; Foakes Jackson & Lake 1920-33, IV:224; Lake 1914, 73-75; Wainwright 1980 (the latter arguing that Silas had been to Galatia bearing Galatians).

154 Found five times in Luke-Acts (Luke 3:7; 6:47; 12:5; Acts 9:16; 20:35) and only once otherwise in the NT (Matt. 3:7, which is parallel to Luke 3:7). Goulder 1989, 809 regards *ὑποδεικνύειν-ὑμῖν* as a Lukanism.

155 Johnson 1992a, 365 suggests 'drawing a pattern' (and hence 'providing an example') as the sense of the verb.

156 Found three times in the NT (Luke 1:54; Acts 20:35; 1 Tim. 6:2).

157 BAGD, 74.

'those who were sick and unable to earn their own living',¹⁵⁸ and this is the use of οἱ ἄσθενούντες in all other uses in Luke-Acts (Luke 4:40; 9:2¹⁵⁹; Acts 9:37; 19:12).¹⁶⁰

The elders' should be self-supporting so that they too can care for others. Luke's Paul caps this by quoting an otherwise unknown saying of Jesus to drive home the last point. The saying is introduced by the emphatic personal pronoun αὐτός, drawing attention to the one who speaks: the picture of Paul with which the speech leaves its readers is one who wants the words of his Master to be remembered.

3.5. Themes

The speech flows from past to present to future, with regular references to Paul's example throughout. Four themes are specially worthy of note and will be developed below in comparing the Miletus speech with other material in Luke-Acts and 1 Thessalonians. These are: the faithful fulfilment of leadership responsibility, suffering, attitudes to wealth and work, and the death of Jesus.

3.5.1. Faithful fulfilment of leadership responsibility

The theme of the faithful fulfilment of leadership responsibility runs through the whole speech, for Paul is both setting out his track record and using that track record as the basis for urging the elders to fulfil their ministry.

Paul has carried out his task fully: this can be seen particularly from the numerous uses of πᾶς in the passage (vv 18, 19, 25, 26, 27, 32, 35, 36, 37).¹⁶¹ The presence of πᾶς underscores Paul's faithfulness in fulfilling the task he has undertaken: he has been consistent the whole time (v 18); his work has been thoroughly humble (v 19); he has proclaimed the whole purpose of God (v 27) – to Jew and Gentile alike (v 21);¹⁶² his message

¹⁵⁸ Bruce 1990, 436. Marshall 1980, 336 notes the parallel with 1 Thess. 5:14, and asserts that the 'weak' in Acts 20:35 are the physically needy. Rackham 1904, 396 n 3 draws the same parallel, and offers a range of options for the meaning of 'the weak', including the weak in body, mind or spirit. See discussion of 1 Thess. 5:14, § 5.3.3.

¹⁵⁹ In a passage where NA²⁷ and UBS⁴ place the words τοὺς ἄσθενεῖς in square brackets, indicating the editors' doubts about its presence in the original. For discussion, see Metzger 1975, 146f.

¹⁶⁰ Johnson 1992a, 365.

¹⁶¹ Rackham 1904, 390.

¹⁶² Tannehill 1990, 257 sees the two themes of the full message and the full range of humanity being included in the church as parallel.

produces an inheritance amongst all the sanctified (v 32); therefore he is innocent of the blood of them all (v 26); and in everything he has given an example to follow (v 35). Moreover, a result of his words that they *all* will never see him again (v 25) is that he kneels with them all to pray (v 36) and they all weep (v 37).

Thus the elders themselves are to be alert παντὶ τῷ ποιμνίῳ (v 28), using the same theme word, πᾶς, to make the point. Their ministry is to be as unstinting and as complete as Paul's.

The fulfilment of Paul's responsibilities can also be seen through seven of the negatives in the passage (vv 20, 24, 27 [two], 29, 31, 33). In three cases Paul is denying that he has omitted anything that he should have covered in his teaching (vv 20, 27 [two negatives in the Greek reinforce each other here], 31). Paul also asserts that his life is not reckoned as valuable to him compared to future obedience to God's will (v 24).¹⁶³ Paul's warning about the wolves who will not spare the flock (v 29) implies that, by contrast, he has spared the flock from the pain and punishment which the wolves will bring.¹⁶⁴ Paul also emphasises that he has not coveted ἀργυρίου ἢ χρυσίου ἢ ἱματισμοῦ οὐδενός (v 33), again using a negative statement to make a positive point, which is then applied to the elders (v 35).

The elders are told to imitate Paul several times in the speech, both explicitly and implicitly, by statements about their responsibilities which parallel statements about Paul's ministry. They are to keep alert, remembering how Paul kept alert night and day for three years (v 31). They are to keep watch over themselves (v 28) as Paul kept watch over himself (vv 18b-19). They are to keep watch over the flock (v 28) as Paul kept watch over them (vv 20f, 26f). God's word of grace is available to equip them (v 32) as it equipped Paul (v 24). And Paul draws the speech to a close with an explicit reference to his example 'in all this' (v 35) – an example which he derives from the Lord Jesus.

¹⁶³ Pfitzner 1967, 183 n 2 notes the athletic metaphor used here in δρόμος, which is found only elsewhere in the NT at Acts 13:25; Phil. 2:16f; 2 Tim. 4:6f; so also Aejmelaeus 1987, 120.

¹⁶⁴ φείδομαι is used only here in Luke-Acts and it is only found elsewhere in the NT at Rom. 8:32; 11:21; 1 Cor. 7:28; 2 Cor. 1:23; 12:6; 13:2; 2 Pet. 2:4, 5. The uses in 2 Cor. 1:23; 13:2 are particularly close in sense to the idea found here. Johnson 1992a, 363 proposes 'have compassion' on the basis of such use in the LXX. He cites Ps. 18:13 (*sic*: presumably v 14 [= Hebrew 19:14]); 71:13; Joel 2:17.

Throughout the elders are being schooled in Pauline ministry as Luke conceives it, and thus being prepared for the exercise of their ministry after Paul loses his ability to travel freely and perhaps his life itself.¹⁶⁵ They are being urged to fulfil their leadership responsibility faithfully, just as Paul has done his.

The leaders of the Ephesian church are designated in three ways in this passage: πρεσβύτεροι (v 17), ἐπισκόποι (v 28) and (by implication) ποιμένες (vv 28f, cf. Eph. 4:11). As is widely recognised,¹⁶⁶ Luke equates the first two terms.

πρεσβύτεροι has already been employed by Luke for church leaders: mainly for those in Jerusalem.¹⁶⁷ However, Campbell proposes that πρεσβύτερος should not be seen as the title of an office in the NT, since it did not denote an office in the Jewish and Graeco-Roman worlds at the time, but rather was an 'imprecise title of honour for whatever leaders there may be'.¹⁶⁸ He further argues that ἐπίσκοπος should be seen as the title given to leaders of house churches, originally in Jerusalem, who could also (by reason of their seniority) be collectively described as οἱ πρεσβύτεροι.¹⁶⁹ Similarly in the description of 'the apostles and the elders' in Acts 15:22ff he suggests that καί should be seen as epexegetic, with the result that 'the elders' designates 'the whole Jerusalem leadership...both the apostles and every person of importance in the church'.¹⁷⁰ We can thus see the use of οἱ πρεσβύτεροι in 20:17 in this light, i.e. that these ἐπισκόποι (v 28) of the Ephesian house churches are collectively the senior leadership of the church in Ephesus, and so given the honorific designation οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τῆς ἐκκλησίας.¹⁷¹ Thus the description of the one group using these two terms may reflect a situation which did not obtain in Luke's day, and Luke did not read the church leadership titles of his own day back into apostolic times.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁵ See discussion in § 3.4.3 of whether Luke implies that Paul is dead at the time of writing Acts.

¹⁶⁶ e.g. Conzelmann 1987, 173; Haenchen 1971, 592f; Bruce 1990, 433; Foakes Jackson & Lake 1920-33, IV:259; Marshall 1980, 333f; Johnson 1992a, 362; Michel 1973, 91f.

¹⁶⁷ Acts 11:30; 15:2, 4, 6, 22f; 16:4; 21:18. In each case the definite article is present, perhaps implying that these elders are *the* elders of the whole church.

¹⁶⁸ Campbell 1994, esp. chs 2-3; the quotation is from 161.

¹⁶⁹ Campbell 1994, 151-159.

¹⁷⁰ Campbell 1993, esp. 526-528; the quotation is from 526.

¹⁷¹ Campbell 1994, 172.

¹⁷² Campbell 1994, 173f

3.5.2. Suffering

Suffering recurs as a theme in the speech, particularly in the first half, both echoing material earlier in Acts and preparing for development of this theme later in Acts.

Luke presents Paul as referring back to his own past suffering (v 19b) at the hands of the Jews,¹⁷³ a suffering that is almost inevitable for this one who faithfully proclaims the Christian gospel. Sanders claims that in Paul's speeches in Acts it is consistently 'the Jews' who oppose the Pauline mission (e.g. 13:46; 18:6; 28:28): 'The witness of the speeches in Acts is, therefore, that the Jews generally are irredeemably resistant to God's will and his offer of salvation.'¹⁷⁴ Sanders also points to elements in the narrative of Acts which show 'the Jews' opposing Paul (e.g. 26:2, 21).¹⁷⁵ Recently in Acts, we have read of Jewish opposition in Macedonia (20:3, using ἐπιβουλή,¹⁷⁶ as in 9:24; 20:19;¹⁷⁷ 23:30). However, the material is more mixed in its description of Jewish matters than Sanders allows, including a positive evaluation of Paul's Jewish heritage and statements of Paul's continuing Jewishness (e.g. 21:40-22:2; 22:3; 23:1, 6; 26:4-7; 28:19) alongside statements of the Jews' opposition to Paul and his gospel (e.g. 22:5; 25:24; 26:2, 21; 28:19).¹⁷⁸ Further, persecution and opposition can come from non-Jewish sources, not least in Ephesus (19:23-27¹⁷⁹). Nevertheless, in the Miletus speech it is certainly past Jewish opposition to Paul which is intended, of which Acts gives ample examples.¹⁸⁰ Luke has prepared carefully for this reference.

Suffering awaits Paul in the future too (v 23). The perfect participle δεδεμένος (v 22) suggests an event antecedent to the main verb

¹⁷³ cf. the inclusion of εἰς πάντα πειρασμόν ('in every trial') in some Western manuscripts of 15:26 (Rackham 1904, 389 n 9). Metzger 1975, 437 notes that 'the gloss may be reminiscent of 20.19'.

¹⁷⁴ Sanders 1987, 54.

¹⁷⁵ Sanders 1987, 79, 366 n 241.

¹⁷⁶ Dupont 1962, 36 notes that all four uses of ἐπιβουλή in Acts are for Jewish plots against Saul/Paul.

¹⁷⁷ Johnson 1992a, 360.

¹⁷⁸ Weatherly 1989, 111; Tyson 1992, 187-189; Brawley 1987, 79-83, 157. For a fuller evaluation and critique of Sanders' views, see Weatherly 1989.

¹⁷⁹ Note also the response to Alexander when the crowd recognised him to be a Jew (19:33f), which implies that Paul's very Jewishness was a cause of opposition in Ephesus, as earlier in Philippi (16:20f) (in agreement with Brawley 1987, 80).

¹⁸⁰ e.g. Pisidian Antioch (13:45, but note 13:43), Iconium (14:2, but note 14:1), Lystra (14:19), Thessalonica (17:5, but note 17:4), Beroea (17:13, but note 17:11f) and Corinth (18:6, 12f, but note 18:8).

(πορεύομαι), a prior compelling towards suffering, which has continuing consequences in Paul's present sense of divine constraint.¹⁸¹ A possible occasion is 19:21, the sense of which turns on the meaning of ἐν τῷ πνεύματι, which could be a reference to Paul's own resolve¹⁸² or to the divine Spirit.¹⁸³ The latter seems more likely, not least because it is probable that the reference to the Holy Spirit's testimony through the urban churches in v 23 explains in what sense Paul is 'bound'.¹⁸⁴

Paul's witness, which is a suffering witness (θλίψεις, v 23; cf. 9:15f),¹⁸⁵ will be 'a prisoner witness'¹⁸⁶ (δεσμά, v 23; cf. 21:11, 13, 33; 22:29; 24:27). Indeed, the use of ὡς (v 24, if this is the correct reading¹⁸⁷) in the unusual (in the NT) sense of purpose¹⁸⁸ implies that Paul's purpose in not considering his life precious – in going to prison – is to complete the work God has given him to do.¹⁸⁹

181 Rapske 1994a, 404; Williams 1990, 353. Barrett 1977, 112 considers that the 'binding' is explained in 20:23, in the mention of the Spirit's testimony that Paul will be bound. cf. 21:11, which uses the verb δέω twice, for both literal and metaphorical binding.

182 Cosgrove 1984, 178, claiming the support of Foakes Jackson & Lake 1920-33, IV:244, where, however, Lake and Cadbury see this view as an 'alternative rendering' and prefer 'was inspired to purpose', although tentatively. Cosgrove 1984, 178 argues that the referent of πνεῦμα (Acts 20:22) is to be distinguished from the full reference τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον (Acts 20:23). He claims that nowhere else in Acts is a first use of the simple πνεῦμα followed by the full τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. (See the following note for response.)

183 Rapske 1994a, 404, noticing the use of δεῖ as implying divine involvement. Cosgrove 1984, 178 renders the last phrase of the verse, 'I must see Rome', but some reference to God's action seems more likely; Conzelmann 1987, 164 points to the similar use of δεῖ in 23:11; 27:24. *Contra* Cosgrove (see the preceding note), Haenchen 1971, 591 n 6 observes, 'We cannot require the author to use the full formula "the Holy Spirit" twice in immediate succession.' Likewise Prast 1979, 86f argues that Luke generally uses τὸ πνεῦμα in the same sense as other nearby uses, irrespective of whether that form precedes or follows the fuller and more specific use.

184 Barrett 1977, 112; Shepherd 1994, 233 n 249; 231 n 244

185 Rapske 1994a, 398-403.

186 Rapske 1994a, 404.

187 Haenchen 1971, 592; Bruce 1990, 432 agree with the editors of UBS⁴ and NA²⁷ in adopting this reading. The manuscript support is ancient and strong (p⁴¹, 74^{vid} N* A B* C Ψ).

188 Moule 1959, 138 n 1; Porter 1994a, 199, 232. Bruce 1990, 432 observes, 'Consecutive ὡς with infin. is frequent in Josephus', without giving examples.

189 Rapske 1994a, 406f argues that the references in 21:4, 10-14 do not contradict this divine compulsion. He proposes that 21:4 should be read as a condensed version of an incident similar to that found in 21:10-14, in which the expression 'through the Spirit' refers, like 20:22-24, to a 'motivationally neutral' prophecy given by God to what awaits Paul in Jerusalem and Rome; the prophecy was then mistakenly interpreted by the believers in Tyre as meaning that Paul should not go to Jerusalem.

Paul's attitude to suffering is twofold: there is an implied patience and fortitude in his description in v 19;¹⁹⁰ and he is utterly committed to seeing through the path of witness-through-imprisonment which awaits him as the Lord's purpose (v 24). By implication the elders are to regard suffering similarly when they meet it, as Paul hints that they will (vv 29f). That is why they need to keep watch and stay alert (vv 28, 31).

3.5.3. The attitude to wealth and work

This third theme is developed both in terms of Paul's own conduct and his expectations of the elders.

Paul's attitude is held up as exemplary (v 35).¹⁹¹ He covets nothing of anyone else's (ἐπιθυμέω¹⁹², v 33). This denial parallels Samuel's farewell (1 Sam. 12:3-5),¹⁹³ where he asks the congregation of Israel whether he has taken others' possessions and receives a denial in response – characteristically for an agriculturally-based society, ox and ass are specified. Luke's Paul specifies other forms of wealth, more appropriate to the Graeco-Roman world: gold, silver and clothing. There are also possible parallels in the ideal portrait of a philosopher or orator.¹⁹⁴

It is not often noticed¹⁹⁵ that there is an ironic contrast with the story of Paul's ministry in Ephesus here, for the issue that led to the riot was Paul taking away others' wealth through the preaching of the gospel (19:24-27a). Moreover, in Ephesus those who gave up magic practices burned books worth a considerable sum (19:19).

Paul is also exemplary in his financial independence from those to whom he ministers, to the extent that he provides for his companions' needs (v 34). This results from Paul's manual work, which is only mentioned elsewhere in Acts at Corinth (18:3).¹⁹⁶ The use of κοπίαω

190 Marshall 1980, 330.

191 § 3.4.5.

192 The only use of the verb in Acts, and reminiscent of Exod. 20:17 LXX (Johnson 1992a, 364; Agrell 1976, 219 n 56). ἐπιθυμέω can have a positive connotation (e.g. Luke 17:22; 22:15) as well as the negative sense it carries here (BAGD, 293).

193 e.g. Dupont 1962, 286f; Barrett 1977, 116; Aejmelaeus 1987, 166; Johnson 1992a, 365.

194 Dio Chrysostom, *Orations*, 32.9, 11 (who, while recognising that some Cynics bring philosophers into disrepute by 'hanging around on street-corners', nevertheless portrays good philosophers as not seeking wealth; see Johnson 1992a, 365); Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, 1.9.6, 10f.

195 Gooding 1990, 341 hints at this idea.

196 Dupont 1962, 299f.

(v 35¹⁹⁷) also hints at the physical tiredness which is involved in manual labour.

Alexander suggests that Greek culture generally despised manual work,¹⁹⁸ but asserts that the scientific writers (amongst whom she places Luke) 'speak of the *technitai* with deep respect'.¹⁹⁹ Accordingly, it is interesting, she observes, that Luke simply mentions Paul's manual work without further comment in 18:1-3.

Paul's financial independence means that he is also able to give financial help to those he serves (v 35), particularly 'the weak'.²⁰⁰ The reader of the remainder of Acts might think of 21:23f, 26, where Paul pays the hairdressing expenses of Jewish Christians who have taken a vow.

The example of Paul is then hammered home by reference to an otherwise unknown saying of Jesus (v 35), reinforcing the point that care for the poor and needy is an important function of the elders in the Ephesian church.

It is interesting that the attitude to wealth and work is picked out from the many things that could have been said about the role of the elders in this speech and is given a significant amount of coverage.²⁰¹ Part of the elders' 'feeding' task (v 28) is to be literal feeding, on the basis of vv 33-35. This is particularly striking in the light of the spread of material on wealth, work and possessions in Acts, showing a marked concentration in chapters 1-8.²⁰² This material both builds on what has gone before in

197 The only use of the word in Acts; it is found twice in Luke (5:5; 12:27), both times connoting physical effort. The verb occurs 23 times in the NT and the cognate noun κόπος 18 times, both predominantly in Paul.

198 In agreement with Hock 1980, 34f, who suggests there were three *stigmata* attached to 'the trades': they were considered the work of slaves; they left no time to help the city or friends, or for personal development (which meant that artisans were seen as uneducated); they were only useful in providing goods and services for the wealthy.

199 Alexander 1986, 70. She cites Plutarch, *Parallel Lives: Pericles 2; Marcellus 14f* as examples of the former point, and Galen, *De Comp. Med. Sec. Loc. VI 1*; Philo, *Belopoeica*, Th. 51.9ff as examples of the latter. cf. Hock 1980 38-41, who points to various examples of philosophers being found in workshops, especially Simon the shoemaker/philosopher, who is presented as teaching while plying his trade (e.g. Pseudo-Socrates, *Epistles* 9.4; 11; 13.1 [text and translation in Malherbe 1977, 246f, 248f, 250f]).

200 Agrell 1976, 137 sees this group as the 'economically weak'.

201 cf. Wilson 1979, 57.

202 Johnson 1977, 29-32 identifies seven passages in chs 1-8 (1:15-26; 2:41-47; 3:1-10; 4:32-37; 5:1-11; 6:1-7; 8:18-24), but only 9:36; 10:2, 4, 31; 16:18f; 18:3; 19:24-27; 20:33-35; 21:24; 24:26; 28:30 in chs 9-28.

Paul's ministry (18:3), and anticipates what is to come, for he will pay the expenses of Jewish Christians taking a vow (21:24, 26), decline to offer a bribe (24:26), and live at his own expenses in Rome (28:30), thus virtually point by point fulfilling the requirements he sets out here for the elders to emulate.

3.5.4. The death of Jesus

Although *the death of Jesus* is mentioned only once in the speech (v 28), it is highly significant, because the topic is otherwise little mentioned explicitly in Acts. We argue below²⁰³ that the likeliest text in v 28 is τοῦ ἰδίου and the likeliest translation 'of his own one'.

Explicit references to the redemptive significance of the death of Jesus in Luke-Acts are rare.²⁰⁴ Indeed, it is sometimes suggested that Luke has no theology of the cross.²⁰⁵ But Luke gives his understanding of the cross more by 'showing' than 'telling', that is, by the way he tells the story of the death of Jesus.²⁰⁶ This makes the presence of such an explicit statement remarkable: particularly so because it comes in a section of the book attributed to Paul.²⁰⁷

203 Appendix 1.

204 As Barrett 1979, esp. 73f, notes. This makes it the more extraordinary that Haenchen 1971, 589-598 does not discuss this aspect of v 28 at all.

205 This claim is often traced to Creed 1942, lxxif: 'Most striking is the entire absence of a Pauline interpretation of the Cross... There is indeed no *theologia crucis* beyond the affirmation that the Christ must suffer, since so the prophetic scriptures had so foretold.' Creed draws attention particularly to the absence of a Lukan parallel to Mark 10:45, and the lack of a parallel to the statement that the cup at the Last Supper is 'the blood of the covenant poured out for many' (accepting the shorter text of Luke 22:19f). The claim is repeated and developed by Conzelmann 1960, 199-202: 'The most important finding in this connection for our purposes is that there is [not]... any soteriological significance drawn from Jesus' suffering or death. There is no suggestion of a connection with the forgiveness of sins.' (201) For response, see Stein 1992, 54f.

206 e.g. The saying to the penitent thief (Luke 23:43 – unique to Luke), and the particular emphasis Luke places on the 'exchange' of Jesus and Barabbas (Luke 23:24f//Mark 15:5//Matt. 27:26). See further Sylva 1990; Fitzmyer 1981, 22f, 219-221; Carroll, Green, *et al.* 1995, 228f. The latter suggests, 'It may be, however, that Jesus' atoning death is an idea of such common currency in the early church that Luke can allude to it glancingly without invoking it overtly' (229). On the distinction between 'showing' and 'telling' as ways authors give their own perspective, see Booth 1961, 3-20.

207 This is even noted by Schmiedel 1899, 48, who holds that the theologies of Acts and epistles were almost totally at variance with each other. He grants that 'Only in Acts 13:38f; 16:31; 20:28, do some really Pauline principles begin to make themselves heard.' Marshall 1970, 173f accepts the judgement that the saying is 'traditional', but later adds, 'we should not underestimate its significance as a

Grasping the meaning of the verse involves more than the textual and translation difficulty over τοῦ ἰδίου. Some discussion of the use of both περιποιέομαι and αἷμα is necessary.

περιποιέομαι occurs in the LXX at 2 Sam. 12:3 (in conjunction with κτάομαι, a near-synonym); Isa. 43:21; Mal. 3:17 (using the noun περιποίησις) – in the latter two cases, significantly, of God's acquisition of Israel as his people. The idea of God obtaining his people by purchase (but using κτάομαι rather than περιποιέομαι) is also found in Ps. 73:2 LXX (Hebrew 74:2).²⁰⁸ The meaning here should be seen as coming out of this world of thought: through the price of the blood of his own one, God has come into possession of the church (cf. 1 Pet. 2:9).²⁰⁹ περιεποιήσατο is thus stronger than RSV's 'obtained', and we should prefer 'bought'.²¹⁰

The mention of 'blood' is particularly significant because Luke does not use the term in his passion narrative. This suggests that in mentioning 'blood' here Luke intends his readers to realise that he is speaking of the death of Jesus as sacrificial.²¹¹ This becomes more probable in the light of Luke 22:19f (assuming the longer text to be original²¹²), for there the allusion to the Passover lamb is explicit. More than that, δίδωμι (Luke 22:19) can be used with sacrificial overtones (e.g. Exod. 30:14 LXX; Lev. 22:14 LXX; Luke 2:24; and, not least, Mark 10:45).

Grayston suggests that the thought here is 'more pastoral than theological',²¹³ in the light of the use of 'blood' in v 26. We may agree that Luke has a pastoral intent in recording the speech – but it is an intent which is carried out through theological means. The last clause of v 28 should not be seen as mere theological window-dressing, but evidence of a wider view of theology, and a theology of the death of Jesus particularly, to which Luke can allude.

statement which represented his [sc. Luke's] own belief as well as Paul's' (Marshall 1980, 334). Bruce 1990, 434 is quite confident that the saying is Pauline.

²⁰⁸ Bruce 1988, 393 n 65; Marshall 1980, 334; Johnson 1992a, 363. See discussion of Ps. 73:2 LXX in Appendix 1.

²⁰⁹ Richard 1990, 148 agrees that Acts 20:28 'shows clearly that Luke is acquainted with the expiatory tradition' [sc. of understanding the death of Jesus].

²¹⁰ Marshall 1980, 334; so also Morris 1965a, 60; Morris 1965b, 140.

²¹¹ Stein 1992, 55.

²¹² For discussion see Appendix 2. Our conclusion agrees with Ellis 1974, 254-256; Metzger 1975, 173-177; Marshall 1980, 36-38; Fitzmyer 1985, 1387f; Nolland 1993b, 1040f (with very full bibliography), particularly because the attestation of the longer text is overwhelmingly stronger.

²¹³ Grayston 1990, 232.

Chapter 4

The Miletus Speech and Luke's Gospel

4.1. Introduction

What is Luke seeking to accomplish by the use of the Miletus speech? A key clue is provided by parallel material in his first volume. Because Acts is to be read as the follow-on to the Gospel,¹ a reading strategy which looks for links commends itself over against a strategy which atomises material and isolates individual speeches or incidents, as classical form and redaction criticism sometimes do.²

4.1.1. The context in Acts

We have noted that there are significant individual verbal links with Paul's Ephesian ministry (Acts 19),³ but otherwise our speech seems to form something of an island in the sea of Acts. There appear to be no clusters of parallels with 20:17-38 elsewhere in Acts, which is not greatly surprising, for this is the only recorded address given by Paul to Christians in the book.⁴ Conceptual parallels come only as the action develops in the remainder of the journey to Jerusalem in Acts, and these are still sketchy.⁵

4.1.2. Parallels in Luke's Gospel

Since the potentially significant parallels to the Miletus speech in Luke-Acts come in the Gospel, ^{we} shall focus there, considering verbal, conceptual

1 See § 2.3.

2 See § 2.4 for the approach here taken.

3 § 3.2.2.

4 There are, of course, mentions of Paul speaking with Christians, sometimes at length (Acts 20:7-11!), but there are no actual *speeches* recorded apart from this occasion. The other addresses to Christians are on rather different occasions (Acts 1:16-22; 15:7-11, 13-21).

5 e.g. the idea of suffering to come predicted by the Spirit (20:22f; cf. 21:4, 10-14; 22:5, 29; 24:24; Johnson 1992a, 361; Squires 1993, 151f), determination to do God's will (20:27 has τὴν βουλήν τοῦ θεοῦ, cf. 21:14), and the sense of divine necessity (20:22; cf. 21:11, 13). The speeches in chs 22, 24 and 26 could also be seen as embodying the principle of 20:24.

and generic links. Three longer passages in the Gospel invite consideration: 22:14-38; 12:1-53; 21:5-31. In particular, 22:14-38 and 21:5-31 represent possible candidates for an *Abschiedsrede* in Luke. In addition there are four brief passages (7:38, 44; 9:2; 10:3; 13:32f) where interesting verbal parallels occur, often using words found in Luke-Acts only in the relevant passage in Luke and the Miletus speech.

4.2. Luke 22:14-38

This is the clearest candidate for a 'farewell discourse' in Luke's Gospel, and the parallels with the Miletus speech are rich and suggestive. In this case not only are the four themes we identified in the Miletus address present, but the sequence of the themes in the speeches is also similar, as the table below illustrates:

	<i>Luke 22</i>	<i>Acts 20</i>
Suffering to come	vv 15 (28, 31f, 37)	vv 22-24
Efficacy of the death of Jesus	vv 19f	v 28
Leadership	vv 24-30	v 28
Money	vv 35f	vv 33-35

4.2.1. The Last Supper discourse as a farewell speech

As with our discussion of the Miletus speech, we shall examine the occasion and contents of the Lukan Last Supper discourse for signs that it might fit a 'farewell' genre. Of necessity our discussion will be brief, but we shall present sufficient evidence to evaluate the case for reading the discourse as a farewell.⁶

Occasion

It is noteworthy that it is Jesus who creates this situation by sending Peter and John to prepare the Passover in the upstairs room (Luke 22:7-13). Not only that, but the question of v 11 implies preparation on the part of Jesus by prior arrangement with the owner of the house – Luke's Jesus is the summoner of the hearers for the discourse. Farewell speeches commonly have the departing one calling the hearers together, and this feature of the scene in Luke 22 fits the genre.

A second prominent feature is the nearness of the death of the speaker, and in Luke 22 the death of Jesus is clearly on the horizon.⁷ This is a

⁶ For the features of a farewell speech discussed below, see § 3.2.1; in relation to this discourse, see Kurz 1985; Nelson 1991, 117-126; Neyrey 1985, 5-48.

⁷ Nelson 1991, 117; Tannehill 1986, 263; Neyrey 1985, 5-48, esp. 7, 48.

feature of the speech itself, rather than the framework, but its prominence is evident, being mentioned six times: v 15b explicitly refers to Jesus' forthcoming suffering (without parallel in Mark/Matthew); v 16 reinforces the prediction of Jesus' death by indicating that he will not take food again until the kingdom's arrival (without parallel in Mark/Matthew); v 18a repeats the same point in relation to the cup (cf. Mark 14:25; Matt. 26:29); vv 19f picture the death of Jesus in the bread broken and the wine poured out (cf. Mark 14:22-24; Matt. 26:26-28 – although the command to repeat [v 19], which implies Jesus' future absence, is peculiar to Luke); vv 21f warns of Jesus' betrayal to die (Luke alone using πορεύεται, 'go', which connotes death, 22:33⁸); and v 27c hints that Jesus' service will include his death (without exact parallel in Mark/Matthew).⁹

Contents

In common with farewell speeches, Luke's Last Supper discourse contains extensive recollections of the past, all without parallel in Mark/Matthew.¹⁰ Jesus recalls his service to the disciples, for v 27c has a *double entendre*, pointing both to his forthcoming death and to his past service to the disciples during his life.¹¹ v 28 then speaks of the past trials (the substantival participle διαμεμνηκότες is perfect) which he and his disciples have experienced, and v 35 recalls the disciples' experience of the mission of the seventy(-two) (Luke 10:4, and possibly the mission of the twelve, Luke 9:3¹²). These past events provide a key context for Jesus' words about forthcoming suffering (e.g. vv 15, 19f, 21f).

Another mark of farewell addresses is their hortatory nature: the departing one calls the hearers to a particular future lifestyle and conduct. Luke's discourse offers at least four examples of this.¹³ First, the command to repeat the action with the bread (v 19b, unique to Luke) implies that Jesus bequeaths the eucharist to his disciples as a parting gift¹⁴ – a gift seen later in Acts (2:42, in a programmatic passage; 20:11, just before the Miletus scene). Second, the exhortation of vv 25-27 (probably Lukan rather

8 Nelson 1991, 117.

9 Nelson 1991, 180-183.

10 Nelson 1991, 118.

11 Nelson 1991, 183 points to the context of the following clause (v 28) which looks to Jesus' past.

12 See § 4.2.5.

13 Neyrey 1985, 22f; Nelson 1991, 118; Senior 1989, 55.

14 Neyrey 1985, 15f.

than based on Mark/Matthew¹⁵) calls the disciples to give up worldly ideas of greatness and follow Jesus on the path of humble servanthood. Third, v 32 (unique to Luke) sees Jesus instructing Peter on his conduct after he has 'turned again'. And fourth, v 36 (found in Luke alone) instructs the disciples for the forthcoming time of pressure.

Farewell addresses generally include predictions about the future, and here Luke presents predictions of:¹⁶ the coming of the kingly rule of God (twice, linked to Jesus' death, vv 16, 18); Jesus' forthcoming betrayal by one of the apostolic band (κατὰ τὸ ὠρισμένον,¹⁷ vv 21f, different from Matthew and Mark's καθὼς γέγραπται); the disciples' reception of kingly rule, including sitting on seats at Jesus' banquet and on thrones judging Israel (vv 29f, no parallel in Mark; partial parallel in Matt. 19:28), which itself implies a future renewal of Israel; Peter's denial of Jesus (v 34, paralleled in a different context, on Olivet, Mark 14:30; Matt. 26:34); and future adversity and conflict (v 36, no parallels).¹⁸

A further mark of farewell speeches is that the departing person makes provision for life after his demise.¹⁹ We have already noted several elements of this discourse which fit such a need (e.g. provision for the meal of remembrance, exhortations and predictions), but we may add the leadership commission of the disciples in general (vv 28-30, in the

15 See § 4.2.4.

16 Nelson 1991, 119; Neyrey 1985, 17-19.

17 Of only 8 NT uses of ὀρίζω (whose perfect passive participle is used here), 6 are Lukan (Luke 22:22; Acts 2:23; 10:42; 11:29; 17:26, 31); the passive suggests that God has determined the way things will happen (EDNT, 2:532; BAGD, 581; TDNT, V:452f; Squires 1993, 171).

18 We may note that Luke offers his readers an immediate ground for confidence in Jesus' predictive powers in 22:7-13, where Jesus' prediction of meeting the man with the water pot is fulfilled (Talbert 1984b, 207f; Nelson 1991, 121), cf. also the fetching of the colt (19:29-34).

19 Some phrase this aspect of the Last Supper discourse as 'provision for succession', in line with farewell speeches in general, but in Luke's view Jesus does not become a dead (and therefore absent) leader, but is living and active by the Spirit in the church (note ἤρξατο in Acts 1:1 in conjunction with 1:4-6, 8, Bruce 1990, 98; *contra* Haenchen 1971, 137 n 4, who regards ἤρξατο as merely stylistic). Hence Denney's famous maxim, 'no apostle, no New Testament writer ever *remembered* Christ...they never thought of Him as belonging to the past' (Denney 1895, 154). So Jesus does not have a single successor, as a king might have, and the leadership of the Christian community does not focus on one person alone. There is a 'succession', centred on a *group* of leaders, seen, e.g., in the process of decision-making in Acts 15:6ff.

immediate context of Jesus' model of leadership in vv 24-27) and Peter in particular (vv 31f) – commissions which they will exercise in Acts.²⁰

Some object that Luke's Last Supper discourse is a dialogue, not a monologue, and that this disqualifies it from being seen as a farewell speech.²¹ However, dialogical examples exist,²² and this feature alone cannot rule the speech out.

Jesus does not, of course, die at the end of the speech – in fact his death does not take place until 23:46 – whereas the death of the speaker is often the conclusion of an *Abschiedsszene*. But there are sufficient pointers that this discourse fits the major themes of a farewell address, along with the flexibility which is a characteristic of the genre,²³ to conclude that the Lukan Last Supper discourse should be regarded as a member of the 'farewell discourse' family.²⁴

Turning to consider the major themes, this scene falls into five or six panels:²⁵ the Passover enacted and reinterpreted (vv 14-20); prediction of betrayal (vv 21-23); Jesus' example and statement of true leadership (vv 24-27); the promise of kingly rule (vv 28-30); the testing of the disciples and Simon's commission (vv 31-34); and the warning of the coming crisis (vv 35-38). While past scholarship has focused on the diverse materials brought together by Luke,²⁶ we shall seek a more holistic, final-form reading of the text,²⁷ informed by what knowledge of sources is available. This will allow us both to discern Luke's purpose and to evaluate the possible parallels with the Miletus speech.

4.2.2. Suffering to come

The theme of Paul's foreboding of suffering to come (Acts 20:22-24) is extensively paralleled in the Lukan Last Supper discourse. In both cases it

²⁰ e.g. 1:15-22; 2:14, 37, 42, 43; 3:1-7, 12; 4:8-12, 13, 19f, 33, 35, 37; 5:1-11, 15, 29-32; 6:2-4, 6 (Johnson 1992b, 349; Tannehill 1986, 263).

²¹ Kurz 1985, 252; Nelson 1991, 122.

²² See § 3.2.1.

²³ § 3.2.1.

²⁴ In agreement with Kurz 1985; Green 1988, 52; Nolland 1993b, 1049; Karris 1985, 65f; Senior 1989, 55; Neyrey 1985, 7, 48; Johnson 1992b, 348; Talbert 1984b, 207f; Ernst 1977, 589; Schürmann 1970, 148.

²⁵ Depending on whether vv 24-30 are seen as a unity or not. For the case that Luke conceived vv 24-30 as a unity, see Nelson 1991, 5-7, 254-257.

²⁶ Notably Schürmann 1953; Schürmann 1955; Schürmann 1957.

²⁷ Comparable with the approaches of Johnson 1992b; Tannehill 1986; Neyrey 1985; Nelson 1991.

comes in a context of meeting with those to whom the torch is being passed before the suffering occurs: for Jesus at the Last Supper with his disciples, and for Paul at Miletus with the elders of a key church which he has founded.

The (re-)reader of Luke-Acts knows that both are to suffer in Jerusalem:²⁸ in Paul's case this is explicit (Acts 9:16, using the same verb as Luke 22:15, πάσχω;²⁹ Acts 20:22), and in the case of Jesus it has already been stated explicitly (Luke 9:22; 17:25 [again using πάσχω in both cases³⁰]; 9:31; 18:31) and hinted at (Luke 13:33f). In Luke-Acts the suffering of Jesus is seen as necessary³¹ – indeed, it fulfils Scripture (Luke 24:46), which implies that the necessity is divine.³²

There is some debate whether Luke 22:15 should be seen as peculiar to Luke, or whether vv 15f are 'spun...out of Mark 14:25'.³³ In favour of the latter view (or the view that vv 15-18 are a Lukan re-write of Mark 14:25) it is argued that Luke wishes to stress the paschal nature of the Last Supper, and that he wishes to follow the meal with discussion of the death of Jesus, his betrayal and the disciples' denial of him (Luke 22:21-38). Thus he re-orders Mark's narrative to bring out these emphases.³⁴ However, it is 22:18 which parallels Mark 14:25, if any verse in Luke does, and it is hard to see why Luke would provide two parallels to the one Markan verse in such close proximity to one another.³⁵ Further, Jeremias and Schürmann have argued persuasively that there are many words distinctive of a Lukan special source in 22:15f, and that when Luke does not share Mark's

28 On silences in narrative and the possible use of 'assumed knowledge', see Magness 1986, esp. 15-24, 65-85; Kurz 1993, 31-36, esp. 35.

29 This verb is used frequently in Luke-Acts (eleven times from 42 total NT uses, although note twelve uses in 1 Peter). There is an interesting parallelism (mostly unnoticed by commentators, although see Fitzmyer 1985, 1396) in 22:15 between τὸ πάσχα which Jesus greatly desires to eat and his forthcoming παθεῖν. Nolland 1993b, 1050 comments on παθεῖν: 'The mention of Jesus' suffering here already prepares for a parallelism between the role of the (sacrificial) blood of the Paschal lamb in Egypt and the new covenant in Jesus' blood of v 20.'

30 Nolland 1993b, 1050.

31 Expressed by the use of δεῖ (Luke 9:22; 13:33; 17:25; 22:37; 24:7, 26, 44, 46; cf. Acts 3:18; 17:3) and μέλλω (Luke 9:31, 44; Acts 26:23). cf. Squires 1993, 2 nn 6-7; Peterson 1993, 86.

32 Cosgrove 1984, 173f; Peterson 1993, 93.

33 Nolland 1993b, 1043 – although the phrase is Nolland's, it does not represent his view.

34 Pesch 1978, 26-31.

35 Soards 1987, 27.

sequence, this is usually a sign that he is following another source, rather than transposing Markan order.³⁶

Whatever the resolution of this debate, it is widely agreed that the phrase *πρὸ τοῦ με παθεῖν* is derived from either Luke's special source or Luke's own hand.³⁷ It can therefore be taken with some confidence as showing Luke's own interests. Thus we may conclude that 22:15 points to an expectation on Luke's part of forthcoming suffering for Jesus, an expectation that parallels Acts 20:22-24 at a conceptual level.

The likelihood of this conceptual parallel being significant is increased by the further parallels between the Lukan Last Supper discourse and the Miletus speech on the matter of suffering. First, a verbal parallel links Jesus' trials and Paul's trials, namely the use of the plural³⁸ of *πειρασμός* in Luke 22:28 and Acts 20:19.³⁹ The phrase *ἐν τοῖς πειρασμοῖς μου* (Luke 22:28) is absent in the possible Matthean parallel (Matt. 19:28),⁴⁰ and Acts 20:19 represents the only use in Acts. This combination suggests that Luke is drawing attention to the parallel by the choice of vocabulary. It is also notable, in the light of our discussion of leadership below,⁴¹ that the comment of Jesus in Luke 22:28 is immediately followed by words of promise about leadership for the disciples – the readiness to undergo trials is a necessity for leadership in the community of Jesus. And Paul is the exemplar of this, having faced trials through 'the plots of the Jews' (Acts 20:19).⁴²

³⁶ Jeremias 1966, 160-164, cites *καὶ εἶπεν, ἐπιθυμεῖν + infinitive, λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν, οὐ μὴ, ἕως ὅτου, ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν* as words from the special Lukan source; cf. Schürmann 1953, 1-74; Taylor 1972, 47-50; Smith 1993, 67-73. Goulder 1989, II:722 argues that Luke is here conforming the wording of his Markan source to 1 Cor. 11.

³⁷ Johnson 1992b, 337. Goulder 1989, 728 appears to argue that *πρὸ τοῦ + infinitive* is Lukan, in agreement with Schürmann 1953, 12f; Marshall 1978, 795; Evans 1990b, 784. Of the nine NT uses, three are found in Luke-Acts (Luke 2:21; 22:15; Acts 23:15; elsewhere Matt. 6:8; John 1:48; 13:19; 17:5; Gal. 2:12; 3:23).

³⁸ Nelson 1991, 206f suggests that the plural implies 'repeated or continuing experiences'.

³⁹ Nelson 1991, 206; Schürmann 1957, 39; Evans 1990b, 798; Marshall 1978, 816; Neyrey 1985, 45.

⁴⁰ Nelson 1991, 187f, 206-212. Indeed, Mark uses *πειρασμός* only once (14:38) and Matthew just twice (6:13; 26:41), compared to seven uses in Luke-Acts (Luke 4:13; 8:13; 11:4; 22:28, 40, 46; Acts 20:19) (in agreement with Soards 1987, 46, 139 n 76).

⁴¹ § 4.2.4.

⁴² Tannehill 1986, 211 suggests that 'persecution must be a major part of the meaning [of *πειρασμός*]'. cf. Marshall 1978, 816: 'The word [*πειρασμός*] has more the force of "dangers, tribulations" than "temptations."'

Second, in a passage which is unique to Luke (22:37),⁴³ it is said of Jesus' subsequent suffering, 'it is necessary for this Scripture to be fulfilled (τελεσθῆναι: aorist passive infinitive of τελέω) in me', and this forthcoming suffering is described as τέλος. The final phrase of the verse τὸ περὶ ἐμοῦ τέλος ἔχει is best translated 'my life's work is at an end', for if it means 'the references in the Scriptures to me are being fulfilled' (as often in modern translations) it merely repeats what was said in the first part of the verse, and there is evidence that τέλος ἔχω can have the sense 'to come to an end' – the singular form τὸ περὶ ἐμοῦ more naturally points to the task of Jesus as that which is coming to an end.⁴⁴ This offers a striking parallel to the use of τελειόω in Acts 20:24, in that case of Paul completing his course in suffering.⁴⁵ Luke alone of the synoptic evangelists uses τέλειωω at all,⁴⁶ and the Miletus speech is the only use of the verb in Acts.

Third, in a passage without parallel in the other Synoptic Gospels, forthcoming pressure on Peter is predicted by Jesus (Luke 22:31f; cf. vv 35-38), and this is echoed in the Miletus speech by Paul's warning of pressure to come on the elders (Acts 20:29f).⁴⁷ The command to 'strengthen (στήρισον) your brothers' after turning (ἐπιστρέφω, v 32) is what Paul fulfils in Acts (e.g. Acts 14:22; 15:41; 18:23 – each using ἐπιστηρίζω, a compound of στηρίζω).⁴⁸ Further, Acts 20:31 carries the implicit message that the elders are to be alert as Paul has been alert, that is, by warning the flock with tears – a 'strengthening' activity.

⁴³ Soards 1987, 31, 53f, argues that Luke composed vv 35-38 on the basis of some traditional material with the help of Luke 10:4 and Isa. 53:12. Taylor 1972, 66-69 sees the material as derived from a pre-Lukan source which has been lightly edited by Luke.

⁴⁴ Marshall 1978, 826, cites Josephus *Life* 154: καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ ἐκείνους τοῦτ' ἔσχε τὸ τέλος ('And this was the conclusion of what concerned these men', Whiston no date) as evidence for the proposed sense of τέλος ἔχω. So also Nolland 1993b, 1077 (citing Mark 3:26); Fitzmyer 1985, 1433; *contra* Evans 1990b, 806; Johnson 1992b, 347, who see the phrase as describing a particular fulfilment, rather than the general principle enunciated earlier in the verse, and argue that the use of τέλος echoes the verb earlier in the verse. cf. TDNT, VIII:49f for extra-biblical use.

⁴⁵ Neyrey 1985, 45.

⁴⁶ Luke 2:43; 13:32; Acts 20:24. Luke also uses τελέω (Luke 2:39; 12:50; 18:31; 22:37; Acts 13:29), as does Matthew (seven times, particularly in connection with the fulfilment of Scripture and at the end of his five major discourses). Mark uses neither verb. See further Peterson 1993, 86; NIDNTT, 2:59-65.

⁴⁷ Neyrey 1985, 44.

⁴⁸ Marshall 1978, 822; Nolland 1993b, 1072; Johnson 1992b, 346. Neyrey 1985, 45 suggests that the combination of Jesus' concern for Peter's faith and Peter's turning

Finally, the theme of glory through suffering is important to both the Last Supper address and the Miletus speech. Thus Jesus' forthcoming suffering (Luke 22:15, 28) leads to his glory (Luke 22:16f, 29) – both in its fulfilment in the kingdom⁴⁹ and in Jesus himself receiving a kingdom.⁵⁰ Likewise, the pressure the disciples have faced and will face (Luke 22:28, 31f) will lead to a kingdom for them, dining at Jesus' table and judging from thrones (Luke 22:29f).⁵¹

Paul's ministry in Acts reflects a pattern of falling and rising.⁵² For example, each of the accounts of his commission shows him being humbled as he is blinded and falls to the ground, but each also leads to a rise to prominent leadership in spearheading the mission (Acts 9:1-8, 15; 22:6-16, 15, 21; 26:12-18, 17f). Similarly, he goes through an experience of apparent death and rising in Lystra (Acts 14:19f; notice ἀναστάς, v 20). In the Miletus speech the very fact that Paul can speak of his having endured trials and plots (Acts 20:19) implies this same reversal motif, that God exalts those humbled for him (and note that Paul's humility is important, Acts 20:19, contrasting with the disciples' attitude in Luke 22:24).

Taken together, these various aspects of the suffering theme in the Lukan Last Supper discourse link closely with the same theme in the Miletus speech.

4.2.3. The efficacy of the death of Jesus

The death of Jesus does not occur as a theme in the other possible parallel passages we shall consider, and it is therefore of particular interest that it is present in Luke 22. The context is the Last Supper, and Jesus invests the Passover ceremonies (vv 8, 13, 15) with new meaning by his actions and interpretative words (vv 17-20).⁵³

(Luke 22:32) should be compared with Paul's preaching of repentance and faith (Acts 20:21).

⁴⁹ Senior 1989, 56.

⁵⁰ Dawsey 1986, 141.

⁵¹ Nelson 1991, 242 notes that the subjunctives ἔσθητε and πίνητε 'clearly anticipate a *future* meal at Jesus' table in his kingdom' (italics his).

⁵² Nelson 1991, 101. Likewise the exhortation in Acts 14:22, 'Through many tribulations we must enter the kingdom of God', shows a similar reversal motif.

⁵³ The literature on the eucharistic words is considerable. For a valuable recent survey, see O'Toole 1992 with the bibliography therein. There is a difficult textual question regarding Luke 22:17-20, for which there are several variant readings. What follows is based on the view that vv 19b-20 are part of the autograph. For discussion, see Appendix 2.

Thus v 20 speaks of the cup as the new covenant ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου, a phrase closely paralleled by διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἰδίου (Acts 20:28). The phraseology in Luke is different from Matthew and Mark, and closer to Paul: Matt. 26:28; Mark 14:24 both have τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ αἷμά μου τῆς διαθήκης; 1 Cor. 11:25 has τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ αἵματι. Where Luke differs from all the other accounts of the eucharistic words is in the presence of the participle διδόμενον (v 19) in connection with the bread.

Both Luke 22:20 and Acts 20:28 speak of the efficacy of the death of Jesus using the image of blood.⁵⁴ Zehnle objects that vv 19-20 do not contain 'satisfaction theology', since it does not speak of the death of Jesus being 'for sins', but simply ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν. He further suggests that such language may not be Lukan, but simply show his fidelity to church traditions – as he believes is the case in Acts 20:28.⁵⁵ Leaving aside the question of whether Zehnle may be reading later debates into Luke-Acts, several factors suggest that we ought to see a redemptive theology in Luke 22:19-20.

First, there is the phrase ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν (vv 19, 20). The preposition ὑπὲρ in LXX and NT usage frequently means 'in place of' and 'on behalf of'.⁵⁶ Thus it can connote both representation and substitution.⁵⁷ Thus Fitzmyer asserts that the use of ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν in the bread saying (v 19) 'adds a vicarious dimension of meaning to his "body", and probably a sacrificial nuance'.⁵⁸ The context of v 15 implies that there will be a redemptive significance for 'you' – the disciples and (by implication) others who will

54 These are the only uses of αἷμα in respect of the redemptive significance of the death of Jesus in Luke-Acts; the remaining 17 uses include: literal blood (Luke 8:43, 44; Acts 1:19); blood from meat (Acts 15:20, 29; 21:25); blood standing for the life of a person (Luke 11:50, 51; 13:1; Acts 18:6; 20:26) or responsibility for a person's death (Acts 5:28; 22:20); and metaphorical uses (Luke 22:44; Acts 2:19, 20).

55 Zehnle 1969, 440.

56 EDNT, 3:396f estimates that 130 out of 150 NT uses are of this sort; see also BAGD, 838f; NIDNTT, 3:1196f; Johnson 1992b, 339. In Lukan use see Acts 5:41; 8:24; 9:16; 15:26; 21:13, 26.

57 The latter is seen in John 11:50, where it is clear from Caiaphas' following remark καὶ μὴ ὅλον τὸ ἔθνος ἀπόληται that Jesus' death ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ denotes his death *in place of* the people (NIDNTT, 3:1197).

58 Fitzmyer 1985, 1391, 1401. In the latter place he cites Josephus, *Antiquities* 13.1.1 (= 13:6) ὁ δ' Ἰωνάθης φήσας ἐτοίμως ἔχειν ἀποθνήσκειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ('And Jonathan said that he was ready to die for them'); and *Jewish War* 2.10.5 (= 2:201) ὑπὲρ τοσούτων ἐτοίμως ἐπιδώσω τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ ψυχὴν ('on behalf of the lives of so many to give over my own') as examples of ὑπὲρ being used in a vicarious sense. See further Stein 1992, 543 n 23; Kurz 1985, 266f.

follow Jesus in the future – in the forthcoming suffering of Jesus.⁵⁹ Further, the phrasing of the Markan parallel to the cup saying is ὑπὲρ πολλῶν (14:24), an allusion to the Suffering Servant's vicarious suffering (Isa. 53:11, 12),⁶⁰ and Luke appears to have used ὑμῶν in order to parallel the bread saying (vv 19, 20), without necessarily intending the allusion to Isa. 53 to be lost, since he has the participle ἐκχυννόμενον (= 'being poured out') which also alludes to Isa. 53:12,⁶¹ by contrast with 1 Cor. 11:25, which lacks the whole phrase τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυννόμενον.

Second, the presence of διδόμενον (v 19) uniquely in Luke's version of the bread saying points to the forthcoming giving of Jesus' body in sacrifice, especially since it is parallel to ἐκχυννόμενον in the cup saying (v 20). δίδωμι is used in such a way in Luke 2:24.⁶²

Third, the mention of ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη (v 20) is unique to Luke amongst the synoptic writers, although it is present in 1 Cor. 11:25. This is a clear allusion to Jer. 31:31, adding to the allusion to Exod. 24:8 already present in διαθήκη.⁶³ The covenant is ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου, alluding to the place of blood in the Hebrew Bible's understanding of sacrifice, particularly Lev. 17:11, 14. Fitzmyer rightly observes, 'the cultic overtones of Jesus' words are unmistakable.'⁶⁴

Finally, Zehnle draws the unsubstantiated conclusion that Luke's incorporation of early tradition into his narrative means that this material does not reflect Luke's own perspective. Indeed, the opposite can be argued, namely that Luke's incorporation of the material implies that he believed and accepted it. Had he disagreed, it was open to him to omit the material from his Gospel.⁶⁵

Thus the redemptive nature of the statement in Luke 22:19-20 seems secure, and the parallel with Acts 20:28 evident. That these should be the

⁵⁹ Fitzmyer 1985, 1391.

⁶⁰ France 1971, 120f, 122; TDNT, VIII:510f. Marshall 1978, 807 sees Luke's ὑμῶν as secondary to Mark's πολλῶν, which alludes to Isa. 53:10 (?a slip for 11), 12.

⁶¹ France 1971, 122.

⁶² Fitzmyer 1985, 1400 cites as similar Mark 10:45; Gal. 1:4; 2 Cor. 8:5; John 6:51; 1 Tim. 2:6; Tit. 2:14; 1 Macc. 2:50; 6:4. Nolland 1993b, 1054 offers Thucydides, *History* 2.43.2; Libanius, *Oration* 24.3 as examples of 'to give one's body' for dying in battle for the sake of the people. The former uses δίδωμι and the latter δέχομαι.

⁶³ France 1971, 66f, 94; Fitzmyer 1985, 1402; Evans 1990b, 791; Nolland 1993b, 1054; Marshall 1978, 806.

⁶⁴ Fitzmyer 1985, 1402. So also Stein 1992, 543f; Green 1988, 194-197.

⁶⁵ Stein 1992, 545.

two places where Luke's understanding of the death of Jesus is 'told' rather than simply 'shown' is significant. Luke's Paul understands his Master's death in terms similar to those enunciated by the Master himself.

4.2.4. Leadership

Luke 22:24-30 is the section of the discourse most clearly focused on leadership, for it begins with a dispute about greatness (v 24), involves Jesus contrasting his style of leadership with others (vv 25-27), and closes with the apostles being given a position of leadership as judges of the twelve tribes of Israel (vv 29f). In discussing the possible parallels with the Miletus speech, we first need to consider the source(s) of the Lukan passage. We shall then examine Luke 22:24-30 for Jesus as servant and leader, the leadership the apostles are to exercise, and the parallels with Paul's speech.

It is a matter of debate how far Luke 22:24-30 should be seen as expressing Lukan thought, since vv 24-27 have a possible parallel in Mark 10:41-45; Matt. 20:24-28, and vv 28-30 in Matt. 19:28.

However, Nelson argues cogently that vv 24-27 should be seen as independent of the Markan parallel.⁶⁶ Although Mark 10:41-45 is superficially parallel, the verbal agreement is poor: of the 67 words in vv 24-27, only sixteen appear in the same form, including four definite articles, four conjunctions, three third person plural nouns, and the phrases οὐχ οὕτως and ἐν ὑμῖν. Moreover, no verbal forms are common to the two passages, and the only noun they share is ἐθνῶν.⁶⁷ Further, the two verbal forms κυριεύουσιν and ἐξουσιάζοντες (v 25) are 'paralleled' by compound forms in Mark (v 42) which are more commonly found in Luke⁶⁸ – so we might expect Luke to have the compound forms if he were editing Mark.⁶⁹ Again, Luke uses a comparative, μείζων (v 26), whereas Mark uses μέγας (v 43). There is no material shared by Luke 22:24 and Mark 10:41, and only one word in common between Luke 22:27 and Mark 10:45 (διακονέω, although Luke has an articular substantival present

⁶⁶ Nelson 1991, 132-140; so also Soards 1987, 30f; Page 1980, 148-154; Green 1988, 44-46; Taylor 1972, 61-64; Nolland 1993b, 1062f.

⁶⁷ Page 1980, 149.

⁶⁸ Nelson 1991, 196f (asserting that 275 out of 593 NT uses of διά- compounds are found in Luke-Acts); Moulton & Howard 1929, 300 (claiming 200 out of 343 for the same phenomenon), 11 (arguing cogently that compound verbs should not be used as a test of more 'literary' Greek).

⁶⁹ Nelson 1991, 136; Green 1988, 46. Luke 22:25 is the only NT use of κυριεύω outside the Pauline corpus (where it is used six times).

active participle and Mark an aorist passive infinitive).⁷⁰ Finally, Luke rarely relocates material from its Markan sequence, but rather uses the material in the same order. Jeremias points to only two small deviations before the passion narrative (Luke 6:17-19; 8:19-21): 'Deviations in the order of the material must therefore be regarded as indications that Luke is not following Mark.'⁷¹

By contrast, a good case can be made for a common source used by Matthew (19:28) and Luke (22:28-30) for the second half of the passage.⁷² There is a high level of verbal agreement between Luke 22:30b and Matt. 19:28c (καθήσεσθε, ἐπί, θρόνους/θρόνων, κρίνοντες, τὰς δώδεκα φυλάς, τοῦ Ἰσραήλ), and there is clear conceptual and structural parallelism earlier in the two passages. Further, the dissimilarities between the two can largely be explained on the basis of the redactional tendencies of the two authors.⁷³ That said, there is clearly Lukan redaction, for the Lukan version is very much longer than the Matthean: v 29 has no parallel in Matthew, for example. Thus in seeking parallels with the Miletus speech we shall want to look for signs of Lukan emphasis or redaction in vv 28-30.

Having briefly discussed source questions, we turn to examine the key themes of the Lukan passage in relation to the Miletus speech.

In Luke 22 Jesus is clearly the leader: he takes the role of the father/host at the Passover celebration (vv 19f); he is the departing one delivering his farewell speech; he exhorts his disciples (vv 19b, 25-27, 36); he has the authority to confer kingship on them (v 29); and he prophesies about their future (vv 15f, 18, 21f, 30, 31-34).⁷⁴ But Jesus' leadership is not a conventional sort of leadership, for he is ὁ διακονῶν (v 27). The use of ὁ διακονῶν three times in two verses (vv 26f) implies that this idea is central to the passage, not least because it contrasts with three uses of μειζῶν (vv 24, 26, 27).⁷⁵ And, by the use of the emphatic personal pronoun ἐγώ (v 27), Jesus identifies strongly with ὁ διακονῶν. He himself fills this role.

⁷⁰ Taylor 1972, 62f; Nelson 1991, 136.

⁷¹ Jeremias 1966, 98.

⁷² Green 1988, 46-48; Nelson 1991, 187-193; Neyrey 1985, 23f; Marshall 1978, 815; *contra* Taylor 1972, 64.

⁷³ Nelson 1991, 188; Green 1988, 47. For example, ἀκολουθήσαντες is used more frequently by Matthew than Luke of the disciples following Jesus (and may in any case be an assimilation to Matt. 19:27), although the word may be close in sense to the Lukan διαμεμενηκότες.

⁷⁴ Nelson 1991, 158.

⁷⁵ Nelson 1991, 184.

Jesus' words critique the kings of the Gentiles (v 25), who provide a foil to his idea of servanthood. In Graeco-Roman society, those called 'benefactors' had this honorific title conferred, generally publicly.⁷⁶ The conferral could include a formal statement of the goodness of the benefactor, the gift of a gold crown to wear, a seat of honour in the theatre, the right to wear purple for life, citizenship, and other honours.⁷⁷ Jesus contrasts the attention to social status in such procedures with his demand of his followers: ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐχ οὕτως.⁷⁸

This demand is developed by the sequence of contrasts in vv 26f, as set out by Nelson:⁷⁹

<u>Position A</u>	<u>Position B</u>
the greatest	the youngest (v 26b)
the leader	the servant (v 26c)
the diner	the table servant (v 27a)
the diner	Jesus the table servant (v 27b-c)

In each case the 'position B' role is lower in status than the 'position A' role, and the identification of Jesus with the lower status role implies that he calls his disciples to the same identification. A key point to notice is that for Jesus such identification does not involve a disavowal of leadership, for we have already seen that he exercises considerable leadership in this discourse. Rather, it is that the greatest is to be ὡς the youngest, the leader ὡς the servant, for Jesus is among his disciples ὡς the servant. The service Jesus offers is compared to that of the household table servant, particularly in the second and third uses of ὁ διακονῶν (v 27).⁸⁰

⁷⁶ Danker 1982, 436-441; Winter 1988, 90f.

⁷⁷ Danker 1982, 467f; Winter 1988, 91f

⁷⁸ Lull 1986, 295 proposes that καλεῖσθε ('you are called') ought to be understood as the verb in this clause, thus making the sense more neutral about Gentile kings: it is simply that the apostles are not called benefactors. The introduction of 'ἀλλ.' (v 26b) leads to the contrast, whereas v 26a is simply a statement of fact. However, Nelson 1991, 143-146 argues persuasively that the flow of thought in vv 24-27, and particularly the contrasts in vv 26-27, cannot bear such an interpretation. The last phrase of v 27 clinches the argument: since Jesus identifies with the low status member of each pair, he wants his disciples to do the same – they should not identify with 'the greatest' (ὁ μείζων) or 'the leader' (ὁ ἡγούμενος, v 26). Thus, 'Since the kings and rulers function as negative examples whom Luke contrasts with the positive example of Jesus, v 26a would have the sense of a prohibition' (145). See further Danker 1982, 324; Winter 1994, 40 n 50.

⁷⁹ Nelson 1991, 143.

⁸⁰ See Nelson's translation in the table above. Tannehill 1986, 256 and Johnson 1992b, 345 observe that διακονέω is usually used by Luke of serving meals (Luke 4:39; 10:40; 12:37; 17:8; cf. Acts 6:2), and therefore refers to a task usually undertaken by slaves or women. If so, this reinforces the point Luke presents about servant leadership; cf. Morris 1974, 308. Marshall 1978, 813 argues that the Lukan redaction

It is to such a combination of leadership and servanthood that Jesus calls his disciples. They will exercise leadership too, for they are being given kingly rule by Jesus (v 29).⁸¹ They will sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel (v 30).⁸² Indeed, the statement 'let the greatest among you become as the youngest' (v 26) paradoxically implies that there is a 'greatest among you'.⁸³

But the apostles' leadership is to be 'as the youngest...as the one who serves' (v 26). Just as they have continued with Jesus in his trials (v 28), so also they are to exercise leadership in a Jesus-like servant manner (vv 26f). As Jesus serves his people by laying down his life for them (vv 15, 19-22), so their leadership is to seek the good of those they lead rather than their own (vv 25f).⁸⁴

...it is unlikely that vv 28-30 are intended to be read without recalling that king Jesus is a ruler who serves his people. Further, it is probable that the apostles are to anticipate a form of rule in the kingdom of Jesus that is likewise based on a radical commitment to the welfare of those ruled.⁸⁵

This material links in three ways with the Miletus speech. First, Paul's leader/servant ministry is described in similar terms to those of Jesus and the disciples in Luke's Gospel. Paul exercises a leadership ministry, for he can 'summon'⁸⁶ the elders to come to meet with him (Acts 20:17). He also

of Mark has produced an emphasis on the 'force of Jesus' saying for church leaders', although without noting the parallels in Acts 20:24, 28 (discussed below). Similarly, Reiling & Swellengrebel 1971, 692: '*hēgoumenos* is best understood as referring to leadership in the community of believers.'

81 Note that διατίθεμαι (v 29) is a present verb, which implies that it is during the Last Supper that Jesus is conferring kingship upon the disciples (Nelson 1991, 214, 241; Neyrey 1985, 27). Johnson 1992b, 345f; Johnson 1977, 120 sees this role exercised in the apostle's 'judging' (v 30) function in the post-Easter community (e.g. Acts 5:1-11), observing that Luke lacks the phrase ἐν τῇ παλιγγενεσίᾳ found in the parallel (Matt. 19:28), whereas Nelson 1991, 241-248 argues (amongst other points) that, because the subjunctives ἔσθητε and πίνητε (v 30) imply a future, eschatological eating and drinking, the 'judging' will also be eschatological.

82 Nelson 1991, 222.

83 Nelson 1991, 167.

84 Johnson 1977, 167 argues, 'The authority of the Twelve over Israel is to be *expressed* in their διακονεῖν τραπέζαις (Acts 6:2), in the distribution of goods to the community' (italics his). This seems implausible, since Acts 6:1-7 shows the Twelve giving up this function, and declining to do it on the grounds that their ministry should be prayer and ἡ διακονία τοῦ λόγου (v 4).

85 Nelson 1991, 250.

86 μετακαλέω, only found in Acts in the NT (7:14; 10:32; 20:17; 24:25), and only in the middle voice, which seems to have a reflexive sense 'to call to oneself' (BAGD, 511). NIDNTT, 1:273 notes that Luke uses the compounds of καλέω more frequently than other NT writers, suggesting that this is due to Luke's 'cultured Greek': ἐπικαλέω

exercises his leadership through his teaching ministry (Acts 20:20), in which he speaks of the βασιλεία which Jesus received from his Father (Acts 20:25; Luke 22:29).

But Paul also shows traits of the servant ministry described in Luke 22:24-30, sometimes through similar vocabulary, and sometimes through similar concepts. The use of the noun διακονία (Acts 20:24, cf. the articular participle ὁ διακονῶν, Luke 22:26f) puts Paul's ministry into servant categories. Luke's Paul speaks of himself 'serving the Lord' (Acts 20:19, using δουλεύω), and he has exercised a ministry in ταπεινοφροσύνη (Acts 20:19) – a quality central to the style of leadership commended by Jesus (Luke 22:26f). The expression of Paul's servant ministry includes care for the weak (Acts 20:34f, using ὑπηρετέω, v 34⁸⁷), which accords with the suggestion above that Jesus-style servant ministry is intended to benefit those served, rather than the servant. And the costliness of Jesus' servant ministry, extending to his death, is borne by Paul in tears and trials (Acts 20:19, 31), as well as in his own readiness to die (Acts 20:23f) – a cost from which he does not shrink (Acts 20:20, 24). Further, the tone of the Miletus speech is one of a concerned pastor pleading, rather than a domineering leader giving orders to subordinates. Tannehill summarises well:

The humble service that Jesus commended by including himself among the waiters and waitresses is now being carried out through Paul's dedicated service to the Lord and others in his mission.⁸⁸

Not only that, but Paul charges the elders to exercise this kind of leadership in the Christian community at Ephesus (Acts 20:28): a feeding leadership which 'oversees'⁸⁹ and 'shepherds',⁹⁰ not a domineering

(30 times NT, 20 times Acts); προσκαλέομαι (29 times NT, 13 times Luke-Acts); εἰσκαλέω (Acts 10:23 only). But this is doubtful as a test of more 'literary' Greek (Moulton & Howard 1929, 11).

⁸⁷ Found only in Acts in the NT (13:26; 20:34; 24:23). The noun ὑπηρετής (often meaning 'guard') is a favourite of John (nine occurrences), but is also found twice in Luke (1:2; 4:20) and four times in Acts (5:22, 26; 13:5; 26:16). It is only found at 1 Cor. 4:1 in the Pauline corpus. cf. Dupont 1962, 302 n 3.

⁸⁸ Tannehill 1990, 260.

⁸⁹ The cognate verb of ἐπίσκοπος is ἐπισκέπτομαι, which is used in the LXX for the work of shepherds (e.g. Zech. 10:3; 11:16; Jer. 23:2), and in the NT is used for caring provision (e.g. Jas 1:27). ἐπισκέπτομαι is a Lukanism, being used twice only in Matthew, three times in Luke (1:68, 78; 7:16), four times in Acts (6:3; 7:23; 15:14, 36), and only twice elsewhere in the NT.

⁹⁰ ποιμαίνω is used twice only in Luke-Acts (Acts 20:28; Luke 17:7 - of literal shepherding of a herd, cf. 1 Cor. 9:7). cf. 1 Pet. 5:2, which also uses the verb of church leadership.

leadership. That this is the intention is evident from the whole context of Paul's own example of servant leadership which is commended to the elders. This general intention finds specific expression when Paul offers to the elders his own example of supporting the weak (Acts 20:35). The servant leadership model which Paul exemplifies and which Jesus originated is being passed on to the next generation of leaders.

As with other themes, there is an accumulation of parallels, both verbal and conceptual, on the question of leadership, particularly focused on servant-style leadership. We suggest that Luke meant his readers to hear the echoes.

4.2.5. Money and work

C. F. Evans describes Luke 22:35-38 as 'perhaps the most puzzling passage in the Gospel [of Luke], indeed in all the gospels'⁹¹ – a judgement with which it is easy to agree. Nevertheless, the passage evidently addresses issues of money and possessions, and is therefore worthy of investigation in connection with Paul's comments in Acts 20:33-35. Because it is so difficult, we should indicate briefly how the passage as a whole should be read before turning to the potential parallel with the Miletus speech.

First, vv 33-35 are unparalleled in Matthew and Mark, and the majority judgement of scholars is that these verses have been woven out of pre-Lukan tradition,⁹² even where it is thought that some of the material is Lukan creation.⁹³ Either way, we may reasonably look to this passage for a Lukan perspective, for Luke's incorporation of the material into his Gospel implies that he can at least countenance it.

There is a clear allusion in v 35 to the sending of the seventy(-two) (Luke 10:3f), particularly in the three items βαλλάντιον, πήρα and ὑποδήματα, which come in the same sequence.⁹⁴ Some also see an allusion to the sending of the twelve (Luke 9:3f), suggesting that the requirement to take 'nothing for the way' could include the unmentioned purse and sandals.⁹⁵

91 Evans 1990b, 803f.

92 Taylor 1972, 67; Soards 1987, 31; Stein 1992, 554; Marshall 1978, 824; Nolland 1993b, 1075; Fitzmyer 1985, 1429; Schürmann 1957, 116-139; Bock 1996, 1745f.

93 Lampe 1984, 336, 342.

94 Fitzmyer 1985, 847; Nolland 1993b, 1075.

95 Tannehill 1986, 266 n 110; similarly Stein 1992, 555 (who sees the common address to the twelve in Luke 22 and 9 as the link); Senior 1989, 79f; Minear 1964, 129.

But although there is such a clear allusion to 10:3f, there is also a clear contrast: ἀλλὰ νῦν (v 36) is a very strong adversative, used here alone in Luke's writings.⁹⁶ A new phase is beginning, in which conditions will be different from previously. There is some debate whether this new phase is the whole church period⁹⁷ or only the period of Satanic pressure during the passion,⁹⁸ but for our present purposes we simply need to note that there is a shift of conditions.

The mark of the new situation is that Satan will test the apostolic band,⁹⁹ and thus they cannot expect the same welcome and provision that they experienced when sent out by Jesus previously (v 35): that is why they need to take purse, bag and sword (v 36).¹⁰⁰ The urgency of this is stressed by the need for the one without a sword to sell his ἱμάτιον, the outer garment which kept its owner warm at night.¹⁰¹ Thus Jesus effectively annuls the earlier instruction (Luke 10:4), which was relevant to the former conditions alone.¹⁰² The period beginning with ἀλλὰ νῦν (v 36) will be a time of testing in which the apostles will need to be self-sufficient and must have the wherewithal to defend themselves, as any other traveller might.¹⁰³ That the 'sword' is intended by Luke's Jesus to be metaphorical – but misunderstood literally by the apostles (v 38) – is suggested by Jesus' reaction to the use of an actual sword (22:50f): 'Since their [the apostles'] self-defence had reflected faulty hearing, his [Jesus'] undiminished power was manifested in his healing of the ear.'¹⁰⁴ Further, there is no sign of sword-bearing apostles in Acts,¹⁰⁵ and a sword could be

⁹⁶ Marshall 1978, 824; Evans 1990b, 805. ἀλλὰ νῦν is rarely used quite in the NT (clearly only in Luke 22:36; 2 Cor. 5:16; Phil. 2:12; 1 Pet. 2:25; possibly 1 Cor. 3:2; John 11:22, *v.l.*).

⁹⁷ Conzelmann 1960, 16, 80f, 103 n 1; Stein 1992, 556; Fitzmyer 1985, 1431.

⁹⁸ Marshall 1978, 824; Nolland 1993b, 1976, 1078; Minear 1964, 130f, 133.

⁹⁹ Note ὑμᾶς (v 31), contrasted with σοῦ (v 32).

¹⁰⁰ Johnson 1977, 164.

¹⁰¹ Marshall 1978, 825. cf. Luke 6:29; Exod. 22:25f LXX.

¹⁰² Schweizer 1984, 341; Conzelmann 1960, 186 n 1 (found on 187); 232f.

¹⁰³ Lampe 1984, 337f; Johnson 1992b, 347.

¹⁰⁴ Minear 1964, 132. Others who hold the metaphorical reading include: Talbert 1984b, 211; Neyrey 1985, 40f; Senior 1989, 82; Johnson 1992b, 347; Fitzmyer 1985, 1432; Marshall 1978, 823.

¹⁰⁵ The only mentions of μάχαιρα in Luke-Acts (apart from Luke 22:36, 38, 49) are in the hands of the enemies of Jesus and his people (Luke 21:24; 22:52; Acts 12:2; 16:27).

understood metaphorically as indicating division (note Matt. 10:34//Luke 12:51).¹⁰⁶

There are two links to the Miletus speech in such an understanding of this difficult passage. First, the warning of distress in vv 35-37, as Lampe notes,¹⁰⁷ parallels a similar warning to the elders (Acts 20:29-31) – a warning which is natural to a situation of 'leave-taking'.

But second, and more significant, is the link to the discussion of finance in the Miletus address (Acts 20:33-35). The 'fend for yourself' attitude of Luke 22:36 is conceptually parallel to Paul's determination not to be dependent on anyone (Acts 20:34). Schweizer, commenting on the apparent contrast between Luke 10:4 and Paul's self-reliant attitude, observes astutely, 'But he [Paul] lived the fine carelessness of Jesus' messengers in other ways (Acts 20:33-35; Phil. 4:12-16).'¹⁰⁸

4.2.6. Summary

We noted above that the Last Supper discourse fits the 'farewell speech' genre rather well, and we have now observed the extensive and significant parallels between that discourse and the Miletus speech. While some of these themes can be seen as 'standard' farewell speech items, the correspondences of language and concepts seem too close for the similarity to be limited to the level of genre. It is the clustering of themes here which is particularly notable, and this series of connections is reinforced by the very sequence of the various themes in the two passages. It is not too much to say that Luke gives us two similarly-structured farewell discourses which mirror each other: the departing Jesus passes on to his disciples/apostles a model of life and leadership in his community which the departing Paul later passes on to the elders of one of his key churches.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ Neyrey 1985, 40; Senior 1989, 82.

¹⁰⁷ Lampe 1984, 337.

¹⁰⁸ Schweizer 1984, 341. Kurz 1990, 68f suggests that the contrasting approaches of missionaries to financial support in the apostolic church (some seeking support from the churches in line with Luke 10:4, others being self-supporting in line with Luke 22:36) might lead to a need to defend Paul from criticism that he was not following the Master's instructions. Similarly Stein 1992, 556.

¹⁰⁹ A further link between the scenes is that both are followed by kneeling to pray (Acts 20:36; Luke 22:41, different from Matt.26:39; Mark 14:35, who have Jesus prostrate), which is not the usual posture for prayer in Judaism (e.g. 1 Sam. 1:26; Mark 11:25, so Bock 1996, 1758; Marshall 1978, 830 Nolland 1993b, 1081, 1083 suggests that kneeling for prayer in Acts occurs where there is 'a particular intensity to the prayer', citing Acts 7:60; 9:40; 20:36; 21:5). That the posture is likely

4.3. Luke 12:1-53

Jesus here teaches about discipleship: in v 1 he turns from the (large) crowd to speak to his disciples. Following an interruption by a member of the crowd (v 13) Jesus turns again to his disciples (v 22). Then, when Peter asks whom Jesus intends as the target of this teaching (v 41), he answers by telling the parable of the steward (vv 42-48). Finally, Jesus stresses the pressures and divisions which discipleship brings, both for himself and for his followers (vv 49-53).

The amount of material addressed specifically to the disciples suggests that their future leadership responsibility may be in view, and at certain points this becomes explicit (vv 32, 42, 44, 45f, 47: see discussion below).

It is evident from an examination of the possible parallels in the other Synoptic Gospels that Luke has brought this material together.¹¹⁰ The table below shows such parallel passages. (The section breaks are not designed to show the paragraphing of the chapter, but rather to assist in seeing the possible parallels and sources of the material.)

<i>Luke 12</i>	<i>Mark</i>	<i>Matthew</i>	<i>Thomas</i> ¹¹¹
1	8:15	16:5f	
2-9		10:26-33	
10	3:28f	12:31f	44
11f	13:11	10:19f	
13-15			72 (vv 13f)
16-21			63
22-32		6:25-33	36 (v 22)
33f		6:19-21	76 (v 33)
35-38	?13:33-37	?25:1-13	
39-46		24:43-51	21 (v 39)
47f			
49f	?10:38f		10 (v 49)
51, 53		10:34-36	
52			16 (vv 52f)

to be Lukan redaction is suggested by the fact that Luke alone in the NT records kneeling as a prayer posture (Evans 1990b, 809, 811; Mattill 1975, 39). I owe the suggestion of the link to my student, Mr Simon Hawthorne.

¹¹⁰ Klostermann 1975, 132 calls Luke 12 'Eine komponierte Rede, ja ein Musterbeispiel lukanischer Redaktion.' Seccombe 1982, 146 comments, '12,1-13,9 has the marks of being, at least in the mind of Luke, a connected teaching discourse.'

¹¹¹ Material from the Gospel of Thomas is added for illustrative purposes without a presupposed hypothesis about the origin of the material. See Kloppenborg 1988, 116-143 for the parallels set out synoptically.

The chapter begins with a warning to the disciples about the Pharisees (vv 1-3, possibly located here in juxtaposition to the altercation in 11:33-54), which broadens into a wider warning to fear God above people (vv 4-7). This leads on to more specific words about acknowledging Jesus before people, not least in a public tribunal (vv 8-12). The focus is then shifted by the interrupting question of a bystander, in response to which Jesus declines to take the role of a religious 'ruler' and warns against covetousness (vv 13-15). This warning is underlined by a parable (vv 16-21). Turning again to his disciples, Jesus teaches about the futility of worry (vv 22-32),¹¹² before drawing the conclusion that wealth is not to be hoarded, but given to the needy (vv 33f). The focus then moves to teaching about readiness, including a group of parables (vv 36-48), and the section ends with Jesus' sayings about division (vv 49-53).

The section is thus full of material about discipleship, some for outsiders and some for those who already follow Jesus.¹¹³ Three major themes of this passage are paralleled in the Miletus speech: leadership, suffering (and the priority of discipleship), and money.¹¹⁴

4.3.1. Leadership

Given the context, of Jesus' teaching to the disciples – who will themselves be the leaders of the church – we should not be surprised that Luke 12:1-53 has material to offer on leadership. While Jesus declines to be 'set over' people as a judge of material things (vv 13f), he speaks of the household manager who is 'set over' the master's house in his absence (vv 42, 44, using καθίστημι, as in v 14), implying the apostles' future leadership role in his own absence.¹¹⁵ Moreover, in this parable Luke alone uses

¹¹² Nolland 1993a, 690 suggests that vv 22-32 form a parallel to vv 13-21, but aimed at disciples rather than outsiders.

¹¹³ Interestingly, this is the only place in the synoptic tradition where Jesus addresses his disciples as φίλοι (v 4) (Fitzmyer 1985, 959); cf. John 15:14f. φίλος is a Lukanism, found 15 times in Luke and 3 times in Acts; it is found once only in Matthew, not at all in Mark and 6 times in John.

¹¹⁴ Tannehill 1986, 250 notes the parallels without detailed analysis.

¹¹⁵ Johnson 1992b, 204. καθίστημι appears just these three times in Luke plus five times in Acts (6:3; 7:10, 27, 35; 17:15), in all but one of which (17:15) the appointment to leadership is in view. It occurs in Matthew four times, and never in Mark and John. Stein 1992, 361; Bock 1996, 1179 and Johnson 1977, 166, noticing the future tenses (vv 42, 44: in v 42 Luke uses a future by contrast with Matthew's aorist, whereas in v 44 both use a future), believe that this implies a reference to the Twelve's future leadership over the church. Nolland 1993a, 703 observes, 'A correlation is rightly to be drawn between the serving role here and the call to various forms of service in the church, but any narrow focus on church leaders is to be avoided.' While we may agree that Luke does not intend a *narrow* focus on church leaders, the use of

οἰκονόμος (v 42; δούλος in Matt. 24:45), which denotes a slave put over other slaves of the same master.¹¹⁶ Indeed, Peter's question (v 41, Luke alone) puts the parable in a context which implies that it is for the disciples specifically as future leaders.¹¹⁷ Further, the disciples are to be given τὴν βασιλείαν (v 32), which may carry the same sense of 'kingly rule' as we saw in 22:29.¹¹⁸

Jesus contrasts the attitudes he seeks with those of the Pharisees¹¹⁹ (vv 1-3), whom he criticises because of their hypocrisy (only mentioned by Luke). This follows criticism of their lack of inner cleanliness (11:37-41) and not practising what they preach (11:42-44). Further, the lawyers, who are associated with the Pharisees (11:45), are criticised by Jesus for hiding the truth from the people (11:52).¹²⁰

In contrast to their hidden hypocrisy which will one day be revealed for all to see (vv 2f) and their hiding the truth (11:52), the teaching of Paul is open to inspection: he has not hidden anything profitable to the Ephesian Christians (Acts 20:20, 27), a conceptual contrast, and parallel to the lifestyle to which Jesus calls his teaching-followers. Paul is a model of his own teaching, for which he has suffered (Acts 20:19) and is willing to suffer (Acts 20:23f) – again, by contrast with the comfortable lifestyle of those whom Jesus criticises (Luke 11:43).

This line of thought is taken a step further by vv 8-12, where readiness to acknowledge Jesus publicly is a mark of a true disciple. The substance (and mostly the vocabulary) of the sayings in vv 8-9 is identical in Luke and Matthew. What marks Luke's account as distinctive is the bringing together of the material in vv 8-12, which is found in disparate locations in

καθίστημι (on which Nolland does not comment in this connection) points towards a particular interest in those who are 'over' others.

116 Marshall 1978, 540. Luke shows that this is his understanding by using δούλος for the same person later in the parable (v 43). It is noteworthy that Luke alone among the Evangelists uses οἰκονόμος (Luke 12:42; 16:1, 3, 8).

117 Johnson 1977, 166 argues that the redactional placing of the parable in vv 42-48 establishes 'a separation between the rest of the disciples to whom these sayings have been addressed and those whom Peter calls "us" which in context can only mean the Twelve.'

118 § 4.2.4.

119 Luke focuses the criticism on the Pharisees alone, by contrast with Matthew (who also has Sadducees, 16:6) and Mark (who also has Herod, 8:15).

120 Johnson 1992b, 194 observes, 'Luke has entirely removed this saying [sc. 12:2] from its narrative context in Mark 8:15 (Matt 16:6), so that it now functions as a metaphoric summary for the entire attack on the Pharisees and lawyers just concluded.'

Mark and Matthew.¹²¹ Luke provides a grouping of sayings which together highlight the responsibility of the disciples in their missionary/leadership role: vv 11f particularly are more specific than their Matthean and Markan equivalents concerning before whom the apostles will be tried – synagogues, rulers and authorities. Fitzmyer rightly observes:

The complex of v. 10 and vv. 11-12 makes clear how great a calling and responsibility the Christian missionary-disciple has – to carry forth as witness Jesus' own word and to cope with such opposition that may even involve resistance to the holy Spirit.¹²²

The requirement of faithfulness is linked by Luke to the responsibilities of an οἰκονόμος (v 42; Matthew has δοῦλος), a word that suggests leaders.¹²³ πιστός, which embodies the task of leadership, is a favourite word of Luke among the evangelists.¹²⁴ The leader in the Christian community has a responsibility of stewardship over the household of God (vv 35-48, esp. 41-48). vv 35-48 picture a situation where the disciples' master is absent, but due to return, and 'the disciples (or some of them, including Peter) as occupying positions of leadership and pastoral responsibility.'¹²⁵ Their leadership is not to be exercised in the abuse of those they lead: vv 45f show a contrasting example of bad leadership in

121 See the table, § 4.3.

122 Fitzmyer 1985, 965.

123 Marshall 1978, 540; Ellis 1974, 181 argue that this difference highlights a clearer focus on church leaders in Luke's account. cf. Talbert 1970, 188f, who sees v 42 as 'very much like Luke's description of the ideal elder of his own time in Acts 20:28.' The image of the οἰκονόμος also pictures a leader who is under a master, similar to the picture in 1 Pet. 5:4, which implicitly pictures the elders to whom the author writes as 'under-shepherds' by referring to the ἀρχιποίμην, who is Jesus Christ (Cranfield 1950, 110f, 114; Marshall 1991, 164; Best 1971, 171; Davids 1990, 181).

124 Luke-Acts uses it ten times (Luke 12:42; 16: 10 [twice], 11, 12; Acts 10:45; 13:34; 16:1, 15); Matthew five times, in the parallel to this passage (24:45) and in the parable of the talents (25:21 [twice], 23 [twice]) – all paralleled in Luke; John uses it once (20:27); Mark not at all. It is found more frequently in the Pauline corpus (33 times in total, including 17 times in the Pastorals): cf. 1 Cor. 4:2, where Paul declares that the characteristic of a steward should be faithfulness.

125 Marshall 1978, 533; Talbert 1984b, 143.

striking fellow-servants (not unlike the manner of the Gentile kings of 22:24-27¹²⁶ and the wolves of Acts 20:29, who do not spare the flock¹²⁷).

Most surprising in the teaching of this section is the idea that the returning master will wait upon his faithful servants (v 37, found in Luke alone). The returning master would be understood in the early church to be the Lord Jesus, and this verse provides a strong parallel to the saying in Luke 22:27,¹²⁸ particularly because it mentions the servants reclining at table (cf. Luke 22:14) and the master serving them (using διακονέω, as 22:37): 'To picture the *returning* Lord as still serving gives this aspect of his work unexpected prominence. It suggests that service is a permanent characteristic of the Lord, even when he is exalted'¹²⁹ – indeed, it suggests that service is also to characterise the leadership of the Lord's community.

The idea of the οἰκονόμος as serving, which is particularly clear in vv 35-38, is taken up in the Miletus speech, where Paul uses the word δουλεύω (Acts 20:19) of his ministry. The verbal parallel is strong here, for the noun δοῦλος is used in Luke 12:37, 43, 45, 46. Thus we may see both a verbal and a conceptual parallel between the two passages at this point.

Luke presents Paul as one who has been faithful (cf. Luke 12:42) in passing on the tradition (Acts 20:20f, 24, 27), which forms a conceptual parallel to the idea of stewardship in Luke 12. Paul exemplifies the carrying out of this calling: he makes strenuous efforts in his service (Acts 20:19, 20, 27, and the use of πᾶς throughout the speech;¹³⁰ cf. the vocabulary of effort in Luke 12:35f); he faces trials as a result of his faithful proclamation (Acts 20:19-21, 27); and he is ready to face future suffering (Acts 20:22f) in order to complete the road which the Lord Jesus has set before him (Acts 20:24).

Further, Paul calls the Ephesian elders to the same readiness to proclaim the message despite the coming of others who will either deny or distort it (Acts 20:28-31). They too are to make strenuous efforts to carry

126 Tannehill 1986, 250. Ellis 1974, 181 proposes that 'Luke apparently is addressing a situation in which some Christian leaders have become corrupt and despotic...he distinguishes and emphasizes the additional responsibility resting upon Christian leaders.' Likewise, Schmithals 1980, 148 sees Luke teaching the church leaders of his day, when false teachers were a danger (he cites Acts 20:28ff; 1 Tim. 1:3ff; 3:1ff).

127 Talbert 1970, 189 observes that the image of a flock for the disciples occurs in Luke 12 and the Miletus speech.

128 Johnson 1977, 167; see discussion, § 4.2.4.

129 Tannehill 1986, 249 (italics his). Similarly Johnson 1992b, 206; Marshall 1978, 536.

130 See § 3.5.1.

out their service (Acts 20:28, 31). 20:28-31, in parallel with Luke 12:41-48, indicate that church leaders should not 'browbeat their fellow Christians or...run riot':¹³¹ the parallel with the Miletus speech operates in both positive and negative forms. Both Paul's own activities and his charge to the elders are instantiations of Luke's record of the teaching of Jesus in this respect.

4.3.2. Suffering

The readiness to suffer for Jesus' sake is another theme of Luke 12 with strong echoes in the Miletus speech. It connects with another significant theme of the section, namely fear:¹³² φοβέω¹³³ is used frequently (vv 4, 5 [three times], 7, 32), as is μεριμνάω (vv 11, 22, 25, 26). As we shall see from the contrasts which are made, this fear is not merely common human fear, but anxiety arising out of discipleship.¹³⁴

The conjunction of these themes is seen first when Jesus says that physical suffering imposed by other people in this life is not the greatest thing to fear; rather, God,¹³⁵ who can cast the whole person in Gehenna, is the one to fear (vv 4-7). This comes in the context of the threat to Jesus from the scribes and Pharisees (Luke 11:53f) following his criticisms of them (11:37-52).¹³⁶ Paul speaks of the value of his own life in very similar terms. He models what it is to fear God rather than people, for he will face imprisonment (Acts 20:23) rather than fail to follow the path the Lord Jesus has prepared for him (Acts 20:24).¹³⁷

131 Evans 1990b, 536.

132 Tannehill 1986, 244f; Johnson 1977, 152.

133 Around a third of the NT uses are found in Luke-Acts (37 out of 95). Goulder 1989, 800, 809 cites the verb (of fearing God) and the noun as amongst distinctive Lukan vocabulary using his test that the word must occur markedly more frequently in Luke than Matthew and Mark, and in at least three different contexts. His statistics are (in each case listing uses in Matthew/Mark/Luke+Acts): φοβεῖσθαι, of God 1/0/6+5; μὴ-φοβοῦ 0/1/5+2; φόβος 3/1/7[?+0].

134 Seccombe 1982, 150-152.

135 Fitzmyer 1985, 959.

136 Johnson 1977, 152.

137 Paul is twice told by God not to be afraid (Acts 18:9; 27:24).

Likewise, the readiness to testify (ὁμολογέω, Luke 12:8¹³⁸) before¹³⁹ the Jewish ('synagogue') and Gentile ('rulers and authorities'¹⁴⁰) authorities (vv 11f), of which Jesus speaks in vv 8-12,¹⁴¹ is the other side of the coin to not denying Jesus (vv 8f¹⁴²).

Paul speaks in similar terms of threats to him, particularly naming his Jewish opponents in the Miletus address (Acts 20:19), but also stating that he testifies (διαμαρτύρεω, Acts 20:21, 22, 24) to Jews and Greeks (Acts 20:21). A link with Luke 12:8-12 is that the disciples are to bear testimony before synagogues and rulers (Luke 12:11), with particular mention of the Jews. A conceptual parallel may thus, we suggest, be seen here.¹⁴³

Discipleship takes higher priority than one's own family (vv 49-53). Jesus brings division¹⁴⁴ because he demands absolute priority above all other people and loyalties – and this has been a major theme, stretching back to the division between the followers of Jesus and the Pharisees (11:37–12:3).¹⁴⁵ The sense of the priority demanded by discipleship is also clear in Paul's speech (esp. Acts 20:24), and Paul has faithfully carried out his leadership task with the same priority (Acts 20:19, 20, 26f, 31). He is prepared to go to prison rather than fail to carry out his task (Acts 20:22-24) – he is, we might say, 'bound' (cf. δεδεδεμένος, v 22) by God to carry it through, captive to God's desires. Not only that, but Paul

¹³⁸ Reiling & Swellengrebel 1971, 466 suggest (following BAGD, 568, art. ὁμολογέω, § 4) the sense 'acknowledge', and comment: 'To acknowledge Jesus means to acknowledge allegiance to Jesus.' cf. 2 Macc. 6:6, where the same verb is used, stating that 'People could not...confess themselves to be Jews', another 'public' testimony sense.

¹³⁹ ἔμπροσθεν shows that it is a public testimony that is involved (cf. Luke 5:19; 19:2, 27; Acts 18:17) (in agreement with Marshall 1978, 515).

¹⁴⁰ Note the parallel with Luke 20:20 (Lukan redaction), where Pilate has ἀρχή καὶ ἐξουσία (Goulder 1989, 531).

¹⁴¹ Evans 1990b, 519; Stein 1992, 349 both see the reference to the two kinds of tribunal.

¹⁴² Using ἀρνέομαι and ἀπαρνέομαι, next found at Luke 22:34, 57, 61, all significantly of Peter's denial of Jesus (Tannehill 1986, 245).

¹⁴³ Evans 1990b, 519 believes the link is stronger, seeing Paul's testimony before the elders as an example of such activity (Acts 20:22ff). But Evans' other proposed examples (Acts 22–26) are more likely, since they are in a judicial setting; there is no suggestion in Acts 20 that Paul is before a tribunal, either formally or informally.

¹⁴⁴ Using a Lukan word, διαμερισμός (v 51), where Matthew uses μάχαιρα (10:34); cf. the uses of participles derived from the cognate verb διαμερίζω (vv 52, 53). The noun and verb are found nine times in Luke-Acts (Luke 11:17, 18; 12:51, 52, 53; 22:17; 23:34; Acts 2:17, 34), compared to once each in Matthew, Mark and John. No other NT uses exist. cf. Goulder 1989, 802.

¹⁴⁵ Johnson 1977, 151f.

summons the Ephesian elders to the same wholeheartedness in keeping watch and being alert day and night, as he had (Acts 20:28, 31).

4.3.3. Money

The attitude to wealth is very similar in both passages. Luke presents Jesus as teaching both negatively and positively. Negatively, Jesus criticises excessive acquisitiveness and points to the relativisation of wealth in the light of the need to be 'rich toward God' (vv 13-21, unique to Luke). The sequence of first person references in vv 17-19, both the fourfold μου¹⁴⁶ and the series of first person singular verbs (ποιήσω, ἔχω, συνάξω, ποιήσω, καθελῶ, οἰκοδομήσω, συνάξω, ἐρῶ),¹⁴⁷ contrasts sharply with the verdict of v 21, with its emphatic placing of οὕτως ὁ θησαυρίζων ἑαυτῷ.

Positively (in a section with Matthean parallel, vv 22-31), God is able to provide for those who are his and therefore worry is folly (vv 22-26). Those who seek God's kingdom (vv 31f; v 32 in Luke alone) will discover that God's care for them is expressed in the same way as his care for the birds and the lilies (vv 24, 27f; cf. v 7). Luke goes on to record teaching about the freedom the disciples now have to give away to those in need (vv 33f; v 33a unique to Luke) because they possess heavenly treasure.¹⁴⁸

In the main section of the Miletus speech relating to wealth (Acts 20:33-35), a striking verbal parallel to the use of δίδωμι (Acts 20:35) in the quotation of a saying of Jesus, is the same verb (in the imperative mood) in Luke 12:33a (unparalleled in Matthew), where Jesus encourages giving. Luke's lexical choice seems designed to draw attention to the invitation of Jesus to give, which Paul models – and which he in turn delivers to the elders of Ephesus by word and example (Acts 20:35).

Paul also records his own lack of covetousness (v 33), thus embodying the teaching of Luke 12:13-21 (esp. v 15, which makes the point explicit). Paul contrasts with the rich fool, for Paul works with his hands to provide

¹⁴⁶ Plummer 1913, 324; Ellis 1974, 177 ('Thinking he was an owner, he found that he himself was owned').

¹⁴⁷ Rienecker 1974, 311 observes, 'Auch sind die sechs „Ichs“ des Bauern [although there are eight such verbs in Greek] so sehr charakteristisch: Was soll *ich* tun – *ich* habe nicht – wo *ich* – *ich* will – *ich* will – *ich* werde sagen.' (italics his) The emphasis is clear, even though none of the verbs has an emphatic personal pronoun.

¹⁴⁸ 'In Luke-Acts the purpose of wealth is found in its being shared...Although Jesus believed no-one could serve God and money, he called his disciples, in vss. 33-34, to serve God with money' (Talbert 1984b, 141, 143).

for his companions as well as himself (Acts 20:34), whereas the rich fool wishes not to have to work with his hands (Luke 20:19).¹⁴⁹

Further, Paul includes in his list of non-coveted items clothes (Acts 20:33, ἱμάτιον), which resonates with language about the body being more than clothes (Luke 12:23, ἔνδυμα) and God clothing the grass and those of little faith (Luke 12:28, ἀμφιέζω¹⁵⁰).

A further lexical link is the contrast in the use of κληρονομία in Luke 12:13f, where Jesus refuses to be a divider of an inheritance, and in Acts 20:32, where Paul tells the elders that God will *give* them an inheritance.¹⁵¹ God's generosity, exemplified in Luke by his treatment of the birds and lilies, is great to those who respond to him.

4.3.4. Other verbal parallels

As we noted above, it is not so much the paralleling of individual themes that is remarkable, but the clustering of several themes that are present in the Miletus speech in Luke 12:1-53. In the speech Luke seems to be presenting Paul, in his own following of Jesus, as a model of the discipleship described in Luke 12:1-53. We may additionally note five further verbal parallels between Luke 12:1-53 and the Miletus address which are not linked directly to the major themes of the Pauline speech.

First, the blessing on those found awake (γρηγοροῦντας, v 37¹⁵²) at the master's return is paralleled in the Miletus speech by the use of the same verb in the imperative mood in Acts 20:31.¹⁵³ This becomes the more significant when we notice that γρηγορέω occurs nowhere else in Luke-Acts:¹⁵⁴ Luke only uses the word in Jesus' blessing, which acts as an instruction to his disciples to stay awake, and Paul's similar injunction to

149 Seccombe 1982, 158.

150 A Hellenistic spelling of ἀμφιάζω (BAGD, 47).

151 κληρονομία is not used greatly in the NT (14 times: only six times in the Gospels and Acts), and Luke-Acts provides four of the uses. Apart from the two uses discussed, the others are in the parable of the wicked tenants (Luke 20:14, also found in the Matthean and Markan parallels) and in Stephen's speech (of the promised land, Acts 7:5). The word is not used outside these passages in the Gospels and Acts.

152 γρηγορέω is also present in a variant reading in Luke 12:39, but the evidence is against its being present in the autograph in spite of the range of manuscripts containing it, because of the probability of assimilation to the parallel in Matt. 24:43 (Metzger 1975, 161f; Marshall 1978, 538; Fitzmyer 1985, 989; Nolland 1993a, 698).

153 Marshall 1978, 536.

154 It occurs six times each in Matthew and Mark, but there is no real parallel to Luke 12:37 in the other Synoptic Gospels.

the elders. Luke thus draws attention to the parallel between Jesus and Paul in their exhortation to those who follow them in leadership.

Second, Jesus describes himself as constrained ἕως ὅτου τελεσθῆ (Luke 12:50; found in Luke alone¹⁵⁵), and Paul speaks of his own desire to complete the task God has given to him using the closely related verb τελειόω (Acts 20:24¹⁵⁶). Luke presents Paul as sharing his Master's focus on carrying out his God-given task – and the two verbs both give a sense of purpose to their respective work,¹⁵⁷ both of which will result in suffering in Jerusalem (Luke 12:50; Acts 20:23f).

Third, Jesus describes his disciples as τὸ μικρὸν ποίμνιον¹⁵⁸ (Luke 12:32; peculiar to Luke), and Paul describes the church in Ephesus using ποίμνιον (Acts 20:28, 29).¹⁵⁹ These are the only uses of ποίμνιον in Luke-Acts,¹⁶⁰ and the word is only used once elsewhere in the NT (1 Pet. 5:2f, also in the context of leadership¹⁶¹). Luke's Paul also uses the cognate verb ποιμαίνω (Acts 20:28). Paul is again portrayed in the tradition of his Master, conceiving those whom he cares for as a 'flock' who are to be 'shepherded', as he hands on leadership responsibility to his successors in Ephesus.

Fourth, the language of alerting is common to the two passages. The unusual ὑποδείκνυμι is used by Jesus to set a pattern for the disciples of fearing God (Luke 12:5; unparalleled in Matthew) and by Paul who sets a pattern for the elders' conduct (Acts 20:35).¹⁶² προσέχω also occurs in both

155 Luke also uses συνέχω here, a favourite word of his: nine of the twelve NT uses are found in Luke-Acts (Luke 4:38; 8:37, 45; 12:50; 19:43; 22:63; Acts 7:57; 18:5; 28:8). Goulder 1989, 808 lists it in his 'Lukan vocabulary'.

156 Tannehill 1986, 250f.

157 Concerning τελέω: Marshall 1978, 547: 'τελέω...conveys the idea that the death envisaged by Jesus...is no mere fate or accident but a destiny to be fulfilled'. So also Nolland 1993a, 709. Concerning τελειόω: Bruce 1990, 532; Conzelmann 1987, 174; Schneider 1980, 1982, II:295.

158 Fitzmyer 1985, 980 sees this as an allusion to Isa. 41:14 LXX. Morris 1974, 215 notes that this phrase is found only here in the NT.

159 Marshall 1978, 530; Evans 1990b, 530. Stein 1992, 356 suggests that there may also be a link with the idea of being sent out as lambs in the midst of wolves (Luke 10:3), which might provide a further link with Acts 20:29. See § 4.5.3.

160 Seccombe 1982, 149.

161 Achtemeier 1996, 325f notes the collocation of ποίμνιον, ποιμαίνω and words from the ἐπίσκοπος-word group in 1 Pet. 5:2; Acts 20:28.

162 See § 3.4.5, where we note that Johnson 1992a, 365 suggests the sense 'to draw a pattern' for ὑποδείκνυμι.

places with a reflexive second person pronoun,¹⁶³ each using the imperative (Luke 12:1 [paralleled in Matthew but not Mark]; Acts 20:28).¹⁶⁴

Finally, the use of verbs of knowing is of interest. Luke 12 contains a number of uses of γινώσκω and οἶδα (vv 2, 30, 39, 46, 47, 48). Jesus speaks of God's knowledge, which means that he will provide (v 30); he will reveal secret things (v 2). There is also the contrast between the slave who knows and the one who does not (vv 47f), for knowledge should lead to action (v 39b). Hidden knowledge appears at three points (vv 2, 39b, 46). The Miletus speech also abounds in use of these two verbs¹⁶⁵ and pays similar attention to the need to act on knowledge (Acts 20:29-31: the use of διό at the beginning of v 31 indicates that a conclusion is being drawn from vv 29f), as well as an understanding of Paul's imperfect knowledge (Acts 20:22), implicitly contrasted with God's full knowledge.

4.3.5. Summary

Throughout Luke 12:1-53 parallels with the Miletus speech occur, both verbal and conceptual. As with our study of Luke's Last Supper discourse, some of these appear closer parallels than others, but they may be seen as having a cumulative effect: one or two alone could be argued to be coincidence, but several clear-cut verbal parallels clustered together lead us to take seriously the likelihood of conceptual parallels.

A key significance of these parallels is that Luke presents Paul as modelling the teaching of Jesus in his lifestyle and as he passes on the tradition to the next generation of leaders. Tannehill summarises well:

The portrait of Paul in his farewell address in Acts 20:18-35, which corresponds to major themes in Jesus' teaching to the disciples in Luke 12:4-53, suggests a highly favourable view of Paul, which in turn indicates that Paul's life story is a faithful interpretation of God's purposes in Jesus.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶³ Goulder 1989, 808 notes that the phrase προσέχω ἑαυτοῖς (Luke 12:1) is characteristically Lukan (never found in Matthew or Mark, five times in Luke-Acts: Luke 12:1; 17:3; 21:34 [see § 4.4]; Acts 5:35; 20:28), in agreement with Marshall 1978, 782; Plummer 1913, 317; Fitzmyer 1985, 954.

¹⁶⁴ Stein 1992, 346 (partly).

¹⁶⁵ See § 3.3.1, 'Repetitions'.

¹⁶⁶ Tannehill 1986, 253.

4.4. Luke 21:5-36

This passage could be considered as a 'farewell discourse' of Jesus, in which he prepares his disciples for what is to come.¹⁶⁷ He speaks of future suffering and persecution (vv 12-19, 36), the need to be ready for what will follow (vv 29-36), the dangers of false teachers or prophets who will come after him (vv 8-9), and the need to be watchful (vv 34-36).

The focus of the discourse is entirely in the future, however: there is no retrospect to the past as is common in farewell discourses.¹⁶⁸ Further, Jesus' future absence is assumed rather than explicitly predicted, which further limits the sense in which this may be seen as a 'farewell speech'. Nevertheless, some of the themes of this discourse are present in the Miletus speech. Four particular points call for comment.

First, Jesus warns of future suffering and persecution (vv 12-19, 36). We have already noticed the prominence of suffering in the Miletus speech (Acts 20:19, 22-24);¹⁶⁹ it is prominent here too. In particular, the persecution will come both from official sources (vv 12-15) and from family and kin (vv 16-19). The mention of 'kin' (= συγγενής, v 16, a Lukanism¹⁷⁰) among those who will deliver up the disciples is found in Luke alone (cf. Matt. 10:21; Mark 13:12). In addition, the fourfold opposition (parents, brothers, kin, friends) reflects a Lukan liking for groups of four.¹⁷¹ This mention of 'kin' forms a conceptual parallel to the Miletus speech's statement that the Jews – Paul's own kin – oppose and persecute Paul (Acts 20:19, 22f). Luke's Paul lives out the teaching of Jesus – and this fits him to warn the elders of opposition and suffering to come in the Miletus speech.

Second, the use of μαρτύριον (v 13) provides a link with the use of the cognate compound verb διαμαρτύρομαι (Acts 20:21, 24) describing Paul's own ministry. The meaning of μαρτύριον here is debated, for the more usual sense in the NT seems to be 'evidence, testimony' (e.g. Luke 5:14; 22:71), and μαρτυρία is more regularly used for the act of giving

¹⁶⁷ Evans 1990b, 730.

¹⁶⁸ See § 3.2.1.

¹⁶⁹ § 3.5.2.

¹⁷⁰ Goulder 1989, 709f, 808. The word-group (συγγενής, συγγενίς, συγγένεια) occurs once in Mark, never in Matthew, and nine times in Luke-Acts (Luke 1:38, 58, 61; 2:44; 14:12; 21:16; Acts 7:3, 14; 10:24). In the NT it is otherwise found only once in John and four times in Romans.

¹⁷¹ Goulder 1989, 709, 113f cites four Beatitudes, four Woes and the fourfold groups in Luke 6:27f, 37f; 14:12f, 21; 12:19; 17:27, all unparalleled in Matthew and Mark.

testimony (e.g. John 1:7).¹⁷² Such a distinction leads some to argue that Luke's phrase ἀποβήσεται ὑμῖν εἰς μαρτύριον should be understood as referring to a testimony for the disciples at the eschatological judgement.¹⁷³ Evans rightly observes that this proposal would be more convincing if a Greek equivalent of 'for you'¹⁷⁴ followed εἰς μαρτύριον. The translation 'this will give you an opportunity to testify' is most likely because of the context of verbal testimony by the disciples (vv 12, 14f) and the use of μαρτύριον in Acts 4:33.¹⁷⁵ With such an understanding of μαρτύριον, we observe that, just as Luke's Jesus calls his disciples to bear witness and to testify of him, so Luke's Paul in the Miletus speech is presented as having lived this out.¹⁷⁶

Third, the need to be watchful and ready is emphasised in both the Miletus speech and the Lukan apocalypse. The elders must be watchful of themselves (Acts 20:28: προσέχετε ἑαυτοῖς¹⁷⁷), a Lukan phrase¹⁷⁸ used by Jesus to warn the disciples (v 34, within a section unparalleled in Matthew and Mark¹⁷⁹). Luke again presents Paul as in the tradition of his Master.

Fourth, the future includes false teachers/prophets in both passages. Luke's version of Jesus' warning is closer to Mark than Matthew (Luke 21:8f; Mark 13:5f; Matt. 24:4f), but differs in some respects from both. Many who come 'in my name' will say ἐγώ εἰμι. This combination of the two phrases seems to point to the latter phrase being understood in the light of the former, that is that these people will come claiming Jesus' office as Messiah, and therefore Matthew has correctly understood ἐγώ εἰμι to mean, 'I am the Messiah.'¹⁸⁰ Paul, similarly, wants the elders of

¹⁷² BAGD, 493f.

¹⁷³ EDNT, 2:393; Marshall 1978, 768 sees LXX use pointing this way, citing Deut. 31:26; Hos. 2:12; Mic. 1:2; 7:18; Zeph. 3:8.

¹⁷⁴ Presumably a dative, as Col. 4:13, although Evans 1990b, 742 is not specific.

¹⁷⁵ TDNT, IV:503f; NIDNTT, 3:1043; Trites 1977, 128, 131; Nolland 1993b, 996; Goulder 1989, 708; Fitzmyer 1985, 1340; Stein 1992, 517; Schneider 1977a, 420 ('V. 13 deutet die Verfolgung als Chance zum Christuszeugnis'); Bock 1996, 1669f.

¹⁷⁶ Johnson 1992b, 322 see Acts 20:26 (amongst other passages in Acts) as a fulfilment of the opportunity to bear witness predicted by Jesus here.

¹⁷⁷ The parallel with Acts 20:28 is noted by Johnson 1992b, 328; Tannehill 1990, 261; Stein 1992, 346.

¹⁷⁸ See above for evidence that the phrase is Lukan, plus Nolland 1993b, 1012; Evans 1990b, 762.

¹⁷⁹ Schweizer 1984, 322. Nolland 1993b, 1012 suggests that vv 34-36 should be seen as a Lukan replacement for Mark 13:33-37.

¹⁸⁰ Nolland 1993b, 991; Evans 1990b, 308; Ernst 1977, 555; Stein 1992, 513; Marshall 1978, 763; *contra* Ellis 1974, 243; Fitzmyer 1985, 817, 1336 – both see the warning as vaguer, against people who claim to be Jesus' representative.

Ephesus to be alert to the 'wolves' who will come after him, whose characteristic will be distortion of the truth, that is, false teaching (Acts 20:29f; cf. Luke 10:3f¹⁸¹). Again, Paul gives a similar warning to that of his Lord – and Luke thereby hints that we may conclude that Paul is in the authentic tradition of Jesus.

As in Luke 12 and 22, it is not simply that one or two parallels with the Miletus speech occur, but the clustering of several parallels implies that it is no accident. Luke is drawing his readers' attention to the requirement that the servant is as the Master, both in consistency of lifestyle and of leadership, expressed particularly in the parallels between Luke 21 and Paul's teaching role in the Miletus speech.

4.5. Briefer passages

Finally, four briefer passages in Luke's Gospel merit comment.

4.5.1. Luke 7:38, 44

The story of the woman (Luke 7:36-50) offers a fascinating series of parallels to the Miletus meeting in connection with weeping and kissing. Three words used in the Lukan story form the links with Paul's meeting with the elders: δάκρυον, κλαίω and καταφιλέω.

It is debated whether the Lukan story should be considered part of the Lukan *Sondergut*¹⁸² or a Lukan adaptation of material he has derived from elsewhere.¹⁸³ There are both similarities and differences between the stories found in Mark 14:3-9; Matt. 26:6-13; Luke 7:36-50 and John 12:1-8.¹⁸⁴ In the event, this issue is not decisive for this study, since all of the words we shall discuss are peculiar to the Lukan account, so that they at least provide evidence of Lukan redaction.

δάκρυον is very rare in Luke-Acts: it only occurs here (Luke 7:38, 44) and in the Miletus speech (Acts 20:19, 31).¹⁸⁵ The tears of the woman here are not 'light whimpering'¹⁸⁶ but enough for the feet of Jesus to need

181 Discussed § 4.5.3.

182 Schneider 1977a, 176; Fitzmyer 1985, 684; Stein 1992, 235; Bock 1994, 690; Johnson 1992b, 128; Evans 1990b, 360; Nolland 1989, 352.

183 Elliott 1973-74; Goulder 1989, 398-401.

184 Aply documented in Fitzmyer 1985, 684; Elliott 1973-74, 15; Bock 1994, 689-691.

185 It is found only six times elsewhere in the NT.

186 Bock 1994, 696 points out that βρέχω, the verb used by Luke to show that the tears wet the feet of Jesus, is used of rain showers elsewhere (e.g. Matt. 5:45; Jas 5:17; so BAGD, 147). Evans 1990b, 360 points to Ps. 6:6 LXX as an example of βρέχω used for tears.

drying. Indeed, the verbs of v 38 have continuous aspects, implying that she goes on doing the various things.¹⁸⁷ She is overcome by the occasion and can no longer hold back her tears.¹⁸⁸

κλαίω is a Lukanism¹⁸⁹ and is echoed by the related noun κλαυθμός¹⁹⁰ (Acts 20:37) recording the reaction of the elders to Paul's address.

καταφιλέω is another Lukanism,¹⁹¹ even though not a very common word in Luke-Acts, and the only place in Acts where it is used is in recording the elders kissing Paul (Acts 20:37).¹⁹²

But what is the meaning of the weeping and kissing in Luke 7? The tears of the woman may indicate her penitence or her joy at her (antecedent) forgiveness.¹⁹³ The latter seems more likely for two reasons. First, the perfect tenses of ἀφίημι (vv 47, 48) imply that the woman is already in a state of forgiven-ness.¹⁹⁴ Second, the statement of v 47a should be understood as 'her sins...are forgiven, as evidenced by the fact that she loved much,' since the parable of the debtors (vv 41-43) and the following summary comment (v 47b) have the same sequence of forgiveness then love. This suggests that v 47a ought to be understood to have a similar sequence, rather than meaning (in contradiction of the surrounding phrases) that her forgiveness was the reward for her love.¹⁹⁵

187 κλαίουσα is a present participle; βρέχειν is a present infinitive; ἐξέμασσεν is imperfect indicative; κατεφίλει is imperfect indicative; ἤλειφεν is imperfect indicative (Bock 1994, 697 notices the imperfects; Evans 1990b, 362 appears to identify the last as an aorist; the aorist would be ἤλειψεν, the form found in v 46, after the anointing is completed).

188 Ernst 1977, 256.

189 Goulder 1989, 805 records it as such on the basis of two uses in Matthew, four in Mark (one of which is 16:10!), eleven in Luke and two in Acts. It occurs 39 times in the NT in total (excluding Mark 16:10).

190 Used most by Matthew (nine times), the only other NT uses being Luke 13:28; Acts 20:37.

191 Found three times in Luke (7:38, 45; 15:20) and once in Acts (20:37), but only elsewhere in the NT at Matt.26:49//Mark 14:45.

192 Bock 1994, 697.

193 Bailey 1980, 17f sees a further element, of anger at the inhospitality of Simon to Jesus, for he has failed to provide the normal courtesies due to a guest. Some argue that it is not clear that the washing of feet was a *normal* courtesy in this period (Marshall 1978, 311f; Nolland 1989, 357). However, Thomas 1991, 26-56 concludes his thorough discussion of Jewish contexts, 'references to footwashing for the purpose of hospitality are very frequent' (42).

194 Bailey 1980, 17; Fitzmyer 1981, 692.

195 Bailey 1980, 18. So also Johnson 1992b, 127f; Marshall 1978, 306, 309; Tannehill 1986, 95, 117f; Bock 1994, 703; Ellis 1974, 122; Evans 1990b, 364; Stein 1992, 237; Nolland 1989, 354.

There are examples elsewhere of ὄτι used in this sense.¹⁹⁶ Significantly, a reliable character in the narrative (Jesus) gives a positive evaluation of the woman's tears (v 44), suggesting that tears on other occasions may have a positive value too.

Paul's tears (Acts 20:19, 31) show his love for the Ephesian church (demonstrated in that he has not spared any effort to help them), as well as his sincerity and earnestness. Luke may thus be presenting Paul as the model of discipleship, a model copied from the woman commended by Jesus. Not only that, but the weeping of the elders and their kissing Paul (Acts 20:37) show the same devotion to the one who has helped them experience the forgiving love of God as the woman expresses toward Jesus. Once again, this is a suggestive link.

4.5.2. Luke 9:2

The phrase κηρύσσειν τὴν βασιλείαν only occurs once elsewhere in the NT (Acts 20:25, within the Miletus address). In Luke 9:2 the disciples are sent out κηρύσσειν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, again, a rare phrase (cf. Acts 28:31, the only other NT use of this fuller phrase). Neither the Markan or Matthean parallels have this phrase (Mark 6:6ff; Matt. 10:1, 7ff), which suggests that at the least the phrase represents Lukan redaction.¹⁹⁷

For Luke, Jesus is the original and supreme preacher of the kingdom: Luke omits mention of the Baptist preaching about the kingdom (Luke 3:2; cf. Matt. 3:2),¹⁹⁸ and introduces the kingdom of God on the lips of Jesus (Luke 4:43; contrast Mark 1:38, which lacks the reference to the kingdom of God).¹⁹⁹ Jesus will shortly be seen preaching the kingdom of God himself (Luke 9:11).²⁰⁰ Thus in 9:2 Jesus is extending his kingdom-preaching ministry through the apostolic band, and so associating them with a central thrust of his own ministry.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁶ Marshall 1978, 313 cites Luke 1:22; 6:21; 13:2; Gal. 4:6 as evidence. See also Turner 1965, 37-40.

¹⁹⁷ Fitzmyer 1981, 753; Evans 1990b, 395; Marshall 1978, 352 (although the latter regards the change as not having theological significance).

¹⁹⁸ Conzelmann 1960, 23.

¹⁹⁹ Fitzmyer 1981, 154, 157, 753.

²⁰⁰ Schweizer 1984, 152.

²⁰¹ Fitzmyer 1981, 753; Tannehill 1986, 81, 217.

Luke's use of κηρύσσειν τὴν βασιλείαν to describe Paul's ministry in the Miletus speech (Acts 20:25)²⁰² therefore implies that Paul also is to be seen as extending the ministry of (the by now risen and exalted) Jesus, and he too is close to the heartbeat of the preaching of Jesus.

4.5.3. Luke 10:3

Both Luke 10:1ff and the Miletus address include a charge to a group for their task: in Luke to the seventy(-two) and in Acts to the elders of Ephesus. The link is the use of λύκος, which is only used in Luke-Acts in these two passages (Luke 10:3; Acts 20:29).²⁰³ In both cases wolves are contrasted with the flock (Luke 10:3; Acts 20:28, 29). Luke's version of the saying differs slightly from Matthew's, using 'lamb' (ἀρνίον) rather than 'sheep' (πρόβατον, Matt. 10:16),²⁰⁴ which increases the sense of vulnerability of the disciples being sent out – and this seems to be the major point of the metaphor: lambs are defenceless before wolves.²⁰⁵ There is thus an implicit warning in the metaphor: those being charged with the task need to beware people who are like wolves.

Luke presents Jesus and Paul using a similar metaphor to warn those who will be leaders in the mission of God – the disciples as the harbingers of Jesus himself and the elders as the guardians of the flock in their generation.

²⁰² Tannehill 1986, 78 n 4; Goulder 1989, 432; Evans 1990b, 395; O'Toole 1984, 76. Fitzmyer 1981, 157 observes this parallel as well as the parallel with others in Acts who preach the kingdom of God (although not using precisely the same verb as Luke 9:2; Acts 20:25): Philip (Acts 8:12), Barnabas and Saul (Acts 14:22), and Paul himself (Acts 19:8; 28:23, 31). This reinforces the sense that Luke is presenting these people (including Paul at Miletus) as faithful instantiations of the ministry of Jesus.

²⁰³ Marshall 1978, 417; Evans 1990b, 447; Johnson 1992a, 363. It is used only four other times in the NT (Matt. 7:15; 10:16 [the parallel to Luke 10:3]; John 10:12 [twice]), and only nine times in the LXX (Gen. 49:27; Prov. 28:15; Sir. 13:17; Hab. 1:8; Zeph. 3:3; Isa. 11:6; 65:25; Jer. 5:6; Ezek. 22:27).

²⁰⁴ Goulder 1989, 466 suggests that Luke, editing Matthew, saw the apostles (Matt. 10:16) as sheep and the lesser disciples of the seventy as lambs.

²⁰⁵ Marshall 1978, 417; Geldenhuys 1951 rp 1977, 299. cf. esp. Isa. 11:6; 65:25; Sir. 13:17, 1 Enoch 89: 14, 18-20, 55 where similar contrasts are drawn to this effect. Possibly the source of the metaphor is Jewish apocalyptic writing (Ernst 1977, 332; Evans 1990a, 173) or simply the Isaiah passages (Nolland 1993a, 551).

4.5.4. Luke 13:32

We note here the parallel use of *τελειοῦμαι*²⁰⁶ in v 32 and Acts 20:24.²⁰⁷ The Lukan passage is unparalleled in the other Synoptics²⁰⁸ – and it is probable that the use of the same word is no mere verbal coincidence, since both passages use the word in the context of a completion in Jerusalem (Luke 13:33; Acts 20:22²⁰⁹). This underlines the growing sense that Luke's presentation of Paul in the Miletus speech is as an exemplar of his Master, one who follows his Master all along the way of discipleship, even to suffering in Jerusalem.

4.6. Conclusion: leadership

Our examination of passages in Luke's Gospel has provided a rich seam of parallels to the Miletus speech, suggesting that Luke intends to draw attention to the parallel between Jesus and Paul at this point. Luke presents Paul as both the model of the discipleship lived and taught by Jesus, and the model of leadership in the tradition of Jesus – and this precisely in the context of passing on that leadership to the next generation of leaders in Ephesus. Tannehill correctly asserts:²¹⁰

Although it is largely independent in wording, Paul's farewell to the Ephesian elders is remarkably close to Jesus' admonitions to church leaders in basic themes, an indication that Paul is being presented as the ideal church leader who fulfils Jesus' commands and therefore is an example to others.

Therefore, the idea that in the Miletus speech Paul is being presented as embodying and passing on the model of Christian discipleship and leadership taught and lived by Jesus has a sound exegetical basis in the text of Luke-Acts. Luke presents Paul as the personification of the teaching of Jesus. Paul passes on the teaching of Jesus to those he teaches. He follows Jesus along the path of suffering leading to Jerusalem.

206 cf. § 4.2.2, noting particularly that Luke alone amongst the synoptic evangelists uses this verb.

207 Marshall 1978, 572; Johnson 1992b, 218.

208 Schneider 1977a, 308.

209 So Fitzmyer 1985, 1031, who understands the 'completion' as being Jesus' arrival in the city of destiny, Jerusalem, and thus to his death, in common with Nolland 1993a, 741; Marshall 1978, 572; Evans 1990b, 562; Schneider 1977a, 310; *contra* Plummer 1913, 350 and Ellis 1974, 190, who claim the sense 'to perfect' as in Heb. 2:10; 5:9; 7:28.

210 Tannehill 1986, 250.

The passages parallel to Acts 20:17-35 in Luke's Gospel show a 'clustering' of themes and verbal parallels remarkably close to those found in the Miletus speech – particularly the substantial parallels in Luke 12, 21 and especially 22. In other words, in the rest of Luke-Acts the themes of the Miletus speech do not occur in isolation, but in clusters similar to those found in Acts 20:17-35.

This comparison with the Gospel has two implications for our study of the Miletus speech. First, it demonstrates the strong probability that the final form of the speech owes a good deal to Luke's shaping and editing. The depth and breadth of allusions and parallels in the Gospel leave this conclusion beyond cavil.

This consideration of parallels has a second implication, namely that there is a clear concept of Christian leadership being promulgated in Luke's work, focused on the manner and 'conditions of service' (to use a modern phrase) of leadership, rather than being taken up with considerations of 'office'.²¹¹ The shape of this understanding of leadership, which emerges from our exegetical study, can be sketched as follows.

For Luke the heart of Christian leadership is to be like Jesus, and the extent to which both the disciples and Paul do and teach what Jesus did and taught – frequently using similar vocabulary – makes this clear. Such following in the way of Jesus includes servanthood (e.g. Luke 22:24-27; Acts 20:19) – for Jesus, his disciples and Paul serve others at cost to themselves, including past and future personal suffering (e.g. Luke 12:4, 11; 22:15, 28, 31f, 37; Acts 20:19-21, 22f, 27). Therefore Paul calls the elders to such costly, watchful service (Acts 20:28-31). Jesus, his disciples and Paul served in humility (e.g. Luke 22:26f; Acts 20:19), valuing others' needs above their own (Luke 22:26f; Acts 20:19, 21, 22, 24, 28, 34f). They taught and testified faithfully (e.g. Luke 9:2; 12:1-53; 21:13; 22:14-38; Acts 20:20f, 24, 25, 26f, 31). This costly commitment drew out the affection of those they led (Luke 7:38, 44; Acts 20:37), as they saw the faithful ministry (Luke 12:42; Acts 20:20f, 24, 27) they received. Their ministry was

²¹¹ Contrast, e.g., Prast 1979, whose study of the Miletus speech focuses on the question of church structures and 'office'. If the conclusions of Campbell 1994 are well-founded, as we suggest they are (§ 3.5.1), this suggests that *πρεσβύτερος* (Acts 20:17) should not be seen as an 'office', and therefore there is very much less material which might be relevant at all to a consideration of 'office' – such an idea may be anachronistic for Luke's day.

comparable to that of a household steward, whose leadership was real, but also answerable to his master (e.g. Luke 12:35-48, esp. 42; Acts 20:19, 24).

The suffering which Jesus and Paul experienced are an inevitable part of Christian leadership as Luke understands it (e.g. Luke 21:12-19, 36; 22:28; Acts 20:19, 23f, 31), but should not be feared above God himself (e.g. Luke 12:4-7; Acts 20:24). For sure, such suffering and threats from false teachers (e.g. Luke 10:3; 21:8f; Acts 20:29f) call for watchfulness (e.g. Luke 12:1, 5, 37; 21:34; Acts 20:28, 31), but in the end suffering and struggle lead purposefully to glory (e.g. Luke 13:32; Acts 20:22; Luke 22:16f, 29f; Acts 20:19).

The faithfulness of the ministry of Paul and his Master are particularly expressed in their approach to money and work, where Luke shows both men living and teaching openness, generosity to others and straightforwardness (e.g. Luke 12:13-34; Acts 20:33-35). God provides for such faithful servants as he does for the birds and the flowers (Luke 12:24, 27f), but Paul also carries out the admonition of Jesus to provide for himself and others by working (Acts 20:33-35).

This represents far more than a collection of vague platitudes, but offers a dynamic, sharply-focused model of Christian leadership rooted in Luke's understanding of Jesus, in contrast with other approaches to leadership available in the ancient world (Luke 22:25). A comparison with Paul's understanding in 1 Thessalonians will be instructive.

Chapter 5

The Miletus Speech and 1 Thessalonians

5.1. Introduction

How Pauline is the Miletus speech? We shall now consider this question by evaluating the possible parallels to the speech in one Pauline letter. Several scholars have drawn attention to the numerous parallels in the Pauline letters to individual points in the speech,¹ but a systematic comparison of the speech with an individual letter has not previously been made.²

5.1.1. Why 1 Thessalonians?

At first glance the Miletus speech and 1 Thessalonians look different; in particular, the eschatological material in the letter (1 Thess. 4:13–5:11) has no obvious parallel in the speech, and the letter is about five times the length of the speech.³ In addition, the occasions of the two appear different: the Miletus speech has a strong ‘farewell’ colouring,⁴ which 1 Thessalonians lacks, being more a pastoral letter from the group who founded the church to their converts. So why consider this letter for possible parallels to the Miletus speech?

First, because our concern is to see how *Pauline* the speech is, it is vital to work with a document which is acknowledged to be from the hand of the apostle. As we shall see,⁵ this is not in dispute for 1 Thessalonians. This concern alone eliminates from present consideration two obvious candidates for parallels, namely Ephesians and 2 Timothy, since the

¹ See § 1.3.1.

² The nearest is Aejmelaeus 1987, although he discusses parallels with 1 Thessalonians, Philippians, Ephesians, 1 Corinthians, Romans, Galatians and occasionally other Pauline letters.

³ The UBS⁴/NA²⁷ text has 1580 words in 1 Thessalonians and 342 in the Miletus speech (vv 18b-35); there are 410 words in the whole scene, vv 17-38.

⁴ See § 3.2.2.

⁵ § 5.2.1.

authorship of both is disputed.⁶ In both cases one natural link is with Ephesus,⁷ and 2 Timothy has a 'farewell' sense similar to the Miletus speech.⁸ This is not to say that it would not be helpful and valuable to study these letters in parallel with the Miletus speech: simply that it would not be recognised as providing the Pauline comparison we seek.

Second, 1 Thessalonians is a pastorally-oriented letter full of the personal concern and practical instruction of the apostle and his companions (e.g. 2:7f, 11f, 17-20; 3:1-13; 4:1-5:11); in this respect it is not dissimilar in atmosphere to the Miletus speech, in which Paul speaks as a pastor to pastors (esp. vv 28-35⁹). This link provides a *prima facie* reason for seeking possible parallels. This consideration means that a clearly polemical letter, such as Galatians, is inappropriate for our study.

Third, there are some reasonably clear parallels between the speech and 1 Thessalonians which suggest that further study of the links might be profitable.¹⁰ In particular, there are numerous references to Paul's past conduct in both (1 Thess. 1:5; 2:1-12; 2:17-3:3; Acts 20:18-21, 27, 31, 33f), and several references to suffering (1 Thess. 2:2, 14-16; 3:3f, 7; Acts 20:19, 23f, 29f).

Fourth, 1 Thessalonians has material on the matter of leadership (5:12ff),¹¹ which is evidently a, if not the, central concern of the Miletus speech.¹²

Taken together, these points mean that 1 Thessalonians is a good place to search for possible parallels to the Miletus speech, as we listen to Paul speaking to a young church and its leaders.

⁶ As is the case (to varying degrees) also for Philippians, Colossians, 2 Thessalonians, 1 Timothy and Titus, although the links with Ephesus are not as clear in these cases.

⁷ If ἐν Ἐφέσῳ is original in Eph. 1:1 (which is doubtful), or if the Ephesian church is part of the group of churches to whom the letter is addressed (which is possible, perhaps probable). For discussion, see Caird 1976, 9-11; Martin 1991, 3-6; Barth 1974, I:10-12, 67; Lincoln 1990, lxxxi-lxxxiii, 1-4; Schnackenburg 1991, 29, 40f.

⁸ e.g. 4:6-8.

⁹ See §§ 3.4.4, 3.4.5, 3.5.1.

¹⁰ cf. Donfried & Marshall 1993, 67-70, outlines several points where the thought of Acts as a whole and 1 Thessalonians is similar.

¹¹ See § 5.3.1.

¹² See § 3.5.1.

5.1.2. Our approach to parallels

We shall consider potential parallels between the Miletus speech and 1 Thessalonians from two directions.¹³ First, we shall look in 1 Thessalonians for material which parallels the key themes from Acts 20:18-35 which were identified above.¹⁴ Then we shall consider whether there are other themes or ideas used in 1 Thessalonians that occur within the Miletus speech. If such parallels exist, they may be significant as evidence for Luke's understanding of Paul.

If the picture that emerges contains uses of similar vocabulary or synonyms in connection with similar themes, this at least suggests that Luke and Paul inhabited related thought-worlds. If not, it would provide a significant question-mark over Luke's understanding of Paul; for if the Miletus speech, where Paul is presented as addressing Christians, were to bear little similarity in themes and vocabulary to a Pauline letter such as 1 Thessalonians, it would be harder to see Luke's portrait of Paul throughout Acts as consonant with the portrait emerging from the Pauline letters.

5.2. Orientation to 1 Thessalonians

In considering parallels between the Miletus speech and 1 Thessalonians we need first to review briefly the background to the letter, in order to give a context to the detailed study of potential parallels. This will involve questions of authorship, date, provenance and the exigency(ies) of the letter.

5.2.1. Authorship

1 Thessalonians remains a letter generally recognised as Pauline, to the extent that Wanamaker writes in 1990, 'no contemporary scholars of repute seem to doubt the authentic Pauline character of the letter.'¹⁵ The letter's evident early eschatology would surely be unthinkable for a later pseudepigraphic document.¹⁶ Equally, as we shall see,¹⁷ it can be placed –

¹³ For the approach taken, see §§ 2.5-2.5.2.

¹⁴ §§ 3.5.1-4.

¹⁵ Wanamaker 1990, 17. This is also true of Richard 1995, 11-19 (who regards 1 Thessalonians as a composite of two Pauline letters) and Schmithals 1972, 123-218 (who believes 1 and 2 Thessalonians are the products of combining four separate authentic letters of Paul to the Thessalonians). For summaries and cogent critiques of Schmithals' theory, see Best 1972, 31-35; Marshall 1983, 15f.

¹⁶ Best 1972, 23 observes, 'Would a later writer allow the implication in 4.13-18 that Paul would be alive at the parousia?' So also Plummer 1918, xii.

¹⁷ § 5.2.2.

both historically and in terms of provenance – with considerable confidence within the ministry of Paul.

A question, however, does arise, which is of interest for our considerations of parallels below, namely the use of the plural in the vast majority of the letter, in combination with the opening address (1:1).

The use of the plural

The letter is sent from Παῦλος καὶ Σιλουανὸς καὶ Τιμόθεος (1:1). It is noticeable that plural verbs are used throughout, with the sole exceptions of 2:18; 3:5; 5:27. Further, the personal pronoun ἐγώ is used once only, in contrast to ἡμεῖς (49 times).¹⁸ Granted that Paul, in other generally-accepted authentic letters, opens letters with a salutation from himself and others (e.g. 1 Cor. 1:1; 2 Cor. 1:1) and then continues in the singular, how should the plurals of 1 Thessalonians be understood?

Askwith's discussion of this question remains comprehensive,¹⁹ and it is noticeable that Best (writing more than sixty years later) adds little to Askwith's arguments, save responding to computer-based analyses which were not, of course, available in Askwith's time.²⁰

Askwith examines the uses of the singular and shows in each case that there is a good explanation for such usage. At 2:18 the emphatic ἐγώ is particularly marked by the presence of μέν without an answering δέ,²¹ and should not be seen as Paul setting himself over against Silvanus and Timothy (i.e. he wanted to see them but his associates did not), but rather Paul is

emphasising that to be true of himself personally which was also true of them...St Paul wished to lay stress on the fact that he wanted to visit the Thessalonians personally and not by deputy.²²

In other words, Askwith rejects the view that the particle μέν must imply an adversative δέ, but rather understands μέν as being used absolutely, in the sense 'indeed'.²³

18 cf. Prior 1989, 40.

19 Askwith 1911.

20 Best 1972, 25-29. See also the brief discussion in Collins 1984, 350-353, coming to similar conclusions to Askwith.

21 Richard 1995, 130.

22 Askwith 1911, 155.

23 So also Best 1972, 126; Bruce 1986, 55; Robertson 1914, 1151; BDF, § 447. Contrast Wanamaker 1990, 121.

Regarding 3:5, Paul is here impressing upon the Thessalonian Christians his personal care for them,²⁴ not least since he was the one left alone while Timothy and Silvanus were away.²⁵ It also suggests that Paul was the most senior of the trio of writers. This implies that the letter should be understood as having Paul's own *imprimatur*, as the senior missionary.

Askwith understands the 'sign-off' phrase in 5:27 in precisely this sense, as Paul concluding the letter with something written by his own hand (cf. Gal. 6:11; 1 Cor. 16:21). Accordingly, 'there is...nothing more natural than that he should use the singular "I" in so doing.'²⁶ Askwith therefore concludes:

We can never forget when we read St Paul's Epistles that while he may, in appropriate parts of them, be content to speak as if he were only a partner in their composition by using the plural 'we', yet the Epistles are really his. But I can see no reason for thinking that he ever says 'we' when he means 'I'.²⁷

The importance of this conclusion for what follows is that we are correct in understanding 1 Thessalonians as a Pauline letter, for Askwith is surely correct in his assertion that Paul would not have put his name to a letter with which he disagreed. Further, as the senior partner of the trio of senders, it is likely that Paul took the leading role in the composition of the letter. The involvement of Silvanus and Timothy would have been real (and may be a partial explanation of the relative lack of distinctively Pauline vocabulary at points in the letter²⁸) – and we must allow that they also would not have put their names to the letter had they disagreed with its substance – but nevertheless Paul's mind is the driving force of the

²⁴ Askwith 1911, 157f.

²⁵ Marshall 1983, 93.

²⁶ Askwith 1911, 159; so also Best 1972, 246; Bruce 1986, 135; Marshall 1983, 165; Wanamaker 1990, 208.

²⁷ Askwith 1911, 159.

²⁸ Best 1972, 23; cf. Bruce 1986, xxxiif: 'there is little here that is *distinctively* Pauline...The inclusion of his [*sc.* Paul's] name in the prescripts ...would provide evidence enough that the contents as a whole were approved by him, whoever was responsible for the actual composition' (*italics* his). Marshall 1983, 21 suggests that the absence of characteristically Pauline doctrine may simply be 'because it was not relevant to the situation which he was addressing rather than because it was not yet developed in his mind'; more fully, Marshall 1982, in which he maps areas the Thessalonian letters have in common with other Pauline letters, and areas where they lack topics significant in other Paulines.

letter.²⁹ Accordingly, we are justified in the use of 1 Thessalonians as a source for *Pauline* parallels to the Miletus speech.

5.2.2. Date

In discussing issues of date and occasion, we need to be aware of the potential dangers of 'mirror-reading' a text to deduce information which it does not directly give. 'Mirror-reading' examines a text in order to understand the nature of the situation to which it responds, including the identity and views of any opponents of the writer(s). The dangers of 'mirror-reading' have been highlighted by Barclay, who observes a number of pitfalls:³⁰ the need to make choices as to which parts of the text under consideration reveal the views of the opponents, while still seeking a view that explains the whole text; the danger of understanding every statement in the text as being directed against an opposing view of the opponents; the distorting effect of polemics on the nature, accuracy and objectivity of the language used by the author; and the danger of latching onto particular words as 'catchwords' of the opponents and then hanging a thesis on flimsy evidence. These dangers are undoubtedly real, and Barclay illustrates them well from the study of Galatians.

However, a letter such as 1 Thessalonians, which is not obviously polemical, has the further danger that opponents of Paul may be assumed to be present, and the text may then be interpreted in the light of that assumption. This is a difficult point on which to find the right balance, but it is vital both that the undoubted presence of opponents of Paul in some churches (of which Galatians is a clear example) should not become an assumption in every church, and that we should look at the text carefully for evidence of conflict, without assuming that all was sweetness and light in the earliest churches.

²⁹ Wanamaker 1990, 121: 'This interjection, ἐγὼ μὲν Παῦλος καὶ ἄπαξ καὶ δὶς [in 2:18]...indicates that he [Paul] is the real composer of the letter. Undoubtedly both Silvanus and Timothy agreed with the context of the letter, but this verse, along with 3:5 and 5:27, provides the basis for discussing the letter primarily as a production of Paul rather than of the three missionaries.' Contrast Prior 1989, 37-45, 57-59, who argues that the co-authorship is real; this provides a ground for Prior's call for a reassessment of the possibility of Pauline authorship of 2 Timothy (on the basis that a letter to Timothy from Paul alone is likely to be different in tone and style to a letter co-authored with Timothy, such as 1 Thessalonians).

³⁰ Barclay 1987, 79-83.

The date of the letter

The traditional solution to the date and occasion of 1 Thessalonians is that it was written shortly after the initial visit to the city by Paul, Silas and Timothy. Its competitors are an early date (41-44)³¹ or a much later (third missionary journey) date.³² Neither fits the evidence as well as the traditional dating.

The shortness of the interval between the initial visit and the letter is suggested by: (a) 2:17, which indicates a short gap; (b) the lack of description of events between Paul's visit and the writing of the letter (excluding Satan's hindrance, 2:18, and Timothy's visit, 3:2); (c) the vivid language used of the initial visit and Paul's oral teaching (e.g. 3:4; 4:2); (d) the indication that Paul sent Timothy soon after the initial visit and that the letter is now being sent very shortly after Timothy's return (3:1-6); (e) if the interval had been long, Paul would surely have had fuller information about the Thessalonian situation, rather than writing as he does in 3:1.³³

The 'fit' between the information of 1 Thessalonians and Acts 17f at this point is good,³⁴ including agreement that Paul first came to Thessalonica from Philippi (Acts 16:40; 1 Thess. 2:1f), where he had been humiliated (Acts 16:22-24; 1 Thess. 2:2); that Paul was opposed in Thessalonica by Jews who also persecuted the church there (Acts 17:5ff; 1 Thess. 2:2); that Paul visited Athens after Thessalonica (Acts 17:16; 1 Thess. 3:1); and that Paul sent Timothy to Thessalonica (Acts 17:14f; 18:5; 1 Thess. 3:2). This combination leads many to suppose that 1 Thessalonians was written from Corinth, which was where Timothy

³¹ Lüdemann 1984, 157-178; Donfried 1990, 4-8, both arguing on the basis of the equation of the edict of Claudius (Acts 18:2) with that mentioned by Suetonius (*Caesar Claudius* 25), and the belief that Acts 18:1ff represents a conflation of two distinct visits by Paul to Corinth. For response, see Bruce 1985-86, 280-282.

³² So Schmithals 1972, 123-218, whose argument involves postulating numerous (Pauline) fragments which were reassembled into our 1 and 2 Thessalonians. His study is of a piece with his theory that Gnostics were everywhere opponents of Paul. For critique, see Best 1972, 10f; Marshall 1983, 22f; Wanamaker 1990, 34f; Jewett 1986, 33-36; Johanson 1987, 169-172 (the latter arguing for the coherence of the whole letter from a rhetorical point of view, proposing a ring-composition which cuts across Schmithals' suggested fragments).

³³ Best 1972, 8f; Bruce 1986, xxxiv-xxxvi; Marshall 1983, 20f; Kümmel 1975, 257-260.

³⁴ Johnson 1992a, 308f; cf. Riesner 1994, 325f.

returned after his visit to Thessalonica.³⁵ The result is a relative dating of the letter within months, if not weeks, of the initial visit to Thessalonica.³⁶

Some point to tensions between the Acts account and the letters,³⁷ and therefore suggest that the accounts are incompatible. The length of the initial stay appears different, since a cursory reading of Acts suggests a visit of three to four weeks (Acts 17:2), whereas the letter implies a longer visit, because the missionaries needed to work (1 Thess. 2:9), and there was time for the news of the Thessalonians' Christian standing to spread far and wide (1 Thess. 1:7f; 4:10).³⁸ In addition, the letter implies that Paul was prepared to be alone in Athens and sent Timothy to Thessalonica to get news (1 Thess. 3:1f), whereas Luke sets Paul alone in Athens (Acts 17:14ff). Finally, the account in Acts implies that there were Jewish and Gentile converts (Acts 17:4), whereas the reference to 'turning to God from idols' (1 Thess. 1:9) suggests only Gentile converts.³⁹

None of these objections is decisive. A careful reading shows that neither Acts nor the letter defines the length of the initial visit closely: the reference to 'three sabbaths' is most probably simply a record of the initial evangelism Paul conducted in the synagogue.⁴⁰ Timothy and Silas may have visited Paul in Athens after Paul's first arrival (Acts 17:14f), which would give added poignancy to Paul choosing *again* to lose his companion Timothy (1 Thess. 3:1f), having also sent Silas off elsewhere.⁴¹ The converts of Thessalonica are implied by Acts to be largely Gentile (note the contrast between *τινες* and *πλήθος πολύ...οὐκ ὀλίγαι*, Acts 17:4), even though Luke's concentration is on ministry in the synagogue.⁴²

To go further with dating, the initial visit to Corinth (Acts 18:1-18) can be dated with considerable confidence by the use of an inscription addressed to the citizens of Delphi.⁴³ This dates Paul's visit to Corinth to

³⁵ Best 1972, 11; Marshall 1983, 21; Bruce 1986, xxxv; Morris 1991, 12; Jewett 1986, 52f; *pace* Lüdemann 1984, 204f, 238 (who dates 1 Thessalonians in the early 40s).

³⁶ Riesner 1994, 325 estimates no more than six months.

³⁷ Best 1972, 5-7; Kümmel 1975, 257f.

³⁸ Further, money came from Philippi 'more than once' (Phil. 4:15f), perhaps suggesting a longer stay.

³⁹ Haenchen 1971, 507.

⁴⁰ Malherbe 1987, 13f; Marshall 1983, 5; Carson, Moo & Morris 1992, 344.

⁴¹ Marshall 1983, 6; Best 1972, 131f.

⁴² Johnson 1992a, 309f.

⁴³ SIG³, 801D; text and translation in Conzelmann 1987, 152f; translation in Barrett 1987, 51f, where see also discussion of the inscription's implications for the dating of Paul's visit to Corinth. For other discussions, coming to similar conclusions, see

the period 50-52, on the basis of Gallio's proconsulship being dated probably 51-52. Accordingly, the initial visit to Thessalonica would be between one and two years earlier, dated at 49-50, and the letter would be written in 50-51, shortly after the visit.⁴⁴

5.2.3. Occasion

The immediate 'occasion' of the letter was Timothy's return to Paul following his visit to Thessalonica (3:6ff), but we shall seek an understanding of the situation which gave rise to the letter, as an aid to better understanding of the key themes and ideas in 1 Thessalonians.

The nature of the letter

Two particular points are noteworthy. First, the function of the letter was to serve *in lieu* of a visit by Paul.⁴⁵ Paul expresses his desire to visit (2:17f); the frustration of this desire was dealt with first by sending Timothy (3:1-3, 6) and then by writing the letter. Paul continues to express the desire to visit (3:10f),⁴⁶ and we may therefore take it that 1 Thessalonians is, in Paul's mind, a temporary substitute for his personal presence and 'a means of pastoral care given at a distance'.⁴⁷

Second, the news from Timothy has clearly encouraged Paul that the Thessalonian Christians are staying the course in spite of persecution (3:6-9) – the sense of relief in Paul's words here is tangible. But what form did the information to which Paul responds take? It could have been a letter from the Thessalonians to Paul; the arguments in favour of this are as follows.

First, the use of *περὶ δέ* (4:9, 13; 5:12) is compared with the use of that phrase in 1 Corinthians (e.g. 1 Cor. 7:1, 25; 8:1; 12:1), where until recently there has been a consensus that it refers to a letter sent by the Corinthians

also Lüdemann 1984, 163f; Jewett 1979, 38-40; Hemer 1980, 6-9; Hemer & Gempf 1989, 251-253.

⁴⁴ Frame 1912, 9; Milligan 1908, xxxvf; Plummer 1918, xiii; Moore 1969, 6f; Schürmann & Egenolf 1969, xi; Jewett 1986, 59f; Morris 1991, 12-14; Best 1972, 7-11; Bruce 1986, xxxv; Hemer & Gempf 1989, 270; Carson, Moo & Morris 1992, 347f.

⁴⁵ Bruce 1986, xxi; Best 1972, 14; Malherbe 1990, 252f; Koester 1979, 35.

⁴⁶ Wanamaker 1990, 138f; Lyons 1985, 218.

⁴⁷ Richard 1995, 31 (describing his view of 1 Thess. 1:1-2:12; 4:3-5:28, which he sees as Paul's second letter to Thessalonica). Indeed, the letter could be seen as a Pauline *speech*, for it would be read aloud to the church assembled (Walton 1995, 249; Walton 1995-96, 6; more fully Botha 1993).

to Paul, particularly because he writes *Περὶ δὲ ὧν ἐγράψατε*.⁴⁸ Accordingly, the phrase should be understood to have a similar meaning here.⁴⁹

Second, the transitions at 4:9, 13; 5:12 would seem abrupt were they not responses to specific points put to Paul. Indeed, Faw believes that Paul seems reluctant to discuss the topics of brotherly love and the times and seasons (4:9; 5:1), and so Faw understands these verses to indicate that Paul is writing about these things in response to a specific question, rather than of his own choice.⁵⁰

Third, two other points may point towards a letter from the Thessalonians: the use of *καί* at 2:13 may indicate that Paul is adding his own thanksgivings to those of the Thessalonians in their letter; and the frequent use of 'you know' (in the phrases *οἴδατε γάρ* [2:1; 3:3; 4:2; 5:2], *καθὼς οἴδατε* [1:5; 2:2, 5; 3:4] and *καθάπερ οἴδατε* [2:11]) can be seen to relate to the points mentioned by the Thessalonians in their letter.⁵¹

Fourth, ancient epistolographic conventions may point to a prior letter from the Thessalonians.⁵² Malherbe cites the expression of longing for absent friends; the convention that a letter of friendship would stress the constant remembrance in which the friends were held; the use of *περὶ δέ* (although with caution⁵³); the reference to the correspondent's needs; the expression of joy on receipt of a letter; thanks to the gods for the letter received; and the use of a letter 'as a surrogate for one's own physical presence'.⁵⁴

48 1 Cor. 7:1. For this view see recently Fee 1987, 266f (but arguing that the sequence of topics is determined by Paul, not their letter). However, Mitchell 1989 asserts, based on a wide-ranging survey of the use of the formula in Greek literature, that *περὶ δέ* merely introduces the next topic in a letter, a topic which is readily known to author and reader, without any clarity as to the source of the topic (previous letter, oral communication, author's initiative); cf. Malherbe 1990, 251; Johanson 1987, 51 drawing a similar conclusion. This clearly limits the cogency of this argument in 1 Thessalonians.

49 Faw 1952, 220f: 'not only is there the convincing similarity between this series of paragraph introductions with *περὶ δέ* and that in I Corinthians but there is the added fact that nowhere else in his letters does Paul use this expression in this way' (220; so also Frame 1912, 140; Bicknell 1932, 40; Jewett 1986, 92).

50 Faw 1952, 221f.

51 Best 1972, 14.

52 Malherbe 1990, 250-255.

53 Malherbe 1990, 251: 'In correspondence, then, *peri de* can, but does not necessarily, refer to a written request.' (italics mine)

54 Malherbe 1990, 252.

Malherbe wishes to go further, and suggests that Paul may have sent a (now lost) letter with Timothy to the Thessalonians, to which their letter was in part a reply.⁵⁵ He conjectures this on the basis of an analysis of 2:17–3:10 in parallel with ancient epistolographic conventions, arguing that: in 1 Thess. 1–3 Paul has used features of the style of the ‘friendly letter’ to express his feelings towards them; the expressions of loneliness come from the same standard form; and the mention of himself by name (2:18), unusual in the body of a letter, finds its counterpart in such ‘friendly letters’.

Malherbe does not overstate his case, pointing out its weaknesses too,⁵⁶ namely that the statements noted also fit naturally with what is known of Paul’s circumstances at the time of writing 1 Thessalonians; and that the conventions described have not been seen in a letter where the writer is seeking to re-establish contact after separation, as Paul is doing in 1 Thessalonians (albeit after a brief separation).

Four points may be made in response. First, the use of *περὶ δέ* need not carry the sense which Faw proposes. Malherbe and Mitchell’s caution seems appropriate – and even accepting the use in 1 Corinthians as referring to a letter from Corinth need not imply that other uses of *περὶ δέ* have the same sense in other places without other evidence for a letter.⁵⁷

Second, the alleged abruptness of the transitions at 4:9, 13; 5:12 may have the implication that Paul is responding to questions, but it does not show whether the questions were written or oral, possibly relayed by Timothy.⁵⁸

55 Malherbe 1990, 248f.

56 Malherbe 1990, 249.

57 Best 1972, 15; Mitchell 1989, 253f. Johanson 1987, 51 writes: ‘There is ample evidence that *περὶ*, frequently combined with *δέ*, *μέν*, etc., and some meta-communicative expression of writing, speaking, hearing, etc., is a fairly common characteristic of thematic sentences regularly used to introduce the topic of a new paragraph or section in Greek texts in general.’ He cites as examples in n 266: Aristotle, *Poetics* 6.1 (*περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἐν ἑξαμέτροις μιμητικῆς καὶ περὶ κωμωδίας ὕστερον ἐροῦμεν* = ‘With the representation of life in hexameter verse and with comedy we will deal later’); Isocrates, *Panegyric* 15 (*περὶ δὲ τῶν κοινῶν* = ‘But as to our public interests’); Josephus, *Contra Apionem* 2.291 (*περὶ τῶν νόμων οὐκ ἐδέησε λόγου πλείονος* = ‘Upon the laws it was unnecessary to expatiate’); Diogenes Laertius 8.67 (*περὶ δὲ τοῦ θανάτου διάφορός ἐστιν αὐτοῦ λόγος* = ‘As to his death different accounts are given’).

58 Best 1972, 15.

Third, the arguments from the use of *καί* in 2:13⁵⁹ and the references to 'you know' are weak.⁶⁰ In each case the texts can more naturally be taken in other ways,⁶¹ particularly referring back to their knowledge of Paul and his teaching from his earlier visit (as seems natural in every case cited). In any case this argument, if valid, would not demonstrate whether the communication with Paul was written or oral.

Fourth, Malherbe's criticism of the case for a letter from Paul to the Thessalonians taken by Timothy also applies to his arguments from ancient epistolographic conventions for a letter from the Thessalonians to Paul. By demonstrating a parallel (if his case is accepted) he has not necessarily demonstrated that Paul has *in this case* followed the conventions. The use of phraseology found elsewhere as epistolographic clichés may be patient of another explanation if, as in 1 Thessalonians, it also seems apposite to the circumstances of the author of the letter.

In the light of this, we may conclude that there are two certain sources for Paul's knowledge of the Thessalonian situation: his own memory of the situation when he left Thessalonica, some weeks or months previously, and the information brought by Timothy on his return. If it be concluded that Timothy was the bearer of a letter or spoken message from Thessalonica, we may add that as a source, but one that would inevitably be mediated through Timothy's explanatory glosses on the contents; for it is inconceivable that Paul would not enquire of Timothy for expansion and explanation of particular points (and broader issues) within any letter or oral message from Thessalonica.

To these sources we may add that Paul, by this time, was a church-planting missionary of not inconsiderable experience. Accordingly, he would have knowledge of likely issues that would arise in a fairly new congregation, such as that in Thessalonica. This knowledge would contribute to the concerns expressed in his writing 1 Thessalonians.

⁵⁹ Holtz 1986, 97 n 435 argues that the second *καί* in 2:13 should be seen as resumptive, indicating that Paul is adding further reasons for thanksgiving to those expressed in 1:2. So also Wanamaker 1990, 1110.

⁶⁰ Best 1972, 14, 110.

⁶¹ See the discussions in Best 1972, *ad. loc.*

Exigencies of the letter

By the exigency(ies) of 1 Thessalonians we understand the particular thing (or things) which prompted its writing. Bitzer, in a seminal article on rhetorical situation, states the definition thus:

Any exigency is an imperfection marked by urgency; it is a defect, an obstacle, something waiting to be done, a thing which is other than it should be.⁶²

Therefore an exigency amounts to

a situation under which an individual is called upon to make some response: the response made is conditioned by the situation and in turn has some possibility of affecting the situation or what follows from it.⁶³

Any rhetorical situation will have at least one controlling exigency, which becomes the organising principle of the rhetorical response of the speaker or writer. This exigency leads to the audience to be addressed and the change desired as a result of the rhetorical response.⁶⁴ It is clearly possible for there to be more than one controlling exigency in a rhetorical situation, and this is certainly possible in the case of 1 Thessalonians, which ranges over a lot of territory. Nevertheless, it is possible that one main exigency may be behind the whole letter, and we shall need to consider those who propound such a 'global' explanation of the letter.

Four main exigencies have been proposed for the letter, sometimes with underlying overall explanations of the situation of the Thessalonian Christians. These centre around the understanding of the eschatological material in the letter, the question of persecution, the question of a Pauline self-defence, and the possibility of the presence of ecstatic manifestations in Thessalonica.

Eschatology

That there was confusion over eschatology in Thessalonica is virtually universally agreed. However, the precise nature of the confusion or misunderstanding is not agreed. There are elements in the text which suggest issues that were around in the young Thessalonian church.

62 Bitzer 1974, 252.

63 Kennedy 1984, 35.

64 Bitzer 1974, 253.

The most prominent of these is the death of believers before the parousia.⁶⁵ It is likely that Paul believed there to be confusion, or at least concern, about the situation of believers who had died (4:13ff), most probably as a result of information or questions given to him via Timothy (whether in written form or orally).

Johanson offers an understanding of the letter based on the view that the death of believers before the parousia is *the* controlling exigency of the letter and that other features of 1 Thessalonians follow from this. He understands this concern on the part of the Thessalonian Christians to be the cause of potential questions about the reliability of Paul and his co-workers, as well as casting a shadow over the Thessalonians' hope and faith. These concerns give rise to an emphasis on establishing the ethos of Paul and his co-workers, particularly in the earlier part of 1 Thessalonians.⁶⁶

Wanamaker likewise believes there to have been eschatological confusion, particularly concerning Christians who had died. He sees the use of δὲ...περὶ (4:13) as indicating an issue that the Thessalonians had raised with Paul via Timothy. The response given by Paul indicates either that he had been misunderstood by the Thessalonians or that he had not explained fully the implications of his eschatological teaching.⁶⁷

Jewett has produced a well-developed understanding of 1 Thessalonians from the perspective of eschatological difficulties as the main exigency of the letter, seeing the church in Thessalonica as millenarian, by which he means 'religious movements which expect the total transformation of this world to occur in connection with a cataclism in the near future'.⁶⁸ Thus he sees 4:13ff as responding to the difficulty caused by the Thessalonian Christians' (mistaken) belief that there would be no death for Christians, and their lack of any assurance of resurrection after death.⁶⁹ He further sees 5:1ff as aiming to restore a proper sense of urgency in the face of the Thessalonians relaxing too much. Paul

⁶⁵ Frame 1912, 10f; Morris 1991, 9; Richard 1995, 231f; Jewett 1986, 94-100.

⁶⁶ Johanson 1987, 54. He understands the 'defence' of 2:1ff as a prophylactic response to these potential criticisms of Paul and his colleagues, rather than a response to actual voiced criticisms.

⁶⁷ Wanamaker 1990, 62. Bruce 1986, xxxvii sees the lack of time for full instruction by the missionaries, resulting from their being driven out, as a crucial factor in the Thessalonians' lack of knowledge.

⁶⁸ Jewett 1986, 161.

⁶⁹ Jewett 1986, 94.

underlines the unpredictability of the time of the parousia in response to this error.⁷⁰

Clearly the eschatological material provides an important dimension to the letter. However, Jewett and Johanson's attempts to demonstrate that eschatological difficulties were *the* exigency of the letter seem to go beyond the evidence. In particular, the presence of persecution, evidenced by the references to this topic (discussed below), was significant for Paul, seen in his concern 'that somehow the tempter had tempted you and our labour had been in vain' (3:5).

Persecution in Thessalonica

The young church faced persecution in its new faith.⁷¹ Barclay draws attention to key texts which explicitly refer to the pressure they experienced (e.g. 1:6; 2:14), along with the implication that Timothy was sent because of Paul's concern that they should not give way under the pressure (3:3). Paul reminds the Christians that he had already warned them that suffering would come to them (3:4). Barclay suggests that the principal cause of the pressure on the Christians was the offensive nature of the claims made for their faith, not least in the refusal to take part in, or even to allow as valid, the worship of other gods.⁷² Donfried focuses this in the social and political pressures resulting from the civic cult which he identifies in Thessalonica and the obligations to the emperor (cf. Acts 17:7),⁷³ which might lead to the young Christians giving up their new-found faith.

This persecution would give rise to questions in the minds of the Thessalonian Christians, which seems a likely explanation of much of the emphasis on suffering in the letter.⁷⁴ It may also be a partial explanation of the strong emphasis on kinship language in the letter:⁷⁵ regularly Paul refers to the Christians as ἀδελφοί,⁷⁶ and describes his relationship with them using parental imagery (2:11). Such an emphasis on mutual love would be important in a situation where they were a small minority in a society which both rejected their beliefs and consequently ostracised them.

70 Jewett 1986, 96f.

71 Barclay 1992, 52f.

72 Barclay 1992, 53; Barclay 1993, 2-7.

73 Donfried 1985, 342-347; cf. Bruce 1990, 371f.

74 See § 5.3.2.

75 Malherbe 1987, 48; Riesner 1994, 330.

76 18 times, proportionately more than any other Pauline letter.

Bruce also speculates that the persecution might give rise to the question of the situation of Christians who had died, if their deaths were the direct result of persecution.⁷⁷

Nevertheless, persecution also cannot be regarded as *the* exigency of the letter, for it would leave the presence of much other material unexplained; but it seems to have been a significant contributory factor in the response Paul makes through 1 Thessalonians.

Ecstatic manifestations

Jewett believes that the wording of 1:5 implies that 'powerful manifestations of a miraculous sort had accompanied the initial preaching of the gospel in Thessalonica'⁷⁸ and that the joy referred to (1:6) is from a supernatural source and experienced in an ecstatic manner.

He also believes that references to sobriety (5:6-8) are to be seen as counterpoints to the association of drunkenness with 'forms of ecstasy that erode self-control';⁷⁹ and that 5:19-22 confirms the presence of conflict over ecstatic manifestations, balancing advice to the leaders not to quench the Spirit – that is, to allow the legitimacy of ecstatic manifestations – with the insistence that everything should be tested according to moral standards, responding to those who believed that such manifestations were beyond such assessment.⁸⁰

That 1:5f is likely to be referring to 'signs and wonders' that accompanied the initial evangelisation of Thessalonica we may grant, on the basis of the knowledge that Paul's apostolic ministry was at times followed by such things (e.g. Gal. 3:5; Rom. 15:18f; 2 Cor. 12:12f).⁸¹ It seems, however, to be stretching a point to argue that this is the referent in 5:6-8, where a more general ethical exhortation seems to be taking place in

⁷⁷ Bruce 1990, 372, but with caution; cf. Bruce 1986, 98.

⁷⁸ Jewett 1986, 100. He cites Marshall 1983, 53f in support, but Marshall only allows that this is a *possible* understanding of the text. Wanamaker 1990, 79 holds a similar view to Jewett, referring to the gifts of the Spirit in 1 Cor. 12:8-10. But the gifts in 1 Corinthians are said to be for the edification of the church (e.g. 1 Cor. 14:17f), rather than for use in evangelism, which seems to be Wanamaker's understanding here.

⁷⁹ Jewett 1986, 101.

⁸⁰ Jewett 1986, 101f.

⁸¹ So Marshall 1983, 53f; Wanamaker 1990, 79. Schmithals 1972, 172 sees 5:19-22 as directed against the effects of agitation by pneumatics within the community.

the light of the potential for ethical laxity resulting from the eschatology espoused by the young church.⁸²

Further, 5:19-22 could simply be Paul trying to head off an over-reaction to what he says about the dangers of their eschatological perspective. It would be wrong to press the use of the present imperatives *μὴ σβέννυτε* (5:19) and *μὴ ἐξουθενεῖτε* (5:20) to imply that the recipients are being instructed to stop an activity that they are already performing, since Paul generally commends the behaviour of the Thessalonians. In the same manner as the positive imperatives in 5:16-18, 21f, these negative imperatives should be read as statements of what Paul wants them (not) to do habitually.⁸³

We may therefore agree with Jewett that it is likely that there were specific manifestations of the Spirit's activity seen in the initial period of evangelism in Thessalonica, and that it is also likely that at least some of the Thessalonian Christians particularly valued such manifestations. Jewett fails, however, to demonstrate the presence of conflict over such manifestations: Paul does not instruct the Christians about the need for mutual edification in the use of such manifestations as he does in 1 Cor. 12-14, for example. There is silence concerning explicit references to conflict within the Christian community at Thessalonica, to the extent that Paul can write that the Thessalonians need no lessons in love of their fellow-Christians (4:9f). We should thus be doubtful of the conclusion that conflict over such manifestations was a significant exigency of the letter.

Paul defending himself

It is sometimes suggested that a key reason for writing 1 Thessalonians was that Paul was being attacked by opponents within the Christian community in the city. I have discussed the question whether there were opponents of Paul within the Thessalonian church elsewhere,⁸⁴ and here summarise key points.

The major planks in favour of opponents within the church are the 'self-defence' (2:1-12) and Paul's explanation of his failure to return (3:1ff). Schmithals, in particular, sees gnostic opponents attacking Paul's integrity,

⁸² Best 1972, 211ff; Frame 1912, 185ff; Morris 1991, 156f; Marshall 1983, 137.

⁸³ Bruce 1986, 125; *contra* Wanamaker 1990, 202 (who goes on to criticise Jewett's view outlined above on the grounds that he is reading the Corinthian problems into Thessalonica, 203).

⁸⁴ Walton 1995, 240-249.

both in general and in the specific of his non-return.⁸⁵ Jewett (as we have seen) believes there were 'enthusiastic' opponents of Paul in the church,⁸⁶ who criticised Paul because he was not more explicitly ecstatic in his leadership.

However, Schmithals' view stands or falls with his general thesis, that there were gnostic opponents of Paul nearly everywhere in the early churches, a thesis which fails to command agreement because it is 'a contention for which not a shred of credible evidence within the correspondence itself is available'.⁸⁷

As we have seen, Jewett similarly fails to offer evidence for conflict within the community. Indeed, there is strong evidence of cohesion within the church, and in the church's relationship with Paul – he is pleased with their progress (2:14), with their love (1:3; 4:9-12), and their positive memory of him (3:6). This is the only group of Christians of whom it is said that they *already* imitate Paul (1:6)⁸⁸ – and they have become a τύπος for other churches (1:7).⁸⁹

It is better to see the autobiographical material, especially 2:1-12, as being implicitly paraenetic: Paul is presenting his conduct as a model to be followed.⁹⁰ Lyons identifies a number of topics from Paul's conduct which reappear as exhortations to the Thessalonians elsewhere in the letter: encouragement (2:3, 11f; 4:1, 18, 5:11); holy and blameless conduct (2:3, 9-12; 4:1-7; 5:22f); a sense of the responsibility to please God (2:4, 15; 4:1); brotherly love and constant friendship (2:5-8, 17f; 3:6, 10, 12; 4:9-12; 5:15); manual work and self-support (2:8f; 4:9-12; 5:12-14); prayers of thanksgiving (1:2; 2:13; 3:10; 5:17f); joy amidst affliction (1:6; 3:9f; 5:16-18); and eschatological hope (1:10; 2:19f; 3:13; 4:13-5:11).⁹¹

The antitheses of 2:1-12 should be seen within a wider context, for opponents holding the opposite pole of Paul's antithetical statements are an unnecessary hypothesis. The antithetical style is used throughout the

85 Schmithals 1972, 142ff.

86 Jewett 1986, 100-102.

87 Jewett 1986, 148.

88 Contrast the use of the imperative in 1 Cor. 4:16; 11:1; Gal. 4:12; Phil. 3:17; 2 Thess. 3:7, 9. Discussion in Lyons 1985, 190f; Malherbe 1983, 246f; Malherbe 1992, 267-333, 290; Castelli 1991, 89-117 (esp. 90-95 on 1 Thess. 1:6; 2:14).

89 Castelli 1991, 92.

90 Lyons 1985, 189-221; Wanamaker 1990, 90f.

91 Summary at Lyons 1985, 218f.

letter (e.g. 1:5, 8; 2:13, 17; 4:7, 8; 5:6, 9, 15) and in at least some cases there surely cannot have been people holding the opposite view (5:9, 15).⁹² Such an antithetical style was part of the armoury of wandering philosophers in teaching their views,⁹³ and could therefore have been adopted by Paul. In the antitheses Paul may be contrasting himself with such professional orators, rather than opponents within the church, since the professional rhetors sought the very things which Paul denied were important – glory, praise and financial gain (cf. 2:4-6) – and used methods which Paul deprecated – deception and flattery (cf. 2:3-5).⁹⁴

We may allow that Paul's observations are designed to have a prophylactic effect, in case such accusations are made within the community – or, more likely, in assisting the Christians to respond to potential accusations made by their non-Christian compatriots.⁹⁵ But the hypothesis of opponents within the church at the time of 1 Thessalonians is misguided and unnecessary.

Conclusions on exigencies

Overall, we may see three major exigencies of the letter. First, the letter serves as a substitute for a visit, and by way of an explanation for Paul and his colleagues' inability to visit. Second, Paul writes in order to respond to the news of persecution with encouragement and support (including a reminder of his own care for them), as well as reminding the Thessalonian church of his teaching about persecution. Third, Paul is responding to questions relayed to him, either by letter or through Timothy (or both, where Timothy might give an oral commentary on a letter), specifically eschatological questions (including the issue of the situation of believers who had died before the parousia).⁹⁶

5.2.4. Summary

Our examination of 1 Thessalonians has yielded a number of points which will be of significance in the comparison with the Miletus speech. We have

⁹² Lyons 1985, 184.

⁹³ Malherbe 1992, 283 n 67, 290, 297f, citing Dio Chrysostom, *Orations* 32.11f. See also Isocrates, *Oration I. – To Demonicus* 9-15 for a good example of antithesis in paraenesis; cf. Lyons 1985, 105-112; Collins 1984, 183-185.

⁹⁴ Winter 1993, 67f; Smith 1995, 78.

⁹⁵ Johanson 1987, 164.

⁹⁶ cf. Martin 1978, 161-163, who cites three factors in the 'immediate occasion' of the letter: rejoicing with the Thessalonian Christians at their steadfastness under trial; strengthening their faith and dispelling doubts that had arisen; and responding to accusations against Paul.

seen that the letter is regarded as indubitably Pauline and therefore provides as good as possible a check on Paul's own expression of his thought in comparing it with the report of a Pauline speech by Luke. The date of the letter pre-dates the ostensible date of the speech – by some time. In both cases there appears to have been a good relationship between the apostle and the congregation, and pressure from outside was probably a significant exigency.⁹⁷

In the light of these conclusions we are in a good position to turn to the letter in detail, to consider possible parallels with the Miletus speech.

5.3. From the Miletus speech to 1 Thessalonians

The four key themes of the Miletus speech that were identified were leadership, suffering, wealth, and the death of Jesus. Do parallels to this material exist in 1 Thessalonians?

5.3.1. Leadership

The Miletus speech and its parallels in Luke's Gospel make much of leadership, but it stands out less as a theme in 1 Thessalonians. Nevertheless, a careful reading of the letter shows there to be a considerable amount on leadership, particularly concerning that of Paul and his companions, but also about the leadership exercised amongst the congregation themselves.

Verbs of knowing

In the Miletus speech the appeal to the hearers' knowledge of Paul (Acts 20:18b-21, 31, 34) presents Paul as having fulfilled his responsibilities towards the Ephesian Christians (cf. Acts 20:2) using οἶδα and γινώσκω in particular. 1 Thessalonians also has a rich seam of references both to the conduct of Paul and his colleagues, and the recipients' knowledge of that conduct.⁹⁸ οἶδα is used considerably to this end, notably in the use of the phrases οἶδατε γάρ (2:1; 3:3; 4:2; 5:2), καθὼς οἶδατε (1:5; 2:2,5; 3:4) and καθάπερ οἶδατε (2:11).⁹⁹ Paul is appealing to the Thessalonians'

⁹⁷ In 1 Thessalonians this is present and past; in the Miletus speech it is future (Acts 20:29f).

⁹⁸ Dupont 1962, 32; Aejmelaeus 1987, 101 draw attention to some of the parallels between the Miletus speech and 1 Thessalonians in this regard, the latter regarding the appeal to the hearers' knowledge as being typical of a farewell speech.

⁹⁹ γινώσκω is used only once in the letter (3:5), of Paul's lack of knowledge about the situation in Thessalonica. We might speculate a possible link with Paul's lack of knowledge in Acts 20:22, but this is about the future.

knowledge of his conduct, and as in Acts 20¹⁰⁰ the use of verbs of knowing coincides at times with the use of emphatic personal pronouns (αὐτοί, 2:1; 3:3; 5:2), underlining that it is *these* people's knowledge of him to which Paul is appealing.

The use of οἶδα in 1 Thessalonians is particularly notable when compared with other Pauline letters. It is used thirteen times in this letter, whereas letters in the Pauline corpus of comparable length have nothing like this frequency of οἶδα.¹⁰¹ Further, the use of οἶδα with emphatic personal pronouns is also a particular feature of this letter: it is only found elsewhere in the Pauline letters (excluding the Pastorals) in five places,¹⁰² only one of which has αὐτοί.¹⁰³ This suggests that the appeal to the addressees' knowledge of the exemplary conduct of Paul and his companions is a particular concern in 1 Thessalonians.

The appeal to the readers' knowledge of Paul goes wider than this verb. The readers are told, 'For you remember (μνημονεύετε¹⁰⁴), brothers, our labour and toil' (2:9), appealing to their knowledge of the apostle's conduct, and this is followed by, 'You are witnesses (μάρτυρες), and God also, how pure, upright and blameless our conduct was' (2:10). Paul appeals to the lessons on Christian living that the Thessalonians had learned from him and his colleagues, 'just as you learned (παρελάβετε) from us how it is necessary to walk and to please God' (4:1), and uses the language of imitation (καὶ ὑμεῖς μιμηταὶ ἡμῶν ἐγενήθητε, 1:6), which presupposes a knowledge of the one(s) to be imitated.

The kinds of knowledge appealed to in the letter and the Miletus speech closely parallel each other. In the letter Paul draws attention to the readers' knowledge of his lifestyle and that of his companions (1:5f;

¹⁰⁰ § 3.3.1, *Repetitions*.

¹⁰¹ Galatians 3; Ephesians 5; Philippians 6; Colossians 4; Philemon 1; 2 Thessalonians 3. The number of occurrences in Romans (16), 1 Corinthians (25) and 2 Corinthians (16) is greater, but if the frequency of οἶδα relative to the length of the book is considered, it occurs more than twice as frequently in 1 Thessalonians than in those three letters (measured by occurrences per 1000 words: 1 Thessalonians 7.72; Romans 1.96; 1 Corinthians 3.11; 2 Corinthians 3.09). In the Pastorals, where the *prima facie* reading of the text is that the author knows the addressees personally, the use of οἶδα is lower in frequency than 1 Thessalonians: 1 Timothy 4; 2 Timothy 5; Titus 2.

¹⁰² 2 Cor. 5:16; Eph. 6:21; Col. 4:1; Phil. 4:15; 2 Thess. 3:7.

¹⁰³ 2 Thess. 3:7.

¹⁰⁴ This verb could be imperative, but is taken by the large majority as indicative on the basis that the uses of οἶδα (vv 1, 5, 11) are indicative (Frame 1912, 102; Bruce 1986, 34). Blight 1989, 52 notes that NEB, NAB and TNT take it as imperative.

2:2, 5, 9, 10, 11) – indeed, they shared their own selves with the Thessalonians (2:8) and sought their good (2:2, 5f, 7, 9-12; 3:5, 10) – their lifestyle took the shape it did δι' ὑμᾶς (1:5).¹⁰⁵ Likewise, Luke's Paul speaks of the elders' knowledge of his exemplary conduct amongst them (Acts 20:20, a clause dependent on the main verb ἐπίστασθε, v 18), and this conduct the elders know to have been at cost to himself (Acts 20:19, 22f, 31), to the extent that Paul provided for the weak, as they should (Acts 20:34f).¹⁰⁶

A similar parallel exists concerning Paul's teaching, for this is another topic of the Thessalonians' knowledge of him (4:1, 2; 5:2) and that of the Ephesian elders (Acts 20:20). Again, both in the letter and the speech Paul appeals to the hearers' knowledge of future suffering as Christians as inevitable – both for him and for them (1 Thess. 3:3f; Acts 20:25, 29f).

Finally, in the letter Paul draws attention to the recipients' knowledge that the visit had not been in vain, for the gospel had borne fruit amongst them (2:1f; cf. 1:5);¹⁰⁷ and in the speech Luke's Paul stresses how much he has done (20:26f).

This appeal to the Thessalonians' knowledge has a paraenetic function, serving to offer a model for imitation to the readers: as we noted earlier,¹⁰⁸ descriptions of the missionaries' conduct often become exhortations elsewhere in the letter.¹⁰⁹ This links strongly with the Miletus speech, where Paul's reminder of his conduct serves as the springboard for the call to the elders to their service (especially Acts 20:35; but also vv 18-21, 26-31 – note the use of δίο as the transition word in v 31, showing that an implication is being drawn from what precedes it).

The theme of knowing provides a range of parallels between the letter and the speech which begin from a verbal coincidence, but extend to the use of other verbs of knowing and, strikingly, to the kinds of knowledge mentioned.

105 de Boer 1962, 112f.

106 cf. the Lukan Jesus' understanding of leadership as humble service for the sake of those led (Luke 22:24-30, discussed § 4.2.4).

107 Collins 1989, 775.

108 § 5.2.3, *Paul defending himself*.

109 Marshall 1983, 61; Wanamaker 1990, 80.

Paul's 'defence'

1 Thess. 2:1-12 proffers a reminder of Paul's conduct while in Thessalonica.¹¹⁰ One mark of Paul's conduct mentioned is not seeking glory¹¹¹ from people (2:6), using vocabulary which is not used in the Miletus speech (ζητέω, δόξα), although it is used elsewhere in Acts.¹¹² By contrast, the δόξα to be sought is that of God (2:12), before whom the Thessalonians are the δόξα of the missionaries (2:20).¹¹³ ζητέω is only used on this occasion in 1 Thessalonians.

1 Thess. 2:6 interestingly parallels Acts 20:19 conceptually, where Paul describes himself as δουλεύων τῷ κυρίῳ μετὰ πάσης ταπεινοφροσύνης.¹¹⁴ The vocabulary is different (although it is in some cases fairly rare vocabulary), but nevertheless the thought of the two phrases is not dissimilar, for they present two sides of the same coin, one phrased positively ('with all humility') and the other negatively ('not seeking glory from people').¹¹⁵

The call to the Thessalonian leaders

The other material on leadership in 1 Thessalonians is the call to the leaders of the Thessalonian church to fulfil their leadership responsibilities. 5:12f has these leaders in view, since they are described as προϊσταμένους ὑμῶν ἐν κυρίῳ.¹¹⁶ These verses should be seen as echoing

¹¹⁰ Wanamaker 1990, 91, 98 argues that 2:1-12 serves the purpose of implicit paraenesis, providing role-models of Christian moral behaviour, an interesting parallel point to the paraenetic function of farewell speeches (see § 3.2.1).

¹¹¹ Wanamaker 1990, 98 plausibly claims that δόξα here does not carry its usual sense of 'glory' in a religious sense but rather should be read as having the common non-biblical sense of 'honour' or 'fame'. He cites Dio Chrysostom (*Oration*, 32.7-12, esp. 32.10) as saying that a genuine philosopher will not speak for the sake of δόξα. Thus, 'Paul may be contrasting his own motives with those of the popular philosophers and sophists who sought to gain honor or repute from their audiences.' (98) Similarly, Best 1972, 99; Morris 1991, 66; Rigaux 1956, 415 ('la gloire humaine'); Bruce 1986, 30; Milligan 1908, 21 ('what the Apostles disclaim is the *desire* of popularity', italics his).

¹¹² ζητέω: 9:11; 10:19, 21; 13:8, 11; 16:10; 17:5, 27; 21:31; 27:30; δόξα: 7:2, 55; 12:23; 22:11.

¹¹³ These are the only uses of δόξα in the letter.

¹¹⁴ ταπεινοφροσύνη is rare in the NT, only being used 7 times in total, this being its only use in Acts. See further § 3.4.1.

¹¹⁵ Bruce 1990, 430; Marshall 1980, 330.

¹¹⁶ Morris 1991, 165 notes that the sentence has one article governing three participles, 'which means that it is one group of people who discharge all three functions, and not three different groups. It is this as much as anything else that inclines us to think that the elders of this church are being addressed. Who else would discharge this triple function?' So also Lightfoot 1895 rp 1993, 78f; Best 1972, 224; Milligan 1908, 71; Blight 1989, 174; Moore 1969, 80; Neil 1950, 121; Wanamaker 1990, 192; Rigaux 1956, 576f; Marshall 1983, 147; Bruce 1986, 118; *contra* Richard 1995, 281f;

the description of the missionaries' work (2:1-12), and turning the description, which was implicitly paraenetic, into explicit exhortation.¹¹⁷

προΐστημι is used eight times in the NT, always intransitively, dividing between the two senses¹¹⁸ 'be at the head (of), rule, direct', taking a genitive of the person/people led,¹¹⁹ and 'be concerned about, care for, give aid'.¹²⁰ It is used once clearly of church leaders (1 Tim. 5:17), although it is there not a title. In Rom. 12:8 it could refer to a type of minister, or to the service provided by that minister. The noun προστάτης is not found in the NT, but the feminine form προστάτις describes the work of Phoebe in relation to the Romans and Paul (Rom. 16:2). Again it is not titular, since Phoebe's role is as a διάκονος (if that be a title at this date), and προστάτις is likely here to mean 'benefactor', since she can hardly be a 'leader' in relation to Paul.¹²¹ It is not necessary to suppose that there was a formal structure to the church or formal 'orders of ministry' in Thessalonica to accept that certain people exercised leadership, and were recognised by the congregation to do so.

Paul describes the leaders' responsibilities using the terms κοπιῶντας and νοουθετοῦντας. In 5:14 he again uses νοουθετέω, speaking here to the church at large.¹²² In both cases he is describing the leaders' task and encouraging its fulfilment, not least by presupposing that it is taking place.

νοουθετέω is not widely used in the NT, only seven times in total; apart from Acts 20:31, it is used only in Pauline letters. νοουθετέω is used by Paul for his own relationships with the churches (1 Cor. 4:14f), for the way that those responsible within churches should act (1 Thess. 5:12; Col. 1:28), and for the way that all Christians should act towards one another (1 Thess.

Malherbe 1987, 88f who see 5:12f as being about the exercise of *charismata* by the whole congregation.

117 Richard 1995, 275f.

118 BAGD, 707; cf. EDNT, 3:156f.

119 e.g. 1 Tim. 3:4f, 12 of 'directing' a household.

120 e.g. Titus 3:8, 14 of 'caring for', i.e. promoting, good works.

121 Wanamaker 1990, 193; this last point leads Wanamaker to propose that we should see the leaders of the church as those of highest social status and wealth (so also Jewett 1986, 103). See the excellent discussion of possibilities for προστάτις in Whelan 1993, concluding that Phoebe is a 'patron' of Paul.

122 Milligan 1908, 73; Morris 1991, 168; Wanamaker 1990, 196; Best 1972, 299; Frame 1912, 196, on the grounds that the address ἀδελφοί in 5:14 resumes the discussion begun in 5:12, where the address is also ἀδελφοί, and that the vocative indicates the beginning of a new topic.

5:14; Col. 3:16; Rom. 5:14).¹²³ The occurrence of as clearly Pauline a word as *νοουθετέω* in a Pauline speech¹²⁴ points to some understanding by Luke of the vocabulary that Paul used.¹²⁵

The *κόπος* word-group has a strongly 'Pauline' feel to it, too. Of 23 uses of *κοπιάω* in the NT, eleven occur within Pauline letters¹²⁶ (and three more in the Pastorals¹²⁷). Of nineteen uses of the noun *κόπος* in the NT, eleven occur within the Pauline letters.¹²⁸ The word-group is used of physical toil (e.g. 1 Thess. 2:9; 3:5; 1 Cor. 4:12; 2 Thess. 3:8) and also of 'evangelical activity' (e.g. 1 Cor. 15:10; 16:16; Gal. 4:11; Phil. 2:16; Rom. 16:6, 12).¹²⁹ The only use in relation to Paul's work in this letter is 2:9.

In this context it is interesting that the uses of *κοπιῶντας* in Acts 20:35 and 1 Thess. 5:12 are the only uses of the verb in those two books respectively.¹³⁰ In both cases it is the leaders of the community whose activity is being described using the verb:¹³¹ in Acts 20:35 the elders are to toil like Paul; in 1 Thess. 5:12 the leaders of the community are described as 'those who toil amongst you'. Here is a Pauline idea used in a Pauline way with Pauline vocabulary in the Miletus speech.

Finally, the fact that their leadership is to be exercised *ἐν κυρίῳ* suggests that it is to be exercised in the same spirit of service as the Lord

123 Morris 1991, 226. Wanamaker 1990, 193 offers a similar summary of usage. That usage is Pauline (including the Acts context) is also noted by Barrett 1977, 115; Roloff 1981, 301; Schneider 1980, 1982, II:298 n 64; Marshall 1983, 148; Morris 1991, 166; Frame 1912, 194; Pesch 1986, 2:205; Moore 1969, 80.

124 Best 1972, 226; Plummer 1918, 93.

125 Aejmelaeus 1987, 153, who comes to a similar conclusion, also notices the use of *παραμυθέομαι*, found in the NT only in 1 Thess. 5:14; 2:12; John 11:19, 31, which binds 1 Thess. 2:9-12; 5:14 further together.

126 Rom. 16:6, 12; 1 Cor. 4:12; 15:10; 16:16; Gal. 4:11; Eph. 4:28; Phil. 2:16; Col. 1:29; 1 Thess. 5:12.

127 1 Tim. 4:10; 5:17; 2 Tim. 2:6.

128 1 Cor. 3:8; 15:58; 2 Cor. 6:5; 10:15; 11:23, 27; Gal. 6:17; 1 Thess. 1:3; 2:9; 3:5; 2 Thess. 3:8. *κόπος* is not used in the Pastorals.

129 Best 1972, 224.

130 Plummer 1918, 91; Aejmelaeus 1987, 170, the latter also observing that the noun occurs at 1 Thess. 1:3; 2:9; 3:5 (as do Best 1972, 224; Marshall 1983, 147).

131 TDNT, 3:829 notes the parallel.

himself.¹³² This characteristically Pauline phrase¹³³ is used often of Christian actions, such as welcome (Rom. 16:2; Phil. 2:29) or greeting (Rom. 16:8, 11, 22).¹³⁴ In 1 Thessalonians it is used three times, the other two uses being of standing firm (3:8) and Paul urging them 'in the Lord Jesus' (4:1), which bears a similar sense as 5:12. Thus in 5:12, as the Lord gave himself for the church, so the leaders are to give themselves for the church.

This links to the Miletus speech, where references to Jesus' gift of Paul's ministry and Jesus' teaching in the speech (Acts 20:24, 35) show Luke's Paul focused on acting as Jesus did (esp. v 35, which is in a position of emphasis at the end of the speech). Indeed, Luke's presentation of Paul's ministry is modelled on that of Jesus' life and teaching, particularly the Lukan Last Supper discourse.¹³⁵

5.3.2. Suffering

The theme of suffering in the Miletus speech focuses particularly on Paul's own (past and future) suffering, although he also warns the elders of future suffering to come.¹³⁶ The suffering theme is also prominent in 1 Thessalonians, in three ways: Paul writes of his own suffering, the Thessalonian Christians' suffering, and he teaches about a right Christian attitude to suffering

Paul's own suffering

Paul writes of his own suffering, reminding the Thessalonian Christians that they already know about this (καθὼς οἴδατε, 2:2). He speaks of his ministry in Thessalonica in terms of sharing his life (2:8). He goes on to speak of his own suffering at the hands of the Jews (2:15f¹³⁷) and refers to

¹³² Dunn 1975, 324 ('[in the Lord] denotes a religious experience...as experience of Christ – deriving from Christ as to both its source and character'); Donfried & Marshall 1993, 61; Marshall 1983, 148 note 1 Thess. 1:6, where their imitation of the Lord consists in suffering, as Paul's had; 2:7-12, where Paul stresses the gentleness he showed as their leader; and 3:12, where it is ὁ κύριος whom Paul invokes to increase the mutual love of the Thessalonians.

¹³³ Used 47 times in the Pauline corpus (although never in the Pastorals), and only once elsewhere in the NT (Rev. 14:13).

¹³⁴ cf. Best 1972, 225.

¹³⁵ § 4.2.4.

¹³⁶ See § 3.5.2.

¹³⁷ It has been argued that 1 Thess. 2:13-16 (or 14-16) are a non-Pauline interpolation (Pearson 1971; Boers 1975-76, esp. 150-152; Schmidt 1983; Koester 1979, 38; Richard 1995, 17-19). The main grounds for this view are: (1) the passage is theologically incompatible with Paul's positive view of the Jews in Rom. 11, esp. vv 25-32; (2) there is no evidence of persecution of Christian Jews by non-Christian Jews in

present (or recent) affliction and distress (3:7), partly arising from not seeing the Thessalonian Christians (3:1, 5). In various ways, these parallel the material in the Miletus speech that we have already discussed.

The sharing of Paul's very self with the Thessalonians (2:8) uses vocabulary reminiscent of the Miletus speech in the use of *ψυχή* in both places (Acts 20:24).¹³⁸ In both cases it is Paul's *ψυχή* being discussed: in 1 Thessalonians he shares it with the Thessalonian Christians; in Acts 20 he values his *ψυχή* less than completing the work given to him by God. In both cases Paul is taking risks in his ministry (note 1 Thess. 2:2 as part of the context of 2:8).¹³⁹

Judaea before AD 50; (3) ἔφθασεν (v 16), because aorist, implies a specific act of God's wrath on the Jews, and only the destruction of Jerusalem in AD 70 fits this; (4) v 13 looks like the start of another thanksgiving period (cf. 1:2f), whereas if vv 13-16 are deleted there is a smooth transition from v 12 to v 17; (5) the language of imitation (v 14) differs from Paul's usual use of such language, which is of imitating himself or Christ (1 Cor. 4:16; 11:1; Phil. 3:17; 1 Thess. 1:6); (6) the linguistic usage of vv 13-16 is un-Pauline in its use of *καί* rather than *γάρ* or no conjunction (v 13), the number of levels of 'embedding' of dependent clauses in v 15, the separation of *κύριος* and *Ἰησοῦς* by a participle, and the combination *τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν οὐσῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ* (v 14) is not found elsewhere in Paul, even though the individual elements are.

But each of these points can be answered (Donfried 1984; Okeke 1980; Weatherly 1991a; Hurd 1986; Schlueter 1994, 29-38; Wanamaker 1990, 29-34; Jewett 1986, 36-41; Marshall 1983, 11f; Smith 1995, 77f): (1) the geographical focus of *τῶν Ἰουδαίων* (v 14) is on the Jews of Judaea, since it is they who persecute the Christian Jews of Judaea, and who killed the Lord Jesus; (2) there is evidence for persecution of Christian Jews in Judaea pre-50 in Acts and the Pauline letters, not least by Paul/Saul himself (e.g. Acts 4:1ff; 5:17ff; 6:9-7:60; 8:1; 11:19; 12:1ff; Gal. 1:13, 23; Phil. 3:6; 1 Cor. 15:9); (3) there are events, such as the expulsion of the Jews under Claudius in AD 49 which would fit the aorist use, or the aorist is of a soon-to-be event; (4) there is a parallelism between 1:2-10 and 2:13-16 which shows 1:2-2:16 to have a 'ring' composition with 2:1-12 as its centre; (5) it is typical of Paul to move from the general to the specific, and his thanksgiving moves from the general (1:6-9a, their imitation of the missionaries) to the more specific (2:13-16, their endurance of persecution) to the consequence (5:9, they will receive not wrath, but salvation, contrasting with the Judaeans of 2:16), so that there is a logic to the references to imitation in the letter; (6) each of the linguistic uses is arguably Pauline: the use of *καί* (e.g. Rom. 1:28; 2:27; 3:8; 5:16; 1 Thess. 1:6), the larger number of levels of 'embedding' (Rom 4:16f contains nine levels), the separation of noun from attributing adjective by a verb form is a parallel usage to the separation of 'Lord' and 'Jesus' (e.g. 1 Cor. 7:7, 12; Phil. 2:20; 3:20), and the combination of Pauline phrases could be Pauline and can be explained in the context.

¹³⁸ Aejmelaeus 1987, 126f; Munck 1967, 204: 'The apostle's readiness to risk his life in the service of God is mentioned in...I Thess ii 8.' Bruce 1986, 32 notes the parallel of 1 Thess. 2:8 and 2 Thess. 3:9 and observes, 'The *ψυχή* is here the seat of affection and will.' There is a further link in *τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ θεοῦ*, see § 5.4.3.

¹³⁹ It is also interesting to note that *ψυχή*, which is widely used in the NT, is only used on two occasions in 1 Thessalonians (2:8; 5:23). The verse we are considering assumes greater importance because of this.

The opposition to Paul is Jewish, caused by his mission to Gentiles (2:15f). Paul describes his experience as having been 'driven out' or 'persecuted'.¹⁴⁰ It is most likely the experience of Paul and his companions that is being described here¹⁴¹ and this may be explained by Luke's description of the initial mission to Thessalonica (Acts 17:1ff).

The parallel with Acts 20:19 is notable here.¹⁴² Marshall observes:

the implied patience and fortitude with which he [sc. Paul] continued his work despite the temptations to give it up that arose from Jewish persecution (2 Cor. 11:24, 26; 1 Thes. 2:14-16). Here...there are direct and close parallels in the writings of Paul himself which show that this was how he thought of his ministry.¹⁴³

Barrett similarly notes:

The description of Paul's ministry is conventional, *but most of it finds parallels in the letters, and could be part of the genuine Pauline tradition.*¹⁴⁴

Strelan sees the Miletus speech as Jewish in 'flavour', and suggests that this shows the Ephesian elders to include Jews at this period:¹⁴⁵ he cites the use of 'elder', which was a synagogue term (v 17), the continued commitment to teaching Jews as well as Gentiles (v 21), the emphasis on 'the kingdom' (v 25), language of 'the whole will of God' (v 27), the imagery of shepherd and flock (v 28), God obtaining (περιποιέομαι) the church (v 28), the λύκοι βαρῆς (v 29) recalling Deut. 31:29; Ezek. 22:27;

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- ¹⁴⁰ The Greek is ἐκδιωξάντων (an NT *hapax legomenon*), which Wanamaker 1990, 115 understands as literal driving out, noting Luke's description of Paul's ministry in Thessalonica (Acts 17:5-10). Schlueter 1994, 68f argues that ἐκδιώκω means 'persecute' here because of its association with 'killing the Lord Jesus'.
- ¹⁴¹ Best 1972, 116 cites the argument from consistency of usage in 1 Thessalonians for 'us' being Paul and his companions here. Similarly, Malherbe 1987, 62; Marshall 1983, 79; Lightfoot 1895 rp 1993, 33; Bruce 1986, 47. cf. Schlueter 1994, 70-73, who compares Gal. 5:11; 2 Cor. 11:24, and suggests that 'us' should be understood as 'us apostles', since it is not easy to understand why Jews should persecute the Gentile Timothy.
- ¹⁴² Aejmelaeus 1987, 102 argues that the picture in Acts 20:18b-19 and 1 Thess. 2:2 is in essentials the same.
- ¹⁴³ Marshall 1980, 330. Barrett 1977, 111 also observes the allusion in 1 Thess. 2:15 to the Jews being the enemies of the apostolic church: 'Acts is full of the plots of the Jews, who are the regular enemies of the apostolic church.' cf. Davies 1978, 6-9, who regards 1 Thess. 2:13-16 as Pauline.
- ¹⁴⁴ Barrett 1977, 111 (italics mine). Barrett does not state for whom this description would be 'conventional'. One wonders for whom else – apart from Paul – Jewish opposition would be 'conventional'. Barrett's evaluation seems too weak here: the strength of allusion to the Pauline letters is very strong, not least to 1 Thessalonians.
- ¹⁴⁵ Strelan 1996, 266-269.

Zeph. 3:3, and δοῦναι τὴν κληρονομίαν ἐν τοῖς ἡγιασμένοις πᾶσιν (v 32) recalling the promises of God to Israel of an inheritance. Likewise, the body language of falling on Paul's neck and kissing him (v 37) echoes the actions of Esau and Jacob (Gen. 33:4), Joseph and Benjamin (Gen. 45:14), Joseph and his father (Gen. 46:29) and Raguel and his relatives (Tobit 7:6f). The Jewishness of the speech prompts the observation that debate and disagreement are often sharpest and most acrimonious (from an outsider's perspective) when the opposing people are closest in background – and this is the case with Paul and his persecutors in the Miletus speech (Acts 20:19) and 1 Thessalonians (2:14-16).

The Thessalonian Christians' suffering

Paul compares the suffering of the Thessalonian Christians to that of the churches of Judaea (2:14, resulting from persecution by Jews¹⁴⁶), having already compared it to his own and the Lord's (1:6). He also refers to the Thessalonian Christians' suffering prior to teaching about the attitude they should have (3:3).

In the Miletus speech Paul does not discuss the past suffering of the elders, but does hint (Acts 20:29f) that they will in future experience suffering not dissimilar to his own. This forms an interesting parallel of thought to 1 Thess. 3:3f, where Paul states that he warned the Thessalonian Christians of suffering to come, using an emphatic personal pronoun to underline the point that he had taught them this during his visit – and the present tense of κείμεθα (v 3) underlines that this is still his expectation.¹⁴⁷ The inevitability is further stressed by the use of μέλλω (v 4), and the whole provides encouragement to persevere amidst afflictions – not dissimilar to the call to the Ephesian elders to stay alert when pressures from outside ('savage¹⁴⁸ wolves', Acts 20:29) and inside (v 30) come on the horizon.

A Christian attitude to suffering

This is the concern of 3:3f, where Paul is concerned to help the Thessalonian Christians understand that their suffering should be no

¹⁴⁶ Marshall 1983, 78.

¹⁴⁷ Johanson 1987, 105.

¹⁴⁸ Aejmelaeus 1987, 147 believes that βαρύς as a description of the false teachers is derived from 1 Thess. 2:7, 9, where words from the same word group are used (βάρει, ἐπιβαρῆσαι).

surprise to them, not least since they were warned beforehand that this would be the case.

Paul uses the noun *θλίψις* (v 3) and the verb *θλίβω* (v 4) in teaching about suffering here. The verb is relatively unusual in the NT (ten uses: six in the Pauline letters, one in the Pastorals, never in Acts¹⁴⁹), although the noun is commoner (45 times in the NT, of which 24 are in the Pauline letters¹⁵⁰ and five in Acts¹⁵¹). The parallel with Acts 14:22 at first appears stronger than that with Acts 20:23, as Lightfoot notes, commenting on 1 Thess. 3:4:

Observe here, beyond the general resemblance to the passage in the Thessalonian Epistle, the occurrence of the same words (*ἐπι*)στηρίζειν, παρακαλεῖν, πίστις, θλίψεις and of ὅτι introducing the direct narrative in the same way as here. The completeness of the parallel is an undesigned coincidence of no ordinary importance. And it does not stand alone. It recurs, with more or less marked emphasis, wherever St Luke reports St Paul's words.¹⁵²

Nevertheless, as Lightfoot observes, the resemblance with other places in Acts is also notable. The parallel with Acts 20:23 is noted by Schippers:

The *thlipsis* does not come unexpectedly to the believer...the tribulations of Christians are also conditioned by this [divine] 'must'. Moreover, this is stated several times in the NT...It is perhaps most clearly expressed in 1 Thess. 3:3...The apostle Paul had expected nothing else for his own life (1 Thess. 3:4; cf. Acts 20:23).¹⁵³

Paul prophesies suffering for himself in both places:¹⁵⁴ the normality of persecution is a theme common to Acts 20:23 and 1 Thess. 3:3f, using the same vocabulary in both places. Again we see the use of a 'Pauline' term by Luke.

149 2 Cor. 1:6; 4:8; 7:5; 1 Thess. 3:4; 2 Thess. 1:6, 7; 1 Tim. 5:10.

150 Including 1 Thess. 1:6; 3:3, 7.

151 Acts 7:10, 11; 11:19; 14:22; 20:23. Only 11:19 is in narrative; other uses are in speeches.

152 Lightfoot 1895 rp 1993, 43. The parallel with Acts 14:22 is also noted in Aejmelaeus 1987, 92; Morris 1991, 97f; Bruce 1986, 63. Best 1972, 135 comments on 3:3: 'Paul is not thinking of a period of persecution that will pass and the church return to normality; normality is persecution (cf. Acts 14:22).'

153 NIDNTT, 2:809.

154 Aejmelaeus 1987, 117.

5.3.3. Money and work

Attitudes to money and work are important themes of the Miletus address.¹⁵⁵ Paul's own conduct (Acts 20:33-35) is one focus of the theme there, the other being (by implication) the attitude to wealth expected of the elders (esp. Acts 20:28, 33-35). In 1 Thessalonians this theme is prominent, focused on three passages, 2:5ff, 9; 4:11; and 5:14.

1 Thess. 2:5ff, 9

A number of parallels with the Miletus speech come together in these verses. Paul's assertion that he did not 'lay burdens' (ἐπιβαρῆσαι) on the Thessalonians (2:9) means financial burdens. This is seen from the first half of the verse, in which Paul writes of his 'labour and toil' while in Thessalonica, referring to his tentmaking work.¹⁵⁶ This is a significant parallel to Acts 20:33f, where Luke reports Paul as describing his ministry in Ephesus in similar terms.¹⁵⁷ Paul's policy of not demanding financial support from the churches which he was in the process of planting is a common thread to both passages,¹⁵⁸ and this is a Pauline theme in other places.¹⁵⁹

As an apostle, Paul claims, he could have made such demands (ἐν βάρει, 2:7), but this was a right he waived, a phrase that most probably refers to financial support¹⁶⁰ – a strong parallel with the assertions of Acts

155 § 3.5.3.

156 Hock 1980, 30 cites Lucian, *De Mercede conductis* 20, 37 as examples of the client as a burden to the patron (although the latter reference should probably be 38), seeing Lucian and Paul's usage as 'technical' (80 n 44); Collins 1984, 186f cites τὸν κόπον ἡμῶν καὶ τὸν μόχθον (2:9) as 'underscoring the fatigue and hardship of his [Paul's] work' (187).

157 Schürmann & Egenolf 1969, 28f.

158 Aejmelaeus 1987, 168f.

159 Bruce 1986, 34 cites 1 Cor. 4:12; Acts 19:12; 2 Thess. 3:8.

160 Milligan 1908, 20; Bruce 1986, 31; Marshall 1980, 336; *pace* Frame 1912, 99f, who argues that the use of βάρει (2:7) is more to do with the requirement of honour than a stipend, finding no reference to a stipend in the immediate context; and Best 1972, 100, who concurs on the grounds that the clause in v 7 is more closely linked to v 6, which discusses dignity, than v 5, which discusses exploitation. Nevertheless, Wanamaker 1990, 99 thinks that there is a *double entendre* in the use of the word in v 7, concluding, 'On the whole then it seems better to understand v 7a as directed to the right of Paul to exercise or wield his apostolic authority...which might include the right to be financially supported.' We may therefore take there to be at least *some* reference to financial support in the use of βάρει (v 7).

20:34f. The theme of not making demands on the church being served at a particular time recurs throughout the Pauline corpus.¹⁶¹

The parallel between 1 Thess. 2:5ff and Acts 20 is the more striking because of the use of common vocabulary in the expression of the idea. Paul uses both the noun βάρος (2:7) and the related (rare) verb ἐπιβαρέω (2:9) – wording echoed by Luke's record of the Miletus speech when Luke's Paul speaks of the wolves who will come using the adjective βάρος (Acts 20:29):¹⁶² the wolves to come will be the kind of people Paul and his companions have declined to be, for they will be burdensome to the Ephesian church.

The common vocabulary runs further than this. Νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας (2:9)¹⁶³ bespeaks Paul's tentmaking labours,¹⁶⁴ which were long and during which Paul most probably carried out evangelism.¹⁶⁵ This phrase is echoed in Acts 20:31, νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν,¹⁶⁶ where it again speaks of Paul's long and arduous ministry, most probably alongside his work.¹⁶⁷ We have found here a considerable clustering of themes and vocabulary found in both the Miletus speech and 1 Thessalonians.

1 Thess. 4:11f; 5:14

We note first the mention of hands in 1 Thess. 4:11f and Acts 20:34.¹⁶⁸ In both cases it is work with the hands that is mentioned: in the letter it is the

¹⁶¹ e.g. 1 Cor. 9:3-18; 2 Cor. 11:7-12; 2 Thess. 3:7-9. It is clear from these references that Paul achieved this at times by relying on financial support from other churches, esp. 2 Cor. 11:8f.

¹⁶² Aejmelaeus 1987, 147.

¹⁶³ Lightfoot 1895 rp 1993, 27 notes that the order of the words need not imply that the phrase is based on the Jewish understanding of the beginning of the day being sunset, for Jewish writers use the reverse order also, e.g. Jer. 16:13; 33:25. Equally, Lightfoot notes, Roman writers, who reckoned the day as beginning at sunrise, sometimes speak of 'night and day', e.g. Cicero, *De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum* i.16.51; *De Oratore* i.61.260 (misprinted as i.16.260 in Lightfoot 1895 rp 1993, 27); Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* v.38.1. (These authors are, of course, in Latin, not Greek.)

¹⁶⁴ Hock 1980, 31 sees the use of the genitive as meaning 'during night and day', rather than 'throughout the whole night and day', and relates this to Paul's tentmaking.

¹⁶⁵ Hock 1980, 37-42.

¹⁶⁶ Bruce 1986, 35; Williams 1992, 42; Haenchen 1971, 593 n 7; Marshall 1980, 335; Aejmelaeus 1987, 152.

¹⁶⁷ Bruce 1990, 410 notes that Acts 19:12 mentions σουδάρια ἢ σιμικίνθια, which have Latin origin in *sudaria*, sweat-rags worn on the head, and *semicinctia*, aprons, both of which were worn while working – presumably by Paul as he made tents; so also Haenchen 1971, 562 n 1; *contra* Johnson 1992a, 340, who envisages small pieces of cloth being pressed against Paul and then carried to the sick.

¹⁶⁸ Hanson 1967, 205; Neil 1973, 215. Conzelmann 1987, 176; Lüdemann 1989, 228 suggest that Luke may have used 1 Thess. 2:9; 4:11 in constructing Acts 20:34f,

duty of work with the hands that Paul is urging on the Thessalonian Christians; in the speech it is Paul's own work with his hands of which he is reminding the elders.

χείρ in 1 Thess. 4:11 is the only use of the word in the letter, whereas χεῖρ is quite common in Acts (45 uses). 4:11 links back to 2:9, where Paul speaks of working himself; Paul's urging in 4:11 that the Thessalonians should work with their hands may suggest that the church there was composed principally of manual workers,¹⁶⁹ or that Paul was seeking to remove Christian clients from the kind of client-patron relationships which meant that they had no need to work (because of the benefactions of their patrons), and no opportunity to work, since they had to focus attention on their patron's affairs, being present for the morning *salutatio* and then going with the patron and supporting his causes.¹⁷⁰ In general Judaism valued manual work, whereas the Greeks regarded it with disdain,¹⁷¹ although there is evidence of philosophers who chose to work manually and regarded this as honourable, since it meant they were not dependent on a wealthy patron.¹⁷² It was normal for a Jew – even a rabbi – to learn a trade.¹⁷³ Collins links 4:11 to 2:9 in claiming that 'Paul's work, and his attitude towards it, served as a paradigm for his paraenesis.'¹⁷⁴

Three purposes are involved in manual work of this kind in the letter. First, it will command the respect of outsiders (ἵνα περιπατῆτε εὐσχημόνως πρὸς τοὺς ἔξω, 4:12), for clients were not generally admired¹⁷⁵ and working will provide a testimony to outsiders.¹⁷⁶ Second, working will produce financial independence, rather than the dependence

although Lüdemann thinks it more likely that Luke derived the material from oral tradition.

169 Best 1972, 176; Morris 1991, 132; Malherbe 1987, 15f.

170 Juvenal, *Satires* I lines 127f; Saller 1982, 128f; Winter 1994, 42-60; Winter 1997, 4. In the latter, Winter considers that 2 Thess. 3:6, 10 points to such a reading of 1 Thess. 4:11f, for it was a person who 'did not *want* to work' (τις οὐ θέλει ἐργάζεσθαι, 2 Thess. 3:10) who was censured, implying that they did not *need* to work. This view, if correct, makes it unlikely that the cause of Paul's instructions was over-enthusiastic eschatological fervour leading the Thessalonians to give up working (so Hock 1980, 43 *contra* Agrell 1976, 101-103; Jewett 1986, 173f, 176f).

171 Best 1972, 176; Bicknell 1932, 41; Marshall 1983, 116.

172 Hock 1980, 52-59; Richard 1995, 220.

173 TDNT, 2:649 (mis-cited in Richard 1995, 211 as 2:249) cites later rabbinic sources to this effect, but also notes, 'there are also critical voices arguing that the two [*sc.* a manual trade and being a rabbi] are incompatible.'

174 Collins 1984, 187; so also Hock 1980, 42-49.

175 cf. Juvenal, *Satires* V, esp. lines 1-5; Winter 1994, 51.

176 Agrell 1976, 99f.

which was inherent in certain patron-client relationships (μηδενὸς χρεῖαν ἔχητε, 4:12),¹⁷⁷ or the possibility of leaning upon fellow-Christians for support.¹⁷⁸ Third, working will give the ability to support the weaker members of the church (4:11), for it is apropos that question (4:9ff) that Paul introduces the specific point of working with one's hands. 4:9-12 should be seen as focused on one subject, namely the love of fellow-Christians: in 4:9-10a the general principle is enunciated, and in 4:10b-12 its specific meaning is explained.¹⁷⁹ v 11 is then not necessarily advocating 'political quietism' in the sense of withdrawal from public affairs,¹⁸⁰ but is contrasting the client, who had to be busy about the patron's affairs, with the financially independent person, who could 'mind your own affairs' (πράσσειν τὰ ἴδια).

All of this points to a real parallel with the Miletus speech, for the use of χεῖρ there is in relation to Paul's manual work (Acts 20:34), his provision for his fellow-workers (Acts 20:34) and his urging on the elders the duty of care for the weak (Acts 20:35; cf. 1 Thess. 5:14, discussed below). Although the owner of the χεῖρ is different in the two texts, the idea focused by the use of χεῖρ is very similar in the two cases. It is also of interest that the parallel extends to a reminder that the hearers know this already (καθὼς ὑμῖν παρηγγείλαμεν, 1 Thess. 4:11; αὐτοὶ γινώσκετε, Acts 20:34) and to the same word for 'needs' in both contexts (χρεῖα, Acts 20:34; 1 Thess. 4:12).¹⁸¹

The theme of support of the weak appears in the exhortation ἀντέχεσθε τῶν ἀσθενῶν (1 Thess. 5:14), forming an interesting parallel to δεῖ ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι τῶν ἀσθενούντων (Acts 20:35).¹⁸² The participle ἀσθενούντων is derived from the verb ἀσθενέω, which is used in Acts (9:37; 19:12; 20:35), but never in 1 Thessalonians.¹⁸³ The noun ἀσθενής is used in Acts (4:9; 5:15, 16), but 1 Thess. 5:14 represents its only use in that

177 i.e the kind which precluded work discussed above. See also Winter 1994, 51-53.

178 Agrell 1976, 100.

179 Best 1972, 171, 175.

180 Winter 1994, 48-50; *contra* Hock 1980, 46f.

181 Aejmelaeus 1987, 168f.

182 Aejmelaeus 1987, 170f.

183 It is found elsewhere in Paul: sometimes it is used of literal physical weakness, (e.g. Rom 4:19; 2 Cor. 12:10; 13:3) and sometimes metaphorically, such as of 'weaker brothers' (e.g. Rom. 8:3; 14:1f; 1 Cor. 8:11f).

letter.¹⁸⁴ In general use it often connotes physical sickness, as well as being used metaphorically for ethical weakness or poverty.¹⁸⁵

The meaning of this word-group in 1 Thessalonians is a matter of debate. Lightfoot understands it here as the spiritually weak, comparing Rom. 4:19; 14:1, 2; 1 Cor. 8:7-12; 9:22.¹⁸⁶ Frame proposes that the *morally* weak are in view.¹⁸⁷ Best agrees that it is unlikely that 'weak' should have a physical sense here, and notes that in other letters Paul uses the participle of those who are hesitant about matters on which others have clear minds (e.g. Rom. 14:1-15:6; 1 Cor. 8:10). He therefore argues that, even though we have no knowledge of such difficulties in Thessalonica, it is likely that such questions came up wherever 'Christians began to enter into the freedom of their faith'. Thus Best understands the thrust of the exhortation to be an encouragement to help those who are struggling in matters of faith and Christian freedom.¹⁸⁸ However, Wanamaker suggests that προῖσταμένους (5:12) may include an allusion to caring for the materially needy. Accordingly, he suggests that this possibility should be included while observing that Paul may have left these exhortations vague because the Thessalonians would have known what he meant, and there was therefore no need to be more specific.¹⁸⁹

Wanamaker and Morris are surely correct in noting the need for a measure of agnosticism over the specific sense of 'weak' here – and whatever the sense in 1 Thessalonians, the same ambiguity exists in the use of ἀσθενούντων in Acts 20:35. The probability that a reference to financial help because of physical weakness (leading to the inability to support oneself through manual work) is included in both cases cannot be excluded, and it is accordingly proper to include this parallel under our consideration of attitudes to wealth.

¹⁸⁴ It occurs 26 times in the NT, including twelve uses in Paul (Rom. 5:6; 1 Cor. 1:25, 27; 4:10; 8:7, 9; 9:22; 11:30; 12:22; 2 Cor. 10:10; Gal. 4:9; 1 Thess. 5:14).

¹⁸⁵ BAGD, 115f; EDNT, 1:170f. cf. Stark 1991, 193-195, describing the health hazards of ancient urban life, especially in the lack of pure water supplies, which would result in poor general health.

¹⁸⁶ Lightfoot 1895 rp 1993, 80.

¹⁸⁷ Frame 1912, 198. He goes to argue that, since 'the idlers' and 'the faint-hearted' refer to groups already addressed (in 4:11f and 4:13-5:1 respectively), it is likely that 'the weak' here were subject to particular temptation to impurity (already mentioned in 4:3-8).

¹⁸⁸ Best 1972, 230; so also Marshall 1983, 151. Morris 1991, 169 sees the reference to the spiritually weak, and argues that we cannot know the specific weakness that Paul might be referring to here.

¹⁸⁹ Wanamaker 1990, 197f.

Conclusions

We have seen significant parallels between the letter and the speech of the themes of money and work, reinforced in many cases by similar vocabulary. Particularly, in 1 Thess. 2:5ff, 9; 4:11 and 5:14 groupings of ideas and vocabulary occur which form close parallels with the closing section of the Miletus speech (Acts 20:33-35).

5.3.4. The death of Jesus

It is quite rare for a theological interpretation of the death of Jesus to be mentioned explicitly in Acts,¹⁹⁰ 20:28 being a place where it comes particularly clearly into focus. The language used there has a notable parallel in 1 Thess. 5:9f,¹⁹¹ which asserts that God has destined Christians εἰς περιποίησιν σωτηρίας διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ ἀποθανόντος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν. The parallel includes both the use of περιποιέομαι and the presence of an explanatory διά-clause.¹⁹²

The περιποιέομαι word-group is used little in the NT.¹⁹³ Bruce observes that Paul more often uses ἀγοράζω, ἐξαγοράζω or ἀπολυτρώσις when he refers to God's acquisition of his people,¹⁹⁴ the thought in view in Acts 20:28. The language has a parallel in biblical Greek in Isa. 43:21 LXX,¹⁹⁵ λαόν μου, ὃν περιεποιήσαμην. This suggests that Luke's Paul is using language which sees God's relationship with the Ephesian church as modelled on the relationship of God to Israel.¹⁹⁶

Best¹⁹⁷ notes that περιποίησις can be used actively or passively, and (rightly) favours taking the word actively here, on the ground that a passive reading would make no sense of the dependent genitive σωτηρίας. The active sense is the sense of the cognate verb in its three NT uses.

190 § 3.5.4.

191 Rigaux 1956, 571.

192 Aejmelaeus 1987, 135.

193 The verb περιποιέομαι is used only three times (Luke 17:33; Acts 20:28; 1 Tim. 3:13) and the noun περιποίησις five times (Eph 1:11; 1 Thess. 5:9; 2 Thess. 2:14; Heb. 10:39; 1 Pet. 2:9).

194 Bruce 1990, 434, citing 1 Cor. 6:20; 7:23 (ἀγοράζω); Gal. 3:13; 4:5 (ἐξαγοράζω); Rom. 3:24 (ἀπολυτρώσις).

195 Aejmelaeus 1987, 138 proposes that Isa. 43:20f LXX is one of Luke's sources here.

196 Tannehill 1990, 258f.

197 Best 1972, 216f; in agreement with Morris 1991, 160; Wanamaker 1990, 187; Marshall 1983, 139f. Bruce 1986, 113 criticises Lightfoot's rendering 'for the adoption of our salvation' (Lightfoot 1895 rp 1993, 76) as 'strained'.

The uses of the verb and the noun are in slightly different senses: in Acts 20 the verb speaks of God obtaining the church, whereas in 1 Thessalonians the noun describes Christians obtaining salvation. Nevertheless, in both contexts there are clear references to this taking place through the death of Jesus in the *διά*-clauses which follow: *διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἰδίου* (Acts 20:28); *διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ ἀποθανόντος ὑπὲρ¹⁹⁸ ἡμῶν* (1 Thess. 5:9f). In 1 Thess. 5:9f the hope of salvation from wrath is grounded in Christology, particularly in the death of Jesus.¹⁹⁹ There is an important contrast in 1 Thessalonians between wrath and salvation, since this is the third time they have appeared as polar opposites in the letter (the first two being 1:10; 2:16).

This parallel, while not word for word, is nevertheless significant, for it offers a common use of a rare NT word-group in a common sense followed by a similar grammatical construction which states the same ground for the obtaining of the church/salvation. Whilst the spread of the word-group in the NT argues against the words being seen as especially 'Pauline', Luke's Paul and the Paul of 1 Thessalonians use the word-group in the same way on the only occasions that they both use it.

5.3.5. Conclusions

The themes of the Miletus speech that we have identified have significant parallels in 1 Thessalonians. In particular, the use of verbs of knowing, particularly with reference to the addressees' knowledge of Paul, is important in both cases. Paul's example as a leader is frequently referred to in both cases, both to demonstrate that he has faithfully fulfilled his own leadership responsibilities, as well as to be used as a model to be followed and imitated.

Paul's view of suffering in 1 Thessalonians seems very close to that in the Miletus speech, in his understanding of his own and the Thessalonian Christians' suffering, and also in his more general teaching on the topic. As with the theme of leadership, there are significant parallels of vocabulary.

¹⁹⁸ There is a variant reading, *περί*, here, and the manuscript evidence is not strongly weighted on one side. Nevertheless, *περί* and *ὑπὲρ* could be synonyms in Hellenistic Greek, both having the sense of 'on behalf of' (Moule 1959, 63; LS, II:1366 [§ A.II], 1857 [§ A.II]).

¹⁹⁹ Wanamaker 1990, 187f.

1 Thessalonians also offers material on the attitudes to money and work showing remarkable parallels to the Miletus speech, again using common vocabulary in expressing the ideas.

Whilst the death of Jesus may not be so extensive a theme as the others discussed, we have again seen that the significant references in the two cases run parallel, using a rare NT word-group in a similar grammatical construction with the same force in both places.

In sum, the four major themes of the Miletus speech are paralleled within 1 Thessalonians, often using similar vocabulary. This suggests that Luke and Paul inhabited closely-related thought-worlds, to the extent that when Luke presents Paul speaking to Christians in the Miletus speech, the Paul he presents sounds remarkably like the Paul of 1 Thessalonians.

5.4. From 1 Thessalonians to the Miletus speech

An ensuing question is whether further parallels between the Miletus speech and 1 Thessalonians exist, by seeking ideas and vocabulary in the letter which are not covered by the major themes in the speech, but which are paralleled in Acts 20:18-35.

5.4.1. δουλεύω

Paul uses this verb in describing the Thessalonian Christians' conversion (1 Thess. 1:9f), and the participle is also used in Acts 20:19 in the description of Paul's own ministry. The sense is not precisely the same in the two places, but the similarity of language merits further investigation, since the verb is unusual in Acts (only at 20:19 and 7:7) and only occurs here in 1 Thessalonians.²⁰⁰

The verb is used frequently in the LXX of Israel's relationship with Yahweh – or with other gods.²⁰¹ To apostatise is to 'serve other gods' (Exod. 23:32f), whereas Israel should 'serve the Lord alone' (1 Sam. 7:3f). Key leaders of Israel (Joshua, David, Abraham, Moses) are described as 'servants' of God, using the noun δοῦλος (Josh. 24:30 [Hebrew 29]; Pss 88:4, 21 [Hebrew 89:4, 21]; 104:26, 42 [Hebrew 105:26, 42]).

²⁰⁰ The noun δοῦλος does not occur in 1 Thessalonians, and is found only three times in Acts: 2:18 (quoting Joel 2:28ff); 4:29 (the church as the servants of God); 16:17 (Paul and Barnabas described by the slave girl with a spirit as servants of the Most High God).

²⁰¹ TDNT, 2:265-268; Rigaux 1956, 390; Richard 1995, 55.

With this background it is not surprising that a Jewish Christian like Paul would use such language to describe the Christian profession of the Thessalonians and, by implication (for it is a present infinitive) their continuing walk with the true and living God.²⁰² Paul certainly uses the language of slavery in his letters. He can introduce himself in later letters as Παῦλος δούλος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ (Rom. 1:1; cf. Gal. 1:10; Phil. 1:1). He also writes of serving the Lord in contrast to serving sin (Rom. 6:16-20; 7:25) or the law (Rom. 7:6). Best suggests that the use in 1 Thess. 1:9 of serving God is not characteristic of Paul,²⁰³ but Wanamaker, observing the breadth of terms with which δουλεύω can be combined, argues, 'This evidence demonstrates that there is no standard application of the word [*sc.* δουλεύω] in Paul's writings.'²⁰⁴ Conzelmann²⁰⁵ sees the parallel as being the result of 'Flowery phrases from ecclesiastical language [being] woven into the speech', whereas Barrett is more positive about the possibility that the phraseology 'could be part of the genuine Pauline tradition'.²⁰⁶ Hanson cites the use of δουλεύω here as an example of being able to trace in the Pauline epistles language 'very like some of the language here'.²⁰⁷

It is of interest, then, that Luke's Paul speaks with the same accent as 1 Thess. 1:9f in describing his own ministry in the Miletus speech. The parallel we note, then, is the use of the language of slavery of Christian belonging and Christian life and ministry, used of Paul and his converts.

5.4.2. ἐπιστρέφω

Paul speaks of the Thessalonian Christians' conversion using this term in 1:9, a *hapax legomenon* in 1 Thessalonians.²⁰⁸ It occurs more frequently in

²⁰² Schürmann & Egenolf 1969, 21. It could be argued that the Lukan and Pauline use are both derived from the LXX use, which would imply that Luke and Paul are using the LXX similarly at this point.

²⁰³ Best 1972, 83, 85.

²⁰⁴ Wanamaker 1990, 86, citing 'sin' (Rom. 6:6) 'spirit' (Rom. 7:6), 'law' (Rom. 9:25), 'those which by nature are not God' (Gal. 4:8), as well as 'Christ' (Rom. 14:18; 16:18; Col. 3:24).

²⁰⁵ Conzelmann 1987, 173.

²⁰⁶ Barrett 1977, 111.

²⁰⁷ Hanson 1967, 203.

²⁰⁸ Best 1972, 82 suggests that the use in 1 Thess. 1:9 may be dependent on Isa. 6:9f LXX.

Acts,²⁰⁹ and the only other NT uses are in the Pauline letters.²¹⁰ All the NT uses refer to turning, either to God (in the sense of conversion) or away from God.²¹¹ The use in Acts closely parallels that in the letter.²¹²

Moore observes, 'the more usual New Testament word for turning from sin towards God is *metanoēō*. Here Paul uses *epistrephō*...but with the same significance.'²¹³ There is thus the possibility that *μετάνοια* (Acts 20:21) might function as an equivalent of *ἐπιστρέφω* (1 Thess. 1:9).²¹⁴ *Μετάνοια* and its cognate verb *μετανοέω* are relatively rare in the Pauline letters, whereas they are more common in Acts.²¹⁵ The equivalence of *μετάνοια* and *ἐπιστρέφω* in the two places may be taken as highly likely, given the relative rarity of the terms in the Pauline corpus.

Schneider suggests that in Acts 20:21 Luke is using a formula which describes the conversion of Gentiles, just as Paul is using a similar formula in 1 Thess. 1:9f.²¹⁶ Best argues that vv 9b-10 are 'drawn...from a traditional credal formula which is now used to describe their [sc. the Thessalonians'] conversion'.²¹⁷ He reasons that vocabulary is used which is unusual for Paul (turned, real, to serve [in relation to God rather than Jesus], out of heavens, *ἀναμένω* for 'wait', the use of the article in 'raised from the dead', deliver) and that Paul characteristically makes the cross central (alongside the resurrection), whereas it receives no mention here.²¹⁸

²⁰⁹ Eleven times (3:19; 9:35, 40; 11:21; 14:15; 15:19, 36; 16:18; 26:18, 20; 28:27). Bruce 1986, 17 comments, 'The verb *ἐπιστρέφω* is common in Acts in the sense of evangelical conversion; it is not characteristic of Paul.'

²¹⁰ 2 Cor. 3:16 (alluding to Exod. 34:34, but not quoting directly: Belleville 1991, 250-252; Thrall 1994, 268f; Hafemann 1995, 387f); Gal. 4:9 (speaking of the possibility of the Galatians turning back to 'weak and beggarly elemental spirits').

²¹¹ Wanamaker 1990, 85; Bruce 1986, 17.

²¹² Marshall 1983, 57.

²¹³ Moore 1969, 30 (italics mine); so also Aejmelaeus 1987, 110. Pesch 1986, 2:202 notes the parallel without comment.

²¹⁴ Aejmelaeus 1987, 110f.

²¹⁵ Paul: Rom. 2:4; 2 Cor. 7:9, 10 (noun); 2 Cor. 12:21 (verb). Acts: 2:38; 3:19; 8:22; 17:30; 26:20 (verb); 5:31; 11:18; 13:24; 19:4; 20:21; 26:20 (noun).

²¹⁶ Schneider 1980, 1982, II:295. Conzelmann 1987, 173f similarly claims, 'Here is a good example of a Lukan summary of doctrine, in dependence on a formal scheme (cf. 1 Thess 1:9-10).' Marshall 1980, 331 notes the parallel of Acts 20:21 and 1 Thess. 1:9f without commenting on the presence of a formula.

²¹⁷ Best 1972, 81.

²¹⁸ Best 1972, 85f. Bruce 1986, 18 observes the lack of *theologia crucis* in 1:9f and the absence of any reference to God's justifying grace, and also concludes that this may be a pre-Pauline formula. Havener 1981, 105 also sees vv 9b-10 as pre-Pauline.

However, Wanamaker²¹⁹ argues that to speak of a 'pre-Pauline formula' is a misnomer, since Paul's ministry went back to the first days of the Christian mission – prior to him there was no known organised mission to Gentiles. Further, the linguistic usage here can be construed as Pauline, and the 'formula' does not seem to have the smoothness which might be expected – for example, there is a shift from second person plural to first person plural at the end of v 10, which 'disrupts the statement grammatically'. The possibility of a pre-Pauline formula is unproven here, we may conclude, and it is probable that we have here a parallel of synonyms between the letter and the speech.

5.4.3. The Christian message

Two interesting phrases used in 1 Thessalonians to describe Paul's message find potential parallels in the Miletus speech.

τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ θεοῦ

In 1 Thess. 2:2, 8, 9, Paul writes of τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ θεοῦ,²²⁰ a phrase found elsewhere in his letters (Rom 1:1; 15:16; 2 Cor. 11:7).²²¹ Richard²²² notes that all three references in the letter come in close proximity, and suggests that this implies there is a particular issue in Thessalonica over the divine accreditation of the missionaries and their message. Certainly a theme of 2:1-12 is the validity of Paul's ministry, but we have shown²²³ that there need not be actual accusations in the background of this section.

The unusual phrase τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς χάριτος τοῦ θεοῦ (Acts 20:24) is an interesting parallel with the 1 Thessalonians passages. Barrett observes on Acts 20:24:

The content of the preaching is given in terms that are curiously both Pauline and unpauline...*Gospel* is a Pauline word; *grace* is a Pauline word; the Gospel of God recalls

²¹⁹ Wanamaker 1990, 85. Munck 1962, esp. 100-102, 104-108 argues that 1:9f should be understood by reference to the rest of the letter, considering that it is unpacked by 4:13-5:11, which it anticipates.

²²⁰ The genitive is most probably subjective, that is, God is the origin or author of the message, rather than objective, which would mean that God was the content of the message (Lightfoot 1895 rp 1993, 20; Best 1972, 91).

²²¹ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ θεοῦ is found only twice more in the NT (Mark 1:14; 1 Pet. 4:17).

²²² Richard 1995, 78f.

²²³ § 5.2.3, *Paul defending himself*; more fully Walton 1995, 240-249.

Rom. 1.1; 15.16; 2 Cor. 11.7; 1 Thess. 2.2, 8, 9; but the combined phrase is not Pauline.²²⁴

Barrett is correct in asserting that the precise phrase τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς χάριτος τοῦ θεοῦ does not occur in the Pauline letters, for the phrase is unique in the NT, but the collocation of acknowledged Pauline terms in Acts 20:24 suggests that Luke knew and could use Pauline terminology in ways that were consonant with Paul's own use. Barrett does not suggest that Luke misrepresents Paul, or that what Luke presents has a quite different emphasis to Paul. This verbal parallel may therefore be noted as implying a common thought-world inhabited by Paul and Luke at this point.

The probability of this parallel is increased by observing that Acts 20:24 contains a combination of factors also found in the letter's references to τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ θεοῦ,²²⁵ namely Paul's free-will giving of himself (1 Thess. 2:2, 8, 9) and the use of ψυχή (1 Thess. 2:8).²²⁶ This cluster shows Luke's Paul speaking in similar manner and phraseology to the Paul of 1 Thessalonians.

(ὁ) λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ

1 Thess. 2:13 contains two interesting uses of this term: the Thessalonian Christians' welcome of the message (λόγος...τοῦ θεοῦ) which Paul brought is rejoiced in by Paul because they received it not as a merely human word, but as λόγος θεοῦ.²²⁷ The phrase ὁ λόγος τοῦ κυρίου also occurs in 1 Thess. 1:8, as does ἐν λόγῳ κυρίου in 1 Thess. 4:15.²²⁸ The phrase ὁ λόγος τοῦ κυρίου is found in the Pauline corpus²²⁹ (although

²²⁴ Barrett 1977, 112 (italics his). Bruce 1990, 432 acknowledges that 'The phrase does not occur in the epistles', while noting, like Barrett, that the individual words are thoroughly Pauline. See § 3.4.2 above.

²²⁵ Aejmelaeus 1987, 126.

²²⁶ See § 5.3.2, *Paul's own suffering*.

²²⁷ Again subjective genitive, a message *from* God (Lightfoot 1895 rp 1993, 31; Rigaux 1956, 440).

²²⁸ Although this is a special use to refer to a saying of Jesus: see § 5.4.4.

²²⁹ Here and Col. 3:16; 2 Thess. 3:1 (Marshall 1983, 55f; Morris 1991, 51 n 45).

Paul uses ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ more often²³⁰), while also being used in Acts.²³¹

In Acts 20:32 Luke's Paul speaks of τῷ λόγῳ τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ. Marshall comments on that verse:

Grace is a particularly Pauline word, to express the free unmerited favour of God in virtue of which he saves sinners; Luke also uses it frequently, especially to refer to the gospel message (Lk. 4:22; Acts 14:3), so that his vocabulary and that of Paul come together here, although the precise expression is Luke's...It is significant that these blessings come through commitment to the Word.²³²

Aejmelaeus²³³ also sees a parallel between the speech and the letter in the idea of the word as a 'power' which effects things – almost being hypostatized by Luke. Further, in both contexts the power of the word is reinforced by additional phrases in which the presence of other 'power' words is noticeable, τῷ δυναμένῳ οἰκοδομῆσαι καὶ δοῦναι τὴν κληρονομίαν ἐν τοῖς ἡγιασμένοις πᾶσιν (Acts 20:32) and ὅς καὶ ἐνεργεῖται ἐν ὑμῖν τοῖς πιστεύουσιν (1 Thess. 2:13).²³⁴

As with τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς χάριτος τοῦ θεοῦ (Acts 20:24, discussed immediately above), the combination of words found in Acts shows Luke using Pauline language in ways that are consonant with Pauline thought.

5.4.4. The teaching of Jesus as the basis for ethical exhortation

This point occurs in both 1 Thessalonians and the Miletus speech and is interesting because explicit references to the teaching of Jesus are so rare in the NT outside the Gospels, and particularly in Paul.²³⁵ Paul states that he writes ἐν λόγῳ κυρίου (1 Thess. 4:15f); Luke's Paul cites an (otherwise

²³⁰ ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ is found seven times in Paul (Rom. 9:6; 1 Cor. 14:36; 2 Cor. 2:17; 4:2; Col. 1:25; 1 Thess. 2:13 [twice]), and ὁ λόγος τοῦ κυρίου four times (Col. 3:16; 1 Thess. 1:8; 4:15; 2 Thess. 3:1). This seems rather closer than 'usually' (Marshall 1983, 55f) using the one in preference to the other, and somewhat of a small sample for such a statement.

²³¹ 8:25; 13:44, 48, 49; 15:36; 19:10, 20. It is also a variant reading in 12:24. Wanamaker 1990, 83 sees the phrase as having OT origins, offering Gen. 15:1, 4; Isa. 1:10; Jer. 2:4 as examples, although his examples are not always ὁ λόγος τοῦ κυρίου in the LXX: Gen. 15:1 uses ῥῆμα κυρίου and Gen. 15:4 has φωνή κυρίου.

²³² Marshall 1980, 335.

²³³ Aejmelaeus 1987, 158.

²³⁴ Pesch 1986, 205 observes, 'Paul "commits" the elders to "God and the word of his grace"...which "is powerful"' (my translation), at which point he parallels 'mächtig' (presumably δυναμένῳ) in Acts 20:32 with 1 Thess. 2:13 (presumably referring to ἐνεργεῖται).

²³⁵ Best 1988, 78f; cf. Thompson 1991, 15-17, 70-76; Wenham 1995, esp. ch. 1.

unknown) saying of Jesus, using a similar formula, τῶν λόγων τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ (Acts 20:35).

The presence of what are likely to be traditional materials in 1 Thess. 4:16f (the Lord's descent, the angels and trumpets, the 'rapture' and probably the κέλευσμα) is evidence for the 'word of the Lord' here being a (traditional) word of Jesus:²³⁶ When Paul cites the teaching of Jesus explicitly, he uses a similar formula.²³⁷ Jeremias sees 1 Thess. 4:16f as

certainly reminiscent of Matt. 24.30f. in its picture of the parousia, but the main point St Paul is making, that the quick and the dead will join together in the escorting the Lord in the air at his coming, is absent from Matt. 24.30f. In this case the differences are so marked that it is hard to resist the conclusion that 1 Thess. 4.16f. has just as much claim to a place in our list [*sc.* of *agrapha* of Jesus] as the saying preserved in Acts 20.35.²³⁸

On either view, Paul's intention in 1 Thess. 4:16f is to claim the authority of Jesus for his teaching at this point:

By placing his assurance that the living would not have precedence over the dead at the coming of the Lord under a rubric 'a word of the Lord,' Paul attributed the highest possible authority to his assertion in v. 15b.²³⁹

This is the likeliest understanding of Acts 20:35 also. Jeremias comments, 'There can be no doubt that this is a real *agraphon*.'²⁴⁰ Pesch observes, 'Am Ende der einzigen Predigt Pauli vor christlichen Hörern steht der Hinweis auf die der apostolischen Autorität vorausliegende Autorität des Herrn Jesus.'²⁴¹ Barrett notes, 'This is the clearest and most explicit of all the references in Acts to the teaching of Jesus...It makes clear that a saying of Jesus was thought to have conclusive force in an argument'.²⁴²

²³⁶ Wenham 1981, 367f n 17; Wenham 1995, 309f. He acknowledges that Paul is here expounding the teaching of Jesus 'freely', and cites Rom. 14:14 as a similar example, arguing that Best 1972, 191 dismisses Rom. 14:14 too quickly as an example of Paul expounding the teaching of Jesus. Jeremias 1958, 5 also believes that Rom. 14:14 'looks like an attempt to bring out the underlying principle of Jesus' saying (Mark 7.15a).' Thompson 1991, 185-199 offers a careful discussion, concluding, 'a dominical echo is virtually certain.'

²³⁷ Marshall 1983, 125, citing Rom. 14:14; 1 Cor. 7:10; 9:14.

²³⁸ Jeremias 1958, 5.

²³⁹ Wanamaker 1990, 171.

²⁴⁰ Jeremias 1958, 4.

²⁴¹ Pesch 1986, 2:206.

²⁴² Barrett 1985, 686f.

Best draws attention to the parallelism of the passages: 'He refers explicitly to Jesus in relation to...the final consummation (1 Thess. 4.15-16)' and 'There is a reference also to the teaching of Jesus in the address to the Ephesian elders (Acts 20.35).'²⁴³

What we see here is not so much a parallel of vocabulary, although the introductory wording is similar in both places, but a parallel of an unusual event, a citation of a saying of Jesus used to back up an ethical exhortation.²⁴⁴ The question of the authenticity of the saying in either cases is neither here nor there for our present purpose: what is significant is that in both cases Paul is portrayed as regarding the citation of a saying of Jesus as conclusive. On this point Luke's Paul and the Paul of 1 Thessalonians inhabit the same thought-world.

5.4.5. οἰκοδομέω

The Miletus speech contains in Acts 20:32 what Longenecker describes as 'a catena of Pauline terms'; he lists οἰκοδομέω as an example, and offers 1 Thess. 5:11 as one case of Pauline use.²⁴⁵

οἰκοδομέω²⁴⁶ is used in the Pauline corpus, although its use is focused in just four letters.²⁴⁷ The cognate noun, οἰκοδομή, occurs more frequently in the Pauline letters, but is again found only in four letters, and never in 1 Thessalonians.²⁴⁸ In Acts the verb is used four times and the noun never.²⁴⁹ Acts 20:32 is the only use of the verb in Acts within a Pauline speech.²⁵⁰

²⁴³ Best 1988, 79, 94 n 6.

²⁴⁴ Marshall 1980, 336 cites 1 Cor. 7:10; 9:14; 1 Tim. 5:18 as other examples. Longenecker 1981, 514, comments on Acts 20:35, 'Paul often related his ethical exhortations to the teachings of Jesus (cf. Rom 12-14; 1 Thess 4:1-12) and the personal example of Jesus (cf. Phil 2:5-11). So he does that here.'

²⁴⁵ Longenecker 1981, 513f, citing other uses of οἰκοδομέω in 1 Cor. 8:1; 10:23; 14:4, 17. Aejmelaeus 1987, 163 lists extensive parallels in Ephesians, as well as 1 Thess. 5:11. Pesch 1986, 2:205 cites the references in 1 Corinthians plus 1 Thess. 5:1 (a misprint for 5:11?). Weiser 1981, 1985 572 also cites 1 Thess. 5:11 with some of the 1 Corinthians references. cf. Bruce 1986, 115; Best 1972, 220; Lightfoot 1895 rp 1993, 78; Wanamaker 1990, 190, who note the Pauline use of the term.

²⁴⁶ Wanamaker 1990, 189 traces the metaphorical use back to the LXX, especially Jeremiah (e.g. 38:4 [Hebrew 31:4]; 40:7 [Hebrew 33:7]; 49:10 [Hebrew 42:10]); so also Richard 1995, 257; Best 1972, 219f.

²⁴⁷ Rom. 15:20; 1 Cor. 8:1, 10; 10:23; 14:4, 17; Gal. 2:18; 1 Thess. 5:11.

²⁴⁸ Rom. 14:19; 15:2; 1 Cor. 3:9; 14:3, 5, 12, 26; 2 Cor. 5:1; 12:19; 13:10; Eph. 2:21; 4:12, 16, 29.

²⁴⁹ Acts contains the one NT use of οἰκοδόμος (4:11, quoting Ps. 118:22, but not 117:22 LXX; cf. Matt. 21:42; Mark 12:10; Luke 20:17; 1 Pet. 2:7).

²⁵⁰ The others are in the speech of Stephen (7:47, 49) and a Lukan summary (9:31).

The uses of the verb have different purposes in the two contexts: in Acts 20:32 it is the word of God which is able to build up the church, whereas in 1 Thess. 5:11 Paul is urging the Thessalonian Christians to build up one another.²⁵¹ Nevertheless, in both cases it is the upbuilding of the church that is in view, and this is both a Pauline and a Lukan idea, using common vocabulary.

5.4.6. ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ

Giles has discussed the use of this term in Acts 20:28 and suggests that the ecclesiology present is non-Lukan.²⁵² He offers three arguments for this assertion: first, this is the only case where the extended designation ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ is found in Acts – the other eight NT references come within the Pauline letters or the Pastorals;²⁵³ second, the church has been called into existence by God, rather than becoming a community through meeting together; third, 'the redemptive work of Christ here is said to be for the church'²⁵⁴ – this Giles understands to introduce ideas of communal salvation and substitutionary atonement, both of which are more characteristic of Paul than Luke.

This leads Giles to consider why this use of ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ might be here. He excludes the possibility that the ideas about ἐκκλησία are Lukan, on the grounds that his argument has shown that they are not. He offers the two possibilities that Luke is using Pauline ideas or that he is using traditional ideas that sound Pauline to our ears. For his purposes he argues that he does not need to choose between the two, for on either view 'the only thing we can confidently assert is that the ecclesiology and soteriology of Acts 20.28 closely resembles that of Paul'.²⁵⁵

When we turn to the use of ἐκκλησία in 1 Thess. 1:1; 2:14 (the only uses of the term in the letter), we find the kind of use which Giles describes as Pauline. For a Greek speaker, the term ἐκκλησία would

251 Best 1972, 220 acutely observes that in Paul's conception 'the Christian does not build up himself, he builds up his fellow-Christians.'

252 Giles 1985, 136f.

253 Giles 1985, 141 n 9 lists 1 Cor. 1:2; 10:32; 11:22; 15:9; 2 Cor. 1:1; Gal. 1:13; 1 Tim. 3:5, 15. There are, as he observes (141 n 10), three further uses where ἐκκλησία is plural, namely 1 Cor. 11:16; 1 Thess. 2:14; 2 Thess. 1:4.

254 Giles 1985, 136.

255 Giles 1985, 137; cf. Schneider 1980, 1982, II:297: 'Vielleicht war es Lukas bewußt, daß er mit ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ einen „paulinischen“ Begriff verwendete.' Schneider 1980, 1982, 2:297 n 49 notes that the term is used by Paul in 1 Cor. 1:2; 10:32; 15:9; 2 Cor. 1:1; Gal. 1:13; 1 Thess. 2:14. Weiser 1981, 1985, 572 and Pesch 1986, 2:204 both observe the parallel with Pauline use.

certainly need delimiting, because it was a secular term for a citizen-assembly²⁵⁶ – hence in both places ἐκκλησία is followed by a further designation (ἐν θεῷ πατρὶ καὶ κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, 1:1 and τῶν οὐσῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, 4:12). This extended designation in each case marks the church as God's people, called into being by him.²⁵⁷ Further, the mention in each case of Jesus Christ alludes to the church having become his by his death (cf. 5:10).²⁵⁸ So in the use of the term ἐκκλησία with a delimiting phrase, Luke presents Paul speaking with a similar accent to the one we hear in 1 Thessalonians.

5.4.7. μαρτύρομαι, διαμαρτύρομαι

Finally, we turn to consider this rare group of words. μαρτύρομαι²⁵⁹ is used only five times in the NT,²⁶⁰ the use in 1 Thess. 2:12 being a *hapax legomenon* for 1 Thessalonians and the use in Acts 20:26 being one of only two uses in that book.²⁶¹

In Acts 20:26 and 1 Thess. 2:12 we have the use of a rare word used by the same person: in Acts 20:26 he is bearing witness to his own innocence and in 1 Thess. 2:12 he is bearing witness or delivering a solemn demand to the Thessalonian Christians.²⁶² Morris, commenting on 1 Thess. 2:12, cites Acts 20:26 as another place where μαρτύρομαι has the same sense of

256 Wanamaker 1990, 112; Lightfoot 1895 rp 1993, 32; and Moore 1969, 44 suggest that the delimitation τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν οὐσῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ (1 Thess. 2:14) was all necessary, since τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν οὐσῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ could have referred to the Jewish synagogues. Aejmelaeus 1987, 137 believes that Luke is using Isa. 43:20f LXX here, but substitutes ἐκκλησία for λαός because the latter meant the *Jewish* people of God.

257 Best 1972, 62; Richard 1995, 38, 41f.

258 Best 1972, 62; Bruce 1986, 7.

259 Lightfoot 1895 rp 1993, 29 states that it invariably means 'to invoke witnesses' and so 'to appeal to as in the sight of witnesses, to charge, protest', by contrast with μαρτύρομαι, the passive form of μαρτυρέω, which means 'to be borne witness to'. BAGD, 494 offers 'testify, bear witness' and 'affirm, insist, implore'.

260 Acts 20:26; 26:22; Gal. 5:3; Eph. 4:17; 1 Thess. 2:12. The nouns are used more frequently: μάρτυς is a favourite of Luke (Luke 11:48; 24:48; Acts 1:8, 22; 2:32; 3:15; 5:32; 6:13; 7:58; 10:39, 41; 13:31; 22:15, 20; 26:16) but also used by Paul (Rom. 1:9; 2 Cor. 1:23; 13:1; Phil. 1:8; 1 Thess. 2:5, 10); μαρτύριον is used much less by both authors (Luke 5:14; 21:13; Acts 4:33; 7:44; 1 Cor. 1:6; 2 Cor. 1:12); and μαρτυρία is a favourite word of John (14 uses), but used a little by Luke (Luke 22:71; Acts 22:18), but not in the undisputed Paulines (it is used twice in the Pastorals).

261 Schneider 1980, 1982, 2:296 n 37 observes that the other use in Acts (26:22) is also found on the lips of Paul.

262 Marshall 1983, 74.

'solemn affirmation'.²⁶³ Again, this appears to be a case of the same vocabulary being used by both authors in the same sense.

διαμαρτύρομαι is also an unusual word, being used fifteen times in the NT in total.²⁶⁴ Ten of these uses are in Luke-Acts,²⁶⁵ including nine in Acts and three in the Miletus speech (Acts 20:21, 23, 24). 1 Thess. 4:6 represents the only use in that letter and, indeed, in the Pauline letters outside the Pastorals.²⁶⁶ διαμαρτύρομαι may be stronger than μαρτύρομαι, suggesting that it means either 'call to witness' or 'solemnly affirm or protest'.²⁶⁷

The subject of the verb in two of the three uses in the Miletus speech is Paul himself (vv 21, 24; the other subject is the Spirit, v 23). In 1 Thess. 4:6 the subject is Paul and his colleagues. The two pictures are very close, both presenting Paul in both situations as bearing solemn testimony.²⁶⁸

5.5. Leadership in 1 Thessalonians

A striking discovery from our study of the Lukan parallels to the Miletus speech was a clear and powerful understanding of Christian leadership.²⁶⁹ In drawing the threads of our study of 1 Thessalonians together, it is noticeable both how sharply-defined a view of leadership emerges, and how similar it is to that found in the Lukan writings. The summary which follows traces similar categories to those in our summary of the Lukan conception of leadership.

Leadership, and Christian discipleship, are fundamentally about Christlikeness, about doing and teaching what Jesus taught and did (ἐν κύριῳ [Ἰησοῦ] 4:1; 5:12; the teaching of Jesus 4:16f), a model that is to be passed on to the next generation of believers (1:6; 4:1). Servanthood, which humbly places the needs of others higher than one's own (δι' ὑμᾶς, 1:5;

²⁶³ Morris 1991, 77, comparing Gal. 5:3.

²⁶⁴ Luke 16:28; Acts 2:40; 8:25; 10:42; 18:5; 20:21, 23, 24; 23:11; 28:23; 1 Thess. 4:6; 1 Tim. 5:21; 2 Tim. 2:14; 4:1; Heb. 2:6.

²⁶⁵ Nelson 1991, 196-200 argues that Luke has a preference for διά-compound verbs, and that the presence of διά adds a nuance of 'thoroughly' (so also Moulton & Howard 1929, 300-303, esp. 302 concerning διαμαρτύρομαι).

²⁶⁶ Plummer 1918, 62f notes the parallel between 1 Thess. 2:6 and the Miletus speech uses.

²⁶⁷ Frame 1912, 154; Plummer 1918, 62; Moulton & Howard 1929, 302; Blight 1989, 126; Trites 1977, 74.

²⁶⁸ Trites 1977, 75 sees the verb in 1 Thess. 4:6 as having the same meaning as the Acts examples.

²⁶⁹ § 4.6.

cf. 2:2, 5f, 7, 9-12; 3:5, 10) is central to this conception – particularly support of the weak (5:14).

This leadership is a costly form of service (2:9; 5:6, 12), and will inevitably involve suffering, both in the past (2:2; 3:3f) and the future (3:3f; 4:1f; 5:2). But Paul, who has experienced such pain, can call others to walk the same path of costly, watchful service of God and his people (5:6, 12). A further focus of this ministry is faithful teaching and testimony concerning the Lord Jesus, a faithfulness of which the readers are well aware ('you know' frequently, esp. 1:5; 2:10, 11f) – and a faithfulness which is not afraid to 'admonish' at times (5:12, 14), knowing that the fear of people is not to dominate (2:2), but the fear of God (2:4; 3:13; cf. language of God's wrath in 2:16; 5:9). Suffering in the service of God there may be, but there is also future glory to come for the faithful who stay awake (4:15-18; 5:9-11²⁷⁰).

This faithful ministry produced a bond of affection between leaders based, in the case of the missionaries and the nascent church, on lives shared with one another (e.g. 1:9; 2:8; 2:17-3:6; 3:9f, 12). And that sharing was no mere abstract idea, but expressed in the hard currency of work in self-support (2:7, 9; 4:11f) and generosity (2:5f, 8f; 4:11; 5:14) – faithful finances matched the faithful teaching and testimony.

As with the Lukan understanding of leadership, it is clear that this is no vacuous ideal, but a worked-out understanding of this ministry, both on Paul and his colleagues' part, and expected to be worked out in the life of the congregation. The similarities between the two views of leadership are evident: Donfried's suggestion²⁷¹ that the view of Paul in Acts may be similar to the earlier epistles has something to be said for it.

5.6. Conclusions

In this chapter we have considered a number of possible verbal parallels between the Miletus speech and 1 Thessalonians, and in case after case have found that the thought of the two texts, and often its verbal expression, runs remarkably parallel. The conclusion seems inescapable that Luke and Paul *did* inhabit similar thought-worlds. Luke is clearly capable of presenting Paul speaking in ways that sound very like the

²⁷⁰ Note the common ending to these two pieces of teaching: both are intended as the basis of mutual encouragement in the face of pressures of various kinds; cf. Smith 1995, 73.

²⁷¹ Donfried & Marshall 1993, 70.

ipsissima vox of the apostle himself. The possible conclusions for an understanding of the relationship between Acts and the Pauline corpus will be considered below.²⁷²

²⁷² § 6.2.2.

Chapter 6

Concluding Reflections

Our detailed study is ended, and the time has come to summarise and consider the implications of our results – along with considering what avenues future research on the questions raised in this study might follow.

6.1. Review and summary of results

We began (ch. 1) by observing the importance of the Miletus speech for two interlocking debates: concerning the relationship between the portrait of Paul found in Acts and that derived from the epistles; and concerning Luke's sources – specifically, whether Luke had knowledge of the Pauline epistles. We also reviewed the history of scholarship on this speech – a speech which has been used as a 'set piece' for most forms of modern critical study of Acts. We set out to respond to these debates by examining the speech in its Lukan contexts (within Acts and in relation to the whole of Luke-Acts), and by considering potential parallels in 1 Thessalonians. Our aim was to see how Lukan and how Pauline the speech is.

Having seen the variety of approaches, we then outlined our method (ch. 2), and discussed in particular how parallels are to be recognised. We acknowledged the inevitable subjective element in seeking parallels, but sought a measure of objectivity by using a hierarchical approach, beginning with lexical parallels (including cognate words and compounds) before moving to consider synonyms, conceptual parallels, and parallel styles of argumentation. We saw 'clustering' of such parallels in particular passages as likely to be significant.

After outlining the immediate context in Acts (§ 3.1), consideration of the Miletus speech against the background of ancient 'farewell speeches' (§ 3.2) suggested that it has much in common with members of this genre, although care needs to be taken not to automatically attribute to our speech all the features of the genre, bearing in mind that a genre is a construct from the extant examples.

On turning to consider structure (§ 3.3), the speech to the Ephesian elders appears on first sight to be well-organised. A number of features reinforce this view: the repetitions of key words and phrases, the time

references, and the change of subject. However, the lack of any scholarly consensus on the sub-divisions of speech suggests that this appearance may be deceptive, and we concluded that it is better to see the speech as like a tapestry, where the major themes are like threads interwoven with each other, often in subtle ways.

Consideration of the contents of the speech therefore took two forms: first, a consecutive reading, section by section through the speech, seeing its main threads (§ 3.4); and second, tracing the four major themes through the whole speech (leadership, suffering, wealth and work, and the death of Jesus, § 3.5).

In the light of this reading of the speech, we sought parallel passages in Luke's Gospel (ch. 4), finding three extensive and suggestive parallel passages (22:14-38; 12:1-53; 21:5-36). The Last Supper discourse (22:14-38, § 4.2) in particular is part of a similar 'farewell' scene, but the parallels with the Miletus speech go well beyond generic similarities, echoing the four major Miletus themes in both structure and sequence, including reference to the redemptive significance of the death of Jesus – a rare explicit mention of this theme in Luke-Acts. The discourse on discipleship (12:1-53, § 4.3) offers considerable parallels to the Miletus speech on the themes of leadership, suffering and wealth, as well as providing parallels to some unusual words in Luke-Acts. The Lukan apocalypse (21:5-36, § 4.4) contains a 'cluster' of parallels to Paul's speech. Finally, four briefer passages (7:38, 44; 9:2; 10:3; 13:32, § 4.5) offer suggestive individual points of comparison with the speech. A sharply-focused portrait of Christian leadership as Luke understands it emerges (§ 4.6) – a portrait seen first in the life and teaching of Jesus, and then reflected in the ministry and teaching of Paul. Moreover, the Miletus meeting presents Paul calling the next generation of Christian leaders to imitate this model. One fresh contribution of this study is to show that a key aim of Paul's address is the presentation of a model of leadership for imitation, contrasting with the focus on questions about ministerial office in previous studies.¹

The portrait of Christian leadership emerging from the study up to this point gave particular interest to a consideration of the Miletus speech in relation to 1 Thessalonians (ch. 5). The value of considering this letter stems from its almost universally-agreed authenticity as a Pauline letter (thus providing a sound database for comparison), from its pastoral

¹ e.g. Prast 1979; Knoch 1973.

nature, and from *prima facie* evidence of similar themes (including Paul's past conduct, suffering and leadership) (§ 5.1.1). An initial orientation to this letter (§ 5.2) confirmed its indubitably Pauline nature and outlined its likely date and occasion. The letter serves as a substitute for a visit which the missionary team of Paul, Silas and Timothy was unable to make, responds to the news of persecution with encouragement and support, and responds to questions raised by the Thessalonian Christians.

Our examination of the letter for parallels with the Miletus address began by observing the presence of the four major Miletus themes in 1 Thessalonians, often using the same or similar vocabulary (§ 5.3). This is particularly clear in considering leadership, but also evident concerning suffering, money and work, and the death of Jesus. We then considered whether other emphases in the letter are paralleled in the address (§ 5.4), and found several examples, which reinforce the parallel. Turning to the major theme of leadership, where such a striking portrait emerged from the examination of Luke-Acts, we found a similar picture in the letter (§ 5.5). The evidence of our study of 1 Thessalonians suggests that the Paul of this letter and the Paul of the Miletus speech sound very similar to each other – and these similarities extend to vocabulary and to manner and style of teaching.

6.2. Implications for study of the Miletus speech

Two areas invite discussion in the light of our study so far: the place of the speech (and its contents) in the whole scheme of Luke-Acts; and the question of Luke's sources. We shall suggest some implications of our research for each of these areas.

6.2.1. The Miletus speech's place in Luke-Acts

Three issues are intertwined here: to what extent the speech should be understood as a 'farewell' by Paul; why the speech is located at this point in the narrative; and the overall portrait of Paul in Acts.

To the question whether the address is Paul's 'farewell' in Acts we must answer both 'yes' and 'no'. It shows significant parallels to other widely-recognised ancient farewell speeches, especially from Jewish contexts, and Paul is presented as taking leave of a group he never expects to see again (Acts 20:25, 38). To that extent it is a farewell to this set of people.

However, the argument that Luke assumes Paul to be dead at the time of writing Acts seems inconclusive (§ 3.4.3). Acts 20:25, 38 together need say no more than that Luke's Paul is uncertain about his future, although his firm expectation is that he will not re-visit Ephesus.² Further, the evidence is lacking that Luke intends this as his narrative farewell for Paul, since Paul goes on being active for some time and makes further speeches.

However, the Paul for whom this speech may be a farewell is the missionary Paul, for from Acts 21:27 onwards we shall see the prisoner Paul. Thus at this point in the narrative the church-planting Paul teaches the key themes of Christian leadership to the next generation of leaders in Ephesus, a generation who will pass on the torch in due time to their successors. Luke's use of the speech here adds the final lines to his portrait of Paul the missionary, for without this address we would know little of Paul the pastor – the focus has been much more (up to Acts 21:26) on Paul the church-planting missionary.³ Paul here models for Luke's readers what it is to lead and pastor a church, and he does it at a time when he has been seen planting many churches, and when he has recently (Acts 20:7-12) taught a church, raised a church member from the dead⁴ and broken bread.⁵

6.2.2. Luke's source(s)

The natural question, given the amount of parallelism between the Miletus speech and 1 Thessalonians that we have found (§§ 5.3-5.5), is whether there might be dependence of one of the accounts on the other. It has not been proposed that the letter is dependent on Luke's record of the speech,

² cf. Rom. 15:23f, which imply, about 2-3 years prior to Luke's ostensible dating of the Miletus speech, that the historical Paul intended to travel westward to Spain, with Rome as a staging post along the way.

³ Hengel 1979, 110; Marshall 1980, 43 n 4. cf. Maddox 1982, 67 ('When we read Acts as a whole...it is Paul the prisoner even more than Paul the missionary whom we are meant to remember'), 76-80; Pervo 1990, 73, who notes the shift in the portrait of Paul with the speech from the missionary pictured heretofore; and Rapske 1994a, 429-436, who argues that Paul continues to be a missionary while a prisoner.

⁴ ἥρθη νεκρός (20:9) 'should not be weakened to "as if" dead' (Conzelmann 1987, 16^o); so also Haenchen 1971, 585; Bruce 1990, 426 (noting the different phraseology in 14:19, νομίζοντες αὐτὸν τεθνηκέναι); Marshall 1980, 326; *contra* Tannehill 1990, 248f.

⁵ Pervo 1990, 74 notes the proximity of 20:7-12 to the Miletus speech, and suggests that these two incidents should be seen as Luke's portrait of Paul the pastor.

because 1 Thessalonians is generally thought to be early, but it has been suggested that Luke has used the letter in composing the Miletus speech.⁶

Before turning to detailed reasons for this thesis, we should first review the logical possibilities for the relationship of the speech and the letter. There are at least five possible explanations of the parallels we have observed. First, Luke had 1 Thessalonians before him as he wrote Acts, and used it extensively in composing the Miletus speech. Second, Luke had knowledge of 1 Thessalonians, but in writing Acts – at least while writing the Miletus speech – he relied upon his memory of the letter, rather than having the text before him. Third, Luke had access to other written (non-letter) Pauline sources (such as a diary of the companion of Paul who was present in the 'we' sections) as he wrote the Miletus speech, perhaps including a source for the Miletus speech itself, and the parallels between the speech and 1 Thessalonians are due to both having access to Pauline tradition (the former in the shape of the apostle himself, and the latter in traditions). Fourth, Luke had access to oral Pauline tradition, which he utilised in writing the Miletus speech. Fifth, Luke knew Paul personally, and used his memory of Paul, perhaps including the Miletus speech, in writing the account in Acts 20. Choosing between these options is not easy, but here we shall focus upon two attempts to argue for the first or the second explanation.

Schulze

Schulze⁷ argues that the parallels between the speech and the letter are so extensive (he cites 24 verses in the letter paralleled in the speech: see the table below) that there must be a literary explanation. Schulze also believes that Luke used other Pauline letters, especially Ephesians, Romans, Philippians and 2 Corinthians, but sees the preponderance of parallels pointing to 1 Thessalonians as the major source of the speech. His parallels are as follows (in the Greek, rather than Schulze's German translation):

⁶ Schulze 1900; Aejmelaeus 1987.

⁷ Schulze 1900, 123.

<i>Miletus speech</i>	<i>1 Thessalonians</i>
v 18 Ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε	2:1 Αὐτοὶ γὰρ οἶδατε 1:5 οἶδατε
v 19 ἐν ταῖς ἐπιβουλαῖς τῶν Ἰουδαίων	2:14 καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων
v 23 διαμαρτύρεται μοι λέγον ὅτι δεσμὰ καὶ θλίψεις με μένουσιν	3:4 προελέγομεν ὑμῖν ὅτι μέλλομεν θλίβεσθαι, καθὼς καὶ ἐγένετο καὶ οἶδατε
v 24 ψυχὴν...τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς χάριτος τοῦ θεοῦ	2:8 τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ θεοῦ...ψυχάς
v 25 οὐκέτι ὄψεσθε τὸ πρόσωπόν μου ὑμεῖς πάντες	3:10 εἰς τὸ ἰδεῖν ὑμῶν τὸ πρόσωπον
v 26 The theme of Paul's innocence	2:10 The theme of Paul's conduct with the Thessalonians
v 26 μαρτύρομαι	2:10 μάρτυρες
v 27 The theme of Paul telling everything	4:13 The theme of Paul not wanting the Thessalonians to be ignorant
v 27 ἀναγγεῖλαι	4:2 παραγγελίας
v 28 The Spirit's appointment as ἐπισκόπους	5:12 Those who are προϊσταμένους ὑμῶν ἐν κυρίῳ (contrast 2:7)
v 31 γρηγορεῖτε	5:6 γρηγορῶμεν
v 31 νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν	2:9 νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας
v 31 ἐπαυσάμην	2:11f παρακαλοῦντες ⁸
v 32 Prayer to God for the Ephesians	5:23 Prayer to God for the Thessalonians
v 33 The theme of not taking advantage	The theme of not imposing authority
v 34 The theme of providing with Paul's own hands	2:9 The theme of working night and day
v 35a Paul has shown that everyone should work	4:11 The theme that everyone should work with the hands
v 35b δεῖ ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι τῶν ἀσθενούντων	5:14 ἀντέχεσθε τῶν ἀσθενῶν

Schulze does not really *argue* for his conclusion: he evidently regards the listing of the parallels as so conclusive that he can simply state: 'Der Übersicht über das Ganze ergibt also: der 1. Thessalonischerbrief bietet die Grundlage und die Apostelgeschichte das von dieser Grundlage ausgesponnene – quod erat demonstrandum.'⁹ We shall therefore consider Aejmelaeus' discussion before offering an evaluation.

⁸ This proposed parallel is listed by Schulze 1900, 122, although there is no verbal parallel in the Greek.

⁹ Schulze 1900, 125.

Aejmelaus

Aejmelaeus' work is much more careful and thorough. The heart of his work lies in a long and detailed study of the speech against the backcloth of the Pauline letters, seeking parallels. Aejmelaeus seeks to distinguish in every case (Pauline and other) tradition from Lukan redaction by minute word study and analysis. Prior to his verse-by-verse study he offers a listing of Pauline and Lukan vocabulary in the Miletus speech, evaluated by comparative use.¹⁰ The following table outlines the parallels he then finds:

<i>Miletus speech</i>	<i>word/phrase</i>	<i>parallel(s)</i>	<i>Aejmelaeus' comment</i>
v 18		1 Sam. 12:2 LXX	self-defence theme from farewell speech form
		1 Thess. 1:5c; 2:1	Luke has blended the two in his head
	knowing	1 Thess 2:5, 9, 10, 11; 3:3, 4; 4:2; 5:2	typical feature of farewell speech
v 19	ταπεινοφροσύνη	1 Thess. 2:6f; Eph. 4:2	Pauline word (statistics) ¹¹
	δουλεύω		Pauline word (statistics)
	distress from Jews	1 Thess. 2:15f; 3:4f	
vv 20, 27		1 Thess. 2:2, 16; Gal. 2:12f	ὑποστέλλω as 'negative synonym' of παρρησιάζομαι
v 21		1 Thess. 1:9f	cf. parallels in Acts 14:15 (more literal); 17:30 (free citation)
	διαμαρτύρομαι	1 Thess. 4:6	only Pauline use
vv 22f	θλίψις	1 Thess. 3:4 (verb)	similar case of Paul prophesying suffering for himself
		Acts 21:11	authentic because not literally fulfilled
	καὶ νῦν ἰδοῦ	LXX	farewell speech colouring
	πορεύομαι εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ	Rom. 15:25	
	hardship theme	1 Thess. 3:4, 7; Phil .1:17f	

¹⁰ Aejmelaus 1987, 90f.

¹¹ It is surprising, given that Aejmelaus believes Luke used Philipplians quite extensively in composing the Miletus speech, that he sees no use here of Phil. 2:3, 8.

<i>Miletus speech</i>	<i>word/phrase</i>	<i>parallel(s)</i>	<i>Aejmelaeus' comment</i>
v 24		Phil. 2:16f (paraphrased)	picture agrees, although words different
	διακονία	Rom. 15:25 (both about journey to Jerusalem)	
	ψυχή	1 Thess. 2:8	
	εὐαγγέλιον	1 Thess. 2:8; Eph. 3:6f	
vv 25f	ὄραν/θεωρεῖν τὸ πρόσωπόν τινος	1 Thess. 2:17; 3:10f	not derived from LXX farewell speeches, because Paul doesn't die at the end of the scene
	βασιλεία	1 Thess. 2:12	
v 28	περιποιέομαι	1 Thess. 5:9 (noun); Isa. 43:20f LXX	*more significant of parallels with this verse
	προσέχετε ἑαυτοῖς	1 Thess. 5:11, 12, 14	
	παντὶ τῷ ποιμνίῳ...ποιμαίνειν	1 Thess. 5:11	
	ὑμᾶς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἔθετο	1 Thess. 5:9	
	ἐπισκόπους	1 Thess. 5:12	Pauline office title
	διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἰδίου	1 Thess. 5:9f; Eph. 1:7	*more significant of parallels with this verse
		1 Thess. 5:9-12	used by Luke because it is about leaders
	τίθημι + ἐν τινί + accusative	1 Cor. 12:28; Eph. 4:11	
vv 29f		Mark 13:21-23	
	βαρὺς	1 Thess. 2:7, 9	
v 31	γρηγορέω	1 Thess. 5:6, 10 (imperative in both cases)	eschatological technical term in early Christianity
	μνημονεύω	1 Thess. 2:9	Paul reminding of his lifestyle in both cases
	νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν	1 Thess. 2:9	
	νουθετέω	1 Thess. 2:9-12; 5:12, 14	Acts 20:31 only use outside Paulines
	εἰς ἕκαστος	1 Thess. 2:11	
	οὐκ ἐπαυσάμην	1 Thess. 2:9	Paul's persistence (thematic link)
	μετὰ δακρύων	1 Thess. 2:7-12; 3:7-10	expressions of Paul's love

<i>Miletus speech</i>	<i>word/phrase</i>	<i>parallel(s)</i>	<i>Aejmelaeus' comment</i>
v 32	λόγος	1 Thess. 2:13	
	τῷ δυναμένῳ	Rom 16:25; Eph. 3:20; Jude 24	liturgical formula, non-Pauline
	οἰκοδομέω	1 Thess. 5:11; Eph. 4:12, 16, 29	
	κληρονομία	Eph. 1:18, 14; 5:5	
	τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ	Eph. 1:6, 7; 2:7	
	τῆς χάριτος (τοῦ θεοῦ)	Eph. 3:2, 7	
	δοῦναι τὴν κληρονομίαν ἐν τοῖς ἡγιασμένοις πᾶσιν	τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ καλοῦντος ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ βασιλείαν καὶ δόξαν 1 Thess. 2:12b	identical in content
vv 33-35a	lack of guilt	1 Sam. 12:3-5	standard theme of farewell speech
	lack of covetousness	1 Thess. 2:5, 3, 10	
v 34	χρεία χεῖρ	1 Thess. 2:9; 4:11f	idea from 2:9, content from 4:11f
v 35a	Paul's love for the churches	1 Thess. 2:7-12	his love as a father means he serves them without fee
	κοπιᾶω	1 Thess. 1:3; 2:9; 3:5; 5:12 (only of Paul's work in 2:9)	
	ἀσθενούντων	1 Thess. 5:14; Eph. 4:28	
v 35b	idea of word of Jesus	1 Thess. 4:15	
	actual words	1 Clem. 13:1f; 46:7f	

We considered earlier many of the parallels with 1 Thessalonians identified by Aejmelaeus, although he has extended the search into the Pauline letters more widely. Aejmelaeus' case for a parallel looks at its strongest when he finds clusters of parallels, such as in Acts 20:18-20 (cf. 1 Thess. 2:1f), 24 (cf. Phil. 4:16f), 28 (cf. 1 Thess. 5:9-12) and 31 (cf. 1 Thess. 2:9-12). In other cases he claims to argue a cumulative case, although it is hard at times to tell whether the dependence of the speech on the letters is a conclusion or a presupposition of his work, for he can write on the use of βασιλεία (Acts 20:25):

Wegen der Wahrscheinlichkeit, daß Lukas in der Miletrede Material aus dem 1. Thess und zwar besonders 1. Thess 2 verarbeitet hat, könnte man denken, daß er durch den Vers 1. Thess 2:12 den Anstoß erhielt, diesen bei ihm auch sonst häufigen Begriff gerade in diesem Zusammenhang zu verwenden.¹²

A number of points can be made in response to Aejmelaeus' argument. First, and most seriously, the process of composition of the speech is difficult to understand on his model. Aejmelaeus seems confident in distinguishing tradition from redaction in the speech, but his use of word-statistics is at least debatable, since the Miletus speech contains a number of words used never or rarely elsewhere in Acts (and at times in Luke-Acts) because the subject-matter of the speech is unusual in Acts – this is the only recorded speech to Christians made by Paul, and speeches by others to Christians in Acts are also in special circumstances, as well as being relatively brief.¹³ It is probable that unusual words go with unusual subject-matter.

Further, Aejmelaeus has at times to take words in isolation from their contexts in developing some of his parallels.¹⁴ His parallels between Acts 20:28 and 1 Thess. 5:9 involve quite different uses of τίθημι (itself a common word¹⁵), in the one case of the Holy Spirit appointing overseers and in the other of God not appointing the Thessalonians to wrath, but salvation; but Aejmelaeus seems to regard the use of τίθημι as a significant parallel.¹⁶

He also runs into difficulties when Paul and Luke use the same word in different senses, as with the use of γρηγορέω (Acts 20:31; 1 Thess. 5:6, 10), for in spite of his claim that this was a technical term in early Christianity for eschatological watchfulness,¹⁷ it does not appear to be used in this sense in Acts 20:31, especially when the link with the previous verses, signalled by διό, and the previous call προσέχετε ἑαυτοῖς καὶ

12 Aejmelaeus 1987, 131.

13 1:15-17, 20-22 (Peter asking for the choice of a successor to Judas); 15:7-11 (Peter at the 'Jerusalem Council'); 15:13-21 (James on the same occasion).

14 Brawley 1989, 533.

15 100 times in NT, including 23 in Acts, 16 in Luke. This is the only use of τίθημι in 1 Thessalonians. For sure, the grammatical form is the same, the aorist middle (used in 1 Thess. 5:9) being a favourite of Luke (twice in Luke, 9 times Acts, 4 times Paul, once in the Pastorals) – other forms are commoner in the other evangelists.

16 Aejmelaeus 1987, 135.

17 Aejmelaeus 1987, 149.

παντὶ τῷ ποιμνίῳ (v 28) are taken into account.¹⁸ Thus if Paul is using the term for eschatological watching in 1 Thess. 5:6, as he appears to be, he is using the term differently to Luke. The language may be the same, but the thought is not.

A difficulty of separating tradition and redaction as tidily as Aejmelaeus seeks to do is that the processes he proposes for the composition of the Miletus speech by Luke appear psychologically implausible for a first-century writer. Even granted the greater power of memory at that period in Hellenistic and Jewish cultures,¹⁹ the combinations of passages from different Pauline letters and the LXX proposed by Aejmelaeus appear to require access to CD-ROM and computer search facilities not available to Luke. For example, Aejmelaeus sees Acts 20:24 as a conflation of seven texts in the Pauline letters (1 Thess. 2:8; Phil. 2:16f; Eph. 3:6f; Phil. 3:12f; 1 Cor. 9:24-27; Rom. 11:13; 15:25);²⁰ Acts 20:28 as a conflation of seven different texts (1 Thess. 5:9-12; Isa. 43:21 LXX; Eph. 1:7, 14; 4:11; 1 Cor. 12:28 and the use of the title ἐπίσκοπος from the Paulines);²¹ and Acts 20:22f as the result of a complex process of redaction involving the Agabus story (Acts 21:11), the LXX (for καὶ νῦν ἴδου), Rom. 15:25 (for πορεύομαι εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ), 1 Thess. 3:4, 7 (for the 'hardship' theme) and Phil 1:17f (similarly).²² He comments on the latter that Luke probably had Philippians memorised,²³ but his case elsewhere seems to require that Luke not only had virtually the whole Pauline corpus memorised, but also that he could instantly recall material across the range of the various letters using a mental 'concordance'.

In other cases, Aejmelaeus provides the evidence that a phrase is Septuagintal²⁴ but then argues that because the phrase is only found in the Pauline letters in 1 Thessalonians, the derivation must be from that letter, even though the LXX uses show that the phrase would be common

18 cf. § 4.3.4.

19 Riesner 1991, esp. 203-208; Aune 1991.

20 Aejmelaeus 1987, 119-127.

21 Aejmelaeus 1987, 132-142.

22 Aejmelaeus 1987, 112-119.

23 Aejmelaeus 1987, 119.

24 e.g. Aejmelaeus 1987, 128 offers examples of the use of ὁρᾶν/θεωρεῖν τὸ πρόσωπόν τινος in the LXX (Gen. 32:21; 43:3, 5; 44:23, 26; 46:30; Exod. 10:28; 2 Kings 3:13; 14:24, 32; Jdt 6:5; 1 Macc. 7:28, 30).

currency.²⁵ In such cases it is hard to argue that Luke has derived the material, wording or idea from 1 Thessalonians.

Second, Aejmelaeus believes that 'church officials' such as ἐπίσκοποι did not exist in Ephesus at the ostensible time of the Miletus speech,²⁶ but Phil. 1:1 provides evidence from roughly this period of such people elsewhere in a Pauline church, and there is no reason to think that Ephesus was different. Part of the stumbling-block for Aejmelaeus here is the equation of πρεσβύτεροι and ἐπίσκοποι in the Miletus speech, but the former need not be seen, at least at this period, as an office title.²⁷ That clears the way for the two designations to be used for the same group of people, and to read the evidence differently from Aejmelaeus.

Aejmelaeus struggles to explain why Luke makes little or no use of the eschatological section of 1 Thessalonians (4:13–5:11) in composing the Miletus speech.²⁸ He believes that Luke has a different eschatology from Paul, but even so the evidence of 2 Timothy is that eschatological motives were significant in the call to the next generation of leaders at the time of 'farewell' (e.g. 2 Tim. 4:1ff). Given that Luke is in other ways close to the author of the Pastorals,²⁹ it seems curious to find such distance here – especially since, on Aejmelaeus' hypothesis, the material was so easily available.

Again, if Luke used 1 Thessalonians in writing the Miletus speech, then he surely would use the letter in writing Acts 17:1-15, the account of the initial evangelisation of Thessalonica. Why, then, should there be evident tensions between the letter and this account? We have argued above that these tensions are not without resolution,³⁰ but their presence tells against Aejmelaeus' proposal, even on his suggestion that Luke used a travel document as an alternative source, and either altered or ignored information in 1 Thessalonians for stylistic or theological reasons³¹ – and a

25 In this particular case, Aejmelaeus 1987, 128 acknowledges that the phrase is also used elsewhere in the NT (Matt. 18:10; Acts 6:15; Rev. 22:4), but argues that the meaning and context in those cases is different. This looks rather like trying to have his cake and eat it!

26 Aejmelaeus 1987, 225-235.

27 See § 3.5.1, based on Campbell 1994.

28 Aejmelaeus 1987, 184.

29 Moule 1982, esp. 123-127; Wilson 1979; Kaestli 1995.

30 § 5.2.2.

31 Aejmelaeus 1987, 196-210.

non-extant document as a solution to this difficulty involves the multiplication of hypotheticals.

Equally, if Luke had access to the letters in the manner Aejmelaeus envisages, why does he never even hint that Paul wrote letters, and why do other speeches of Paul not contain such parallels to the letters? It is an acknowledged difficulty that the evangelistic speeches of Paul in Acts cannot be paralleled straightforwardly in the letters, and Aejmelaeus' theory offers no help in dealing with this. He suggests that Luke never mentions Paul's letter-writing because he does not see the letters as of particular interest or value for his task.³² But if this is so, why does Luke make such extensive use of them in this one speech?

Overall, Aejmelaeus' ingenious and well-presented case fails to convince because it does not take account of enough factors or consider alternative hypotheses. Similar problems exist with Schulze's case – merely exhibiting parallels does not demonstrate dependence.³³ We have argued that the portraits of Paul in the Miletus speech and 1 Thessalonians are consonant in the understanding of key areas, but Aejmelaeus and Schulze fail to provide persuasive evidence of literary dependence.

Luke and Paul

What overall impression comes through from our comparison with the Lukan corpus and 1 Thessalonians? We may state three theses in summary, which draw together what can reasonably be concluded.

First, in the light of our critique of Aejmelaeus, Luke appears to know Pauline tradition independently of the epistles. This is suggested by the presence of material in the Miletus speech that sounds like Paul, yet without quite matching what we know from 1 Thessalonians, in combination with the probability that Luke did not know the letters.

Second, Luke seems to know Pauline tradition rather better than is sometimes suggested. The use of Pauline language, turns of phrase, and methods of argument or teaching in the Miletus address all point to this conclusion.

Third, Luke seeks to pass on and commend the Pauline tradition, especially concerning Christian leadership, to his generation. This is a major result of our study of the speech in the context of Luke-Acts,

³² Aejmelaeus 1987, 47.

³³ cf. Sandmel 1962.

underlining the oft-asserted view that Paul is Luke's 'hero'.³⁴ It is seen particularly in the way that in the speech Paul mirrors the life and teaching of his Master as seen in the Third Gospel. This conclusion, based on observation from the texts, is independent of any reconstruction of the circumstances, aims and date of the author of Acts.

6.3. Implications for the Paul of Acts/Paul of the epistles debate

Luke's portrait of Paul is often compared unfavourably with a portrait reconstructed from the letters, but we argued that to compare the epistles as a whole with Paul's speeches in Acts as a whole is a mistaken method³⁵ – hence, we have compared the one Pauline speech given to Christians with the letters. We have found extensive and suggestive parallels between the two portraits of Paul, significantly in a speech given in an 'epistle-like' situation. More than that, we have found such parallels clustered in one particular letter, rather than isolated parallels of individual words or ideas. This suggests (to return to the metaphor we used for the Miletus speech) that Luke not only knows individual threads from the Pauline sewing basket, but also understands how Paul combines these into tapestries.

Thus our contribution to the Paul of Acts/Paul of the epistles debate is to move the discussion on a stage. Luke's Paul, when he speaks to Christians as a pastor, sounds like Paul himself writing as a pastor. Further, when Paul himself writes about pastoral ministry in 1 Thessalonians he sounds similar to Luke's portrayal of him teaching pastors about pastoral ministry. To this extent the Vielhauer/Haenchen view, that the 'two Pauls' are at variance, is over-stated, for our research suggests that *at this point* Luke's Paul sounds like the Paul of the epistles.

6.4. Future work suggested by this study

How could this discussion be further developed? It is clearly beyond the scope of this work to consider wider issues related to the Pauline corpus and other Pauline speeches in Acts, but two particular issues suggest themselves as potentially fruitful in the light of our conclusions.

First, it would be valuable to study leadership elsewhere in the NT, to assess whether the common elements to the Lukan and Pauline views which we have elucidated can be found elsewhere. *Prima facie* we might

³⁴ e.g. Lentz 1993, *passim*; Rapske 1994a, esp. 429-436.

³⁵ § 1.1.3.

expect a variety of perspectives among the different NT authors – and the evidence appears to support such a view.³⁶ If there are unifying factors within the understanding and practice of leadership and ministry among the churches, that might be suggestive for our understanding of leadership in the earliest communities.

Second, our study has focused on the one Pauline speech to a Christian group in Acts. The other direction to come at the relationship of the so-called 'two Pauls' would be from the epistles, by seeking passages which are suggestive of Paul's evangelistic preaching and speaking (e.g. 1 Thess. 1:9f; 1 Cor. 15:1ff) and comparing them in detail with the Pauline evangelistic speeches in Acts to comparable audiences – in the case of the two examples cited, to groups which were predominantly Gentile. The comparison with the evangelistic sermons would provide further evidence of the degree of 'fit' between the two portraits of Paul.

Both of these are fascinating prospects, but space forbids our pursuing them here. That privilege must await further work to give a greater insight into the growth and development of earliest Christianity – a growth and development in which both Paul and Luke played important roles.

³⁶ e.g. Caird & Hurst 1994, 232-234 characterises the earliest churches as lacking organisation; Dunn 1990, 103-123 catalogues a range of concepts of ministry, concluding (§ 32.1, 121f) that there is as much diversity in forms of ministry as in understandings of community within the NT; Guthrie 1981, 738-742, 760-774 and (esp.) 789: 'it is clear that on the matter of leadership there was no universal policy.' This diversity over leadership contrasts with Johnson's view that there is a consistent picture of Christian *discipleship* across the range of NT writings, including the four Gospels, Paul, Hebrews and 1 Peter (Johnson 1996, 151-165).

Appendix 1

The Text and Translation of Acts 20:28b

There are two interconnected issues in Acts 20:28b, the question of the correct reading and then the meaning of the reading adopted.

The correct reading

There are two significant variant readings in τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἣν περιποιήσατο διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἰδίου. First, some manuscripts read θεοῦ and some κυρίου;¹ and second, some manuscripts replace τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἰδίου with slightly different wording, particularly τοῦ ἰδίου αἵματος.

The external evidence is finely balanced on the first variant,² both readings being well supported by ancient manuscripts from different text types: θεοῦ has Alexandrian (Ⲙ B) and Western (614 vg) support, and κυρίου has Alexandrian (p⁷⁴ A C* Ψ 33) and Western (D E 1739 Irenaeus^{lat}) support. The palaeographic use of abbreviations for θεοῦ (ΘΥ) and κυρίου (ΚΥ) means that the difference between the two readings is only one letter: θ or κ.

The arguments from transcriptional and intrinsic probabilities are also not easy to weigh. On one hand, the NT never elsewhere has the phrase ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ κυρίου, which suggests that the reading κυρίου may be original, since a scribe might amend κυρίου to θεοῦ, the more usual NT usage.³ However, on the other hand, the reading θεοῦ is theologically difficult, since in combination with τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἰδίου, θεοῦ might be thought to imply that God gave his own blood, and therefore a scribe would alter θεοῦ to κυρίου, in order to make it clear that the blood shed was that of the Lord, that is, Jesus. Further, the expression ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ

¹ Metzger 1968, 234 is clearly right to see the variants κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ and θεοῦ καὶ κυρίου as later confections which are preserved in Byzantine texts.

² DeVine 1947, 382-391; Metzger 1968, 234 set the evidence out in full.

³ e.g. 1 Cor. 1:2; 10:32; 11:16, 22; 15:9; 2 Cor. 1:1; Gal. 1:13; 1 Thess. 2:14; 2 Thess. 1:4; 1 Tim. 3:5, 15; 1 Pet. 5:2.

κυρίου occurs in the LXX,⁴ so a Septuagintally-literate scribe might think of this phrase rather than the NT phrase using θεοῦ.

Perhaps decisive is the possible allusion to Ps. 73:1-2a LXX (Hebrew 74:1-2a).⁵ The Psalm also contains the combination of shepherding and flock imagery with the language of obtaining, although not using precisely the vocabulary in Acts 20:28: ἵνα τί ἀπόσω, ὁ θεός, εἰς τέλος, ὠργίσθη ὁ θυμός σου ἐπὶ πρόβατα νομῆς σου; μνήθητι τῆς συναγωγῆς σου, ἧς ἐκτίσω ἀπ' ἀρχῆς. In Ps. 73 it is God who is being addressed, and it is his συναγωγή⁶ which he has obtained (κτάομαι). Such an allusion reinforces the argument for θεοῦ as original in Acts 20:28, and that is the reading we shall adopt.⁷

The second variant is more straightforward, in that the attestation of the reading favoured in NA²⁷/UBS⁴ is clearly superior to its competitors.⁸ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἰδίου has wide support, being found in Alexandrian manuscripts, both early (p⁷⁴ Ⱳ B) and later (A C Ψ 33 326 945), as well as in Western witnesses (D E 1739). The reading τοῦ ἰδίου αἵματος is found in the same Byzantine witnesses which support the conflation κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ earlier in this verse.⁹ The external evidence here overwhelmingly supports τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἰδίου, and the change can be understood as a scribe seeking to overcome the confusion over the meaning of ἰδίου which we noted above.

Translation and meaning

The meaning of the text as established is then a matter for further discussion. Harris notes four possible translations,¹⁰ to which we may add a fifth: 'to shepherd the church of God (= Jesus) which he acquired with his own blood'; 'to shepherd the church of God (the Father) which he acquired with his own blood'; 'to shepherd the church of God (the Father)

⁴ Deut. 23:2, 3, 4 (twice), 9; 1 Chr. 28:8; Mic. 2:5.

⁵ Harris 1992, 135.

⁶ Schrage (TDNT, VII:829 n 199) argues that Acts 20:28 emends συναγωγή in Ps. 73:2 LXX to ἐκκλησία because the reference is to a distinctively *Christian* community, in spite of the fact that the underlying Hebrew is never translated ἐκκλησία in the LXX.

⁷ In agreement with DeVine 1947, 391-397; Metzger 1968, 234f; Metzger 1975, 480f; Dupont 1962, 150f; Conzelmann 1987, 175; Bruce 1990, 434; Hanson 1967, 205; Johnson 1992a, 363; Harris 1992, 134-136; Schmeichel 1982, 503f; *contra* Foakes Jackson & Lake 1920-33, III:197f; Clark 1933, 134.

⁸ Harris 1992, 136f; Metzger 1975, 482.

⁹ Metzger 1975, 482.

¹⁰ Harris 1992, 137-141; cf. a similar classification in Schmeichel 1982, 505f.

which he (Christ) obtained through his own blood'; 'to shepherd the church of God (the Father) which he obtained with the blood of his own Son/one'; and (fifth) 'to shepherd the church of God which he obtained with the blood of his own one (Paul).'¹¹

The first is the view of DeVine,¹² but it seems unlikely, in that phraseology such as 'the blood of God' does not occur in Christian usage until the second century.¹³

The second proposal is based on the view that the blood of the Son was the 'heart blood' of the Father, because Father and Son are one in thought and action. This has three difficulties: that ἰδίου implies that the blood belongs to the subject of περιεποιήσατο, which is God; that αἷμα refers to real blood, signifying death;¹⁴ and that such a perspective is Johannine, rather than Lukan.¹⁵

The third view stems from one of two perspectives: either Dupont's view that there is a 'glissement' in the thinking of the verse: the actions of Father and Son are so intertwined that Luke can pass from one to the other without an explicit transitional phrase;¹⁶ or the view that Luke here combines a traditional formula τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἰδίου (which was understood to refer to the blood of Christ) with τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ without indicating any change of subject.¹⁷ Whilst neither idea is impossible, both have the difficulty that there is no explicit change of subject – and the latter view is unverifiable in the absence of Luke's sources for Acts.

The fourth translation hinges on seeing τοῦ ἰδίου as substantival, as it is in Acts 4:23; 24:23 (in the plural in both cases; cf. John 1:11; 13:1).¹⁸ Such use is not unknown in the papyri,¹⁹ and is paralleled by other NT

11 Schmeichel 1982, esp. 507-514.

12 DeVine 1947, esp. 398-408.

13 Harris 1992, 138, referring to Ignatius, Eph. 1:1; Rom. 6:3.

14 Harris 1992, 138.

15 e.g. John 14:7-11; 17:21-23.

16 Dupont 1962, 152. He points to Rom. 8:31-39 as a possible parallel, in which he sees Paul moving from the love of Christ (v 35) to the love of God shown in Christ (v 39).

17 Aejmelaeus 1987, 133; Conzelmann 1987, 175.

18 Bruce 1990, 434. For other NT examples, see Harris 1992, 140. LXX usage is no help, since τοῦ ἰδίου is never found without a noun, e.g. Prov. 9:13; 16:13; 27:15; Dan. 13:60.

19 Moulton 1908, 90; Harris 1992, 140.

expressions functioning as Christological titles, such as ὁ ἀγαπητός,²⁰ ὁ ἠγαπημένος²¹ and ὁ δίκαιος.²² This would allow the possibility of translating in such a way.²³ The difficulty with this is that such a use of τοῦ ἰδίου as both substantival and a Christological title would be unique in the NT.²⁴ Nevertheless, there are other unique features in this speech, so that consideration alone should not rule out this translation.

Finally, Schmeichel argues that the fourth view of the meaning of τοῦ ἰδίου is accurate, but the ἰδίος referred to is Paul himself: 'it is Paul and his martyr blood which was shed in the service of establishing and obtaining the church of God.'²⁵ He sees the use of αἷμα in v 26 as introducing a conception of 'blood' in a non-soteriological sense, analogous to the uses found elsewhere in oath formulae in Luke-Acts.²⁶ Thus the reference to blood being shed in v 28 is to the same event, that is, to Paul's forthcoming martyrdom, mentioned in vv 22-27, 38. The use of ἰδίος for Paul is deliberately veiled language: throughout the speech, when there is explicit reference to the sufferer, the form and depth of the suffering is vague (vv 22-25); likewise, when the language about suffering to come is explicit, the identity of the sufferer is vague (v 28b).

It is hard, however, to understand why Luke provides Paul with an aorist form (περιεποιήσατο) at this point if the reference is to Paul's *future* death, given that the tenses are so carefully used in the rest of the speech.²⁷ It must also be doubted whether the author of Luke 23, with its elements pointing to the death of Jesus as redemptive,²⁸ would have intended his language in v 28b to be so unclear that it has taken two thousand years for it to be unravelled. Whilst Schmeichel has made a significant point in showing that the use of ἰδίος proposed in the fourth option would be very unusual in the NT, his overall position must be adjudged doubtful.

20 e.g. Mark 1:11; 9:7; 2 Pet. 1:17.

21 Eph. 1:6.

22 e.g. Acts 3:14; 7:52; 22:14.

23 So Bruce 1990, 434; Marshall 1980, 334; Harris 1992, 139-141.

24 Schmeichel 1982, 506.

25 Schmeichel 1982, 507.

26 Schmeichel 1982, 504 cites Luke 11:50f; Acts 5:28; 18:6; 20:26.

27 Gempf 1988, 300 n 86.

28 Marshall 1970, 169-175; Tannehill 1986, 125-127, 197-199; Johnson 1992b, 373-375, 380f, 384f; Moberly 1988, 36-39.

We therefore conclude that the fourth translation, 'to shepherd the church of God (the Father) which he obtained with the blood of his own one', has least difficulties attached to it and it is our working translation.

Appendix 2

The Text of Luke 22:17-20

The textual witnesses divide into three groups over this knotty problem.¹ First, the Greek manuscripts (except D), the large majority of the versions, and references in the early Fathers include vv 19b-20. The oldest manuscript, p⁷⁵, which Jeremias dates to AD 175-225,² has this reading.

Second, a shorter text which omits vv 19b-20 is found in D and some Old Latin manuscripts, ranging from the fourth to the eighth century (a, d, ff², i, l).

Third, variations of sequence are found, some with the longer text and some the shorter. Two fifth-century Old Latin manuscripts (b, e) have v 19a before v 17. The Curetonian Syriac (syr^c) has 1 Cor. 11:24 added to v 19a. The Sinaitic Syriac (syr^s) has the sequence: v 19, part of v 20a (καὶ μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνῆσαι), v 17, a rearranged part of v 20b (τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ αἶμά μου ἢ διαθήκη ἢ καινή), v 18. The Peshitta omits vv 17-18 in company with the eleventh-century β², a Boharic manuscript and two Sahidic manuscripts.

The real options for the original text are one of the first two readings, for the other variants can be explained in terms of either of these. Scholarly opinion has lately come to a consensus (with some exceptions) that the longer text should be seen as original, after for some time being persuaded by Westcott and Hort's arguments that vv 19b-20 represent a so-called 'Western non-interpolation'.³ The arguments for each reading follow.⁴

In favour of the shorter reading it is argued: (1) in general the shorter reading should be preferred;⁵ (2) the shorter reading is a harder reading

¹ The evidence is set out fully in International Greek New Testament Project 1987, 177f. Metzger 1975, 175; Metzger 1994, 149 helpfully show the variant texts synoptically, based on a table in Kenyon & Legg 1937, 284f.

² Jeremias 1966, 139.

³ Westcott & Hort 1896, 'Notes on Selected Readings', 63f; discussion of 'Western non-interpolations' in Metzger 1975, 191-193.

⁴ See the excellent summary in Metzger 1975, 173-177. For good bibliographies of the major treatments, see Marshall 1978, 801; Fitzmyer 1985, 1405f; Nolland 1993b, 1040.

⁵ Metzger 1968, 120, 209f; *contra* Elliott & Moir 1995, 33.

because it inverts the traditional bread-cup order found in 1 Cor. 11:24f; Matt. 26:26f; Mark 14:22-24; (3) vv 19b-20 are similar to 1 Cor. 11:24b-25; Mark 14:24 and should be seen as having been interpolated using words from the latter passages; (4) vv 19b-20 is part of the group of 'Western non-interpolations', i.e. one of the (nine) passages where all but the Western manuscripts have suffered interpolation;⁶ (5) Luke 22:19b-20 show non-Lukan features – in particular, the lack of ἐστίν (v 20b) and the clumsiness of placing τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυννόμενον (v 20b) in the nominative if it is meant to agree with αἷματί;⁷ (6) Luke's general lack of atonement theology implies that vv 19b-20 are not from his hand – for example Luke 22:27 differs from its ostensible Markan parallel (10:45) in this respect;⁸ (7) Luke did not realise that the reference to τὸ πάσχα (v 15) included the bread without using the word ἄρτος, and therefore inserted it at v 19a: this explains the oddness of the shorter text.⁹

In favour of the longer reading it is argued: (1) the external evidence is heavily weighted towards this reading, including most Western manuscripts; (2) it is more likely that the scribe/editor of Codex Bezae eliminated a second cup than that a scribe/editor altered the shorter text by adding a second cup; (3) the longer reading is the more difficult because of the presence of two cups; (4) vv 15-18, 19-20 display a structural unity which suggests vv 19b-20 are original – particularly because the parallelism evident in vv 15-18 is incompatible with the presence of v 19a (if the shorter reading is original);¹⁰ (5) the similarity between vv 19b-20 and 1 Cor. 11:24b-25; Mark 14:24 is more apparent than real, for the verbal correspondence is not exact;¹¹ (6) Acts 20:28 shows that Luke does have a 'ransom' theology, even if it is not expressed frequently by 'telling';¹² (7) the actual eucharistic words were removed from editions of Luke for non-Christians to protect the eucharist from profanation, and this resulted in the longer text being reduced to the shorter;¹³ (8) there are features in the

⁶ Fitzmyer 1985, 1388. The passages are: Matt. 27:49; Luke 22:19b-20; 24:3, 6, 12, 36, 40, 51, 52 (Westcott & Hort 1896, 175-177; Metzger 1975, 192 n 2).

⁷ Chadwick 1957, 252.

⁸ Marshall 1978, 800; Nolland 1993b, 1041.

⁹ Chadwick 1957, 257f.

¹⁰ Nolland 1993b, 1041; Ellis 1974, 255.

¹¹ Chadwick 1957, 252.

¹² Nolland 1993b, 1041. See § 3.5.4.

¹³ Jeremias 1966, 158. However, Chadwick 1957, 255 observes, 'it is a severe difficulty that the hypothetical abbreviator left untouched xxii.19a containing the very *mysterium fidei*, "This is my body."'

rest of Luke 22 which presuppose the presence of vv 19b-20,¹⁴ namely: (i) πλὴν ἰδοὺ ('but behold', v 21) is a strong adversative and refers back to ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν (v 20), and would be incongruous following v 19a; (ii) the use of the verb διατίθημι (v 29, twice) develops the reference to καινὴ διαθήκη (v 20); (iii) τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον (v 42) refers back to the same phrase in v 20.

It is clear that both the longer and shorter readings have difficulties attached to them, but the overwhelming weight of the manuscript evidence is a strong factor, along with the possibility of scribal misunderstanding or deliberate change because of a different liturgical practice in the scribe's church or because of unfamiliarity with the passover practice of more than one cup.¹⁵ The editors of UBS⁴ were therefore right, in my judgement, both to include the longer reading in their text and to increase the 'rating' of the longer reading from C (UBS³) to B.¹⁶

14 Ellis 1974, 255.

15 Ellis 1974, 256.

16 Fitzmyer 1985, 1388.

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