

THE
SEMITISMS OF ACTS I. - XV.

--- A CRITICAL AND LINGUISTIC STUDY. ---

Being
A Thesis Presented in Partial Fulfilment of
the Requirements of the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
in the University of Edinburgh.

By

MAX WILCOX, M.A. (Melb.), B.D. (Melbourne College of Divinity).

1955.



-- TO MY WIFE. --

PREFACE.

The general aim of the present study is to assess the nature, significance, and probable origin of the elements in Acts 1-15, which have been, or may be, styled 'Semitisms'. It does not seek to prove that Acts 1-15 either in whole or in part is a translation of an Aramaic (or perhaps, Hebrew) source, nor does it claim that all the phenomena in question may be explained in terms of the influence upon the style of the author of Acts of the diction of the Septuagint. Rather, it is an attempt to reconcile the plain fact of the presence in Acts 1-15 of what have been called 'septuagintalisms', with the other fact--hardly less clear--of the existence in those same chapters of what we might term 'hard-core' or 'residual' Semitisms.

At the outset, I should like to express my gratitude to the supervisors of my research at New College, Edinburgh, the Rev. Principal Matthew Black, Ph.D., D.Litt, D.D., (now of St. Andrews), and the Rev. Prof. Norman W. Porteous, D.D. It was the study of Dr. Black's Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts (Oxford, 1946), which first led me into this field of enquiry, and he it was also who suggested the title of the present study. His zeal and love for his subject have been an inspiration, and this work owes no small amount to his guidance and criticism. Likewise, the friendly advice and constructive criticism given by Dr. Porteous were very much appreciated. In the present context it would also be fitting

to record two other debts of gratitude. First, I must express my thanks to the widow of the late Dr. A. J. Wensinck, of Leyden, for making available--through Dr. Black--a set of unpublished notes on the Semitisms of Acts, prepared by her husband. These, wherever used, have been acknowledged in the footnotes. In the second place, I must acknowledge my appreciation of the help given by Abbé J.-T. Milik, of Jerusalem, in forwarding to me a transcription of the passage from Deut. 18: 18f. (combined with Deut. 5: 25-28) found in a leaf of a book of Testimonia from Qumran.

At this point, I must also acknowledge my indebtedness to my old teachers, the Rev. Principal Hector Maclean, M.A., M.Sc., D.D., and the late Rev. Prof. J. D. A. Macnicol, M.A., B.D., of Ormond College Theological Hall, Melbourne. Their leadership and encouragement contributed greatly to the undertaking of this research. Mention must likewise be made of Prof. M. D. Goldman, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Semitics at Melbourne, who was my first teacher in Aramaic and Syriac. In the same context it is appropriate for the writer to record his gratitude to the Overseas Exchanges Committee of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria for the grant which made this work possible.

Regarding libraries, special thanks are due to the Rev. John A. Lamb, B.D., Ph.D., Librarian of New College, Edinburgh, and to the staffs of the University Library and the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, as also to the staff of the Public Library of Victoria, Melbourne.

Finally, reference must be made to my wife. Her encouragement and self-sacrifice have meant more to me than I shall ever be able to say.

M. Wilcox.

Melbourne.

August, 1955.

CONTENTS.

Preface.	iii.
Contents.	vi.
Principal Abbreviations.	vii.
I. Introduction.	1.
II. The Old Testament in Acts 1-15.	31.
III. The Septuagint and the Diction of Acts 1-15.	76.
IV. Residual Semitisms in the Vocabulary of Acts 1-15.	118.
V. Other Semitic Elements in Acts 1-15.	159.
VI. Conclusions.	228.
Bibliography.	240.

PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS.¹

<u>AAGA.</u>	<u>An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts</u> , by Matthew Black.
<u>Acc. Script.</u>	<u>According to the Scriptures</u> , by C. H. Dodd.
<u>AnHWb.</u>	<u>Aramäisch-neuhebräisches Wörterbuch</u> , by G. Dalman.
<u>APD.</u>	<u>The Apostolic Preaching and Its Developments</u> , by C. H. Dodd.
<u>Apq.</u>	<u>Die Apostelgeschichte</u> , by E. Preuschen.
<u>BA.</u>	<u>Biblical Archaeologist</u> .
<u>BASOR.</u>	<u>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</u> .
<u>BDB.</u>	<u>A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</u> , by Francis Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs.
<u>B & FBS.</u>	British and Foreign Bible Society.
<u>Beginnings.</u>	<u>The Beginnings of Christianity</u> , edited by F. J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake.
<u>Bruce, AA.</u>	<u>The Acts of the Apostles</u> , by F. F. Bruce.
<u>B.Z.A.W.</u>	<u>Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</u> .
<u>CDA.</u>	<u>The Composition and Date of Acts</u> , by C. C. Torrey.
<u>Chald. Wb.</u>	<u>Chaldäisches Wörterbuch</u> , by J. Levy.
<u>CDC.</u>	<u>Die Damaskusschrift</u> , (ed.) by L. Rost.
<u>Clark, AA.</u>	<u>The Acts of the Apostles</u> , by A. C. Clark.
<u>CSG.</u>	<u>Compendious Syriac Grammar</u> , by T. Nöldeke.
<u>DB.</u>	<u>Dictionary of the Bible</u> , by James Hastings.

1). The present list includes only short titles, and brief information. For full particulars, the reader is referred to the Bibliography, infra, pp. 240ff.

- DPC. Documents of the Primitive Church, by G. C. Torrey.
- DSD. The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline.
- DTM. A Dictionary of the Targumim, etc., by M. Jastrow.
- Einl. Einleitung.
- ET. English Translation.
- Expos. The Expositor.
- Ext. Expository Times.
- Frag. Das Fragmententhargum, ed. M. Ginsburger.
- G-K. Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar, edited and enlarged by E. Kautzsch, translated by A. E. Cowley.
- Gram. Grammar. As, for example, Moulton, Gram.; Stevenson, Gram.; referring to Moulton & Howard, Grammar of New Testament Greek, and Stevenson, Grammar of Palestinian Jewish Aramaic, q.v.
- Gram. OTG. A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek, by H. St.J. Thackeray.
- Hatch-Redpath,
H-R. A Concordance to the Septuagint, etc., by E. Hatch and Henry A. Redpath.
- Hex. Origenis Hexaplorum, (ed.) by F. Field.
- HTR. Harvard Theological Review.
- ICC. International Critical Commentary.
- INT. Introduction to the Study of the New Testament, by A. H. McNeile.
- Intr. OTG. An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek, by H. B. Swete.
- JBL. Journal of Biblical Literature.
- JJS. Journal of Jewish Studies.
- JTS. Journal of Theological Studies.
- Kl.T. Kleine Texte, herausgegeben von H. Lietzmann.
- KTO. Konkordanz zum Targum Onkelos, by E. Brederek.
- LP. Luke the Physician, by A. Harnack.

- LS. Lexicon Syriacum, by C. Brockelmann.
- LSJ. A Greek-English Lexicon, by H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, 9th edition, revised and augmented by H. Stuart Jones.
- LXX. The Septuagint.
- Mart Pol Martyrdom of Polycarp.
- M d. W. Masoreten des Westens, by Paul Kahle.
- MG. A Concordance to the Greek Testament, by W. F. Moulton and A. S. Geden.
- NGram. Neutestamentliche Grammatik, by L. Radermacher.
- Notes. Notes on the Translation of the New Testament, by F. Field.
- NTOG. The New Testament in the Original Greek, by B. F. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort, 2 vols.
- OGM. The Origins of the Gospel According to St. Matthew, by G. D. Kilpatrick.
- PG. Patrologiae Graecae, by J.-P. Migne.
- Phil. Gosp. Philology of the Gospels, by F. Blass.
- Prol. A Grammar of New Testament Greek, by J. H. Moulton, Vol. I, Prolegomena.
- Ps-J. Targum Pseudo-Jonathan, edited by M. Ginsburger.
- RB. Revue Biblique.
- Sayings. The Sayings of Jesus, by T. W. Manson.
- SNTS Bulletin. Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas, Bulletin.
Published by The Oxonian Press Ltd., Oxford.
- SRJ. Sprüche und Reden Jesu, by A. Harnack; ET, The Sayings of Jesus.
- Syn St. Synoptische Studien, by W. Bussmann.
- TLZ. Theologische Literaturzeitung.
- Toy Studies. Studies in the History of Religions, Presented to Crawford Howell Toy.
- TSK. Theologische Studien und Kritiken.

- TWNT. Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament,
 edited by G. Kittel.
- Vocab. The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament..., by
 J. H. Moulton and G. Milligan.
- VT. Vetus Testamentum.
- Wb. Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften
 des Neuen Testaments, by W. Bauer.
- WH, W-H. The Westcott and Hort Text of the Greek Testament.
- WJ. The Words of Jesus, by G. Dalman.
- W-M. A Treatise on the Grammar of New Testament Greek,
 by G. B. Winer, .. with large additions &c, by
 W. F. Moulton.
- ZAW. Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.

INTRODUCTION.

I. Historical Survey.

Apart from the studies in the Talmudic and other Rabbinical parallels to the leading ideas in Acts, undertaken by John Lightfoot,¹ C. Schoetgen,² and others, it would probably be fair to say that serious work on the Semitisms of Acts began with Harvey's observation in 1857 of the variant reading of D Iren *ἐβάρυ* *ναιτε*, for *ἠενήσασθε*, in Acts 3: 14, which he thought to be traceable to the similarity of the two Syriac verbs *ܐܘܪܝܢܐ* (to irritate) and *ܐܘܪܝܢܐ* (to deny).³ This point was one of a number taken up by Chase in 1893, in The Old Syriac Element in the Text of Codex Bezae,⁴ in which an explanation of many of the deviations of D (and certain of its allies) from the more usual text--in this case, WH--was sought in terms of the influence of the Syriac versions, and in particular, of an 'Old Syriac' version which he postulated, upon the textual tradition of D and some of its group.

It was also the deviation of D which had led Resch in 1892 to postulate two translations of an original Hebrew edition of Acts.⁵ Likewise Blass, in 1894, concluded that, not only did the text of D frequently display a reading not of the 6th century A.D., but in fact "aus den frühesten Zeiten",⁶ but also, further, that

-
- 1). Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae in Acta Apostolorum (1679).
 - 2). Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae in Universum Novum Testamentum, (1738), pp. 405-483.
 - 3). Sancti Irenaei,.... Adversus Haereses, (1857), II, p. 55.
 - 4). op. cit., p. 38.
 - 5). Ausserkanonische Paralleltexzte, Leipzig, 1892.
 - 6). "Die zweifache Textüberlieferungen in der Apostelgeschichte," TSK, lxvii, (1894), p. 87.

the text of Acts existed from those times in two recensions, an original and a revised edition.¹ Further, among the several more or less basic characteristics of Lukan diction Blass listed 'color hebraicus'.²

It was left to E. Nestle, however, in 1895, to make the positive claim for "clear traces of an underlying Semitic original," revealed in the Greek text of the first chapters of Acts, as contained in Codex Bezae.³ The 'traces' in question were found in Acts 2: 47, where the Bezan variant κόσμον, for λαόν, was thought to be due to confusion of an original κόσμον and λαόν, (or: κόσμον and λαόν),⁴ and in Acts 3: 14,--in fact a variation of Harvey's idea, just noted--where κόσμον and λαόν were thought to have been confused.⁵ He admitted, however, that in this case, the original language would appear to have been Hebrew rather than Aramaic.⁶ Whatever, then, be our view of the intrinsic value of these solutions, the key point for our present discussion is that they seem to have impressed Arnold Meyer,⁷ and more importantly, Blass. The latter, setting out from what he was later to describe as Nestle's 'discovery', namely, the above-mentioned solution of the textual problem of Acts 3: 14,⁸ sought to adduce further support for Nestle's theory, in the form of a number of 'nova argumenta',⁹ based upon: (1) the use of the

1). ibid., p. 89.

2). Acta Apostolorum, (1895), p. 19.

3). "Some Observations on the Codex Bezae," Expos., Ser. V, vol. 2 (1895)(pp. 235-240); p. 235.

4). ibid., pp. 235-236.

5). ibid., p. 237.

6). ibid., l. c.

7). Jesu Muttersprache, (1896),

8). Phil. Gosp., p. 194.

9). Evangelium sec. Luc., (1897), p. xxi.

periphrastic imperfect and future, (2) ἐν τῷ with infinitive (which he styled 'verum aramaicum'), (3) ἐν 'sensu instrumentali' (likewise, 'aramaismus conspicuus'), and (4) a group of other expressions such as ἐνώπιον, ἀπὸ προσώπου, and ἀναστάσις,¹ all of which he noted to be more frequent in the first twelve chapters of Acts than in the remainder of the book. Hence, he asked,

"Quibus ex omnibus nonne id ^{e?} fire colligitur, Lucam in priore parte exemplum aliquod aramaicum satis presse sequi?"²

This view was reiterated in his later Philology of the Gospels, where it was observed that

"The language of the first twelve chapters of the Acts is markedly different from that in the later chapters: in the former Aramaicisms abound, in the latter they are comparatively very scarce..."³

Thus, the second part of Acts is "an independent work by Luke" whereas the first part "dependis upon an Aramaic source."⁴

These two points are important, because, as we shall see, they are very similar in principle to those upon which Torrey was later to found his theory of an Aramaic documentary source for Acts 1: 1b-15: 35.⁵ One further remark should be made here: Blass, in spite of what he had already said, nevertheless felt it 'easier' to explain the Aramaisms in Acts 1-12 if Luke were regarded as having used "an authority translated from the Aramaic into bad Greek," in which he had corrected the Greek,

1). *ibid.*, pp. xxi-ii.

2). *ibid.*, p. xxiii.

3). p. 194.

4). *ibid.*, l.c.

5). Vide his Composition and Date of Acts, (1916).

"but not so thoroughly as to abolish all traces of Aramaic origin."¹

Before proceeding further, it should be observed that, whatever the merits or faults of the solutions proposed, and methods employed, by these early investigators, most of them were concerned with the textual problems of Acts, and in particular with the textual variations of the Codex Bezae in Acts. This concern for the text was not always a feature of later writers, and a number have ignored it altogether, or else treated one text, for example, the edition of Westcott and Hort, as 'true', thus regarding other forms of it as in fact secondary.

Alongside this development, we must set the far-reaching criticisms of Dalman of the views put forward by Blass and Nestle, and note that hardly any of their alleged Aramaisms were allowed by him.² In his view, many alleged cases of Aramaism either lacked documentation as Aramaic idioms, or were more simply explicable in terms of 'Biblicism'. Likewise, the hypothesis of an 'Aramaic documentary source' was regarded by him as 'unproven', since--as also in the Gospels--'convincing proofs' were lacking.³ This objection could, he thought, be brought equally against theories favouring a Hebrew original. In the case of the Gospels, he sought Aramaic originals "for the words of Jesus only," and the opinion expressed in that connection

1). Phil. Gosp., p. 195.

2). The Words of Jesus, (ET: 1902), pp. 36ff., 39-40, 69-70.

3). ibid., p. 71.

that

"... it is possible that the oldest Christian writing may have been composed in Greek; and its Semitisms, so far as they are not Biblicisms, are in that case due to the Aramaic oral archetype (Urgestalt) of the Christian tradition,"¹

should perhaps also be quoted in regard to Acts. At any rate, we should note that the operative words in the above quotation are 'so far as they are not Biblicisms', a point we must not overlook in our approach to the problem of the Semitisms of Acts 1-15. Gregory also echoed this view concerning the origin of the Semitisms in the first part of Acts. He believed it to be based upon a source, and, in the circumstances, one which must have come from the first Jewish Christian circles,--a fact attested by its 'Aramaic colouring' (aramäische Färbung),--but he nevertheless maintained that

"Wir haben ... nicht den geringsten Grund anzunehmen, dass unser Verfasser eine Quelle benutzt hat, die noch in aramäischer Sprache vor ihm lag."²

That is, such source-material as there may have been was already current in a Greek form; likewise, the speeches in Acts, though not wholly due to Lukan free composition, but apparently based upon a source or sources, appear to have undergone revision.³ Harnack also, though disposed to think that Luke used an Aramaic source for some of the first part of Acts,--in spite of his misgivings about Nestle's evidence in this regard,--was willing to admit that it was 'impossible' to deny that he might have been dependent only upon 'oral tradition'.⁴

1). ibid., p. 71.

2). Einleitung., (1909), p. 774.

3). ibid., l. c.

4). Luke the Physician., pp. 118-119.

So, then, should sufficient proof or indication be lacking for the existence of documentary sources and, in particular, of such source or sources in Aramaic or Hebrew, we are offered an alternative: where the Semitisms in question are not Biblicisms, it is possible that they may be due to the fact that the 'traditions' incorporated in the Acts are often ultimately based upon Semitic ones, or derive from Aramaic (or Hebrew) circles, some of the older substratum thus having survived unrevised.

On the other hand, turning to Luke's 'wealth of Hebraisms',¹ Dalman observed both the rarity of a number of them, and the presence among them of certain 'pseudo-Hebraisms', such as *ἔπεσκέψατο ἡμᾶς διὰ τὴν ἐξ ὑψους*, Lk 1: 78, "formed entirely after the Greek Bible and quite impossible to reproduce in Hebrew,"² and concluded that the assumption of a Hebrew source for Lk 1-2 was "still unproved." Moreover, "the strongly marked Hebrew style of these chapters" might, he thought, be due rather to Luke himself since, "as in the beginning of the Acts, in keeping with the marvellous contents of the narrative,"³ he has used a style even more consistently Biblical than the usual Biblical style, intentionally, and "powerfully affected by the 'liturgic frame of mind' of which Deissmann speaks."⁴

The outcome of this is that the Hebraisms of Luke "should properly be called 'Septuagint-Graecisms' ..."⁵ Such a view

1). WJ, p. 38.

2). ibid., p. 39.

3). ibid., p. 40.

4). ibid., l.c. ; Deissmann, BS (ET), p. 76, suggested that Semitism was due to "a conscious or unconscious liturgical feeling."

5). Dalman, WJ, p. 40.

was allowed by Wellhausen,¹ and expressly claimed by Harnack for at least the Lukan Hymns;² it is an opinion which has found support among a number of scholars, notably Clarke,³ Cadbury,⁴ and more recently, Sparks.⁵

In 1912, however, C. C. Torrey of Yale, in an article entitled "The Translations Made from the Original Aramaic Gospels,"⁶ took up quite the opposite position, and claimed to have shown, among other things, (i) that the style and diction of Lk 1-2 could not be due to the influence, conscious or unconscious,⁷ of the LXX upon Luke, but on the contrary (ii) that "the author of the Third Gospel himself translated the Narrative of the Infancy from Hebrew into Greek."⁸ In reaching this conclusion, Torrey employed three criteria: a. The appearance of "occasional phrases and constructions which 'sound Semitic rather than Greek'."⁹ b. Mis-translation.¹⁰ And c. "The continual presence, in texts of considerable extent, of a Semitic idiom underlying the Greek."¹¹ Of these, the last-mentioned is the most important, the others being frequently of rather dubious value. Moreover, it is stressed that no one case of alleged Semitism is held to commit the whole section, but that "the argument is cumulative": it is "the constant re-iteration of indications perhaps unimportant when taken separately, but compelling in the aggregate," which stamp the language of Lk 1-2 as 'translation-Greek'.¹² One of the examples which he adduced

1). Einl., (1te Aufl., 1905), p. 34.

2). LP., pp. 101-2, 199-218.

3). Beginnings, I, ii, pp. 66-105.

4). Am. J. Th., xxiv, (1920), 436-55.

5). JTS., xliv (1943), 129-38.

6). Toy Studies, pp. 269-317.

7). ibid., pp. 286-88.

8). ibid., p. 295.

9). ibid., p. 283.

10). ibid., l. c.

11). ibid., p. 284.

12). ibid., pp. 285,
286.

in support of this claim was described by Black as 'brilliant':¹ namely, his explanation of the awkward phrase, εἰς πόλιν Ἰούδα, in Lk 1: 39.² The phrase mistranslates the Hebrew אל מדינת ארץ יהודה, or less probably (as he thought) Aramaic ליהודא מדינתא, which should have been rendered εἰς τὴν χώραν τῆς Ἰουδαίας, 'to the province, country of Judea'. The reason for the mis-translation was 'perfectly obvious',

"because in the first century A.D. the use of מדינה in the signification 'province' was practically obsolete, having been supplanted by the meaning 'city'."³

On this and other similar evidence he concluded that Luke did use Semitic sources, and that, in particular, "he himself translated at least a part" of them into Greek.⁴

On the basis of this, he made the observation, important for our present purposes, that the evidence of translation-Greek in the earlier part of Acts is clear; again, that the same part of Acts also contains "a convincing proportion of Lukan words and turns of speech."⁵ Consequently,

"... the appearance is not that of a Greek text 'worked over' by the evangelist; there is only one plausible explanation, namely, that he himself was the author of the translation."⁶

This theory was worked out in detail in his Composition and Date of Acts (1916), where he contended that an Aramaic document, literally translated by the evangelist, was clearly traceable behind the language of the first fifteen chapters of Acts.⁷

-
- 1). AAGA, p. 11.
 - 2). Toy Studies, pp. 290-2.
 - 3). ibid., p. 291.
 - 4). ibid., p. 296.
 - 5). ibid., l. c.
 - 6). ibid., l. c.
 - 7). Following Torrey's custom, these chapters will hereinafter be denoted collectively by the term 'I Acts', in contradistinction to cc. 16-28, called 'II Acts'.

According to Torrey, the language of I Acts, as he called these first fifteen chapters, is "distinctly translation-Greek," whereas that of II Acts is not: in fact, in II Acts

"... the idiom is not Semitic, and there is no evidence that we are dealing with a version."¹

On the other hand, the "unmistakable uniformity of vocabulary and phraseology" makes it "obvious (to him who recognizes the Semitic source) that the author of 16-28 was the translator of 1-15."² He was able to find no passage or passages in I Acts, in which the language could be said to make it 'probable' that Luke was composing his own Greek.³ In II Acts, however, the case was 'altogether different'; not only was there "no evidence of an underlying Semitic language," but indeed "the few apparent Semitisms" in those chapters were "chargeable to the Koiné," or perhaps partly to the effect upon Luke's style of the translation-Greek he had so extensively "read and written."⁴

This thesis was then supported by three groups of evidence: first, a collection of Semitisms, chiefly of idiom;⁵ secondly, some six examples of 'serious mistranslation', namely, Acts 2: 47, 3: 16, 4: 25, 8: 10, 11: 28, and 15: 7;⁶ and thirdly, a long list of "minor slips, including too literal renderings."⁷ Once again, as in the case of the argument concerning Lk 1-2, he stressed that his case did not rest upon any one case of mistranslation or other piece of evidence: the argument is "cumulative." There is built up an irresistible impression that the diction of I Acts is Semitic.

-
- 1). CDA, p. 5.
 - 2). *Ibid.*, l. c.
 - 3). *Ibid.*, p. 6.
 - 4). *Ibid.*, p. 8.
 - 5). *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.
 - 6). *Ibid.*, pp. 10-22.
 - 7). *Ibid.*, pp. 23-40, 41.

In fact, so strongly was this impression felt that he wrote:

"... it is not enough to speak of frequent Semitisms; the truth is that the language of all these fifteen chapters is translation-Greek through and through, generally preserving even the order of words."¹

What, however, of the quotations from the LXX found in Acts?

His opinion on this matter is quite clear:

"Luke was Hellenist enough to give, on principle, every quotation from the Old Testament in the form in which it had stood for centuries in the Greek Bible and was familiar to those for whom he wrote."²

On the further, though related, point, concerning the possibility of the style and language of the LXX having been a factor in the production of 'Semitisms' in Acts, however, he is adamant. It is not even possible to speak of 'the' style of the LXX, as though it were homogeneous throughout. In any case, he asked, what was that style, in so far as it could be characterized, but the style of translation-Greek, and in particular, that of translation from Hebrew and Aramaic sources?³ To the extent, then, that there was similarity between the language and style of I Acts and the LXX, this feature was no doubt due to the fact that in both cases a similar factor was at work: they were both translations of Semitic originals.⁴

One other matter was raised by Torrey, and his observations on it are perhaps worth recording: namely, the question of the particular type of dialect of Aramaic in which the 'source' was supposed to have been written, and the evidence available for its

-
- 1). CDA, p. 7.
 - 2). ibid., p. 58.
 - 3). ibid., p. 8.
 - 4). ibid., p. 9.

'reconstruction'.¹ He regarded a thoroughgoing attempt at such a 'reconstruction' as a rather arbitrary procedure, whose end-product could only be "artificial."² He drew attention to the limited sources of information available, and his estimates of the various possible elements of material are instructive. Three main sources are mentioned: first, the Aramaic of the 'Biblical' period (3rd to 2nd centuries B.C.), of which our knowledge is "meager";³ secondly, the dialect of the Onkelos Targum, with which our acquaintance is "hardly more satisfactory," while the language of that work, which he thought to be "mainly second century A.D.," is "a translation idiom," having "all the characteristics of such a creation;"⁴ and thirdly,

"... the valuable, though very scanty, aid afforded by Megillath Taenith and other bits of the genuine Judean speech of the first or second century which have been preserved in the Talmud and elsewhere."⁵

One final comment might be made on this work: Torrey, throughout his investigation, has consistently disregarded the evidence of the Codex Bezae; moreover, little or no note has been made of textual variants.⁶ Thus, the practice begun by the older scholars in the field has been neglected, under the influence of the view that Codex Bezae represented a comparatively untrustworthy form of the text of the NT. This view is clearly expressed by him in a note, which includes the words

"... the text of Acts which has come down to us, especially in Cod. B and its nearest associates, is very old and correct."⁷

Codex D and its associates, on the other hand, are "later and all but worthless."⁸

1). CDA, p. 9.
2). Ibid., l. c.
3). Ibid., l. c.

4). Ibid., p. 9.
5). Ibid., l. c.
6). e.g., in Acts 3: 16.

7). Ibid., p. 40, n. 1.
8). Ibid., l. c.

We might summarize the foregoing account of Torrey's argument as follows:

1. With regard to the source-question, there is but one source behind I Acts; it was originally in Aramaic, and was translated into Greek by Luke, who also adapted the quotations from the Old Testament to their LXX form. In II Acts, Luke is following no such source, but is composing freely in his own style.

2. In the case of the 'language' problem, Torrey has taken a very guarded position; however, it seems clear that of the materials available for the reconstruction of the dialect in question, he preferred the evidence of the Judean Aramaic portions of the Talmud, and similar writings, while his criticism of the dialect of the Onkelos Targum, namely, that it is a 'translation-idiom', seems fair enough.

3. He is almost indifferent to the 'textual problem' as a vital issue: an importance it certainly has, but not for his present study; for that, apparently, he regarded the WH-text, or something very like it, as quite sufficient.

Detailed treatment of the principal solutions proposed by him will be found later in this study; for the present we might perhaps content ourselves with observing that some three of them have appealed to a fairly wide group of scholars; they are his explanation of ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό in Acts 2: 47, and his treatment of the difficult passages in Acts 3: 16, and 4: 25.¹

1). For example, these (and also, his solution of the sense-problem of Acts 10: 36f.) appealed to both Dodd, APD, pp. 34-37, & 53-54, and W. L. Knox, The Acts of the Apostles, pp. 19-21, 31.

As we might expect, the theory just outlined was subjected to no small amount of criticism, even at the hands of those who were in the main impressed by it. Among the principal criticisms raised against it are the following:

First, the criterion of 'mistranslation', which Torrey himself had described as "extremely precarious,"¹ was precisely the one on which most stress was in fact laid;² again, many of the alleged mistranslations have been seriously challenged,³ and are frequently "far from cogent."⁴ Secondly, Semitisms are found in other places: namely, Paul's letters, and Hermas.⁵ In view of this fact, Cadbury was led to ask the question,

"was it not possible for a Christian or a Hellenistic Jew to write a narrative as Semitic as that of Luke without being a translator?"⁶

Likewise, there are parallels to certain Semitisms of I Acts in II Acts, found, "not in isolated passages, but regularly wherever the situation suggests the same mood, ..." ⁷ De Zwaan claimed that they formed, in fact, "an imposing array," and that, "between chapter xviii. and xxii. they are even thickly enough strewn to impart a distinct colour to the whole ..." ⁸ It is therefore hard to write them off in the way suggested by Torrey, as either due to the Koiné, or to the effect on Lukan style of the translation-Greek of the first fifteen chapters. That is, some other explanation should be found.

-
- 1). Torrey, Toy Studies, p. 283.
 - 2). Cadbury, "Luke-Translator or Author?", AmJTh, xxiv (1920), p. 438.
 - 3). Cf. Burkitt, JTS, xx (1919), pp. 321f.
 - 4). Sparks, "The Semitisms of Acts," JTS, (N.S.), i (1950), p. 17.
 - 5). E.g., ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό, I Co 7: 5, 11: 20, etc., and ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν, Acts 7: 23, Hermas Vis. 1:1:8, 3:7:2, etc.
 - 6). Cadbury, *op. cit.*, p. 446.
 - 7). *ibid.*, p. 448.
 - 8). Beginnings, I, ii, 45.

Secondly, "the unusual similarity of phrase and idiom" which permeates Luke's writings, and is "abundant where no suspicion of Semitic influence exists," was thought by Cadbury to be "plainly due to the Greek style of the author."¹ Consequently, it was hard for him to accept a claim for Semitic influence in a phrase that is repeated in Luke's writings.² Alongside this objection, he also felt that simpler explanations were sometimes overlooked in favour of others presupposing Semitic influence.³ Moreover, certain passages were alleged to be mistranslations of Semitic phrases, although the "correct rendering" appears elsewhere.⁴ Furthermore, the 'sharp line of division' at Acts 15: 35 has been called in question, since, while some passages in I Acts appear to be "quite as Greek in diction as some in II Acts,"⁵ (for example, the letter in Acts 15: 23-29, which Goodspeed described as "the most perfectly Greek letter in the New Testament"), it is also true that "the supposedly untranslatable passages in Acts" are not confined to I Acts, for instance, Acts 24: 18.⁶

Thirdly, Vosté thought it dangerous to attempt to recover the original Aramaic of a Greek text, believed to have been mistranslated, and then to attempt to deduce from this Aramaic, "doublement hypothétique," a corrected Greek text.⁷

There are still further objections and difficulties. Foakes-Jackson, for instance, although willing to concede that there

1). Cadbury, *op. cit.*, p. 448.

2). *ibid.*, p. 449.

3). *ibid.*, p. 450.

4). *ibid.*, p. 451; cf. Acts 2: 47, 6: 17.

5). Goodspeed, "The Origin of Acts," *JBL*, xxxix (1920), p. 87.

6). *ibid.*, p. 87.

7). *RB*, (n.s.), xiv, (1917), p. 302. (A review of Torrey's *Composition and Date of Acts*).

might have been Aramaic sources behind I Acts, nevertheless considered the view that "nothing but Aramaic sources" was used "extremely doubtful;" indeed, the idea that Luke simply translated,

"... adding nothing of importance of his own, and adapting nothing to prove those points which he desired to establish, is, judging by his use of Mark and Q, . . . incredible."¹

Again, Bacon objected that, "however convinced we may be that chapters 13-15 come directly from the Aramaic,"² yet in view of "the curious fact" that these chapters contain the "indispensible Vorgeschichte"³ to Acts 16: 1ff., their ultimate background would seem to be nevertheless a Greek source. Likewise, Sparks observed that Torrey's hypothesis left unexplained, not only the use of the LXX for the Old Testament quotations in Acts 1: 1b-15: 35, (in spite of the explanation of these quotations, given by Torrey⁴), "but also the LXX background which is observable throughout."⁵ Furthermore, he continued,

"... the hypothesis of an Aramaic original for I Acts, the work of an author other than St. Luke, fails to account for the incontestable unity of Acts as a whole."⁶

The foregoing review of the chief objections raised by various scholars against Torrey's general position, makes it clear enough that the theory has not commended itself in its entirety to more than a few;⁷ on the other hand, it has received a

-
- 1). "Professor C. C. Torrey on the Acts," HTR, x (1917), 360-1.
 - 2). "More Philological Criticism of Acts," AnJTh, (1918) xxii, pp. 22-3.
 - 3). ibid., p. 13.
 - 4). Cf. supra, p. 10; CDA, p. 58.
 - 5). JTS, (N.S.), 1 (1950), p. 19.
 - 6). ibid., p. 21.
 - 7). E.g., W. J. Wilson, cf. HTR, xi (1918), pp. 74-99, and 322-335.

certain amount of qualified support, especially from de Zwaan,¹ Foakes-Jackson,² Dodd,³ Knox,⁴ and recently, from Williams.⁵ The opposition of Cadbury, Sparks, and others, has already been observed.⁶ But just as important as the difference of opinion itself, are the reasons for which the one group finds the theory, admittedly in modified forms, feasible, while the other group holds it to be quite improbable. At the risk of a certain amount of oversimplification, it might be said that, broadly, the former group is more concerned with the nature, extent, and intrinsic (historical) worth of such source-material as may have been used by Luke in the making of Acts; whereas the latter group is concerned rather with the old view, noted earlier in this chapter,⁷ that Luke's style and diction in I Acts particularly,--though also elsewhere on occasion,--reflect that of the LXX. They thus hold that Acts is in the true sense not so much a compilation, as a genuine literary composition. In this way, de Zwaan noted "the curious fact .. that if .. an Aramaic source or sources be assumed" for those parts of Acts where the evidence for such factor or factors seems stronger, "they coincide with the rough average result of current source criticism."⁸ On the other hand, Sparks was able to describe the Semitisms of Acts on the whole as 'septuagintalisms', being "one element, and not an unimportant

-
- 1). Beginnings, I, ii, 48ff.
 - 2). "Professor C. C. Torrey on the Acts," HTR, x (1917), pp. 352-61.
 - 3). APD, pp. 34-5 (especially p. 35, n. 1), 36-7, and 53-4.
 - 4). The Acts of the Apostles, pp. 18, 19-20, 31.
 - 5). McNeile, INT, (2nd edition, 1953, revised by C. S. C. Williams), pp. 101, n. 3, and 102.
 - 6). Cf. *supra*, pp. 13-15.
 - 7). Cf. *supra*, pp. 6-7.
 - 8). Beginnings, I, ii, 48.

element," in Luke's "total dramatic scheme;" they are thus "nothing less than 'pieces of literary scenery', deliberately devised and cunningly conceived to provide the right background for the action."¹ In a more recent paper, however, Sparks observed that, while it may be true that we are justified in seeking Semitisms in various parts of the New Testament, yet, if any theory of Semitic sources is to have reasonable cogency, it ought at least to harmonize with, or take some account of, present more or less accepted results of source-criticism. In this connection he called upon the Semitists to "tie some of their own loose ends together."²

One point, then, clearly emerges: apart from the detailed examination of the various possible and alleged Semitisms, which is, of course, essential in any treatment of the Semitic factor in Acts, some account must be taken of such Semitisms of I Acts as are also found in, for example, the so-called 'We-sections,' and in II Acts in general.

The next phase in the treatment of the question of Aramaic sources in Acts appeared with the publication by Black of An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts,³ in which, as well as urging the very greatest need for caution in the employment of alleged mistranslation as evidence for Semitic originals,⁴ he made two other, and far-reaching, criticisms of much of the

-
- 1). Sparks, op. cit., p. 27.
 - 2). "Some Observations on the Semitic Background of the New Testament," SNTS Bulletin, II, (1951), p. 40.
 - 3). Oxford, 1946; 2nd edition, 1954.
 - 4). *ibid.*, pp. 6ff.

earlier work: one concerned the nature of the original language of any supposed underlying source-material; the other dealt with the question of text. They might be summarized as follows:

A. The assumption made by Dalman, and since followed uncritically by many other workers in the field, that our primary authority for the language of Jesus was the Aramaic of the Targum Onkelos and the Targum Jonathan, "cannot now be justified."¹ Accordingly, the matter must be treated afresh, and new sources sought.

B. The other assumption, which did not feature seriously in the early studies of Wellhausen, Nestle, and Blass, was that no other text than WH, or Tischendorf, or at the very least something almost identical with them, "has the same claim to the confidence of scholars as the best single representative of the Apostolic autographs."² However, in the light of Wensinck's researches, which seem to have disclosed 'much more evidence of Aramaic influence in Bezan Luke',³ and moreover, indicated that the Aramaisms of that text "contributed substantially to the solution of the great textual problem,"⁴ the Codex Bezae at least should be included in any such inquiry into the nature of the Semitisms of Acts.

Regarding these criticisms, we may remark that, in the case of the language of the underlying source or sources, if such there

- 1). AAGA, p. 5.
- 2). ibid., p. 6.
- 3). ibid., l. c.
- 4). ibid., l. c.

be, it might, a priori, equally well have been either Aramaic or Hebrew. We know that Aramaic was spoken at the time of Christ, and the traces we have of it in the Gospels, as well as the names and other transliterations of it elsewhere,¹ indicate that, in particular, it was spoken in places closely connected with the events narrated in these writings. Thus far we might proceed with some degree of certainty. However, what type of Aramaic dialect? We are once again left with the question which Torrey raised in this regard: but is any closer determination of its answer possible? Black rejected the view, as we have just remarked, favouring the use of a dialect closely related to that of the Targums Onkelos and Jonathan. His objections were that (i), the language of those writings is too stilted and Hebraized,² and is in most places hardly more than a literal rendering of the Hebrew; in this he was in agreement with Torrey;³ and that (ii), it is well known that these Targums were for a time in Babylon, a fact attested by the presence in them of certain traces of Babylonian Aramaic influence,⁴ He therefore turned away from these sources, to the freer, and more idiomatic Aramaic of the Palestinian Pentateuch Targum, as displayed in the Old Geniza fragments,⁵ the free haggadic portions of the Targum Pseudo-Jonathan,⁶ and the Fragment Targum.⁷ These were to be supplemented by the evidence of the

1). cf., e.g., Ἀρχιδιακόν, Acts 1: 19, etc.

2). AAGA, pp. 17-18.

3). Cf. supra, pp. 10-11; also Torrey, GDA, p. 9.

4). AAGA, p. 18.

5). ibid., pp. 18-21; cf. P. Kahle, Masoreten des Westens, ii (Stuttgart, 1930), for the texts.

6). Edited by M. Ginsburger; Cf. also Black, AAGA, p. 21f.

7). Edited by M. Ginsburger; cf. also Black, AAGA, p. 21f.

Samaritan Pentateuch Targum,¹ and the Targum to the Hagiographa.² These have the merit of not having been seriously edited and standardized, whereas the reverse is the case with Onkelos and Jonathan. The Targums just listed, then, either are, or contain elements which are, products of an early time. Black indeed observed that, not only did the large number of borrowings in the Palestinian Pentateuch Targum from Greek indicate a period for its composition when Palestinian Aramaic was spoken in a hellenistic environment, but further, that some parts of its text could be dated with certainty to the first Christian century or even earlier.³ Likewise, he showed a preference for the Aramaic of the Palestinian Talmud, since the stories found there, though belonging to the period between the fourth and sixth centuries A.D., nevertheless are not translation Aramaic,

"but original Aramaic composition ... written in the simple, unliterary style of the popular anecdote."⁴

He also mentioned as sources, Palestinian Syriac and the Aramaic of the so-called Samaritan Liturgies.⁵

With regard to this question of language, we ought at least to note that there is another block of source-material, but this time, not for Aramaic, but Hebrew. We refer, of course, to the recently discovered texts from the Dead Sea area. These writings, in view of their roughly contemporary dates (in respect of the

- 1). Edited by A. Brüll; cf. Black, AAGA, pp. 18-19, 24-25.
- 2). Edited by P. de Lagarde; cf. Black, op. cit., p. 22.
- 3). AAGA, p. 20.
- 4). ibid., p. 22.
- 5). ibid., pp. 23-5.

dates of the New Testament writings), and their having emanated from a community living in an area geographically proximate to that in which so much of the action of the New Testament took place, should probably be treated as good evidence for the type of Hebrew which was known and used in approximately the same time as the underlying source-material for Acts, if there should really be any, was circulating. We might list a few of the chief texts: the Manual of Discipline, the Hymns from the Judean Scrolls, and the letters.¹ These show us a free, living language, and attest the fact that in the times under consideration Hebrew was no dead language, nor even very unusual. The finding of these scrolls has removed one of the objections against Torrey's thesis, and indeed, against the 'Semitic approach' school generally, namely, that

"one is hampered by the difficulty of finding any Hebrew or Aramaic documents of any sort definitely referable to the first century with which to compare the supposed Hebrew or Aramaic manners of speech in the Gospels and Acts."²

The second factor mentioned by Black, that of text, has in recent times been dealt with by Torrey, as he had foreshadowed in his Composition and Date of Acts,³ in the publication, Documents of the Primitive Church (1941), where an elaborate attempt was made to explain the Aramaisms of the Codex Bezae. These were supposed to have been due to the fact that D was translated into

-
- 1). Cf. J.-T. Milik, "Une lettre de Siméon bar Kokheba," RB, lx (1953), pp. 276-294; Isaac Rabinowitz, "A Hebrew Letter of the Second Century from Beth Mashko," BASOR, No. 131 (October 1953), pp. 21-24.
- 2). E. J. Goodspeed, JBL, xxxix (1920), pp. 87-88.
- 3). CDA, p. 40, n. 1; cf. also, p. 11 supra.

Greek from a (hypothetical) Aramaic version of the so-called 'true' text.¹ We thus seem to be faced with a new form of the theory proposed by Chase, which has been outlined above.² In this case, however, Aramaic has taken the place of Syriac, though why it should have, is not clear. At any rate, it would seem that, by presenting us with a theory which depends upon supposition in two important steps, the supposition of an Aramaic version of Acts, and the further assumption that such a document, itself unattested, was translated into Greek as our Codex Bezae, or perhaps its ancestor, Torrey has complicated the textual problem, rather than eased it. Nevertheless, if the main trend of the argument is unacceptable, some of his notes on Acts are helpful, especially, perhaps, that on Acts 3: 14, where the form ἡρνήσασθε, found in the 'true' text is traced to כדבדב, 'you denied, declared false,' whereas the 'Western' ἐβάρυνάτε is traced to כדבדב;³ such points as this will be discussed in the course of later chapters.

There is another way yet in which the approach to the textual problem has been modified in recent times, the rise of the so-called 'eclectic' method of textual determination. It is a well known fact that both Clark and Ropes, for example, are prepared, on occasion, to admit into their respective texts, certain readings from those MSS. whose authority they do not otherwise accept.⁴

1). DFC, pp. 121, 124, 147-8.

2). Cf. supra, p. 1.

3). DFC, p. 145.

4). For instance: (a) Clark, The Acts of the Apostles, (1933), pp. 22-3, Acts 4: 13, accepted καὶ ἰδὲται, although it was omitted by D; likewise, pp. 24-5, Acts 4: 25, he read ὁ....., whereas D read not ὁ but ὁς.
(b) Ropes, Beginnings, I, 111, 22, Acts 2: 37, accepted the omission of λοιπούς with D 241 Lvt 818.

This procedure has now been developed by Kilpatrick¹ and Menoud,² into a regular method of textual criticism. Menoud described the purpose of the method, as applied to the B text and the D text, as

"... not so much to make a choice between them, as to work back, if possible, to the primitive text with the aid of both recensions."³

That is to say, the procedure as employed by Kilpatrick and Menoud rests upon a new estimate of the relative values of both the B text, and the D text; in particular, a principal factor has been the growing appreciation of the worth of much of Codex Bezae. In this connection, the disclosures of Wensinck⁴ and Black⁵ concerning the Semitisms of D have played no small part. Also, as Menoud remarked,

"... progress in the study of the great Uncial manuscripts and the discovery of Greek papyri such as P.38, P.48 and P.45 have definitely established that the Alexandrian text is itself a revised text which 'cannot be traced back beyond the third century.' It follows that both the B text and the D text must be regarded as two different recensions of a lost primitive text."⁶

He noted the further point, too, that the 'Western' authorities, though presenting some bad readings, nevertheless contain a number of very good ones, especially in the matter of geographical data.⁷

He thus quoted with approval the observation of Klijn that

"We can never speak of a bad text or a good text in general, only a text with many good readings or few good readings."⁸

It follows that, in the case of the two great textual families

- 1). "Western Text and Original Text in the Gospels and Acts," JTS, xliv (1943), pp. 24-36.
- 2). P. H. Menoud, "The Western Text and the Theology of Acts," SNTS Bulletin, II, (1951), pp. 19-32.
- 3). ibid., p. 20.
- 4). Cf. supra, p. 18.
- 5). AAGA, passim.
- 6). Menoud, op. cit., p. 20.
- 7). ibid., p. 21.
- 8). ibid., p. 21, n. 12.

mentioned, it is not enough to assume the superiority of the one at the expense of the other: each case of textual variation must be decided upon its own merits. In making such decisions, Menoud pointed out that "we are not without criteria;"¹ he was thinking of the traditional rules, such as that concerning the greater antiquity of the reading which explains how all the others came into existence, and that concerning the (^{superiority}preferability) of the 'harder reading', other things being equal. But in addition, as a result of the work of Black, other help may indeed be forthcoming. He found that the textual variations of D and δ B, though they do not point to the existence of 'two editions' of the Gospels, nevertheless "suggest two (or more) different redactions of what was substantially, if not verbally, the same original Gospel text."² Consequently,

"... the redaction represented by the Bezan Codex has preserved more of the characteristics of the pre-Vulgate 'fluid' textual period, the primitive type of text in earliest circulation, than the Vatican-Sinaitic redaction."³

In brief, the more 'Aramaized' reading is, other things being equal, to be preferred.⁴

There is one further question, arising in part out of the criticisms made of the 'Semitic approach' by such scholars as Cadbury, Clarke, and Sparks;⁵ that of the source or sources of the Old Testament quotations in Acts. In spite of their dis-

1). Menoud, op. cit., p. 22.

2). AAGA, p. 214.

3). *ibid.*, p. 215.

4). *ibid.*, pp. 6, 214.

5). Cf. *supra*, pp. 6-7, 15, 16-17; see also, p. 10.

agreements elsewhere, Torrey and almost all of his critics alike have assumed that Luke in his Old Testament quotations always used the LXX. It is, however, not completely clear that this is in fact the case, and this doubt is felt with no small strength in the case of the many allusions to the Old Testament found in I Acts. The variation of some quotations and allusions in the New Testament from the forms found in the LXX is a well known fact, and Swete endeavoured to list the possible reasons for it;¹ but while allowance must be made for the effect upon the text of these quotations of such factors as citation from memory, and so forth, the possibility of independent translation from the originals, together with that of the use of some alternative version of the Greek Bible, cannot be overlooked. This matter must assume increasing importance in the light of the finding in the Qumran area of texts of the 'Septuagint' at slight, though important, variance with our accepted LXX,² and also of texts of the Hebrew Bible betraying a textual tradition nearer to that presupposed by the LXX than that of the MT.³

Allied to this question is yet another: to what extent can we reasonably explain certain at least of the Semitisms of Acts as 'septuagintalisms'? Thus, while few would doubt that the style and language of the LXX had some considerable influence upon Luke, and consequently, upon Acts 1-15, yet, even where it does seem to have left its mark, is it thereby clear that no

1). Introduction, p. 394.

2). Cf. D. Barthelémy, "Redécouverte d'un chafnon manquant de l'Histoire de la Septante," RE, lx (1953), pp. 18-29.

3). G. E. Wright, "The Qumran or Dead Sea Manuscripts," in Archaeological News and Views, BA, xvi (1953), p. 68b.

other factor was operative? This point is perhaps particularly pertinent in the case of those so-called septuagintalisms which are found but once or twice in the LXX itself, but which nevertheless do not seem, in the context in Acts, to be allusions in the strict sense. Further, when an odd phrase such as this occurs a few times in, let us say, I Clement or Hermas, in addition to its occurrence in I Acts, may not its presence in Acts then look like something more than mere coincidence? To put it another way, even if it were found acceptable to describe some of the Semitisms of Acts as septuagintalisms, would it not be also relevant to attempt to ascertain their mode of selection?

II. Limitations and Procedure.

In the previous section, we attempted to set forth in outline the methods and principal results of previous studies in the field of the Aramaic and Hebrew of the Book of the Acts of the Apostles. In the light of those attempts, we shall proceed to explain the limitations and methods which it has been felt desirable and indeed necessary to apply to the subject-matter of the present investigation.

The enquiry will in the first place be developed along three lines, corresponding to a fundamental subdivision of the evidence. Semitisms can be divided for convenience into quotations (or allusions) and non-quotations. The latter group is further capable of subdivision into words and other elements of style and diction which can be exactly paralleled in the LXX, and those which can not. Thus, we have three classes of material to examine: (i) quotations from, and allusions to, the Old Testament; (ii) elements of style

and diction which can be exactly paralleled in the LXX, but which do not constitute, or appear to constitute, either quotations from, or allusions to, the Old Testament; and (iii) similar elements of style and diction which can not, however, be exactly paralleled in the LXX. All three classes come under the heading of Semitism, since, *prima facie*, all may be due to, and would be explained naturally by, an underlying Semitic source. The precise mode of treatment and limitation for each class in its turn is, however, another matter.

In the case of the first group, the 'quotational' class, we shall not include all cases of quotation or allusion found in I Acts, but only cases where there is divergence from the commonly accepted text of the LXX. In these cases, we shall consider Semitism of some sort to be indicated, if it can be shown with regard to any particular case discussed, that the quotation or allusion incorporated therein is not directly due to the LXX, but in fact deviates from the LXX in such a way as to bring it --in that point of difference--into agreement with the textual tradition found in some one or other of the several Semitic authorities available. That is, the purpose of examining this class of evidence is to determine whether there is any affinity between textual traditions to be found in I Acts of the Old Testament, and those preserved in such authorities as the Fragment Targum, or the Samaritan Pentateuch Targum; and if so, to ascertain to what extent, if at all, such affinity represents a form of dependence upon some type of Semitic source. Naturally, quotations and allusions found in forms verbally identical ~~to~~ *with* those found in the LXX are excluded, since their conformity might be due to assimilation: it does not, at any date, indicate source.

The second class are certainly in a sense Semitisms: that is, they are words and phrases the construction or application of which is not only unnatural as Greek, but would also and especially be normal and idiomatic if understood as representing a Hebrew or Aramaic form. For instance, the expression ἐν τῷ with following infinitive would naturally reflect the Hebrew ׀ with infinitive construct. However, since these words and constructions are also found in the LXX, we cannot accept them as they stand as evidence for Semitic sources; for, as has been observed elsewhere,¹ an alternative explanation is possible, and has, indeed been often claimed: they have been described as 'Biblicisms' or 'Septuagint-Graecisms', to use Dalman's expression.² That is, their presence in Acts has been explained as due to the influence on Luke's style and language, of the LXX which it was held was very familiar to him. As we have noted earlier,³ Sparks thought their presence due to Luke's artistic bent, and went so far as to describe them as little more than "pieces of literary scenery." Consequently, this type of theory must be tested to determine, if possible, whether, and if so to what extent, it can afford a reasonable explanation of the facts, or whether some other factor or factors appear to have been at work in the selection of the so-called 'septuagintalisms.' This in turn may throw light upon the question of the origin and nature of such sources as there may have been behind Acts.

With the third group, discussion of Semitisms in the full sense begins: they comprise those expressions the presence of which in Acts appears to indicate some form of translation from, or employment of, Semitic originals, but which can not

Notes ① ② ③ omitted.

be explained in terms either of quotation or allusion, or of the influence, direct or otherwise, of the style and diction of the LXX upon the writer.

No example will, of course, be admitted into classes two or three for which a parallel is known to exist in the Koiné, and no instance will be considered under the third classification if it is also found in the 'We-sections' of Acts, or in II Acts generally.

Our sources for the language of such underlying source-material as may have been in Aramaic or Hebrew are as follows: for Aramaic, the Palestinian Pentateuch Targum in its Old Cairo Geniza fragments, the haggadic portions of the Targum Pseudo-Jonathan, the Fragment Targum, the Targum to the Hagiographa, the Samaritan Pentateuch Targum, and the Samaritan Liturgy,¹ supplemented by Aramaic portions of the Talmud, Biblical Aramaic, the Targum to the Prophets, and occasionally, Targum Onkelos; for Hebrew, the Biblical material will of course be used, but recourse will frequently be had to the Qumran MSS., and other recent finds, especially the non-Biblical Manual of Discipline, Judean Hymns, and other works contained in the Megilloth Genuzoth,² together with the letters found at Wadi Murabba'at and elsewhere.

The procedure adopted in the enquiry will be first to estab-

1). Edited by A. E. Cowley, Oxford, 1909.

2). Edited by E. L. Sukenik, Vol. ii, (1950), Bialik Foundation, Jerusalem.

lish the text of each case under consideration, where it is in important doubt; then to investigate the example in question; finally, to assess the bearing of the results obtained, on the question of the existence of underlying Semitic sources, their origin, nature, and probable extent.

With regard to the matter of textual determination, we have already referred to the special problems of Acts, in that the B text and the D text not infrequently appear to represent two different recensions, both of considerable antiquity and worth. It follows that we shall from time to time have cause to avail ourselves of the 'eclectic' method of textual criticism, of which mention has already been made. In addition to the criteria there mentioned, the traditional ones together with that added by Black, concerning the greater antiquity which is probably to be predicated of the 'more Aramaic' reading, we might note yet another: where two readings of apparently equal worth occur, the one which is nearer to the style and diction of the LXX is to be regarded as of probably less worth, as its resemblance to the LXX may be due to assimilation, whereas difference from the language of that work could not be so explained, and is probably more authentic.

Next, no use may be quoted as Semitic without documentation, and the mistranslation-criterion is to be regarded with very great caution throughout.

Finally, no prior judgment is made upon the questions of the existence or otherwise of sources, their original language, or the use made of them. All examples are to be judged on their own merits, and our conclusions must harmonize with them all.

CHAPTER II.The Old Testament in Acts 1-15.

As we have noted in the foregoing discussion, it has not infrequently been held that the source of the Old Testament quotations and allusions in Acts is the Septuagint: this is one point at which Torrey and Sparks find themselves in agreement.¹ The case was elaborated in some detail by Clarke,² who did, however, note points of difference and even, in some three cases, admit the possibility of derivation from some non-Septuagint source or sources. Examples of the type of quotation which has given rise to this view are the following: Acts 4: 25b-26 (Ps 2: 1-2), 7: 27b-28 (Ex 2: 14), and 13: 33 (Ps 2: 7b-c). Other instances might also be cited.

Closer examination, however, reveals that in no inconsiderable number of cases, the Old Testament quotations and allusions in Acts 1-15 present us with a text differing in varying degrees and ways from the form presented by the Septuagint as we now know it. This investigation must not be limited to quotations, but must also deal with allusions since, although some (quotation or) quotations may have been assimilated to the Septuagint-form, it is quite possible that allusions, precisely because less capable of exact definition, may have escaped such a process: for the same reason,

1). Cf. supra, pp. 24-5, etc.

2). Beginnings, I, ii, 66-105; concerning the possibility of the use of a different translation of the Hebrew, see pp. 97-8 of this same article.

however, too much stress should not be laid upon them, and their evidence.

Our present problem, then, is to obtain a 'test-group': that is, to assemble a group of instances of quotation and allusion in which deviation of the text of the Old Testament as it is cited in Acts from the accepted text of the Septuagint finds support in some other authority, Greek, Hebrew, or Aramaic. We have observed in another place,¹ that cases of quotation employing a text in agreement with that of the Septuagint are inadmissible as evidence, since their form might be due either to assimilation or to the original influence of the Septuagint on the writer of Acts. If, however, we can find cases which behave in the way indicated in our definition of the 'test-group', some degree of community with, or dependence upon, a tradition or traditions external to the Septuagint as we now have it, will be confirmed. Furthermore, if it can be shown that there are certain texts, occurring more than once in Acts, and there differing from the Septuagint, but nevertheless agreeing with each other, we shall have another strand of evidence supporting such a view. We shall now proceed to the evidence itself.

I.

In Acts 13: 22, in the speech of Paul at Pisidian Antioch, we read:

·Εὐρον Δαυεῖδ τὸν (τοῦ ΒΒ, υἱὸν D) Ἰεσσαί
 ·ἄνδρα κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν μου ,
 ·ὃς ποιήσει πάντα τὰ θελήματά μου .

Leaving aside for the moment discussion of the Bezan variant noted above (υἱόν for τοῦ), two allusions were noted here by

Westcott and Hort,¹ who uncialized them. They are: (i) the words εὔρον Δαυεὶδ from Ps 88(89): 21 (although LXX, MT, and Targum are all in agreement in this); and (ii) (ἄνδρα) κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν (μου), from I Kgd. 13: 14. The third line of the verse cited above was claimed by Swete to have come from Isa 44: 28.² However, let us turn to discussion of the second of the allusions observed by Westcott and Hort, namely, that to I Kgd. 13: 14.

Apart from the change of μου for αὐτοῦ, required by the context, we may note first the 'substitution' of ἄνδρα for the ἄνθρωπον of the LXX. Further, although ἀνὴρ was classed by Hawkins as a 'Lukanism',³ it is, nevertheless, a more accurate rendering of the Hebrew אִישׁ. Moreover, had Luke been composing this speech himself, and following the LXX as it is alleged he used to do, we might at least wonder why he should have made the change. If, now, we consult the Targum to I Sam 13: 14, we find that it differs strikingly from the textual tradition presupposed by the LXX and MT. It reads:הוֹרֵה עוֹלָם עוֹלָם.⁴ This half-verse actually replaces that found in the MT, אִישׁ עוֹלָם, which the LXX renders ἄνθρωπον κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ. Now, as it stands, הוֹרֵה might be viewed either as a singular or as a plural,⁵ so that we might translate: "a man doing his will(s)," or in Greek, ἄνδρα ποιοῦντα τὰ θελήμα[τα] αὐτοῦ. This might easily be represented by ἄνδρα... ὃς ποιήσῃ τὰ θελήμα[τα] αὐτοῦ, the more so if we recall that the participle, in Palestinian Aramaic, serves

1). NT, 1, pp. 227, 586b.

2). Intr. OTG, pp. 398-399.

3). Horae Synopticae, (2nd edition, 1909), p. 16.

4). Lagarde, Proph. Chald., p. 81, lines 31-32.

5). I.e., אִישׁ or אִישִׁ: see Stevenson, Gram., Sect. 14, p. 42.

"as an ordinary future tense ..., and as the English indefinite present (= future) in conditional sentences.."¹

Regarding the πάντα, it is possible that it may be due to the editor, or perhaps to assimilation of the words to the form of the passage from Isaiah suggested by Swete. That the latter's suggestion was in fact the original form of the quotation seems, in the light of the foregoing, an unnecessary complication of the matter.

One difficulty remains: the words κατά τὴν καρδίαν [μου]. These are also those of the Septuagint, in the passage alluded to (I Kgd 13: 14); but they are clearly not due to the influence of the Targum, as they are absent altogether from it. The MS. E omits them: but this is not easy to explain. If they were originally absent from the text, it is hard to see why they should have been inserted, whereas, it would be just as difficult to explain their excision if they were in fact original. Further, the words (ἄνδρα) ... ὃς ποιήσει πάντα τὰ θέλημά μου would hardly suggest I Kgd 13: 14. Thus, on the face of it, we should probably regard the whole couplet,

. ἄνδρα κατά τὴν καρδίαν μου ,
. ὃς ποιήσει πάντα τὰ θέλημά μου ,

as coming from the same ultimate source, whether that source be a speech-fragment from Paul, or an alternative form of the Greek Bible. Decision in this matter will have to be guided by other evidence.

1). Stevenson, Gram, Sect. 21,9; p. 56.

Some light may be thrown upon the matter by the following observations. Bruce noted that the two quotations, *Εὐρον Δαυεὶδ* (Ps 88: 21, MT 89: 20), and *ἄνδρα κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν μου* I Kgd 13: 14), "are also conjoined in this way" in I Clem 18: 1, "where also *ἄνδρα* takes the place of *ἄνθρωπον* .."¹ The Clement passage is:

(*Εὐρον*) *ἄνδρα κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν μου,*
Δαυεὶδ τὸν τοῦ Ἰεσσαί,
ἐν ἐλέει ζωονίῳ ἔχρισα αὐτόν.

On the basis of this, he concluded that the later writer had probably been influenced by Acts, and cited in support a comparison of I Clem 2: 1 with Acts 20: 35. He also observed that Codex B omitted *ἄνδρα*.² Perhaps an alternative explanation of the facts would be to see in the words a 'testimonium-fragment' current in the apologetico-liturgical use of the Church. In this regard, several points may be made. First, not only is there evidence that such fragments were used,³ but in particular, there is evidence of the use of 'composite' testimonia: for example, the fragment found in the fourth Qumran cave, containing Deut 18: 18 combined with Deut 5: 25-9, and apparently so used by an early Sect.⁴ In the next place, the quotation *λύσας τὰς ὁδοὺς τοῦ θανάτου*, (D reads *ἔδου* for *θανάτου*), in Acts 2: 24, is also found in Polycarp 2: 2, and as we shall observe later, is paralleled in the

1). The Acts of the Apostles, (1951), p. 265.

2). Ibid., l. c.

3). Cf. G. H. Dodd, According to the Scriptures, (1952), passim.

4). Cf. J.-T. Milik, "Une Lettre de Siméon bar Kokheba," RB, lx (1953), pp. 290-1; the text of it was communicated in a private letter dated 18th January, 1954.

^a
 Judean Hymns.¹ Thirdly, precisely because the following phrase in Acts, *ὅς ποιήσει πάντα τὰ θελήματα μου* just discussed, occurs in the Targum version of I Sam 13: 14, it would be easily omitted from use in a (later) Greek-speaking Church, such as was probably that at Rome from which Clement wrote. Thus, even if it were proven that I Clem here is in fact dependent upon Acts, that would not tell against the authenticity of the reading in Acts. Finally, if the words *ὅς ποιήσει πάντα τὰ θελήματα μου* did in fact come from Isa 44: 28, we might ask why they are not present in the composite quotation found in I Clem 18: 1. That is, it is probably a fair interpretation of the matter to suggest that these words were, in fact, not recognized as being a quotation at all,--which would be quite natural for anyone unfamiliar with the Targum. In any case, the words of Isa 44: 28 did not apply in the original to David, but to Cyrus: whereas those of I Sam (I Kgd) 13: 14 did apply to David.

We are left, then, with the possibility that the double-tradition of I Sam 13: 14 was known to whoever was responsible for the words as we find them in Acts. At all events, it seems a fairly reasonable thing to describe the passage under discussion as betraying a community of tradition between itself and the Targum. The reading of D in Acts 13: 22a, *υἱόν* for *τοῦ*,² may be original, or may be no more than an explanatory embellishment: the fact that I Clem 18: 1 has the usual text here perhaps tells against D. In any event, the difference is of little consequence for this study.

1). Cf. pp. 65-67, *infra*.

2). Cf. p. 32, *supra*.

Another case is possibly to be detected in the same chapter of Acts, also in the mouth of Paul, who this time is found speaking to Bar Jesus, the sorcerer: (Acts 13: 11),

.καὶ νῦν ἴδου χεὶρ Κυρίου ἐπὶ σέ ,

.καὶ ἔσῃ τυφλὸς μὴ βλέπων τὸν ἥλιον ἄχρι καιροῦ .

For the present we may omit discussion of the first half of the verse, καὶ νῦν... ἐπὶ σέ, which seems to display a style rather reminiscent of that of the Greek Bible.¹ Likewise we shall pass by the expression ἄχρι καιροῦ at the end of verse 11b, which Torrey and Wensinck were disposed to claim as an Aramaism.² Turning to the remaining words, καὶ ἔσῃ τυφλὸς μὴ βλέπων τὸν ἥλιον we may note the idiom 'not to see the sun', meaning 'blind': this is an unusual expression, but its parallel in Ps 57(58): 9, both MT and LXX, does not appear to have been noticed.³ The LXX, which reads a different meaning into the text in the first part of the verse in question,⁴ nevertheless in this idiom follows the MT:

., καὶ οὐκ εἶδεν τὸν ἥλιον .

There is, of course, no place in the LXX for the occurrence of . τυφλός , but again, in the MT, there is no word to which it could apply. In the Targum to the Psalms, on the other hand, we find: "like the untimely born and the mole, who are blind and do not see the sun," in Aramaic,

. אַשְׁמַשׁ בְּיַמֵּי אֱלִי בְּיַמֵּי דִּי אַתְּוֹרָא אֲלִיפֵי גִּיָּה.⁵

-
- 1). Cf., e.g., καὶ νῦν (πᾶσι), and χεὶρ Κυρίου ἐπὶ τινα (..לַע "ו" גַּי).
 - 2). CDA, p. 7; Wensinck, unpublished note, notes πρὸς ὥρα Jn 4: 35.
 - 3). It is not listed by Westcott and Hort, Swete, Clarke, Purdie, or Toy.
 - 4). Viz., ἐπέπεσε πῦρ,.....; the MT is: ..שָׂרַף בְּיַמֵּי-לֵךְ). אֲשֶׁר לִפְּי
 - 5). Lagarde, Hag. Chald., p. 32, lines 24-5.

That is, then, if there is here any true allusion to the Psalm in question, it would seem to be to the form preserved in the Targum, rather than that found in the other texts. To put it another way, it is suggested that we may have here a second instance of 'community of tradition' between the words of Paul, as cited in Acts, and a Targum.¹

Now, community of tradition between texts in Acts and Targumic ones is not as rare a thing as we might imagine, a fact which we hope to illustrate in later pages. However, in the present context it may be worth reporting a case of this sort of quotation which appears to be found in another place in the New Testament, namely, in the Epistle to the Ephesians. In Eph 4: 8, we find:

Ἀναβὰς εἰς ὕψος ἠχμαλώτευσεν ἀιχμαλωσίαν
[καὶ] ἔδωκεν δόματα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.

The reference is to Ps 67(68): 19. But the LXX reads not ἔδωκεν, but ἔλαβες (so also MT: קָבַל); likewise, LXX reads not τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, but ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ (so MT: בְּאִדְרִי). Tertullian, on the other hand, reads² instead of the τοῖς ἀνθρώποις of WH,

"elegantior filii hominum, non passim hominibus."

That is, in Greek, τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων. Turning now to the Targum, we find:

סליקתא לרקיע (משה נביא) שביתא שבייתא (אלפתא)
פגומי אורייתא, יהבתא להון מתון לבני נשא.³

1). It may be, of course, that the idiom is not an allusion, but a case of Semitism: but in view of other cases to be cited, together with the previous one, it perhaps seems more likely that Paul is citing from a Targumic source. The previous verse, Acts 13: 10, contains an allusion to Hos 14: 9; another allusion would not be surprising.

2). Marc. 5: 8.

3). Lagarde, Hag. Chald.. p. 58. lines 3-5.

Now, as W. C. van Unnik, of Utrecht, has observed,¹ the NT text here agrees with the Targumic tradition, in reading ἔδωκεν, Targum אָדָּנָה, ('thou didst give'). Moreover, if we read with Tertullian, we have yet another agreement of the Text of Eph 4: 8 with the Targum, 'filiis hominum' with Tg. אֲבָנֵי יְהוּדִים, 'to the sons of men.'² Though it is plain that the words of Eph 4: 8 are not taken verbatim from the Targum, which has also inserted several other phrases--those bracketed in the quotation as cited above, meaning "Moses the Prophet," and "thou didst teach the words of the Law," respectively,--yet it is nevertheless a legitimate inference that the writer to the Ephesians (perhaps Paul?) was here quoting either from, or in the light of, an Old Testament textual tradition resembling that of the Targum, but disagreeing with the tradition preserved in the LXX and the MT at this point. Now, while it is by no means agreed on all hands that the Epistle to the Ephesians is Paul's work, yet it is probably fair to say that the onus of proof rests with those who deny Pauline authorship, rather than those who do not. If we were certain of its Pauline authorship, we would have another point in favour of authenticity of parts, at least, of the record in Acts of Paul's words: in any event, it would seem that use of such 'extra-Septuagintal' textual traditions is not confined to Acts, and so cannot without further proof, be attributed to Lukan editorial activity. It may well be original.

1). In conversation with Prof. Matthew Black.

2). The WH-text as it stands would be a more idiomatic rendering of the same Aramaic text: perhaps that is a reason in favour of the reading of Tertullian. In any case, both disagree with the LXX and the MT.

This kind of phenomenon is, however, by no means confined in Acts to Paul's speeches. If we look at the speech of Stephen, Acts 7: 2-53, we shall find a number of similar cases, where there is agreement with a Targum against the readings of both MT and LXX. They are:

A. Acts 7: 3. καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν Ἔξελθε ἐκ τῆς γῆς σου
καὶ τῆς συγγενείας σου,
καὶ δεῦρο εἰς τὴν γῆν ἣν ἄν σοι δείξω .

Critical: (i) ἐκ): sed D ἀπό.
(ii) καὶ 2^o): c. BD. sed add ἐκ NAC ..

The above are the only important variants, for our purposes at any rate, and two comments may be made in passing. First, in the case of (i), the Bezan reading deviates from that of the LXX, whereas that of the WH-text (including NABC etc.), does not: it may thus be preferable here, as being less 'assimilated' to the LXX; it does not, however, presuppose a different meaning. Secondly, the reverse of this is the case in (ii), for here the harder reading is probably that of BD (that is, WH), which is less assimilated in this place to the LXX than the alternative reading. We shall read accordingly.¹

Consulting the LXX parallel, however, we find that not only has a whole phrase been omitted from Gen 12: 1, namely, ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ πατρὸς σου, but also the word δεῦρο has been 'inserted'; further, on comparison with the MT, Samaritan Pentateuch and the Samaritan Pentateuch Targum, we find the LXX reading supported.

1). It may be worth noting that in the case of both these variations, the text of the Codex Bezae presents the 'harder' reading: in both cases it diverges from the LXX-reading.

But not so the Targum Pseudo-Jonathan, which reads as follows:

"Go out from your land, be separated from your kinsfolk, go forth from the house of your father, go to the land which I shall show you." (...ללארץ אשר יראה לך).¹

That is, the clause in Acts 7: 5b, δεῦρο εἰς τὴν γῆν ἣν ἀνείξω σοι.

δείξω, finds an exact parallel in this Targum, the δεῦρο corresponding to the לך of the Targum. The text of Acts, then, in this OT quotation, which Clarke styled a 'free use of the LXX',² seems to be in fact in accord, at least in this last clause, with the textual tradition, not of the LXX, but of one of the 'aberrant' Semitic texts, namely, the Targum Pseudo-Jonathan. Once again we seem to have found a point of contact between a Targumic tradition and a text in Acts.

B. Acts 7: 5. καὶ οὐκ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ κληρονομίαν ἐν αὐτῇ
οὐδὲ βῆμα ποδός, κ.τ.λ. (Cf. Deut 2: 5b).

As we are confronted by no serious textual problem here, we may proceed to discussion of the textual affinities of this quotation. The four principal authorities are as follows:

LXX. οὐ γὰρ μὴ δῶ ὑμῖν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς αὐτῶν οὐδὲ βῆμα ποδός

MT. ...לך לא-אתן לכם מארצם עד מזבח פה-רגל.

Sam P. ...כי לא אתן לכם מארצם ירשה עד⁴ מדרג כה-רגל.

SPTg. הלא לא אתן לוכון מן ארעכון ירתה עד מדרס כה-רגל.

From this table it is apparent that not only is Acts 7: 5 at variance with the LXX, but also with the MT, which is here in agreement with the LXX. The two Samaritan authorities, however,

1). Edited by Ginsburger, p. 20.

2). Beginnings, I, ii, pp. 88, 90.

3). The Targum Pseudo-Jonathan agrees with MT here.

4). A correction would be עד ?

differ from the reading of the LXX and MT, in that they add ירשה (SPTg. ירשה) after מאר, in addition to having it later in the same verse (vs. 5c), in common with the MT and LXX. But this added word would naturally be represented by κληρονομία,¹ in a Greek version. Thus, the reading of the Samaritan texts is here in line with that of the quotation in Acts. That is to say, there would appear to be an affinity of textual tradition between this text as represented in Acts 7: 5, and the two Samaritan authorities. We should note that one of them is an Aramaic text.

C. Acts 7: 10b. καὶ κατέστησεν αὐτὸν ἡγούμενον ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον
καὶ (ἐφ' ἅσας) ὅλον τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ κ.τ.λ.

The textual question here need not trouble us, and we may, in fact, observe that at this point there is agreement between Codex B and Codex D. The allusion in this verse is to Gen 41: (40), 41, 43b.² Turning to the LXX, we find verses 41, and 43:

Gen 41: 41. Ἴδου καθίστημί σε σήμερον ἐπὶ πάσης γῆς Αἴγυπτου

41: 43b. καὶ κατέστησεν αὐτὸν ἐφ' ὅλης τῆς γῆς Αἴγυπτου

It is evident that, in any case, the allusion is 'free', since the reference to τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ is drawn from vs. 40: the key word, however, present in Acts, but absent from the LXX, and with no known or extant equivalent in the Hebrew MT, is ἡγούμενος, 'leader'. If, now, we set out the same verses as they appear in the Targum Pseudo-Jonathan, we read:

- 1). The word שר, 'possession, inheritance', occurs in the OT, and is rendered by both κληρος and κληρονομία, in the LXX, on occasion. For example, the former rendering is found in Jos 12: 6, Deut 2: 5,9,19; the latter at Deut 2: 12, 3: 20, Jos 1: 15, etc. Further, the verb, שר, represents the principal root behind the LXX word κληρονομεῖν (Cf. Hatch-Redpath, pp. 768a-769).
- 2). Westcott and Hort give these references.

vs. 41:....חמלי דמונית יתך ס ר כ ן על כל ארעא דמצרים¹

vs. 43b:.....ומני יתיה ס ר כ ן על כל ארעא דמצרים¹

The additional word, not found in the LXX, MT, or even the Samaritan authorities, namely, סרכן, means 'leader, officer,'² and Jastrow gives it as the equivalent of the Biblical Hebrew מַלְאֲכָה, 'leader, ruler, prince,'³ which, in turn, is very often rendered by the LXX, ἡγούμενος.⁴ That is to say, in yet another case, the text of Acts in an Old Testament quotation (or rather, allusion) is at variance with the LXX, and in the very point of difference reveals an affinity with the textual tradition preserved in one of the 'aberrant' Semitic authorities, in this case, the Targum Pseudo-Jonathan.⁵

D. Acts 7: 4. In this verse, we are told that Abram's journey to 'the land in which you now dwell,' from Haran, took place 'after his father (Terah) had died.' But, on the chronology of the MT and the LXX, Terah died aged 205, Abram then being 135 (that is, seventy years younger than Terah): thus, this view would indicate that Abram left Haran about 60 years before Terah died, since he was 75 when he left (Gen 12: 4). On the other hand, the Samaritan Pentateuch and Pentateuch Targum both give Terah's age at the time of his death as 145 years, (Gen 11: 32);

1). Ginsburger, p. 77. The meanings are as follows: (41) "Lo, I have appointed thee l e a d e r over all the land of Egypt"; (43b) And he appointed him l e a d e r over all the land of Egypt

2). Jastrow, DTM, (ii), p. 1028a.

3). BDB (1st ed., 1906), p. 617b.

4). e.g., I Kgd 25: 30, II Kgd 5: 2, 6: 21; etc.

5). Though Ps 104(105): 21--LXX--speaking of Joseph, has:

κατέστησεν αὐτὸν κύριον (ἡγούμενον) τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἄρχοντα τῆς γῆς κτήσεως αὐτοῦ....., we would need--if we tried to use this as an explanation--to show how the κύριον came to be changed to ἡγούμενον.

consequently, on their chronology, Abram would have been 75 both at the time of his father's death and his departure from Haran.

Thus, the Samaritan traditions would agree with that found in

Acts 7: 4.¹ It is worth noting that Philo has the same tradition,

*πρωτότερον μὲν ἐκ τῆς Χαλδαϊκῆς ἀναστάς γῆς Ἀβραὰμ ᾤκησεν
εἰς Χαρράν, τελευτήσαντος δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκείθι καὶ ταύτης μετεβίσταται.*

Thus, although the presence of this tradition in Philo may raise a number of other problems,³ it is nevertheless true to say that we have here an allusion in Acts to the Old Testament, akin not to the LXX, at least as we have it, but rather displaying some affinity to a tradition preserved in the Samaritan Pentateuch and the Samaritan Pentateuch Targum.

E. To conclude this group of cases where Acts appears to incorporate textual traditions of certain Old Testament passages, which are at variance with the LXX and the MT, even where these two authorities presuppose the same, or virtually the same consonantal text, we might add Acts 7: 32, also from Stephen's speech. The quotation, from Ex 3: 6, is also found in Acts 3: 13 ? (Peter).

*Ἐγὼ ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων σου, ὁ θεὸς Ἀβραάμ
καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ*

Critical Note: Before Ἰσαὰκ and Ἰακώβ, EHP add ὁ θεός;
D adds θεός, in each case: *ABC are as above.

The variant readings noted here indicate that (D)EHP read a text closer to the LXX (and, incidentally, closer also to the

1). This fact is noted by Clarke, Beginnings, I, ii, 98.

2). De Migratione Abrahami, xxxii. (Loeb edition, Vol. iv, p. 254.).

3). For instance, it may suggest the use by Philo and Luke of a text of the Greek Bible varying from our LXX: or, perhaps, of the employment by both of common traditions.

MT, which repeats קָהָלְךָ), so that the NABC -reading is harder, being less assimilated to the LXX. Apart from this, however, there is still one more deviation from the LXX and the MT: the use of the plural, τῶν πατέρων σου (that is, אבותיך), where LXX and MT read the singular, τοῦ πατρὸς σου (אביך). This might have been discounted as due to assimilation to other passages in the OT where the plural is in fact found, for example, Ex 3: 13, 15, were it not for two other facts: a. from the context it is clear that Ex 3: 6--the Voice from the Bush to Moses--is intended, and b. at this very point, the Samaritan authorities, both Pentateuch and Pentateuch Targum, alike read the plural, אבותיך and אבותיך , ('thy fathers') respectively. An additional support may be found in this, that in Acts 3: 13, in Peter's speech there, the same form is employed.

In view, then, of what has been said above about Stephen's speech, we are perhaps justified in regarding the present case as one, not so much of assimilation to the LXX of Ex 3: 13, 15 etc., as of community of tradition with the Samaritan, and therefore 'non-Septuagintal', authorities.

II.

There are at least two cases where the text as we have it in Acts seems to presuppose a textual tradition similar to that of the MT, although at slight variance from the LXX. They are:

A. Acts 7: 16. The phrase $\text{παρὰ τῶν υἱῶν Ἐγγύριον}$ (MT: Jos 24: 32, אבות-ענגורי). This phrase is never found in the LXX, which here reads instead, $\text{παρὰ τῶν Ἀμορραίων}$. On the other hand, Aquila and Symmachus both read $\text{παρὰ τῶν υἱῶν Ἐγγύριον}$ (as does Acts 7: 16), thus

employing the more literal rendering. In any case, we cannot derive the phrase from the LXX, although we might do so from the Hebrew, as was the case in the other two Greek texts noted. We must not, all the same, overlook the possibility that, in view of the exact correspondence between the translations given by Aquila and Symmachus, on the one hand, and Acts 7: 16, on the other,--at least in this point, the text as it appears in Acts may have been due, not to direct use of a Hebrew original, but to the employment by Luke, Stephen, or the circle from which the tradition of Stephen's speech emanated,¹ of a text of the Greek Bible at variance with our LXX,² and nearer the Hebrew.

B. Acts 8: 32. Although the greater part of this quotation--an explicit one, too--from Isa 53: 7-8, is cited apparently verbatim from the LXX, yet there is one point to which attention should be drawn: the principal authorities for the NT text, with the exception of Sy., Iren., and Tert., have the word $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu$ after $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\kappa\epsilon\iota\rho\omicron\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$, whereas the LXX--with the exception of κ^c ^a (ras κ^c ^b)AQ--omits it. Some may see in this case merely the following by Acts of the A-text of the LXX;³ an alternative view, nevertheless, seems at least arguable, namely, that some influence has been felt from the textual tradition of the MT, which reads: $\text{וְיִשְׁחַטּוּ (וְיִשְׁחַטּוּ...}$, or perhaps more probably, from that found in the Targum to the Prophets, where it is written: "וְיִשְׁחַטּוּ אֶת־הַכֶּשֶׁת׃",⁴

-
- 1). If, of course, it was transmitted in any form, and not merely composed to suit the occasion by Luke.
 - 2). We have already alluded to the existence of such texts, see p. 25, supra.
 - 3). Cf. Clarke, Beginnings, I, ii, 95; Swete, Intr. OTG, 395, and 296, n. 1.
 - 4). Lagarde, Proph. Chald., p. 279, lines 6-7; note that MT has the plural, 'its shearers', whereas the Targum reads: "... and like the sheep that is before him who shears it."

That is to say, the verse as cited in Acts 8: 32 seems to agree at this point at least with the Targum and the MT, against the B~~X~~-form of the LXX.

From the foregoing, it would appear that two results emerge: First, it is clear that the quotations and allusions to the Old Testament in Acts 1-15 are certainly not all "taken from the LXX exclusively,"¹ or at least, if they are, then the term 'LXX' must be held to cover another recension of the Greek Bible, besides that which we normally indicate by that term.

In the second place, however, it seems that certain of them display features, at once varying from the LXX as we have it, and in the point of variance itself, agreeing with some other authority or authorities, sometimes the MT, but usually a Targum or the Samaritan Pentateuch.

This is not, of course, to claim direct dependence by the text of Acts on these other authorities: such a view would have to be indicated on other grounds to be conclusive. In any case, there are frequently differences between Acts and these other authorities, as a glance at the discussion of Acts 7: 3,² will show. Here, while the Targum Pseudo-Jonathan contains an element corresponding to the $\delta\epsilon\theta\rho\theta$ of Acts, yet it also has verbs in two other places not found in Acts (although only one case can be compared exactly, owing to a textual omission of a clause).

1). Swete, Intr. OTG, p. 398.
2). Cf. supra, pp. 40-41.

Let us pass now to the next stage in the argument of this chapter.

III.

In the case of three of the Old Testament quotations and allusions in Acts, we find that they appear twice in the book, and interestingly enough, present on their second occurrence an identical form, compared with that shown on their first appearance. Moreover, in these three cases, there seems reason to believe that they represent a non-Septuagintal text of some sort. They are Deut 18: 15 (or 18), Acts 3: 22 and 7: 37; Ex 3: 6, Acts 3: 13 and 7: 32; and Deut 21: 22, Acts 5: 30 and 10: 39b. Before we proceed to discussion of them, however, it should be noted that another Old Testament text, Ps 15(16): 10, occurs in I Acts twice, Acts 2: 27b and 13: 35b, in both cases the quotations being in exact agreement with the LXX; the slight modification in the second case, Acts 13:35b, where *οὐ* is read for *οὐδέ*, is due to the style and syntax of the context, which necessitates the words being introduced in this way, owing to the omission of the previous and correlative clause. We should also observe that all the cases noted in this paragraph are found in speeches. We shall now deal with the three cases named first.

A. Deut 18: 15(or 18): Προφήτην ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν σου ὡς ἐμέ.
ἀναστήσει Κύριος ὁ θεός σου σοί, κ.τ.λ.

The text as it appears in Acts is as follows: Προφήτην ὑμῖν
ἀναστήσει Κύριος (Acts 7: 37 omits Κύριος) ὁ θεὸς ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὑμῶν
ὡς ἐμέ. That is, several observations may be made. First, both Acts 3: 22a and 7: 37 present a word-order and content identical with each other, apart from the omission noted above of the word

. κύριος by the latter. Secondly, in the matter of word-order, it will be seen that, if anything, the word-order of the text as found in Acts is slightly nearer to that in Deut 18: 18, as opposed to Deut 18: 15, though we should note that the form in verse 18 omits altogether the words *κύριος ὁ θεός*, and reads *ἀναστήσω* for *ἀναστήσει*, with the corresponding third person *αὐτῶν*, replacing *σου*. Thirdly, in certain respects, the text as we have it in Acts appears to be based on the LXX rather than the MT (or more strictly, the textual tradition preserved by the MT). This appears in the absence of any word or phrase¹ to render the Hebrew *אֱלֹהִים*, apart from the simple *ἐκ*, though elsewhere in the LXX this word is found rendering Hebrew *אֱלֹהִים*.² But if so, it would be hard to explain the change from the form in our LXX, and the more so in the light of the fact that the text occurs in an almost identical form in both places; the further point that the two quotations are in the mouth of different speakers (Peter and Stephen). Thus, judgment on the matter must be reserved for the present.

B. Ex 3: 6. *Ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ θεὸς τοῦ πατρὸς σου,*

θεὸς Ἀβραὰμ καὶ θεὸς Ἰσαὰκ καὶ θεὸς Ἰακώβ.

This has already been discussed somewhat above,³ so we shall confine ourselves to pointing out the nature of the text as in Acts:

Acts 3: 13. *ὁ θεὸς Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ, ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων [ἡμῶν]*

Acts 7: 32. *Ἐγὼ ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων [σου], ὁ θεὸς Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ.*

The allusion in Acts 3: 13 is naturally a little freer than the

1). For example, *ἐκ μέσου* c. gen.; cf. Ex 31: 14, Deut 2: 15, 16, 4: 34, etc.

2). E.g., Lev 17: 4, 10, 18: 2, 9, 20: 3, 5, 16, 18; Num 14: 44, 15: 30, Deut 2: 14, 18: 18. Etc.

3). Cf. pp. 44-45.

quotation of Acts 7: 32, yet both clearly echo the same tradition in the matter of (i) the omission of *θεός* before *Ισαάκ* and *Ἰακώβ*, and (ii) the use of the plural *πατέρων* in place of the singular *πατρός*, thus differing at two points from the LXX, though nevertheless agreeing with each other.¹ Moreover, in the case of (ii), their affinity is with the tradition contained in the Samaritan authorities, as we have remarked earlier.² Again, the two cases are found in the orations of different speakers. Thus, if the alterations were due to 'loose citation', or 'memory', for example, we might find it hard to explain how that 'looseness' happened to be apparently independent of the speaker. To put it another way, we have here what seems to be an indication of the use of a common source of the quotation.

C. Deut 21: 22. This case is rather more problematical than the previous ones, but is included here for completeness. The LXX at this point reads:

καὶ ἀποθάνη, καὶ κρεμάσγητε αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ξύλου, κ.τ.λ.

The text as found in Acts is best quoted in its immediate contexts:

Acts 5: 30. ὄν ὑμεῖς διεχειρίσασθε] κρεμάσαντες ἐπὶ ξύλου...

Acts 10: 39b. ὄν καὶ ἀνείλαν] κρεμάσαντες ἐπὶ ξύλου.

From the contexts, together with the fact that the following verse of Deuteronomy (Deut 21: 23) is quoted in Galatians 3: 13,³ it seems clear that the allusion involved in the verses in Acts noted

1). They also differ in these respects from the MT.

2). Cf. supra, pp. 44-5.

3). It refers here to the Death of Christ, and to the 'Curse'.

is to Deut 21: 22. It is not, however, strict, a fact which is apparent on inspection. Examining them more closely, we may note: (i) the word *διαχειρίσθαι* (Acts 5: 30) occurs but twice in the NT,¹ and is far from common outside that work. In the NT, it is confined to Acts. The corresponding word in Acts 10: 39b, *ἀνδιρέω*, is listed by Hawkins as a Lukanism:² both words have the meaning 'slay', a meaning which may perhaps also be found in the *ἀποθάνη* of the LXX, if we regard it as a passive of sense for the verb *ἀποκτείνω*.³ (ii) The 7 cases of *κρεμάννυμι* in the New Testament include 4 with the meaning, 'to hang (on a cross, or tree)': namely, Lk 23: 39, of the unrepentant thief, the two verses under discussion, and the verse in Galatians (Gal 3: 13). The word is found in the LXX some 37 times, and not infrequently in the idiom *κρεμάννυμι ἐπὶ ξύλου*. (iii) The words are seen to be the same in both allusions, though differing slightly from the LXX.⁴

To sum up the foregoing: not only do these three references occur twice each in Acts, but indeed they preserve the same, or very nearly the same, form on both occasions of their appearance. On the other hand, while they agree with each other, they nevertheless disagree to greater or less extent with the LXX (and in one case, Ex 3: 6, cf. Acts 3: 13, 7: 32, with the MT also, though agreeing with the Samaritan authorities). Finally, in two cases, Deut 18: 18 (?15) and Ex 3: 6, the allusions occur in the words of different speakers, namely Peter (3: 13, 22a) and Stephen (7: 32, 37).

1). Acts 5: 30, & 26: 21.

2). *Horae Synopticae*, p. 28.

3). *LSJ*, i, p. 199b.

4). Both, for example, omit the *αὐτόν* after the word *κρεμάννυτες* again, both employ the participle.



That is, we may have here (i) evidence for some sort of source, which is (ii) common to, and so possibly independent of, both the speech of Stephen and that of Peter in Acts 3, or if it be not independent of one, it may at least be presumed to be so of the other. Now, either this 'community of tradition' is editorial, or non-editorial. If the former, the suggestion would be that Luke was here employing a (Greek) Bible-text differing slightly from our LXX; if the latter, it would seem that both Peter and Stephen were drawing on some common source of Old Testament quotations or some common text of the Old Testament. In either case, however, it would seem to be indicated to some degree at least that the underlying source of the quotations in question was Greek rather than non-Greek: the identity of word-order in the case of the quotation from Deut 18: 15 (?18), for example, is hard to explain on any other view. Nevertheless, this is not the place for final conclusions; we must proceed to investigate the question, whether there is any evidence of the nature or original language of the supposed 'source' of these quotations.

IV.

In the matter of the source or sources of the text of the 'aberrant' quotations and allusions in Acts, the remark of G. D. Kilpatrick, of Oxford, in relation to similar phenomena in the Gospel according to Matthew, is perhaps relevant, namely, that

"Where a New Testament quotation differs from our LXX, it does not follow that it represents an immediate use of an Hebrew original or an Aramaic Targum."¹

1). The Origins of the Gospel according to St. Matthew, Oxford, 1946, p. 56.

The question, then, may be stated thus: Are the 'aberrant' Old Testament quotations and allusions found in I Acts dependent on a Greek Old Testament source, or otherwise? That is, how far, if at all, could such an hypothesis be sustained? Or again, have we a text of the Greek Bible which would fit the case?

A. The first possibility which presents itself is that of a relationship of some sort with one or other of the texts preserved in the Variant Readings of Origen's Hexapla.¹ A. Sperber of New York has argued, on the basis of an examination of the Hexapla,² that (i) the fifth column--the LXX--there reflects "two independent translations" of the Hebrew Bible into Greek,³ the variations between which seem to indicate (ii) "two Hebrew Bibles,"⁴ such that (iii) the one is "closely related to that textual family known to us as MT," whereas the other seems to resemble that of which "we still have in the Samaritan Pentateuch a direct offspring in Hebrew,"⁵ and that finally, (iv) the Bible used by the Apostles was "identical with the asterisk type of the Hexaplaric LXX."⁶

In the table which follows, we shall set out those cases where it is possible to compare the Old Testament quotations and allusions in Acts with their counterparts in the Hexaplaric fragments of the LXX preserved in Field's edition of Origen's Hexapla.

-
- 1). That is, the variant readings listed under "al. exempl," X, and —, in Field's edition of the Hexapla.
 - 2). "New Testament and Septuagint," JBL, lix (1940), pp. 193-294.
 - 3). *ibid.*, p. 237.
 - 4). *ibid.*, p. 246.
 - 5). *ibid.*, l. c.
 - 6). *ibid.*, p. 283.

Table 1.

No.	Acts . Chap. & Vs.	OT., . Chap. & Vs.	Relevant OT texts as in Hexapla (Col. 5).
1	3: 22 ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὑμῶν (7:37)	Deut 18:15	O ¹ : *ἐκ μεσοῦ σου ἐκ τῶν ἀδ.
2	7: 5 οὐδέ βῆμα ποδός	Deut 2: 5	O ¹ : οὐδέ βῆμα *ἰχνους ποδός
3	7: 14 ἐν ψυχῆς ἑβδομήκοντα πέντε (ἐν ἑβδ. καὶ πέντε ψ. D 614 LvtEP Sy)	Deut 10:22	O ¹ : ἐν ἑβδομήκοντα, al ex ἐν ἑβδομήκοντα πέντε
4	7: 23 τοὺς ἀδελφούς αὐτοῦ τοὺς υἱούς Ἰσραήλ	Ex 2:11	O ¹ : — τοὺς υἱούς Ἰσραήλ
5	7: 27 τίς σε κατέστησεν ἄρχοντα	Ex 2:14	O ¹ : * εἰς ἄνδρα ἄρχοντα
6	7: 33 τὸ ὑπόδημα (C* add σου)	Ex 3: 5	O ¹ : τὸ ὑπόδημα * σου
7	10: 37 ὡς ἔχρισεν αὐτὸν ὁ θεός (D: ὃν ἔχρισεν ὁ θεός)	Isa 61: 1	O ¹ : ἔχρισέ με * κύριος
8	13: 18 ὡς ἐτροποφόρησεν αὐτούς	Deut 1:31	O ¹ : τροποφορήσει (potior scriptura ἐτροποφό- ρησε alia ex. ἐτρο- ποφόρησέ σε.
9	ibid. ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ	ibid.	O ¹ : ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τῆς
10	13: 41 ἴδετε, οἱ καταφρονεῖς, καὶ θαυμάσατε, καὶ ἀφανίσθη- θητε...	Hab 1: 5	O ¹ : καὶ θαυμάσατε (al ex add καὶ ἴδετε) θαυμάσια, — καὶ ἀφανίσθητε
11	18: 9f Μὴ φοβοῦ... διότι ἐγώ · εἰμι μετὰ σοῦ .	Jer 1: 8	O ¹ : Vacat; al ex ~ μηδέ · πτοηθῆς (ἐνώπιον · αὐτῶν) (LXX: μὴ φοβήθης ἀπὸ προσ. αὐτῶν (ὅτι μετὰ σοῦ ἐγώ εἰμι)).....
12	23: 5. Ἄρχοντα τοῦ λαοῦ σου	Ex 22: 28(27)	O ¹ : ἄρχοντα (al ex ἄρ- · χοντας.

We may summarize the results of the comparisons in the Table above in another:

- 1). Field, Hex., ii, p. 1003a, note 4, observed that the obelisk was present here only in the Syro-Hexapla.

Table 2.

Textual authority.	With Acts.	Against Acts.
0'.	6	4(?5) }
Obelus	1	2 }
Asterisk	1(?2)	3 }
al. ex.	2	3 }

If we were to apply Sperber's theory to this classification, we would find:

Obelus-group (0' and —): With, 7; Against, ^{6 7 ?}3(?4).

Asterisk-group (al ex and X): With, 3(?4); Against, 6.

On balance, then, in the places where verification is possible, the texts seem to lean slightly towards the 'obelus'-group, rather than the 'asterisk'-group. In this connection, it would be interesting to recall that Sperber suggested a relationship between the obelus-text and the Samaritan Pentateuch, on the one hand; likewise, on the other hand, a similar sort of relationship was offered for the asterisk-text and the MT. In the light of the evidence adduced in earlier pages of this chapter, regarding the community of tradition found existing between certain of the 'aberrant' OT texts in Acts, and the Samaritan authorities, we might be inclined to observe in the above classification and its results, further evidence, however slight, of the same phenomenon. The argument at this point, however, becomes too hypothetical to have more than confirmatory value. Nevertheless, it would, in so far as the theory of Sperber is cogent, lend some support to the view which

sees behind the aberrant texts of Acts the operation of a Greek Bible-source. On the other hand, while what Sperber is disposed to call the Bible of the Apostles has been identified with the Asterisk-type of the Hexaplaric LXX, on his theory,¹ the evidence afforded by the foregoing tables would seem to tell against such a view, unless we regard the 'aberration' as due to the text or texts used by the editor of Acts. In any case we must be careful not to lay too great stress on the arguments adduced by Sperber, any more than on the rather slight evidence involved in the above.

B. There is another possibility, not altogether unconnected with the previous one, which we must note: namely, that the version, some fragments of which are preserved in Field's Hexapla under the title τὸ Σαμαρειτικόν, may have some bearing on the matter in hand. The difficulty about this, however, is that none of the relevant texts has been preserved to us, except, perhaps, that which is taken from Deut 10: 22 (Acts 7: 14), where Field records:

"Ο'. ἐν ἑβδομήκοντα. Alia exempl: ἐν ἑβδομήκοντα. πέντε

'Α καὶ τὸ Σαμαρειτικόν * ἐν ἑβδομήκοντα."²

No verdict, then, can be given on this evidence.

C. It is interesting to note further that, of some 34 texts in Acts 1-15 containing quotations from, or allusions to, the Old Testament which are verifiable from the fragments of Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, and others preserved in Field's edition of the Hexapla, only 4 (or perhaps 7: see below) reveal a textual affinity

1). Sperber, op. cit., p. 283.

2). Field, Hex., 1, p. 289a.

with one or other of the later Greek versions, against the LXX. Moreover, the evidence for such affinity is mostly far from convincing, as a survey of the cases in which it might be suspected would indicate. The cases in question are:

(a) Acts 7: 16. *παρὰ τῶν υἱῶν Ἐμμώρ...*. (Cf. Jos 24: 32).

This verse has already been treated under Section II of the present chapter,¹ where it was suggested that the exact correspondence of the words quoted above with their counterparts in the versions of Aquila and Symmachus, together with their total absence from the LXX as we have it, may have been due to the employment of a recension of the Greek Bible more closely approximating to the textual tradition of the Hebrew Bible.

(b) Acts 7: 33. *ὁ γὰρ τόπος ἐφ' ᾧ ἐστήκας*. (Cf. Ex 3: 5).

Critical Note: *ἐφ' ᾧ*): p⁴⁵ ^{ABCD}2 .. οὐ D ... ἐν ᾧ EHP.

Examining the possibilities, it is apparent that the EHP (Koine) reading, being that also of the LXX, is the easiest of the three to explain. The Bezan reading, *οὐ*, is probably the most idiomatic of the three, and would seem to be the work of later hands, were it not for two other facts: first, it is one of the usages classed by Hawkins as 'characteristic' of Luke;² secondly, it constitutes a departure from the text of the LXX, and so cannot be due to assimilation. However, if we turn to the reading *ἐφ' ᾧ*, which is certainly attested both widely, and from an early time, we shall probably find one which would explain, or at least help

1). Cf. supra, pp. 45-46.

2). Horae Synopticae, p. 27.

to explain, how the other two originated: if we were to accept $\epsilon\phi\omega$ as the primary reading, the Bezan reading $\omicron\omega$ might be regarded as representing an attempt at stylistic improvement, while the EHP-reading $\epsilon\gamma\omega$ would be seen--as we have noted above --to be due to assimilation to the text of the LXX of Ex 3: 5.

However, the reading just preferred, though at variance with that of the LXX (with the exception of one cursive MS., "s")¹, is nevertheless a closer reflection of the underlying Hebrew text. However, if we consult the Hexapla, we find:

. $\gamma\beta\gamma$: \omicron : Vacat. * A. $\epsilon\eta\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ \leftarrow .²

It is, therefore, not impossible to regard the present case as showing some degree of affinity with the form of the version of Aquila. That is, it is possible that we have to do here with an indication of dependence on a Greek version other than the LXX, which has here preserved the form of the Hebrew more literally than our LXX. We have already noted that such texts have been found recently in the Qumran area. Nevertheless, the possibility of influence of the Hebrew itself cannot be completely excluded.

Other points of contact or affinity with the textual forms of these later versions seem to be of a rather more problematical character, but we include them in this discussion in order to present all the relevant evidence, in so far as this is possible. They are found in Acts 7: 26, 41, and possibly also in Acts 5: 30 and 10: 39b, of which treatment has been given in another place.³

-
- 1). Brooke and McLean give it this symbol: Holmes and Parsons, No. 131.
 - 2). Field, Hex., 1, p. 85b.
 - 3). Cf. supra, pp. 50-51.

(c) Acts 7: 26. ὥσθην αὐτοῖς μαχομένους. (Cf. Ex 2: 13).

The LXX form of this reminiscence employs the phrase .δρζ δύο ἀνδρας... διαπληκτιζομένους. Field, on the other hand, gives the reading used by Aquila and Symmachus for the Hebrew ׀׀׀, rendered διαπληκτιζομένους by the LXX, as διαμαχομένους. Now, since there is also some freedom about the form in which this quotation from Ex 2: 13,14 is found in the words following the above phrase, we ought perhaps to be cautious about the drawing of definite conclusions from the evidence stated. On the other hand, the clear variation from the LXX, together with the similarity to the reading of Aquila and Symmachus, may perhaps point to the employment here of an alternative Greek Bible-text, to some extent akin to Aquila and Symmachus.

(d) Acts 7: 41. καὶ ἀνήγαγον θυσίαν τῷ εἰδώλῳ.

The LXX reads here: (Ex 32: 6) καὶ... ἀνεβίβασεν ὀλοκωτόματτα, καὶ προσήνεγκεν θυσίαν σωτηρίου. καὶ κ.τ.λ. The words are, then, hardly quotations in the strict sense from the LXX. However, the Hebrew verb יָבִיט, which the LXX renders by ἀνεβίβασεν, is found translated ἀνήνεγκαν by Aquila and Symmachus, and [καὶ] ἤνεγκαν by Theodotion. Once again no strict conclusions can be drawn, but a degree of affinity may at least be observed between the form in Acts and the corresponding forms in the three non-Septuagintal Greek Old Testament versions noted above.

(e) Acts 5: 30 and 10: 39b, which have already been treated earlier, contain a form of Deut 21: 22, which seems nearer to the Hebrew than to the LXX. They both employ a verb which indicates a notion, not of 'dying' (so LXX, ἀποθάνη), but of 'being put to death'; just as the Hebrew reads תָּמַת. However, both Aquila and Symmachus

read the form: καὶ θανάτωσιν.¹ This, of course, does not indicate any form of textual affinity, but merely seems to show that the later translators, in common with the source of the allusion in Acts, followed a course at this point closer to the Hebrew than to the LXX as we have it. The case is only included in this set of instances to show that the text in Acts might have originated not in the Hebrew itself but in a version like that of Aquila, for example.

It will be seen, however, that in the case of all these quotations, allusions, and reminiscences of the OT just treated, the phenomena might be explained instead by reference to a use of the Hebrew Bible, and in most of them the later version or versions involved may be regarded as more nearly approximating to the textual tradition of the MT. The exception here, of course, is Acts 7: 26; in this case it is only the similarity of the roots used to render the Hebrew in Acts and the versions involved, and the dissimilarity of both to that employed in the LXX, that constitute the grounds for suggesting some form of affinity. On the other hand, of course, these are but a few cases: there are a number of other cases where the text of an OT quotation or allusion in Acts agrees with that found in the LXX, against the Hebrew, the later Greek versions, or all of these. This may be due to assimilation to the LXX, or to editorial application, insertion, or other employment of the LXX; but whatever may be its cause, it serves to throw into relief those

1). Field, Hex., 1, p. 304.

texts which are not identical with their LXX counterparts, and which consequently cannot be said to be directly dependent, at any rate, upon it. Perhaps the most that can be said is that, while there may be here some indication of a degree at least of textual affinity between certain portions of the OT employed in Acts and their original Hebrew forms, in contradistinction to their LXX forms, the facts are nevertheless not inconsistent with the use of an alternative recension of the Greek Bible.

D. Examining, for completeness, the texts in question, as they are preserved for us in the Freer MS. of Deuteronomy and Joshua,¹ and also in the Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri,² we find no evidence which either adds to, or detracts from, what has been said above in this section.

Thus, we should probably confine ourselves to saying that, while the possibility that Luke was dependent for the 'aberrant' texts discussed on another recension of the Greek Bible, distinct from our LXX, cannot be excluded, yet the positive evidence for such a view is extremely slender. Moreover, it is also clear that, in the main, he was apparently dependent on the LXX; consequently, as Kilpatrick observed in a similar connection in the case of the Gospel according to Matthew, the writer of the work must have taken over the quotations concerned from another source which was not dependent on the LXX.³ We are left, then, with the alternative that the 'aberrant' quotations and allusions are due to a 'non-

-
- 1). The Old Testament Manuscripts in the Freer Collection, edited by Henry A. Sanders, Part I, (New York, 1910).
 - 2). The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri, edited by Sir F. G. Kenyon, Fascs. IV (1934), V (1935), VI (1937), VII (1937).
 - 3). The Origins of the Gospel According to St. Matthew, P. 57.

editorial' factor; that is, the evidence points to the use of a source of Old Testament quotations, other than the LXX, either by the speakers themselves--for it should be noted that, with one exception, all the examples considered in the previous sections are found in Direct Speech of some kind--or the circle or circles from which the reports of the events and speeches narrated in Acts emanated. But we must ask, was there a tradition current at the time, which might fulfil some, at least, of the requirements of these 'aberrant' texts?

In the answering of this question, there are two new facts to be taken into account. First, the discovery in recent times in the Qumran area of portions of a version of the Old Testament in Greek is of the greatest importance, especially as it has close affinities with the texts of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, and further, to quote Cross's words,

".. it appears on first study to be identical with the Quinta of Origen's Hexapla as well as the version underlying certain quotations of the Fathers, notably Justin."¹

Unfortunately, the texts so far published do not allow us to make the requisite comparisons. It may well be, however, that these new texts will afford the clue to this problem. In the second place, on the Hebrew side, fragments have come to light--also in the Qumran area--closer to the Septuagint than to our MT.² In particular, fragments of I Samuel have been found, preserving a text "quite at variance with the traditional Hebrew text."³

-
- 1). "The Manuscripts of the Dead Sea Caves," BA, xvii, (1954) (pp. 2-21), p. 13.
 - 2). Cf. supra, p. 25, and references in notes 2 and 3.
 - 3). Cross, op. cit., p. 18.

However, the text of the same fragment

"In general ... follows the readings found in the Hebrew manuscript used by the Greek translators of Samuel in the late third or early second century B.C. (the text behind the LXX of Samuel)."1

As in the case of the other material mentioned, it still has to be shown whether or not these new texts will elucidate the problem of the textual affinities of the 'aberrant' texts in Acts, but at least the existence of such Hebrew texts is now placed out of question, and its presence in the fourth Qumran cave may perhaps have a certain importance by reason of the relative proximity of the scenes of many of the events narrated in the Acts.

In the same cave, however, there has also been found a single leaf from a book of 'Testimonia,' 2

"... un petit enchiridion des textes bibliques qui justifient les concepts messianiques de la Communauté."3

Moreover, these 'testimonia'

"... débutent précisément avec le passage de Deut. XVIII. 18 sq. (combiné avec V, 25-9) annonçant la venue du Prophète."4

The text of Deut 18: 18, as found in this text, is nearer to the MT than to the LXX, whose underlying text appears to lack the words דברך from verse 19. In the same verse, however, it inserts the word הנביא twice, so as to read not אל דברי אשר ידברך .. אל דברי אשר ידברך הנביא, 'unto my words which he shall speak in my name,' but אל דברי אשר ידברך הנביא אשר ידברך הנביא, 'unto the words of the Prophet which the Prophet shall speak in my name.'5

-
- 1). Cross, op. cit., p. 18.
 - 2). J. L. Teicher, "The Dead Sea Scrolls," Manchester Guardian, September 15th, 1953, p. 4, cols. 5-6; and private letter dated October 28th, 1953.
 - 3). J.-T. Milik, "Une lettre de Simeon Bar Kokheba," RB, lx, (1953), (pp. 276-94), p. 290.
 - 4). *ibid.*, pp. 290-1.
 - 5). Text by courtesy of Abbé J.-T. Milik, letter of 18/1/1954.

The text of the 'testimonium' thus stresses the importance of obedience to the words of the Prophet whom God has promised, and so may represent an interpretation of the text. For our purposes, however, the important fact involved here is the presence in what is plainly a book of 'testimonia' used by the Qumran sect, of the quotation from Deut 18: 18-19, concerning the promise to Moses of a Prophet like himself,-a quotation which we have had some cause to observe and discuss in another place, and whose form in Acts seemed to suggest the employment of some sort of source.¹ This fact assumes greater weight when it is remembered that the document arose in a sect or community of Jewish folk whose beliefs and practices bore so close a resemblance to many of those of the New Testament that Teicher of Cambridge even claimed them as a Christian sect, the Ebionites.² Moreover, Dupont-Sommer of the Sorbonne wrote of them in the following terms,

" .. It is from the womb of this religious ferment that Christianity, the Christian 'New Covenant,' emerged. In every case where resemblance compels or invites us to think of a borrowing, this was on the part of Christianity."³

Whatever be the precise relationship between Christianity and the religious faith expressed in the Qumran scrolls, this much is now beyond dispute: at least one of the Messianic testimonies used by the Sect was also used by Christianity in its early days in a similar way. It would be interesting if we were to find other points of contact, or perhaps rather, tokens of affinity.

1). Cf. supra, pp. 48-49, 51-52.

2). Cf. "The Dead Sea Scrolls--Documents of the Jewish-Christian Sect of Ebionites," JJS, 11 (1951), pp. 67-99. Also, the article in the Manchester Guardian (Cf. supra, p. 63, n. 2, and his letter to the Editor of the same publication, dated October 4th, 1953.

3). The Dead Sea Scrolls, (ET, by E. Margaret Rowley), 1952, pp. 99f.

Now, in Acts 2: 24--in Peter's speech at Pentecost--we find the words: λύσας τὰς ὠδίνας τοῦ θανάτου (D Lvt^{egpt}vg εἴδου for θαν.).

They are usually traced to Ps 17: 5 (18: 4)¹ where the Hebrew, מוֹת חַבְלֵי מוֹת, 'bands, cords' of death, has--so we are told--been mis-read by the LXX-translators, who thus render it ὠδίνες θανάτου (from Hebrew מוֹת חַבְלֵי מוֹת), 'pangs of death.' misunderstood?

Torrey examined this phrase,² and claimed that, although it had been "long recognized" that the verse contained an ancient mis-translation, the word λύσας nevertheless suited "only the 'bands,' not the 'pains';" moreover, appeal to Job 39: 2³ to explain its presence was "not justified," since "that grotesquely confused passage" was "as far removed as possible" from the meaning of Acts 2: 24. Instead of this, he suggested the mistranslation of an underlying Semitic original, namely, אֲדָוָה דִּי מוֹתָא חַבְלֵיָא, ⁴ 'loosing the bands of death;' the quotation from the Psalm was then 'obvious,' and Luke "followed the LXX as usual," although he rendered the אֲדָוָה "literally". x70

Recourse to a Semitic original here--also suggested by Wensinck in an unpublished note--was avoided by Clarke, although he noted its possibility. He preferred instead "an explanation from the LXX only," namely, conflation of ὠδίνες θανάτου with Job 39: 2.⁵ The whole expression, however, in its 'Bezan' form, is found in Polycarp 1: 2, λύσας τὰς ὠδίνας τοῦ εἴδου, and in a similar context. x70

-
- 1). Cf. also, Ps 114(116): 3; see further, note 5 infra.
 - 2). CDA, pp. 28-29.
 - 3). I.e., ὠδίνες εἰς αὐτῶν ἔλυσας, κ.τ.λ.
 - 4). Torrey, op. cit., p. 29.
 - 5). Beginnings, I, ii, 97.

This, while it might suggest some form of direct dependence of the text of Polycarp at this point upon that of the Bezan Acts, might as well indicate the employment by both Acts and Polycarp of some form of 'testimonia'-material. Further, both of the solutions expounded above, that of Torrey together with that of Clarke, appear to pay insufficient attention to the context of the allusion in Acts, following closely as it does on the quotation from Joel 2: 28-32(3: 1-5), which is said to be describing the events of the 'Last Days.' In the form in which it occurs in Acts, this quotation begins, *καὶ ἔσται, ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις* (but B: *καὶ ἔσται, μετὰ ταῦτα*). But the words *ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις* do not occur in the LXX, which reads instead: *μετὰ ταῦτα*, a phrase which is not only a standing LXX equivalent for Hebrew אַחֲרֵי-כֵן,¹ (the MT-reading here), but also, according to Hawkins, a Lukanism.² On the other hand, the expression *ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις* occurs but once in the LXX, in Isa 2: 2, where it renders Hebrew אַחֲרֵי-כֵן אֲמַרְתִּי, and moreover, it is found nowhere else in Luke-Acts. It is therefore hard to regard the new expression as due either to the LXX,³ or to ordinary editorial activity on the part of Luke, although it may indicate, if not a source of some kind, at least 'informed interpretation.' Nevertheless, whether this variation is due to the writer's hand, or to some source or other he may have followed, the eschatological interpretation of the events described was clearly acknowledged by Luke at least, if not by

1). Checking the references in Hatch-Redpath, p. 915, a-b, with the MT.

2). Horae Synopticae, pp. 20, 43.

3). Whether by direct quotation, or by stylistic influence; there is no evidence that the case would be different if a text akin to the other Greek versions were used.

Peter also. The phrase *λύσας τὰς ὀδύνας τοῦ θανάτου* is thus seen as describing an eschatological fact, and should probably be translated: "having put to an end the pangs of Death."¹

But in another roughly contemporary document, again from the Qumran area, in a Hymn,² comes the phrase אפפו חבלי מות, a direct allusion to Ps 18: 4, אפפוני חבלי מות,³ but with the meaning, "the pangs of death will compass (people) about;"⁴ the reference is eschatological, as the context shows, and describes the Last Times, and the onset of the Messianic Woes: the "time of fury to all Belial," when "destruction overwhelms judgment, and anger's lot falls upon the forsaken..."⁵ If to this we add the fact that *ὀδύνη*, which occurs in the NT but 4 times, in three of them refers to the Messianic Woes, the 'Pangs',⁶ we may be inclined to see in the present passage an indication that the expression חבלי מות, probably from Ps 18: 4,⁷ was known to, and used by, the early Christian Community in just such a Messianic connection. That is, our evidence, so far as it goes, seems to point to a probable community of tradition between a text alluded to in Acts, and its form and implied meaning in a writing from the Qumran Community. It should be stressed, however, that basically this variation in meaning can be traced to a corresponding variation possible in the meaning of the unvocalized Hebrew text.

-
- 1). Cf. LSJ, p. 1068b, *λύω*: "undo, bring to nought, destroy," generally, "put an end to." Cf. Galen, 'to put an end to a disease.' Likewise also Bauer, Wb. (4te Aufl.), 877: "vernichten, beendigen," as in I Jn 5: 8. This translation was also suggested by Field, Notes, p. 112.
- 2). M. Wallenstein, Hymns from the Judean Scrolls, Pl. xiii, line 10.
- 3). *ibid.*, p. 20, n. 51.
- 4). *ibid.*, p. 15.
- 5). *ibid.*, l. c.
- 6). Mk 13: 8, Mt 24: 8, I Th 5: 3.
- 7). Cf. also Ps 114(116): 3.

Perhaps at this point it would be appropriate to consider one more case, Acts 13: 47. The textual data are as follows:

· Τέθεικά σε εἰς φῶς ἔθνων
· τοῦ εἶναί σε εἰς σωτηρίαν ἕως ἔσχατου τῆς γῆς.

Critical: (1). Praeterea DE Cypr add ἰδοῦ (Cf. LXX).
(2). τέθεικά σε εἰς φῶς): ... D Cypr φῶς τέθεικά σε.
(3). ἔθνων): .. sed D LvtEv^{codd} Aug Hier τοῖς.
· ἔθνεσιν, gentibus ... Cypr inter gentes
... Lvt^d super gentibus.

Turning to the corresponding text in the LXX, Isa 49: 6, we find:

· ἰδοῦ δέδωκά σε εἰς διαθήκην γένους,
· εἰς φῶς ἔθνων
· τοῦ εἶναί σε εἰς σωτηρίαν ἕως ἔσχατου τῆς γῆς.

Critical: δέδωκα): BQ^{ms} ... sed AQ* & τέθεικα. (Hex οἱ λοιποὶ)
· εἰς διαθήκην γένους): om AQ* (Hex οἱ λοιποὶ).¹

If we were to accept the WH-text of this verse, it might indeed be thought that the presence of τέθεικα in place of δέδωκα, together with the absence from the text of the phrase εἰς διαθήκην γένους, constituted no more than another case of a tendency--noted by Swete²--for quotations from the OT in the NT to agree with the A-text of the LXX rather than the B-text. This, nevertheless, would not explain the omission of the initial ἰδοῦ, which is found in both the A-text and the B-text of the LXX. On the other hand, the MT omits both the ἰδοῦ and the phrase answering to εἰς διαθήκην γένους: to this extent, then, it is nearer to Acts. Indeed, if Acts had read δέδωκα instead of τέθεικα, there might have been a fair case for suggesting dependence upon the Hebrew. Nevertheless, the question of possible affinity to the Hebrew must

1). The Hexaplaric evidence is given in Field, Hex, ii, 525b.
2). Intr. OTG, pp. 394, 395.

not be overlooked.

If, now, we turn to the critical data concerning Acts 13: 47, we find a rather serious cleavage between the WH-text and the D-text. We may set the matter out as follows:

WH: τέθεικά σε εἰς φῶς ἔθνων
 D. (ἰδοῦ) φῶς τέθεικά σε τοῖς ἔθνεσιν

If we were to regard the ἰδοῦ in the D-text as probably due to assimilation to the LXX, we are nevertheless left with the problem of explaining the wider textual difference. The fact of the matter is, that although the WH-text would be susceptible of explanation in terms of quotation from, or assimilation to, the A-text of the LXX of Isa 49: 6, such an explanation is impossible in the case of the D-text. We are therefore inclined to feel that the D-text has here the harder reading. However, let us consult the MT:

וַיִּתְּנֵהָ לְאֹר גּוֹיִם לְקִיּוֹת לְשִׁוְעֵתִי עַד-קֶצֶה הָאָרֶץ.

From this it is seen that the LXX-phrase εἰς φῶς ἔθνων is a literal rendering of the Hebrew לְאֹר גּוֹיִם. But if the Hebrew לְאֹר גּוֹיִם were misread לְאֹר לְגוֹיִם--by a simple displacement of the preposition ל--the resultant phrase would be capable of exact representation by the Greek φῶς ... τοῖς ἔθνεσιν. Moreover, such an error might easily have taken place either in direct transcription, or through dictational transcription, or perhaps more probably, oral quotation. At any rate, the essential point of the matter remains: the variation in the readings of the 'Western' and non-'Western' texts of Acts 13: 47 could be explained by a simple transcriptional displacement in the underlying Hebrew text, if we made the assumption that the Hebrew text was, in fact, the one being quoted here. In this case, the D-text here would be viewed as containing an unrevised element of the original tradition. On the other hand,

the fact that the remainder of the quotation is in exact verbal agreement with the text of the LXX, even where the latter is at variance with the Hebrew,¹ seems to weigh against the probability of the textual phenomena before us being due to 'loose citation,' and to support the view that the textual tradition of D Cypr here seems to reflect the employment of some kind of source material.

So far as it goes, then, the evidence seems to indicate the use in portion of the verse in question, of an element of source-material containing a quotation from the Old Testament in a form deviating from the MT of Isa 49: 6 in a way that would not be inconsistent with ultimate derivation from the Hebrew; its corresponding deviation from the LXX, however, would seem to be rather difficult to explain in terms of 'loose citation' of the latter, or even by recourse to the other known Greek versions of the Old Testament, where they are extant. We may therefore feel to some extent justified in regarding the words φῶς τέθεικά σε τοῖς ἔθνεσιν as reflecting an element of unrevised source-material, based ultimately on the Hebrew text of Isa 49: 6, which has been preserved for us in D Cypr.²

-
- 1). The words τοῦ εἶναι σε εἰς σωτηρίαν ἕως ἑσχατοῦ τῆς γῆς are verbally identical with those of LXX Isa 49: 6. On the other hand, the Hebrew לְהַיּוֹת לְשׁוּעָתִי עַד-קֶצֶה הַיָּמִים 'that my salvation may be unto the end of the earth', is hardly exactly rendered by the Greek of the LXX, which means 'that thou shouldst be for salvation unto the end of the earth.' These words in Acts 13: 47 may of course be due to assimilation, or to editorial activity--a fact which must not be overlooked.
- 2). Clarke, Beginnings, I, ii, 97; the quotation of Ps 117(118): 22 in Acts 4: 11 was thought by him to be due to "an independent" version, since the variation seems "more than can be accounted for by a lapse of memory." He observed also that ἐξουθενεῖν (cf. Acts 4: 11) and ἀποδοκιμασεῖν were both used by the LXX to translate Hebrew טָרַף.

We may summarize the results of this chapter as follows:

First, because it is Luke's usual procedure in Acts to derive his quotations from the LXX, it seems all the more probable that, in those cases where the Old Testament quotations and allusions are clearly not derived from the LXX--at least in its present form,--he was employing some other source or sources. In confirmation of this, we may note that in the 21 cases examined above, the context was all but once that of direct speech; the exception was Acts 8: 32, which--however--might also be explained in terms of affinity with the A-text of the LXX. It should be added, in all fairness, that formal quotations at least are not found outside speeches of one kind or another, except in the case of Acts 8: 32-33 (citing Isa 53: 7b-8bA LXX).

Secondly, in some nine cases,¹ the deviations in the forms of the quotations and allusions in Acts from those in the LXX as we have it found support in the readings of certain other authorities, notably various Targums, and the Samaritan Pentateuch and Samaritan Pentateuch Targum. Indeed, in one of these cases, we observed the textual tradition represented by the MT and LXX co-existing in Acts alongside the markedly different form employed by the Targum to the Prophets in the same verse of the OT (Acts 13: 22, cf I Kgd 13: 14, or Tg. I Sam 13: 14); in another case, the deviating tradition was noted also in Philo (Acts 7: 4).² Moreover, in about seven cases,³ the text as found in Acts pre-

-
- 1). Viz., Acts 7: 3b, 4, 5, 10b, 32(= 3: 13); 13: 11b, 22; a possible case of the same phenomenon is Acts 8: 32, but it may also be due to the Hebrew, or even to an affinity with the A-text of the LXX. Cf. supra, p. 46.
 - 2). Cf. supra, pp. 43-44.
 - 3). Viz., Acts 2: 17, 24; 5: 30(= 10: 39b); 7: 16, 33; & 13: 47. The word 'about' has been employed above to indicate that not all seven cases were equally clear.

supposes, or appears to presuppose, a textual tradition akin to that of the MT, in opposition to that of the LXX, although the possibility of kinship with one or other of the known Greek OT versions other than the LXX must not be overlooked, at least in several cases.¹ The difficulty is this, however, that for the vast majority of the cases treated, such Greek OT versions as are extant, other than the LXX, are of no assistance, while in those cases where some relationship may seem possible, the evidence is generally rather weak and unconvincing.² Some other explanation should therefore be sought.

Thirdly, it should be noted that, although points of contact or affinity seem to exist between the texts as found in Acts and the forms occurring in certain other non-Septuagintal authorities, they do not, in these disagreements with the LXX, always follow the same non-Septuagintal tradition, nor even the one such tradition in all its details. This suggests not so much an "immediate use"³ of a Hebrew original or an Aramaic Targum, as some form of 'mediate use' of sources incorporating the extra-Septuagintal elements in question. Such a view would not be inconsistent with an hypothesis involving the employment by Luke of some kind of Greek source-material containing the difficult elements 'ready-made.' We have to see whether it would be consistent with one involving the use of Hebrew or Aramaic sources, or both.⁴

1). E.g., Acts 7: 16 (cf. supra, pp. 45-46); cf. also pp. 56-61, for detailed consideration of the matter.

2). Cf. supra, pp. 56-61.

3). Kilpatrick, OGM, p. 56.

4). The 'aberrant' (Targumic) quotation in Eph 4: 8, where there is no other suggestion of translation of Aramaic sources, is possibly--indeed probably--traceable to the mind of its writer. It may also just as well be traceable to an OT quotation-source used by him (perhaps in Greek?).

Fourthly, certain Old Testament references were found twice in Acts, manifesting on both occasions the same form and content, although in the three cases discussed above, that form and content diverged from the corresponding portion of the LXX which each represented. Furthermore, in the case of two of the OT passages in question, the first and second appearances are in the mouths of different speakers (to wit, Peter and Stephen, respectively). One case (Ex 3: 6; cf. Acts 3: 13, 7: 32) actually presents a text agreeing with the Samaritan Pentateuch and Samaritan Pentateuch Targum against the MT and the LXX. But unless we are to regard the present cases as instances of the use of an alternative Greek Bible-text, perhaps on the part of the editor, it seems reasonable to argue that they reflect a common source of Old Testament quotations, used by Peter and Stephen, or perhaps current in the circles from which the traditions of their speeches emanated. At any rate, such source or sources would seem to have been Greek: otherwise the identity of word-order in the quotations would be hard to explain--especially as it differs sharply from our known texts of the Greek Bible. This view would seem to be supported also by the fact that the other 'aberrant' quotations and allusions treated in this chapter manifest a 'minuteness' of variation from the LXX and agreement with some other source of Old Testament textual tradition which seems almost to demand an explanation in terms of some kind of 'fixed' source, the readings of which have been preferred to the corresponding ones of the LXX. The fact, however, that these 'fine' points of agreement with extra-Septuagintal tradition are not extended to the whole of the particular non-Septuagintal text in question may perhaps indicate that the original language of the material as it came to Luke, was Greek rather than Hebrew or Aramaic.

Fourthly, certain Old Testament references were found twice in Acts, manifesting on both occasions an identity of form and content, in spite of the fact that that form and content was at some variance from its LXX counterpart in each case. Furthermore, two of the passages in question were quoted first in a Speech of Peter, then in that of Stephen.¹ Again, one of these cases presented a textual variation supported by the two Samaritan authorities, in opposition to the MT and the LXX.² Whether these particular 'aberrant' quotations and allusions were really due to the use of an alternative Greek translation of the Old Testament must remain--for the present at least--an open question;³ on the other hand, the language in which they came to Luke would appear to have been Greek, for the identity of words and of word-order to which reference has been made would be difficult to explain otherwise, especially in view of the divergence of these quotations and allusions from the LXX.⁴ It should be added that this same identity is a factor in favour of explanation in terms of written, or at least 'fixed', sources.

In addition, the variation presented by a number of the other 'aberrant' Old Testament references is of a rather 'minute' nature, the preservation of which would seem to indicate the use either of an alternative Greek version of the Old Testament or, if not, at least of some other 'fixed' source. If the latter were the case, and especially in view of the fact that the various 'fine' points

-
- 1). Ex 3: 6 (Acts 3: 13, 7: 32), and Deut 18: 15,18 (Acts 3: 22, 7: 37), respectively.
 - 2). Ex:3: 6, cf. supra, pp. 48-50, 51-52.
 - 3). New finds, such as those made in the fourth Qumran cave, may possibly set the matter in a different light. The matter was discussed above, pp. 62ff.
 - 4). The fragments preserved in the Hexapla are of little use here.

of agreement with extra-Septuagintal (textual) traditions do not extend to the whole of the particular extra-Septuagintal authority or authorities available and relevant,¹ we would probably be justified in regarding that source-material as having been present to Luke in Greek form. The variations would then appear as original, traceable possibly to the words of the speaker himself, who may have supplied a word, phrase, interpretation, or tradition, known to him from some other independent, and more or less contemporary source,² in place of, or in addition to, that read by the LXX as we have it.³ In these cases then, the 'aberrations' in question may be due not to direct translation of Hebrew or Aramaic by Luke, but rather to 'mental' translation⁴ of the elements from the extra-Septuagintal traditions, and their subsequent incorporation into the quotation in question, by the speaker whose words are apparently recorded by Luke. The 'aberrations' would then emerge as 'unrevised elements' of the original, underlying traditions preserved by Luke, and would accordingly seem to constitute marks of authenticity in the material recorded.

In conclusion, then, it appears that Luke used, for parts at least of the speeches attributed to Peter, Paul, and Stephen, a source or sources of some kind; that this source-material was probably in a more or less 'fixed' form when he obtained it, and its language was in all probability Greek, but that it nevertheless

-
- 1). A possible exception to this might perhaps be found in the more extensive reference taken apparently from the Targum, in Acts 13: 22, (cf. I Sam 13: 14); cf. supra, p. 32f.
 - 2). E.g., traditions preserved in the haggadic portions of the Targum Pseudo-Jonathan, and the other authorities named, also that found in Philo and the Samaritan authorities (Acts 7: 4), and of course, in the Qumran documents.
 - 3). In this connection, compare also Eph 4: 8 (pp. 38-39, supra).
 - 4) ? Nothing corresponding (54) in LXX.

contained unrevised elements of extra-Septuagintal traditions, the origins of which in the context should be sought less in the use of an alternative Greek translation of the Old Testament--although such a possibility cannot be excluded altogether--or even in "immediate use" of Hebrew or Aramaic originals, than in the 'ipsissima verba' of the speakers whose words are recorded, and who have apparently incorporated into certain of their Old Testament quotations and allusions various interpretations, additions, and alterations, traceable to, and having some affinity with, traditions known independently to have been current in Jewish, and possibly also Samaritan, circles, during a comparable period of history.

It remains to be seen, from what follows in succeeding chapters, whether other evidence examined will be consistent with the view just outlined.

CHAPTER III.

The Septuagint and the Diction of Acts 1-15.

If we bear in mind the facts just investigated, concerning certain 'aberrant' Old Testament quotations and allusions in Acts 1-15, together with the conclusions tentatively offered, regarding probable use by Luke of source-material with ultimate roots traceable, *inter alia*, to the *ipsissima verba* of the several speakers, we cannot finally deny to such source-material the possibility that, in some sense at least, it may have had a prior existence in Aramaic or Hebrew, or perhaps both. Accordingly, it must not seem strange if traces of such an origin, whether in language or style or thought, should have survived in the Book of Acts as we have it; *a fortiori*, if such traces be found in the sections noted above.¹

The peculiarities of 'translation-Greek,' as Torrey has called it, are familiar enough to us, from acquaintance with the Greek Old Testament versions, especially the Septuagint. When we come, however, to examine the case closely, we find that not a small number of the alleged 'Semitisms' of Acts are not Aramaisms, but 'Hebraisms,' and in particular, are Greek forms already found in the Septuagint, for example, *καὶ ἰδοὺ* 2 (Heb. וַיִּבְרָא), *καὶ ἐπῆρεν τὴν φωνήν* 3 (Heb. $\text{וַיִּשָׁמַע ה' אֶת הַקוֹל}$),

1). I.e., Acts 2: 17, 24, 3: 13, 22, 5: 30, 7: 3, 4, 5, 10b, 16, 32, 33?, 37, 41?, 10: 39b, 13: 11b, 22, 47. To these we might perhaps add Acts 2: 30 and 4: 11 (Cf. Clarke, *Beginnings*, I, ii, pp. 97-98.). In all, see previous chapter.

2). Cf. Acts 5: 28, 10: 30, 27: 24; LXX, Num 12: 10, Deut 19: 16.

3). Cf. Acts 2: 14, 14: 11, 22: 22; LXX, Jd 9: 7, Ps 92(93): 3.

and so forth. Furthermore, precisely because the Septuagint seems to have occupied from early times so prominent a place in the life and thought of the Church, an alternative explanation of these 'Hebraisms' at least, has been offered, namely, that

"... sometimes what looks like a literal translation of a Semitic phrase is in fact a conscious, or unconscious, reminiscence of the translation-style of the Septuagint. Particularly is this probable in St. Luke's Gospel and Acts."¹

This opinion, which has been observed in the Introduction to this study,² is naturally related to the view that the Old Testament quotations and allusions in Acts are traceable to the operation of a similar factor. The problem raised by this chapter, then, is twofold:

- (i) "To what extent are the Semitisms of the first part of Acts septuagintalisms?"³
- (ii) How does this examination affect our view of the nature and scope of Luke's 'source-material'?

But first we must ask, what is the 'evidence'? That is, as in the previous chapter, we must draw up certain criteria to exclude those cases whose verdict is, from the nature of things, equivocal. Similarity of a phrase in Acts to one in the LXX, for example, does not in itself indicate--much less, prove--dependence: prima facie, both might be due in fact either to the employment of the same underlying Hebrew or Aramaic expression, or perhaps to some kind of assimilation. Thus, we cannot consider as 'septuagintalisms'

- 1). Sparks, "Some Observations on the Semitic Background of the New Testament," SNTS Bulletin, II, (1951), p. 37.
- 2). Cf. supra, pp. 24-26.
- 3). Sparks, "The Semitisms of Acts," JTS, (N.S.) I (1950), p. 22.

expressions which are 'approximately the same' as ones found in the LXX, but only ones which are 'identical'. Again, expressions identical with a phrase found in the LXX only once or twice must either be classed as allusions, or omitted altogether, since they would hardly provide evidence for 'LXX style', unless perhaps, they were found in a passage which we know on other and independent grounds to have been well-known to the early Church, for example, Isa 52: 13-53: 12. In this case, however, the expressions involved might appear to be less 'septuagintalisms', than traces, conscious or otherwise, of a sort of 'Christian Greek,' possibly based upon, or having close affinity with, the primitive liturgical use of the Church. We shall now proceed to examine certain groups of alleged 'septuagintalisms.'

I.

As our first 'test-group', we shall employ a set of nine expressions found in Acts, and of distinctively Semitic type, which occur not only in precisely identical form in both Acts and the LXX, but occur in the latter no less than 25 times, and hence may perhaps be regarded as 'characteristic' of the LXX;¹ they are, in consequence, hardly classifiable as (distinctively) 'Aramaisms.' Indeed, from their frequency in the LXX, the Bible of the early Church, it is, *prima facie*, at least arguable that their presence in Acts is due to 'conscious or unconscious' influence of the style and diction of the LXX upon the vocabulary and literary method of Luke. Their distribution in Acts is set out in the following table (Table 3).

1). This is the criterion adopted by Clarke, Beginnings, I, ii, 72.

Table 3.

Expression.	Total	I Acts	II Acts	'We-ss' Cc. 1-5: 16.
· ἐν τῷ c. infin.	7	6	1	3
· ἀναστάς (-άντες)	18	15	3	2
· πᾶς or ἅπας ὁ λαός	5(76)	5(76)	-	3
· ἀνοίγειν τὸ στόμα	4	5	1	-
· προβτιθέναι c. infin.	1	1	-	-
· χεὶρ τινος ἐπί	1	1	-	-
· ἐνώπιον	13	10	3	3
· κοιλία = 'womb'	2	2	-	-
· πρόσωπον c. praepos.	7	6	1	3

Totals: Acts, 58(759); I Acts, 49(750); II Acts, 9; 'We-sections,' 1; and chapters 1-5: 16, 15.

It is perhaps worth noting that the sole case recorded in the 'We-sections' is ἐνώπιον, in Acts 27: 35, a verse whose diction is closely modelled on that of the Last Supper Narrative, and in particular, the (Pauline) 'Words of Institution'.¹

If, now, we make a similar analysis of the behaviour of these expressions in the Gospel, and reduce the results of both analyses to 'frequencies,' that is, to terms of the number of cases per page of Westcott and Hort text,² we obtain the following results (Table 4):

- 1). The verse in question reads: καὶ λαβὼν ἄρτον εὐχαρίστησεν (τῷ θεῷ ἐνώπιον πάντων) καὶ κλάσας ἤρξατο ἐσθίειν. With this we may compare I Cor 11: 23 (the Pauline 'Words of Institution') ἔλαβεν ἄρτον καὶ εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασεν, its very close parallel in Lk 22: 19a, καὶ λαβὼν ἄρτον εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασεν, and also Lk 24: 30 (in the Emmaus-story).
- 2). The Westcott and Hort text is employed here because of the fact that its pages are of almost identical size.

Table 4.

<u>Gospel.</u>	<u>Frequency.</u>	<u>Acts.</u>	<u>Frequency.</u>
Average:	1.42	Average:	.82
Infancy Narr.:	2.50	I Acts: ¹	1.27
Lukan Q: ²	.38	II Acts:	.28
L-source: ³	4.34	'We-sections':	.125
Markan Sect.:	1.16	Acts 1-5: 16: ¹	1.46
(Q plus Mk):	(.97)

If, now, we compare the specifically 'Lukan' sections of the two works with each other, we see that the frequency in L, for example, is no less than 34 times that found in the 'We-sections' of Acts. Again, the low rate of Q is quite striking. Moreover, it should perhaps be observed that the rate for I Acts is roughly comparable with that obtaining where Luke is following Mark, in the Gospel. In face, however, of the striking unevenness of the apparent Septuagint influence, it seems rather difficult to regard such influence on Luke's style as 'unconscious,' unless in some secondary sense,-- for instance, that the septuagintalism was already present to some degree in the source-material of which Luke availed himself in L, and so forth.

Thus, two main possibilities seem to emerge: either (a) the septuagintalisms are due to conscious influence, for example,

-
- 1). Allowance must be made in the case of these figures for the considerable extent of quotation and allusion found in sections concerned, much of it from the LXX.
 - 2). It should be observed that we have used the symbol Q here to mean T. W. Manson's reconstruction of it (Sayings, p. 16).
 - 3). 'L' here represents Manson's reconstruction of it (op. cit., p. 27), together with the Lukan Post-Resurrection narratives, Lk 24: 13-53.

deliberate 'stage-setting' by Luke,¹ or (b) they were already present in some sense in certain of Luke's sources. In any case, even with regard to these nine 'characteristic' septuagintalisms, influence of the style and diction of the LXX upon that of Acts does not seem to afford a complete explanation of the facts; as a result, the operation of some other factor or factors is probably to be suspected. We shall now turn to the next group of facts.

Our second 'test-group' consists of a number of expressions, which are not 'chargeable to the Koine'² (at least, as far as our present sources indicate), but are reflections of Semitic idioms; moreover, although they do occur in the LXX, yet they do so too rarely to (be) warrant being called, in any sense, 'characteristic' of the LXX. Nevertheless, their presence in the LXX prevents us from labelling them as Aramaisms, unless other and independent evidence in that direction is forthcoming; it cannot, of course, be finally denied that they may be (true) Hebraisms. The question here is, are they indicative of the employment by Luke of Hebrew sources, for example, or is some other explanation feasible? We shall deal with them in turn.

(a) Acts 2: 37a. *κατενύγησαν τὴν καρδίαν.*

The verb, *κατενύσσεισθαι*, is found but once in the NT, 17 times in the LXX, and is rare outside these writings, at least until late. Construed with *καρδία*, it is found in the LXX only once.³ Bauer regards the idiom under discussion as related to Ps.

1). Cf. supra, p. 17, etc.

2). The expression is Torrey's; cf. GDA, p. 7.

3). Viz., Ps 108(109): 16.

108(109): 16, "κατανευγμενον τῇ καρδίᾳ", 'the broken-hearted,' the 'contrite.'¹ Owing, however, to the comparative rarity of the combination of *κατανύσσεισθαι* with *καρδία*, it does not seem to be due to the Koine;² its presence in the Psalm might perhaps point to Hebraism, although not to Aramaism.³ By the same token, it plainly can not be a septuagintalism in the same sense as is the case with the expressions discussed in the foregoing examination of the first 'test-group.' Is it nevertheless a septuagintalism, or must we seek another explanation? It might, of course, be a dictional reminiscence of the Psalm-text. But, in point of fact, this very Psalm is quoted by Peter in Acts 1: 20 (concerning Judas).³ There is, then, little doubt that the Psalm in question was well-known to the early Church. It is therefore not impossible that the idiom found here was in fact derived ultimately from the Psalm, and that accordingly it represents a survival from the liturgical use and phraseology of the early Church.⁴

(b) Acts 3: 2, 14: 8b:- (*χωλός*) *ἐκ κοιλίας μητρὸς αὐτοῦ* .

This expression, *ἐκ κοιλίας (μητρὸς τινος)*, meaning 'from birth,' and noted as a Semitism by Torrey,⁵ is certainly a Semitic locution; nevertheless, it is found only 3(74) times in the LXX, although it it should be remarked that two of these are in Ps 21(22):10, and Isa 49: 1.⁶ Aramaism, then, does not seem to be indicated, but on

1). *Wb*(4te Aufl.), 753. Cf. also *LSJ*, s.v.

2). Moulton & Milligan, *Vocab.*, p. 330b, cite no parallel.

3). Cf. Ps 108(109): 8b, *καὶ τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν αὐτοῦ λάβοι ἕτερος* ; cf. also Dodd, *According to the Scriptures*, (1952), pp. 58-9.

4). Certain other idioms of a similar type are also found in this Psalm, cf. vs. 16, *ποιήσαι ἔλεος* ; ib. c. *μετ' ἐμοῦ* , vs. 21.

5). *CDA*, p. 7.

6). The passages in question are: Judges 16: 17(A); Pss. 21(22): 10, 70(71): 6; and Isa 49: 1.

the other hand, because of the comparative rarity of the phrase in the LXX, we cannot term it a 'characteristic' of LXX style. Nevertheless, it must be noted that both the Psalm 21(22) and Isa 49: 1-6 were well-known to the early Church: the theme of the Psalm seems to have played an important part in the formation of the Passion-Narrative,¹ while Isa 49: 1--taken as it is from a 'Servant'-passage--would also be well-known, and in particular, was clearly known to the writer of Acts, as is attested by the fact that Acts 13: 47 (Paul) actually contains a quotation from Isa 49: 6, whose content, however, seems to have a certain amount of dependence upon the Hebrew rather than the Septuagint Greek--a fact which we have already observed.² At any rate, it is seen that, although the idiom in question is rare in the LXX, yet its presence in Acts may be due to familiarity with either or both of these two passages, which we have seen to have been well-known to the early Church: in such a case, the influence of the Septuagint would be of a 'mediate' nature, not an 'immediate' one, since the medium of this influence would probably have been the liturgical and apologetical activity of the early Church.

(c). Acts 5: 4, *τί ὅτι ἔθου ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου...*

Apart from this passage, the precise idiom *τιθέναι ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ* is found in Luke 1: 66 (*καὶ ἔθεντο πάντες οἱ ἀκούσαντες ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ*), and 21: 14 (*θεύτε οὐκ ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν μὴ προμελ.*); the latter is found in the Lukan version of the Markan 'Little Apocalypse'--although it is

1). Cf. Lk 23: 34,35; Mk 15: 24,29,34; Mt 27: 35,39,43,46; Jn 19: 24. Cf. also, Hoskyns and Davey, RNT, pp. 61 ff. Dodd (Acc. Script., pp. 97, 108) regards the Psalm as a source of 'testimonia.'

2). Cf. supra, pp. 68-70. Dodd (Acc. Script., p. 108) claims Isa 49: 1-13 as another 'primary source' for testimonia. Cf. also, Dodd, ibid., pp. 85,91,92,96,124.

not found elsewhere in the NT. Torrey has classed it as a Semitism;¹ Sparks, on the other hand, compared it with ἔθετο. ὁ Παῦλος ἐν τῷ πνεύματι (Acts 19: 21).² It certainly does not seem to be a trait of the Koine. However, it does occur in the LXX, though only three times, namely, I Kgd 21: 12(13), 29: 10,-- (which, interestingly, is not represented in the MT), and Jer 12: 11. In no case does it represent an Aramaic idiom. Returning to the NT, we see first, that the idiom is confined to Luke-Acts; secondly, that within Luke-Acts it appears to be found in passages not taken over from known sources, or not written up verbatim. Further, the words of Luke 1: 66 seem to echo those of I Kgd 21: 12(13), a point which we may better illustrate by direct comparison:

I Kgd 21: 12(13), καὶ ἔθετο Δαυεὶδ τὰ ῥήματα ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ....

Luke 1: 66, καὶ ἔθεντο πάντες οἱ ἀκούσαντες [πάντ. τ. ῥήμ.] ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῶν

But while the parallel is in its own way quite close, there seems to be no positive evidence that it amounts to a direct allusion; at most, it might be a 'dictional reminiscence.' Again, the rarity of the idiom in the LXX seems to preclude its being due to a more general type of stylistic influence. It therefore cannot be ascribed to the LXX or to 'Biblical Greek,' unless we can show that at least one of the relevant passages in the LXX was well-known to the early Church, and more especially, to Luke. But the passage from I Kingdoms, in which the idiom occurs, and which appeared to suggest itself as a possible model for the words of Luke 1: 66,³ is also

1). ODA, p. 6.

2). "The Semitisms of Acts," JTS, (N.S.), 1 (1950), p. 20.

3). Viz., I Kgd 21: 12(13).

indeed part of the story of David and the Shewbread,¹ a story which is actually cited by Jesus Himself in defence of His own action on one occasion;² apart from the fact that the remarks of Jesus on that occasion were preserved by all three Synoptists, it seems plausible enough to suggest that a story which was so used by the Lord Himself would also have been well-known to, and used by, the early Church, possibly in defence of its own doings also.

That is, although the idiom itself is rare in the LXX, yet because of the nature of the place in which one of its appearances there occurs, we may suggest that it does not follow that it was quite so rare in the usage of the Primitive Church. Moreover, in both the OT story and the Lukan Infancy story in question, it is used with much the same purpose: as a kind of 'summary.'³ We may have here the words of Peter, or Luke's version of them: at all events, we need have no recourse to other explanations of the linguistic phenomena here.

(d) Acts 7: 23, ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ [ἐπισκέψασθαι... .

Bauer described this idiom as 'Semitismus,' and referred us to IV Kgd 12: 5, Jer 3: 16, 51: 21, and Isa 65: 16.⁴ He said:

"... e. Gedanke steigt in uns auf, weil d. Herz als Sitz d. Denkens galt (= לֵב לַעַל לְעַלְעַל. --Der Grieche sagt ... od. ...)."⁵

Now, while it is true that the idiom is found in the LXX, reflecting the Hebrew phrase לֵב לַעַל לְעַלְעַל, yet its rarity there precludes

1). I Kgd 21: 1(2)-15(16), q.v.

2). Luke 6: 4 (cf. Mk 2: 26, Mt 12: 4).

3). Another such summary is Luke 2: 51b--where, however, ἔθιστο is replaced by διετήρει .

4). Wb (4te Aufl.), 92.

5). *ibid.*, l.c. The underlining here represents Bauer's italics.

the suggestion that it is 'characteristic' of the LXX. On the other hand, it is not obviously an Aramaism; moreover, it is found in Paul once,¹ and also in Hermas.² Thus, a 'translation-Greek' hypothesis of the strict type does not seem indicated.

Nevertheless, if we investigate the Old Testament sources for the idiom, we find that one, namely, Isa 65: 16, occurs in the passage describing the 'New Heaven and the New Earth' (Isa 65: 13-25), a portion of Scripture which was doubtless very familiar to the early Church;³ again, Isa 66: 1ff. is actually quoted by Stephen in Acts 7: 49, in the very speech where the idiom under consideration makes its sole NT appearance, apart from I Cor 2: 9. Again, Isa 65: 16-17 is quoted by Clement of Rome,⁴ while the words quoted by Stephen from Isa 66 are also quoted by Barnabas,⁵ and Justin.⁶ There is thus quite a fair amount of evidence that Isa 65-66 was well-known to the early Church.

So, then, while it is hardly possible to class this idiom as a Semitism in the strict sense (that is, as due to direct and literal translation of an Aramaic or Hebrew original), on the one hand, and yet not easy to regard it as due to the influence of the LXX upon Luke's style, on the other, it may nevertheless be feasible to regard it--like the previous cases--as having a quasi-liturgical origin: that is, in view of the attested familiarity of the early Church with these two chapters of Isaiah, we may perhaps suggest

- 1). I Cor 2: 9.
- 2). Hv 1:1:8, 3:7:2, etc.
- 3). Paul alludes to Isa 66: 5,14 (I Th 1: 12, 8); cf Ro 10: 20
Revelation contains allusions to Isa 65: 1 (Rev 21: 1), etc.
Cf. also Dodd, Acc. Script., pp. 86, 106, 108.
- 4). I Clem 34: 8.
- 5). Barn. 16: 2.
- 6). Dial. c. Tryph, 22.

that the idiom in question may have become known to, and so used by, Luke, on account of having been read from time to time in Church.

(e) Acts 11: 22, ἤκουσθη δὲ ὁ λόγος εἰς τὰ ὠτα τῆς ἐκκλησίας.
(τῆς οὔσης ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ περὶ αὐτῶν)

Torrey noted this as a Semitism,¹ and added the comment that

"... No Greek writer would ever have perpetrated this-- unless he had wished to create the impression that he was using a Semitic 'source.' Even then, he would doubtless have used the standing LXX phrase, ἐν τοῖς ὠσίν."²

The late A. J. Wensinck also suggested Semitism as a possible explanation, offering the Hebrew שָׁמַע.³ The expression εἰς τὰ ὠτα . itself occurs quite often in the LXX,⁴ but in one place only is it construed with the verb ἀκούειν, viz., Isa 5: 9, a passage which, incidentally, is alluded to by James.⁵ In all other cases where the verb is ἀκούειν, the associated phrase is ἐν τοῖς ὠσίν, while in the case of Deut 31:30, where the words εἰς τὰ ὠτα πάσης ἐκκλησίας are found, the verb is λαλεῖν, not ἀκούειν. Bauer related the case in Acts 11: 22 to Isa 5: 9.⁶

While, then, one can hardly describe the idiom ἤκουσθη τι . εἰς τὰ ὠτά τινος as a septuagintalism, yet there is no real evidence why we should affirm it to be a 'translation-Semitism;' however, by reason of the allusion by James to Isa 5: 9, the present passage may perhaps be either an allusion itself to that passage in Isaiah, or-- since the context seems to be to some extent against that possibility--

- 1). CDA, p. 7.
- 2). Ibid., p. 36.
- 3). Unpublished note (see Preface).
- 4). 29 times: cf. Hatch-Redpath, pp. 1034c-1035b.
- 5). Jas 5: 4.
- 6). Wb (4te Aufl.), 1083-1084.

a 'dictional reminiscence' of it. While we have no means of knowing whether Luke, (or, for that matter, the source(s) used by him), displayed acquaintance with the passage, the fact that it was alluded to by James perhaps indicates that it was known to, and used by, the early Church.

(f) Acts 10: 40. The idiom *δοῦναι* with accusative and following infinitive, claimed by Torrey as a 'well known .. Semitism,'¹ and similarly regarded by Lake-Cadbury,² would probably be better described as a septuagintalism. In support of this, we may note: (i) In Acts 2: 27, it occurs in a verbatim quotation from Ps 15(16): 10 LXX; likewise also in Acts 13: 35, where the same text is quoted. (ii) Acts 14: 3 contains it also, but alongside another expression, *ἐκ κοιτίας μητρὸς αὐτοῦ*, which seems to have entered Luke's style and diction by way of the liturgical and apologetical use made by the Church of certain portions of the OT.³ (iii) Though it does not seem to be very common in the LXX itself,⁴ the cases where it does occur include, as we have observed, a passage from a Psalm which we know was very well known to, and used by, the early Church.⁵ On the balance of evidence, then, it would probably be fair to regard the idiom as a 'liturgicalism' in the sense in which the other cases in this 'test-group' have been so classified.

There are one or two other similar, though perhaps somewhat less certain, cases which we might have added to this 'test-group';⁶

-
- 1). CDA, p. 36.
 - 2). Beginnings, I, iv, 121b; but cf. Bruce, AA, pp. 93, 227.
 - 3). Cf. supra, pp. 82-83.
 - 4). Probable cases are: I Kgd 18: 2(A), I Chr 22: 19, II Chr 11: 16, Ne 9: 17, Jb 34: 19, Ps 15(16): 10, Ec 1: 13, 16(17), Jer 43(36): 20.
 - 5). Ps 15(16): 10; cf. Dodd, Acc. Script., pp. 106, 108.
 - 6). Cf. supplementary Notes at the end of this chapter, pp. 114-117.

however, the evidence just presented seems to support the view that 'septuagintalism' as such is not by itself a sufficient explanation of the facts, particularly in view of the relative rarity of the expressions in question in the LXX. On the other hand, we have seen cause to believe that the prominence in the worship and apologetic of the early Church of the OT passages in which these expressions do occur,¹ may have resulted in their having been rather more commonly heard in Church than their actual frequency in the LXX as a whole would suggest. Further support for this might be found in the fact that in no case is the parallel such as to constitute a true allusion to one or other of the passages in the LXX where the relevant expression is also found, even where this OT passage may be the one that we know to have been well known to the Church. Consequently, we should probably describe the expressions in question not so much as 'septuagintalisms' as 'liturgicalisms' or 'apologeticisms:' expressions which probably owe their presence in Acts not to Luke's familiarity with the LXX as such, but rather to the fact that he was a worshipper in the early Church, and so was especially familiar with those passages of the Bible which were used as 'testimonia' or otherwise employed in the life of the early Church.

Before we finally dismiss the possibility that these idioms may in fact be due to 'translation-Greek,' we must attempt to determine whether there is any other, independent evidence to suggest or support the hypothesis just delineated.

1). Or, more precisely: the prominence in the worship and apologetic of the early Church of at least one of the OT passages in each case in which these expressions are found.

II.

The idea that elements in the narratives and speeches of Luke-Acts may have been due to greater or less extent to the influence upon the author or upon his 'source-material' of the prevailing liturgical uses and phraseologies of the Church or Churches with which he was associated may, perhaps, be said to have a certain probability a priori: the oral tradition of the Church would, in itself, be a quite natural source, and in the case of the Gospel according to St Matthew, Kilpatrick has given us

"... grounds for suspecting that the liturgical background itself provided the reason.."

for some of the facts left unexplained by source-analysis; in fact, that the liturgical background served as "a focus or channel" whereby other elements in the circumstances of its production "had their effect on the book." It was, indeed, the author's intention to produce a "comprehensive and suitable gospel book for the liturgy and exposition of the church."¹ Likewise, Gullmann has indicated the scope and significance of liturgical considerations and allusions for the understanding of the New Testament, and of the Johannine Gospel in particular.² It remains, therefore, to determine in the case of Acts, and especially, of Acts 1-15, whether there is any evidence which might suggest traces of a liturgical, or 'quasi-liturgical' stamp.

(1) The first block of evidence consists of the Prayer in

1). OGM, p. 140.

2). Urchristentum und Gottesdienst, (1950), passim.

Acts 4: 24-30, after the release of Peter and John, together with elements from other 'prayer-narratives,' for example, Acts 10: 13f. (Peter). The prayer in Acts 4, however, will be considered first, since it is the most formal example in the book.

(a). Acts 4: 24b-30. Torrey found two Semitisms in this prayer, namely, ὁ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου στοματός Δαυεὶδ... εἰπὼν (vs. 25a), and ἐν τῷ τὴν χεῖρα ἐκτείνειν σε ὡς ἴσιν (vs. 30). We have already noted the expression ἐν τῷ c. infin. as a 'characteristic' septuagintalism,¹ while ἐκτείνειν τὴν χεῖρα is common in both the LXX and the NT.² The other expression, peculiar as it is, opens up considerations of text as well as grammar, and may perhaps be solved along a textual rather than a linguistic line.³ Sparks, discussing this prayer, began by noting that in the introduction and conclusion there is "nothing specifically semitic" except, maybe, ἐπήρην τὴν φωνήν; on the other hand, these verses contain some four 'Lukanisms,' namely, ὁμοθυμαδόν, ἐπλήσθησαν... τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ (meaning εὐ-αγγέλιον), and μετὰ παρηγορίας. Consequently, Luke

"... either supplied the introduction and conclusion himself, or drastically edited what he found in a source."⁴

Further, with regard to the prayer proper, its style is "semitic through and through," though "nothing" apart from the difficulty in vs. 25a "points to Aramaic rather than Hebrew as the underlying semitic language."⁵ Observing that vv. (24b), 25b-26 quote the LXX

1). Supra, p. 79.

2). It occurs in the LXX 72 times, in the NT 13 (?15) times.

3). The matter is discussed later, p. 210f infra.

4). "The Semitisms of Acts," JTS, (N.S.), 1 (1950), p. 24.

5). ibid., l.c.

verbally, he claimed further that almost all the individual phrases throughout the prayer had LXX parallels, "either exact or reasonably close;"¹ he was thus led to conclude that the most likely explanation of the whole phenomenon was that Luke heard the story in general terms "by word of mouth," and cast the result himself in "an appropriately biblical mould."² Perhaps we should add, for completeness, that the prayer proper contains some six 'Lukanisms,'³ a fact which would seem to favour his explanation.

There are, however, certain other considerations which must be taken into account: first, the exact or "reasonably close" LXX parallels noted by Sparks, when set out in tabular form, perhaps carry less conviction than at first appears:⁴

Table 5.

<u>Acts 4: 24b-30.</u>	<u>LXX.</u>
24b (σὺ) ὁ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν	Ex 20: 11, (ἐν γὰρ ἑξ ἡμέραις)
.καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν	ἐποίησεν κύριος τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν.
.καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς.....	καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς.
30aA ἐν τῷ τὴν χεῖρα	Ezek 6: 14, καὶ ἐκτενώ τὴν
.ἐκτείνειν σε...	.χεῖρά μου ἐπ' αὐτοῖς
30aB εἰς ἰάσιν	Hos 7: 1, ἐν τῷ ἰάσασθαί με τὸν Ἰσραήλ.
30bA καὶ σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα	Isa 8: 18, καὶ ἔσται σημεῖα καὶ
.γίνεσθαι	.τέρατα ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ Ἰσραήλ

1). *ibid.*, p. 24.

2). *ibid.*, l.c.

3). *Viz.*, ἐν τῷ c. infin., μετὰ παρηγορίας, ἁγίου, τε, ἡ βουλή (of God's will), τὸν λόγον σου (i.e., God's word); cf. Hawkins, *Horae Synopticae*, pp. 18, 40; 20, 45; 22; 27; 28.

4). I.e., with the exception of Ex 20: 11 (or Ps 145(146): 6).

It is perfectly true that expressions of this type occur in the LXX;¹ it does not follow that that is the complete explanation of their presence here.² There are, however, parallels to other writings, and in particular, to prayers contained in I Clement, and the Didache. These may be set out thus:-

Table 6.

Acts 4: 24b-30.	I Clem 59: 3-61: 2.	Did 9: 2,3; 10: 1-6.
4: 24b. Δέσποτα, σὺ ὁ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν κ.τ.λ.	59: 4, (Ἀξιούμεν σε) Δέσποτα, βοηθὸν γενέσθαι	10: 3, σὺ, Δέσποτα. παντοκράτωρ, κ.τ.λ.
	60: 3, ναί, Δέσποτα, ἐπίφανον (τὸν) προσωπὸν σου...	?
	61: 1, σὺ, Δέσποτα, ἔδωκας τὴν ἔξουσίαν.	
	61: 2, (σὺ γάρ) Δέσποτα	
4: 25a, Δαυεὶδ παῖδός σου....	9: 2, Δαυεὶδ τοῦ παιδός σου....
4: 27, τὸν ἅγιον παῖδά σου Ἰησοῦν...	(59: 2, παιδός σου, Ἰησοῦν) 59: 3, διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ	9: 2, διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου, κ.τ.λ.
4: 30b διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ ἁγίου παιδός σου Ἰησοῦ.	τοῦ ἡγαπημένου παιδός σου. 59: 4, Ἰς Χς ὁ παῖς σου.	ib., cf. 9: 3, 10: 2,3.

 We should perhaps add: Mart Pol 14: 1, ὁ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ καὶ εὐλογητοῦ παιδός σου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πατρός; 14: 3, διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἀγαπητοῦ σου παιδός; and

1). Cf. also the list cited above of 'characteristic' words and phrases from the LXX, found in Acts, supra, p. 79.
 2). Cf. supra, p. 78; also, pp. 80-81, and 81-89.

20: 2, διὰ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ, τοῦ μεροῦμένου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ

The parallels are seen to centre about two points: first, the expression *παις* (θεοῦ), as applied to Jesus (and David), and secondly, the use of the term *δέσποτα* as a form of address to God, in prayer. With regard to the former, Jeremias observed:

"Abgesehen von drei Zitate" (i.e., Mt 12: 18, Barn 6: 1, 9: 2) "und von Ag begegnet die Bezeichnung Jesu als *παις*. θεοῦ in der heidenchristlichen Literatur bis 160 um nur elf Stellen und nur in drei Schriften."¹

Further, that,

".. es handelt sich . . . in allen 11 Fällen um Gebete u(nd) (mit Ausnahme der doxologischen Formeln I Cl 59,4 ..; Mart Pol 14,1 ..) immer um die liturgische Formel διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδὸς σου"²

In the Gentile Church, the title survived only as a "früh erstarre liturgische Formel, die im eucharistischen Gebet, in der Doxologie und im Bekenntnis verankert war."³ In the case of the other expression, *δέσποτα*, applied to God, this vocative form occurs in the NT only in Luke 2: 29 (Nunc Dimittis),⁴ apart from the present passage.⁵ This use of the vocative, applied to God, is--according to Rengstorf--in Josephus "sogar die häufigste Gebetsanrede,"⁶ and it is, in fact, echoed by Revelation 6: 10.

That is to say, both the expressions under discussion appear to have roots in the language of contemporary and nearly-contempora-

1). TWNT, V, s. 700, zz. 18f.

2). Ibid., s. 700, zz. 26f. Preuschen (App., p. 20) commented: "Zu ἐδέξαμεν τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ vgl. Is 52: 13 Joh 17: 1 I Clem 59: 2f. Did 9: 2f. 10: 2f. Barn 6: 1. Zu der Formel vgl. Harnack Beitr. IV S. 74; es haben aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach liturgische Formeln hier und v. 26 auf den Gebrauch des Wortes eingewirkt (Weinel Bibl. Theol. d. NT S. 513)."

3). TWNT, V, s. 701, zz. 7f.

4). I.e., νῦν ἀπολύεις τὸν δοῦλόν σου, Δέσποτα

5). Though it does occur in the LXX, cf. Daniel 9, in prayer, etc.

6). TWNT, II, s. 44, Ann. 13.

ry prayer. With regard to the description of the style of Acts 4: 24b-30 as "semitic through and through,"¹ it may be well to reserve judgment at least until we have examined Peter's prayer-vision in Acts 10: 13-15, to which we shall now pass.

(b) Acts 10: 13-15. The connecting words contain some 'Lukanisms': ἐγένετο φωνή,² and πρὸς αὐτόν (of speaking);³ the latter occurs twice. Thus the editor's stamp is clear. Torrey claims two Semitisms: οὐδέποτε (אֲלֵי כִּי) ἔφαγον πᾶν (כל) κοινόν,⁴ and πάλιν ἐκ δευτέρου,⁵ the former of which appears to reflect the familiar semitic idiom כל... אֲלֵי, meaning 'nullus, none whatever,'⁶ and is found in the words of Peter. Thus, the Greek form, οὐ (μή) πᾶς, has, from time to time, been regarded as a Semitism.⁷ The form occurs in Mark 13: 20 (Mt 24: 22), and Luke 1: 37 οὐκ ἔδυνατήσῃ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πᾶν ῥῆμα," (which is not from either MT or LXX);⁸ on the other hand, it also occurs in I Clem 60: 2, μή λογίσῃ πᾶσαν ἁμαρτίαν δούλων σου, κ.τ.λ. (in the prayer noted above),⁹ and again in Did 2: 7, οὐ μισήσεις πάντα ἄνθρωπον.... In neither of these cases is it suggested that we are dealing with translation from an Aramaic or Hebrew document. Moreover, in the same prayer, I Clem 61: 2, there occurs the expression τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, whose semitic colour hardly needs to be pointed

1). Sparks, JTS, (N.S.), 1 (1950), p. 24. Cf. supra, p. 91.

2). Hawkins, Horae Synopticae, pp. 23, 49.

3). ibid., pp. 21, 45.

4). CDA, p. 7.

5). Ibid., l.c.

6). G-K, Sect. 152b.

7). Cf. W-M, Sect. xxvi, 1 (pp. 214-215); Moulton, Gram., ii, pp. 433ff.; Torrey, op. cit., l.c.

8). So Moulton, Gram., ii, p. 434. (It is nearer LXX Gen 18: 14).

9). Viz., I Clem 59: 3-61: 2. Cf. supra, p. 93.

out, though it may perhaps be derived from the language of the LXX.¹ At all events, the use of such 'semitized' expressions in the prayer-language of the Church, at a time not greatly removed from that of the composition of Acts, is plain.

(c). Finally, it is perhaps worth comparing the prayer in I Clement with the Lukan Hymns. The parallels may be set out thus:

Table 7.

<u>Lukan Hymns.</u>	<u>I Clement.</u>
Luke 1: 52(Magn) (καθεῖλενδυναστας ἀπὸ θρόνων) καὶ ὑψώσεν . .ταπεινοῦς	I Clem 59: 3, (God) τὸν ποιούντα . .ταπεινοῦς εἰς ὕψος καὶ τοὺς ὑψηλοῦς ταπεινοῦντα .
2: 29(ND), δέσποτα,	I Clem 59: 3, δέσποτα . ²
1: 71(B), (σωτηρίαν) . . ἐκ χειρὸς . .πάντων τῶν μισούντων ἡμᾶς . . . ³	I Clem 60: 3b, καὶ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς . ἀπὸ τῶν μισούντων ἡμᾶς ἀδικῶς . . .
1: 75(B), ἐν ὁσιότητι καὶ .δικαιοσύνῃ ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ	1b, vs. 2b, ἐν ὁσιότητι καὶ δικαιο- σύνῃ καὶ ἀπλότῃ καρδίᾳ . . ἐνώπιόν σου.
1: 79b(B), τοῦ κατεβῆναι τοὺς .πόδας ἡμῶν κ.τ.λ. . . .	1b, vs. 2a, καὶ κατεβῆναι τὰ .διαβήματα ἡμῶν
-----	-----

As there is no direct evidence that Clement employed Luke, or, for that matter, vice versa,⁴ a possible explanation of the common elements and similar style would be that both were drawing upon language and modes of expression current in the early Church, and in particular, current in its liturgical life, and employed in its

-
- 1). Cf. Pss. 4: 2; 8: 4; 30(31): 19; etc. It is perhaps worth noting that Dodd would include Ps 30(31) among his 'primary sources' for testimonia; cf. Acc. Script., pp. 98, 108.
 - 2). Cf. also, I Clem 60: 3, 61: 1,2; Did 10: 3.
 - 3). Cf. Luke 1: 74(Benedictus), τοῦ δοῦναι ἡμῖν ἀφοβῶς ἐκ χειρὸς ἐχθρῶν ῥυσθέντας.
 - 4). I Clem seems to be relying on Matthew, and where Luke is apparently cited, the Lukan passage in question has a parallel in Matthew.

prayer. That is, if the prayer in Acts 4: 24b-30 is in fact "cast in an appropriately biblical mould,"¹ it may none the less be feasible to suggest that the particular 'LXX' elements were not selected at random, nor so much at the behest of the author's artistic or dramatic sense, but rather under the influence of the liturgical customs of the church or churches to which Luke belonged, or upon whose traditions he may have drawn.

In view of what has just been noted, it may be well to look for other 'formularistic' elements, that is, stereotyped phrases used for introducing words of Scripture, describing the life of the Church, and so forth.

(ii). There are certain phrases in Acts, used in a more or less stereotyped fashion, as just indicated. We shall now consider some of these.

(a) Among the expressions used for introducing formal Biblical quotation, perhaps the two most distinctively 'Lukan' are those involving the expressions *διὰ στόματος τινος*, and *γέγραπται ἐν*, followed by the name of the Book quoted. The former are, in fact, found only in Luke-Acts, and in particular, only in Luke 1, and Acts 1-4.² Most importantly, however, Luke 1: 70 and Acts 3: 21 are almost verbally identical, and both are found in 'direct speech.' We may set out the two forms for convenience of comparison as follows:

Luke 1: 70, *καθὼς ἐλάλησεν [ὁ θεὸς] διὰ στόματος τῶν ἁγίων ἀπ' αἰῶνος προφητῶν αὐτοῦ*
 Acts 3: 21, *(ὁ θεὸς) ἐλάλησεν ὁ θεὸς διὰ στόματος τῶν ἁγίων ἀπ' αἰῶνος αὐτοῦ προφητῶν.*

1). Sparks, *JTS*, (N.S.) 1 (1950), p. 24.

2). Viz., Luke 1: 70 (Benedictus), Acts 1: 16, 3: 18, 21, (all words of Peter), and possibly also, Acts 4: 25 (Prayer).

Now it is unlikely that Peter should have been quoting Zacharias, and of course quite impossible that the reverse should have taken place; moreover, the full expression is found neither in the Apostolic Fathers,¹ nor in the LXX.² Consequently, either the expression is Luke's, or it is independent of Luke: if the former, we might have expected it to have been couched in Lukan words, whereas in fact it is not; furthermore, though the idiom *διὰ στόματος* does occur in the LXX some 7 times, it is hardly the usual or 'characteristic' LXX mode of expressing the idea of 'by the mouth of,' representing Hebrew *בְּפִי*, *בְּלִי*, *בְּפִי לְי*, or *בְּפִי* simpliciter. It does, in fact, occur in Deut 8: 3b, which is quoted by Matthew in full (Matt 4: 4), though the Lukan parallel omits the second half of the verse containing the expression--Luke 4: 4. Now this part of Matthew-Luke has been agreed by most scholars to be part of Q;³ it may then be presumed to have been current in the early Church at one stage of its history. Further, it may possibly have influenced the phraseology of Barn 11: 8, *πάν ῥήμα ὃ ἐὰν ἐξελεύσεται ἐξ ὑμῶν διὰ στόματος ὑμῶν, κ.τ.λ.*,⁴ and it is perhaps not unreasonable to suppose that the portion of Deut 8: 3 not used by Luke was nevertheless known to him--although it may have been added to Q by Matthew (which is, indeed, T. W. Manson's contention).⁵ In any event, the succeeding words of Deut 8: 3 would probably have become known, though as found in Matthew they appear to have been included

-
- 1). The phrase *διὰ στόματος τινος*, however, occurs in Barn 11: 8, q.v.
 - 2). In LXX, *διὰ στόματος τινος* is found in Deut 8: 3; III Kgd 17: 1; II Chr 35: 22, 36: 21, 22; Ps 49(50): 16, and Prov 27: 21.
 - 3). Cf. Harnack (SRJ, pp. 33-37, 89), Manson, Sayings, p. 16, and Bussmann, SynSt, 11, pp. 37ff. (he puts it in 'R'), and p. 137.
 - 4). Cf. Deut 8: 3b, *ἐπὶ παντὶ ῥήματι τῷ ἐκπορευομένῳ διὰ στόματος θεοῦ κ.τ.λ.*
 - 5). Sayings, p. 43. He thought that it could not have stood in Q, because it is a quotation from the LXX.

for homiletic or didactic purposes, rather than as a true reply to Satan's suggestion.¹ Harnack, however, describes the words in Matthew, *ἐκ πορευομένη διὰ στόματος* (Matt 4: 4), as 'unsicher bezeugt';² certainly their omission with D Lvt Sy(pal) constitutes a harder reading, since it results in divergence from the LXX, whereas the reading of the Received Text is in agreement with that of the LXX,³ and may consequently suggest assimilation to it. Nevertheless, if the expression as it occurs in Luke 1: 70 and Acts 3: 21 were in fact a Lukan editorial accretion, it would be hard, perhaps, to understand why it should not have been added here in Luke 4: 4. That is, the evidence for its having been a 'Lukan editorial accretion' does not appear to be sustained. But if not, we are left with the suggestion that the words were, in some way, independent of Luke, or at least, of his 'style.' In view of what has been said about Deut 8: 3 being known to the early Church, and about the fact that in all but two cases in the NT⁴ the words occur in a rather stereotyped formula introducing OT quotation, it may perhaps be reasonable to suggest that it is, in fact, a mark of liturgical origin, which has survived in the diction of Luke-Acts from the use of the Church or Churches with which Luke was associated, or upon whose traditions he drew.

The other expression, *γέγραπται ἐν* (e.g., *βίβλῳ ψαλμῶν*),⁵ occurs in Luke-Acts 6 times;⁶ in only one of these cases is there a

1). Manson, Sayings, l.c.

2). SRJ, p. 36.

3). Except for the omission of *τῷ* before *ἐκ πορευομένη*, against the LXX.

4). Viz., Mt 4: 4, where it should perhaps be omitted, and Acts 15: 7, (Peter).

5). Acts 1: 20.

6). Luke 2: 23, 3: 4, 10: 26; Acts 1: 20, 7: 42, 13: 33.

parallel passage in another of the Synoptics reflecting a similar idiom, namely, Luke 3: 4 (Mark 1: 2). The Markan passage, however, does not contain the word βιβλῶν, which the Lukan one reads after ἐν. Nevertheless, Mark 1: 2 and I Cor 9: 9 together comprise the only examples of the expression--outside Luke-Acts--in the NT, although the use of the word γέγραπται, without specification of the scroll is very common in both Matthew and Mark.¹ The use of the specification may indicate a later stage in the tradition than the simple γέγραπται, or perhaps its more formal use, for instance, in apology or worship. The simple form occurs in Luke at 4: 4,8,10, 7: 27 (all Q), and 19: 46 (Mark 11: 17, Matthew 21: 13), 24: 26 (Emmaus; a Lukan Post-Resurrection Narrative). Thus, in only one case, the last-named, does it occur in the Gospel in a passage which is peculiar to Luke. In Acts, the simple form is found in Acts 15: 15 (James), and 23: 5 (Paul). It is therefore perhaps worth observing that though the more formal expression occurs in Luke 1-2 and Acts 1-14, yet the 'simpler' expression does not. That is, the more complex expression, rather than the simpler, is found in those sections where it is least likely that Luke was an eyewitness, and in which, consequently, he would be most indebted to tradition other than that of Mark and Q. As a result, it is not impossible that the fuller form represents a survival of an element quasi-liturgical in nature.

1). Cf. the list given in MG, pp. 176b-177a.

(b) Another set of recurrent phrases which appear to have been based upon the LXX, or something very like it, but which have become dislodged from their original setting and developed into what appear to be somehow 'technical terms' may be illustrated by the following examples: οἱ ἐπικαλούμενοι τὸ ὄνομα (cf. Joel 2: 32 (Heb. 3: 5), Acts 2: 21),¹ οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν,² and the pair, ἀξάνειν καὶ πληθύνειν (Cf. Gen 1: 22, Ex 1: 7; Acts 7: 17b).

The first of these occurs in Acts 2: 21 (Joel 2: 32LXX), 9: 14, 21, 15: 17 (cf. Amos 9: 12), 22: 16; in all of these cases the context is that of a speech. We should note, however, that it makes no appearance either in Luke or in the other Gospels, although it is found in James 2: 7, Rom 10: 13, I Cor 1: 2. It is also perhaps interesting to note that the form of the expression employed in James 2: 7, τὸ καλὸν ὄνομα τὸ ἐπικληθὲν ἐφ' ὑμῶν, seems to recall that found in his speech in Acts 15: 17, ἐφ' οὗς ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐπ' αὐτούς (Amos 9: 12). At all events, the expression seems to have developed into something of a technical term to describe the believers; indeed, Dodd observed that for Paul, the expression οἱ ἐπικαλούμενοι τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου became a synonym for 'Christians',

"... the κύριος being 'our Lord Jesus Christ,'
I Cor. i. 2."³

The quotation from Joel in which the words under discussion are found is regarded by him as belonging to the primitive 'testi-

-
- 1). καὶ ἔσται πᾶς ὃς ἐν ἐπικαλέσῃ τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου σωθήσεται...
 - 2). Hawkins, Horae Synopticae, pp. 23, 49, classed this term as a 'Lukanism.'
 - 3). Acc. Script., p. 47, n. 2.

monia,' although "there is not very much direct evidence of its use outside Acts."¹ As, however, on its occurrence in Rom 10: 13, it appears among two passages noted on other grounds and previously, by him, as 'testimonia,'² while further on in the same argument (Rom 11: 8), another 'testimonium' occurs,³

"... it seems clear that Paul is working largely with passages from the Old Testament already current as testimonia."⁴

Consequently, "we need not hesitate" to include the Joel-passage. From the use of this passage in Romans 10, he thought it 'just sufficient' to warrant the conclusion that its use

"... as a main testimonium to the kerygma in Acts ii is not due to the author, but rests upon primitive (pre-Pauline) usage."⁵

In any case, in view of what has been said, it would perhaps seem reasonable to regard the passage and consequently, the expression under discussion found in it, as in use in, and so familiar to, the early Church. This contention seems to be supported somewhat by the use of (δὴ πάση ψυχῇ) ἐπικεκλημένη τὸ... ἅγιον ὄνομα αὐτοῦ by Clement, in a Benediction, or rather, a concluding prayer of blessing,⁶ and by the writer of Hermas, in two places, namely, Hs 8: 6: 4, ἐπιστοχυνθέντες τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου τὸ ἐπικληθὲν ἐπ' αὐτούς..., with which J. B. Lightfoot compared James 2: 7, and Hs 9: 14: 3, ἐπὶ πάνσι τοῖς ἐπικαλούμενοις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ..., where the precise expression under discussion is itself found.

1). Acc. Script., p. 47.

2). Ibid., l.c. The passages are: Isa 28: 16 (Rom 10: 11), and 53: 1 (Rom 10: 16); cf. Dodd, op. cit., pp. 41ff. and 39, respectively.

3). Ibid., p. 48. The 'testimonium' is Isa 6: 10 (Dodd, op. cit., pp. 36-39).

4). Ibid., l.c.

5). Ibid., l.c.

6). I Clem 64.

The second of these expressions, οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν, (κύριον), occurs in the LXX fairly frequently,¹ but what we should perhaps note is this, that it occurs probably most commonly in the Psalms (LXX);² in particular, it appears in no less than 4 of the Psalms listed by Dodd as 'testimonia-sources,' namely, Pss 21(22): 24, 26, 30(31): 20, 33(34): 8, 10, 117(118): 4 (MSS: AR). Furthermore, the second occurrence in Ps 21(22), viz., vs. 26, displays an interesting piece of parallelism, which seems to 'define' the phrase as equivalent to 'the great congregation:'

παρὰ σοῦ ὁ ἔπαινός μου ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ μεγάλη ,
 τὰς εὐχὰς μου ἀποδώσω ἐνώπιον τῶν φοβουμένων αὐτόν...

Moreover, Justin Martyr, in what seems to be a sort of 'midrash' on the self-same Psalm, first alluded to vs. 24a with the expression πάντας τοὺς φοβουμένους τὸν θεόν, then proceeded to apply vs. 23 to the apostles, ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ ἕστη τῶν ἀποστόλων... ὕμνησε τὸν θεόν, 'as is manifest in the memoirs of the apostles;' this is said to be indicated by the remainder of the Psalm:

« Διηγῆσομαι τὸ ὄνομά μου τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου· ἐν μέσῳ Ἐκκλησίας.
 ὕμνήσω σε· οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν Κύριον ἀνέσταν αὐτόν.
 ἄπαν τὸ σπέρμα Ἰακώβ δοξάσατε αὐτόν· φοβηθήτωσαν
 αὐτόν ἄπαν τὸ σπέρμα Ἰσραὴλ ».....³

We have only to add that this Psalm has already been noted in another connection as probably related to an element in the

-
- 1). It occurs some 58 times in the LXX.
 - 2). It is found 26 times in the Psalter, and 23 times in Sirach, some of the cases in the latter being parallel to instances in the Psalter; cf. Si 15: 19 with Ps 32(33): 18. Also, one case in the Psalms, Ps 102(103): 17 is reminiscent of the Magnificat.
 - 3). Dial. 106; cf. Migne, PG, Tom. VI, p. 724A, lines 8-12.

diction of Acts 1-15,¹ and to remind ourselves of the part played by it in the Gospels--all four--in the construction of the Passion-Narrative, to see that there is no great impossibility in its having been a predominant factor behind the particular usage under discussion in Acts (and Luke too, for that matter).² In any case, it would perhaps seem reasonable to suppose that Luke's style here is really showing traces, not so much of 'septuagintalism,' as of the influence upon him of those parts of the Old Testament habitually employed by the Church in preaching the fulfilment of the promises made to the Fathers,³ and in particular, of the probable influence of current liturgical phraseology.

A third expression, which ought to be added for completeness, is the thrice-conjoined *αὐξάνειν καὶ πληθύνειν*,⁴ which is found some 14 times in all in the LXX;⁵ it consequently does not qualify as strictly 'characteristic' of the LXX. On the other hand, at least two of the passages in which it occurs in the LXX are ones which we know to have been well known to the early Church, namely, Gen 1: 28, and Ex 1: 7, the second of which is alluded to by Stephen,⁶ and deals with the expansion of the people of Israel in Egypt. It is possibly significant that the Lukan *λαός* 'people' (usually meaning the 'people of God,' i.e., Israel or the Church)⁷ is used in Acts 7: 17 to replace the *υἱοὶ...Ἰσραὴλ* of the LXX. At all events, the other cases of the

1). Viz., *ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός τινος*, cf. supra, pp. 82-3.

2). Cf. Magnificat, Luke 1: 50 etc. The Psalm in question is also cited in Hebrews, Heb. 2: 12.

3). Cf. Acts 13: 32-33, etc.

4). Cf. Acts 6: 7, 7: 17, 12: 24, and also 19: 20.

5). Viz., Gen 1: 22, 28, 8: 17, 9: 1, 7, 17: 20, 28: 3, 35: 11, 47: 27, 48: 4; Ex 1: 7; Lev 26: 9; Jer 3: 16, 23: 3.

6). Acts 7: 17.

7). Hawkins, Horae Synopticae, p. 20.

combination occur only in summaries, for example, Acts 6: 7 and 12: 24, which C. H. Turner regarded as interposed between, and demarcating, 'panels' of the narrative of Acts;¹ in both these cases, the expression being investigated is related to another 'Lukan' phrase, ὁ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ (κυρίου),² which Cadbury was disposed to treat as a name for Christianity,³ as, in fact,

"... a concrete thing, as the expression ὁ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ ἠϋξάνειν and others show, ... not merely the preaching but the whole Christian enterprise."⁴

Now, because the expression can hardly be a septuagintalism in the strict sense, on account of the relatively small number of times it occurs in the LXX, it may perhaps be a 'recurrent allusion:' but an allusion to what? Cadbury thought it possibly due to "the Old Testament idiom, much as the summaries in Luke i. and ii. are founded on the Old Testament."⁵ But if we go to the writings of the Apostolic Fathers, we find the words of Gen 1: 26 quoted several times;⁶ moreover, in one case, Barn 6: 12, we have the following introduction before the quotation of Gen 1: 26-28, (speaking of renewal in God's Image), λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή περὶ ἡμῶν, ὡς λέγει τῷ υἱῷ, ΠΟΙΗΣΩΜΕΝ κ.τ.λ., while Barn 6: 18 takes up the same idea again. That is, there is independent evidence that Gen 1: 26 was applied to the Church from an early date. This would accord well with Cadbury's view outlined above that the expression ὁ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ seems to apply to "the whole

1). DB, i, p. 421a.

2). Hawkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 20, 43.

3). Beginnings, I, v, pp. 375-92; especially, p. 391.

4). *ibid.*, p. 391

5). *ibid.*, p. 396.

6). I Clem 33: 6; Barn 6: 12,18; cf. also, Hv 1: 1: 6.

Christian enterprise."¹ The use of the allusion to Gen 1: 28 (Ex 1: 7) in this sort of way would then seem perhaps to indicate a sort of midrashic use of the text, seeing in it a 'testimonium' to the increase of the Church. But if so, then there is no great improbability in its having been in use in that sort of sense in the Church before Luke took hold of it.² We clearly cannot build on this piece of evidence, but it may at least be said to be in harmony with what has already been claimed.

(c) There are other recurrent words and phrases, and we may note especially those of them that have been taken to constitute elements of what Dodd has called the 'kerygma,' and form the summaries of the faith found in a number of the speeches in Acts. In particular, we may note the following: *μάρτυρες* (especially in the form, *ἡμεῖς ἐσμὲν μάρτυρες αὐτοῦ* for example, and/or applied to the Resurrection of Jesus),³ *ἐπέστησεν*⁴ (*ἤγειρεν*⁵) *ὁ θεὸς* (*τὸν Ἰησοῦν*) with or without *ἐκ νεκρῶν*,⁶ and *ἄφεσις ἁμαρτιῶν*. Of the remaining expressions used, considerable variation of word-order, word, and phrase, is found, and consequently we must omit them from this discussion. However, those listed above narrowly escape becoming 'Lukanisms,' so frequently do they occur in Luke-Acts, in comparison to the other books of the NT. For example, *μάρτυς* occurs thrice in Matthew and Mark together, but no less than 15 times in Luke-Acts, of which some 10 instances refer to

-
- 1). Beginnings, I, v, p. 391. Cf. supra, p. 105.
 - 2). That is, in the worship and apology of the Church.
 - 3). Cf. also Mt 18: 16, II Cor 13: 1, where the reference is to Deut 19: 5(q.v.); perhaps the 'witnesses' are to confirm the facts of the Resurrection.
 - 4). The transitive form, 'raise', occurs only in Acts and John.
 - 5). This is the commoner word in the NT for 'rise (from the dead)'
 - 6). This phrase is also found in Mt 17: 9; Mark 6: 14, 9: 9,10, 12: 25, (16: 14), etc.

the 'witnesses of the things of the Messiah.'¹ It may possibly have some reference to Isa 45: 10, 12 or 44: 8, the first two of which are located in passages listed by Dodd as 'primary sources of testimonia.'² Again, both forms of the statement, 'Whom God raised,'-- *ὃν ὁ θεὸς ἀνέστησεν*, κ.τ.λ and *ὃν ὁ θεὸς ἤγειρεν* (*ἐκ νεκρῶν*) alike--are found in Acts,³ although the former is peculiar to Acts, and in view of Acts 3: 22 (3: 26) and 7: 37, which quote (or employ) Deut 18: 15, 18, may represent a modification of the *ἐγείρειν* -form in the light of this 'proof-text.'⁴ Finally, though *ἄφεσις ἁμαρτιῶν* is found outside Luke-Acts, yet it is very much commoner within these two books than elsewhere,⁵ and is rather stereotyped. Indeed, the stereotyped nature of these phrases may point to their having been part of (the) primitive 'kerygma'; nevertheless, whether or not that is true, such repetition may perhaps be held to be at least consistent with a liturgical origin for the data in the forms noted.⁶

(iii) As a last piece of evidence, we shall draw attention to the way in which the 'Feeding-narratives' of Luke (and others) and the Lukan Supper-narratives reflect the usage of later times: we may also make a note or two about similar phenomena in other books of the NT.

-
- 1). E.g., Luke 24: 48 (Lukan Post-Resurrection story), Acts 1: 8,22; 2: 32; 3: 15; 5: 32; 10: 39,41; 13: 31; 22: 15; 26: 16.
 - 2). Acc. Script., p. 108.
 - 3). Acts 2: 24,32 and Acts 3: 15; 4: 10; 10: 40; & 13: 30 respectively.
 - 4). Cf. supra, pp. 48-49. Also, Dodd, Acc. Script., pp. 53-7, &c.
 - 5). Luke, 3 times; Acts, 5 times; Matthew, Mark, and Paul each once.
 - 6). Perhaps these elements may be traces of an early credal formula.

In the 'shorter account' in Luke of the Last Supper, the word *εὐχαριστήσας* is used concerning the Cup (22: 17). Likewise, in vs. 19a, which may perhaps be modelled on Mark 14: 22, though this point is disputed by Higgins,¹ the only changes from the Markan form are the replacement of *εὐλόγησας* by the later, and more Hellenistic²--not to say, 'technical'³-- *εὐχαριστήσας*, and the use of the more idiomatic *λέγων* in place of the rougher and perhaps more semitic⁴ *καὶ εἶπεν*. To put it another way, if Luke, or the tradition(s) he was employing, did in fact adapt the form represented by the Markan version of this verse (Mark 14: 22), that adaptation was performed in the light of later, and possibly ecclesiastical, ways.⁵ A similar type of phenomenon may be observed, as Knox remarked,⁶ in Mark 8: 1-10 (cf. Mark 6: 35-44) in the Feeding-narrative doublets. Here the *εὐλόγησεν* of Mark 6: 41 is replaced by the *εὐχαριστήσας* of Mark 8: 6a. Moreover, the very diction of the latter verse is strongly reminiscent of the Words of Institution, especially those found in Luke: *καὶ λαβὼν τοὺς ἄρτους ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς...*,⁷ and seems to suggest early

-
- 1). In The Lord's Supper in the New Testament, 1952, p. 44, he denied that the contacts between Mark and Luke here were "necessarily due to Luke's direct use of Mark," though he admitted the possibility that the tradition employed here by Luke may have been influenced by "another such as is embodied in Mark," by the time it reached Luke.
 - 2). W. L. Knox, Some Hellenistic Elements in Primitive Christianity, 1944, p. 3.
 - 3). Cf. Did 9: 1,2,3, 10: 1,2,3; Justin, I Apol 65: 5, 66: 2,3.
 - 4). But not necessarily so; cf. Moulton, Prol (3rd ed., 1908), p. 12.
 - 5). See also note 1, above. Higgins felt that Luke 22: 15-19a probably represented an important tradition, possibly influenced by eucharistic usage, but less so than those of Mark and Paul. (Cf. op. cit., pp. 42-3).
 - 6). Op. cit., pp. 3ff.
 - 7). Viz., Luke 22: 19a, *καὶ λαβὼν ἄρτον εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς*.

use of these narratives as 'types' of the Eucharist, a view which would appear to be supported by the nature of the Johannine account of the Feeding (John 6: 1-59).¹ Whether or not we are to regard Acts 27: 35 as eucharistic in itself,² it seems sufficient for our present purposes to draw attention to the use in it of phraseology very similar in nature to that already observed in, for example, Mark 8: 6a.³ This would suggest that, although the original act recorded in Acts 27: 35 may not have been eucharistic, yet the temptation to invest it with a certain eucharistic significance was not easy to resist.

But if the Eucharistic formula, influencing the narratives at such points as are noted above, has given them a certain 'fixity' of form and phraseology which may not have been present in the earliest traditions, then it would seem reasonable enough to suppose that other liturgical, quasi-liturgical, and perhaps 'apologetical' factors have had their share in moulding the diction of the narratives and speeches, as they have come down to us.

The results of this chapter may, then, be summarized thus:

1. If we select some nine expressions which, by virtue of their relative frequency in the LXX, may reasonably be described as 'characteristic' of that book, and which also occur in Acts, an

- 1). Cf. Higgins, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-84. We may also note the 'Western' addition to John 6: 56b, where D Lvt^a ff2 add: ἐὰν μὴ λάβητε τὸ σῶμα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὡς τὸν ἄρτον...; use of λάβητε for φάγητε, and σῶμα for σὰρξ, may reflect a liturgical use of the story.
- 2). Higgins, *e.g.*, (*op. cit.*, p. 56, n. 1), thought it referred "merely to breaking bread before taking nourishment."
- 3). Cf. *supra*, p. 108, but especially p. 75, and note 1 of that page.

analysis of their 'source-distribution' patterns reveals that their highest and lowest frequencies per page of WH-text are found in the 'L'-source of the Gospel¹ and the 'We-sections' of Acts, respectively; moreover, if we recognize that the rate per page-WH of Lukanisms² in 'L' is approximately 5.4 times that in the 'We-sections' of Acts, we are obliged nevertheless to point out that the rate per page-WH of septuagintalisms in the former is no less than 34 times that in the latter. Moreover, this must be viewed alongside the fact that Q and the Markan sections are the least 'septuagintalized.' Under these circumstances it is hard to speak of 'unconscious' influence of the LXX upon Luke's style, born of, for example, familiarity with it. Further, though the two 'halves' of Acts, as defined above,³ are approximately equally 'Lukanized,'⁴ yet I Acts is about 4.6 times as 'septuagintalized' as is II Acts, and about 8.4 times as much so as the 'We-sections' of Acts (when allowance has been made for the slightly lower rate of Lukanism of the 'We-sections').

That is, 'septuagintalism' appears to be fairly independent of Lukanism, and thus it seems that influence of the Septuagint is not, in itself, a sufficient explanation of the phenomena in question.

-
- 1). The 'L' above is used in the broad sense outlined on p. 80, in note 3; i.e., T. W. Manson's reconstruction of L, plus Luke 24: 13-53.
 - 2). We have, for this purpose, combined all three tables given by Hawkins, Horae Synopticae, (2nd ed., 1909), pp. 16-23, 27, 28-29.
 - 3). I.e., as defined by Torrey; cf. pp. 9ff. supra.
 - 4). I.e., if we use as a basis, the tables drawn up by Hawkins, to which reference has already been made in note 2 above.

2. Turning to some six other expressions which appear to be reflections of semitic idioms, not 'chargeable to the Koiné,'¹ but which, because they but rarely occur in the LXX, can hardly be said to owe their occurrence in Acts to influence on Luke's style of the LXX as a whole, and yet are not allusions to the OT in the strict sense, we find that in every case, at least one of the LXX parallels occurs in a portion of the OT which we have reason to believe was familiar to, and probably used by, the early Church. That is, if the expressions under consideration were in fact septuagintalisms after all, then it might be that they found their way into the diction of Acts, not so much by direct influence of the LXX, due to familiarity with that work as a whole, as indirectly, by way of those portions of it which were employed by the Church of Luke's time in worship and apology.

3. An investigation of prayers in Acts, however, indicates not only parallels of diction with parts of the LXX, but also with elements of certain prayers found in writings of the late first, and early to middle second, centuries A.D., and likewise with portions of the Lukan Infancy Hymns. Consequently, if, for example, Acts 4: 24-30 was in fact cast in "an appropriately biblical mould,"² this possibly took place under the influence of the practice of the Church, rather than the influence of the LXX in general. (After all, can we really speak of 'the' style, for example, of the LXX, without meaning in fact the style of some portion or portions of

1). Torrey, CDA, p. 7.

2). Sparks, JTS, (N.S.), 1 (1950), p. 24.

the LXX in particular?¹).

4. There are, in addition, certain quasi-formularistic elements, stereotyped ways of expressing thoughts and introducing words of quotation from the OT, which seem to indicate a later and more settled stage in the transmission of the traditions embodied in Acts 1-15, and may well point to a liturgical origin for some of those traditions.

5. This contention seems not weakened, but if anything, somewhat strengthened, by the fact that some of these recurrent expressions appear to be allusions to passages of the OT which have been listed as sources of 'testimonia' used by writers of the NT.

6. Finally, while Kilpatrick has shown grounds for assigning a liturgical history to Matthew, we may also note that the accounts of the Feedings in Mark and John, and the second part of the shorter Lukan Supper-narrative seem to betray the liturgical motive at work; there should be, then, no impossibility in a similar force having been at work in other places, and among other elements of tradition.

In conclusion: the facts outlined above would not be inconsistent with the conclusions reached in the previous chapter, regarding the probable use by the author of Acts of sources, possibly written, and at least 'fixed,' embodying oral traditions which reflect extra-Septuagintal elements, and which are based in all probability ultimately on the ipsissima verba of the various

1). McNeile, *INT* (2nd ed., revised by G. S. C. Williams, 1953), p. 88, has the observation that the Greek of the LXX, "even of those books of which the original language was Hebrew, is far from uniform." Consequently, arguments based on 'the' style, etc., of the LXX, may not be as convincing as they first appear.

speakers, who have incorporated these elements from traditions current in their own times, into their speeches. We have already seen evidence that among the elements employed by them were certain passages from the OT which became sources for 'testimonia' to the Messiah and the dawn of the Messianic era. What would be added to this by the investigation just brought to completion would be this, that if Luke did in fact employ such a source or sources as we have suggested, he probably obtained it from the traditions current in the church or churches to which he belonged; consequently, the language in which his source-material is couched is often that of the Church of his day, and so includes not a few apparent (and some real) 'septuagintalisms.' However, when all is said and done, it will be appreciated that there are some words and phrases which, though not altogether unlike ones in the LXX, are nevertheless not identical with their alleged 'parallels;' these, together with other elements which seem to indicate a breakdown in some greater or less degree in the Greek, will be considered in the succeeding chapters.

Supplementary Notes.

The expressions $\piοΙΣΙΝ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΙΝΟΣ$ and $\piΙΣΤΕΥΕΙΝ ΕΠΙ$.

The first of these is found in the NT only in Luke-Acts;¹ moreover, the two cases in the Gospel, namely, Luke 1: 72 and 10: 37, are found in sections which are peculiar to Luke, and in both cases occur in spoken words. Again, in these two places, the idea of 'co-operation' is absent, and the preposition appears to take the place of an ordinary dative. Moulton, who originally held the view that this use, like a similar phrase in Luke 1: 58, was "influenced by literal translation from Semitic,"² later rejected 'this solitary Hebraism' on the basis of an example found in the papyri,³ though finally (1914) he was disposed to "withdraw this statement and recognize translation Greek."⁴ Lagrange also thought it to be 'un hébraïsme.'⁵ as did Radermacher.⁶

On the other hand, Jacquier held to the idea of 'co-operation,' at least in Acts,⁷ "en coopération avec," as also did Bruce.⁸ De Zwaan, discussing Torrey's list of 'semitisms', classes this one as 'weak.'⁹

Turning to the LXX, we find it there often enough for it to qualify as 'characteristic' of LXX style. Its presence in Acts, then, may indicate nothing more than the influence of the LXX on

-
- 1). Viz., Luke 1: 72, 10: 37; Acts 14: 27, 15: 4.
 - 2). Prol (3rd. ed., 1908), p. 106.
 - 3). Ibid., p. 246, (note to p. 106).
 - 4). Moulton, Grammar, ii, p. 466; cf. Vocab., p. 401a; the reference is AP. 135, ii/A.D.
 - 5). S. Luc, p. 316.
 - 6). NGram, p. 146.
 - 7). Les Actes des Apôtres, (1926), p. 437.
 - 8). Bruce, The Acts of the Apostles, pp. 286-7.
 - 9). Beginnings, I, ii, 49.

Luke's style and vocabulary. On the other hand, several other considerations should be noted: (i) the corresponding expression is found in the MT occasionally where it is avoided in the LXX, (e.g., Deut 1: 30, 10: 21, etc.); (ii) it is also found in the LXX in a number of places where the Hebrew text (if there was one) is wanting, for instance, Tobit 3: 6, 8: 16, etc.;¹ (iii) though it is absent from LXX and MT alike in II Kgd (II Sam) 22: 51, it is found in the Targum (...למיעור פורקן עם מלכיה);² (iv) it occurs, moreover, in Hermas (Hs 5: 1: 1), perhaps formed on an analogy with the Hebrew idiom ...לעשות עם, though in view of BGU 798,9, it may possibly be a Hellenistic formation.³

Thus we may say that while the expression is permissible in Greek, though apparently not common, it is nevertheless normal enough in Hebrew and Aramaic;⁴ consequently, the use in question may, *prima facie*, reflect either LXX influence, or perhaps some more direct use of Semitic originals. However, its presence in the Benedictus and Hermas may possibly suggest that it belonged to the vocabulary of the early Church. In support of this, we might note that the use in question is in fact found in Ps 108(109): 21, *καὶ σὺ, Κύριε κύριε, ποιήσῃς μετ' ἐμοῦ ἔλεος...*, --a Psalm which we know to have been used by Luke (or was it Peter?), from Acts 1: 20, where vs. 8b is quoted.⁵ Again, we have already dealt with another phrase which appears to have a close parallel in this Psalm.⁶

- 1). The significance of this point may diminish in the light of discoveries made at Qumran, e.g., of a Hebrew Tobit.
- 2). I.e., "to work salvation for his king..;" cf. Lagarde, *Proph. Chald.*, p. 140, lines 22-23.
- 3). Cf. Bauer, *op. cit.*, 922.
- 4). Cf. the examples produced by Torrey, *CDA*, p. 38.
- 5). Viz., *καὶ τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν αὐτοῦ λάβει ἔτιςτος*.
- 6). Viz., *κατενύγησαν τὴν καρδίαν* (Acts 2: 37a); cf. *supra*, pp. 81-2.

That is, there is another possible view of the explanation of the use in question: it may be due to the influence of the LXX, but noting its presence in the Benedictus, Hermas, and the Psalm--we cannot exclude the possibility that its presence in the passages in question in Acts may be due to the operation of a liturgical or apologetical factor in the formation of the traditions incorporated by Luke in his Acts, or even simply to the effect of such a factor on his style.

The second point is of somewhat less convincing nature. It concerns the fact that, although the use of ἐπί with dative or accusative after πιστεύειν may, as Moulton thought, be a natural development of meanings implicit in the usual Greek form involving πιστεύειν with following dative only,¹ yet there are considerations which perhaps point in another direction. The form appears to be unattested outside the LXX before NT times, and even in the LXX itself is only found twice, namely, in Wisdom 12: 2, and Isa 28: 16 (NAQ). Moulton thought the presence of the phrase πιστ. ἐπί in these three MSS. of the LXX due possibly to "conformity to the NT application of the passage."² Clearly it cannot be a septuagintalism.³ But the fact that in three places in the NT Isa 28: 16 is quoted in this form, together with the fact that Dodd would class the passage as a 'primary source of testimonia,'⁴ seems to suggest that,

1). Prol., (3rd ed., 1908), p. 68.

2). ibid., l.c.

3). It is far too rare to be regarded as 'characteristic' of the LXX.

4). Acc. Script., p. 107; cf. also, pp. 21, 41-43, 48, 72, 78, 83, 138.

especially in the light of what has already been said concerning the possible effect of liturgical and apologetical factors on the phraseology of Luke-Acts, the presence of the phrase in Acts may be in some degree due to the operation of a similar factor. It should also be noted that of the 14 instances of it in the NT, 5 are in Luke-Acts,¹ one in Matthew,² 6 in Paul,³ and one in I Peter.⁴ Thus it is hard to speak of it as a 'Lukanism:' it is just as much a mark of Paul. But this probably does not weaken seriously the view of its origin in the language of Luke, as enunciated above.

Whether these considerations are themselves more than informed guesses, or whether they are not, the fact remains that it is not unreasonable to include them here, if only for completeness. It is certainly not suggested that the argument of the chapter to any extent depends upon the evidence or arguments set out in this Note.

-
- 1). Luke 24: 25; Acts 9: 42, 11: 17, 16: 31, 22: 19.
 - 2). Mt 27: 42.
 - 3). Ro 4: 5,18,24, 9: 33, 10: 11; I Th 1: 10. Cf. also
I Ti 1: 16.
 - 4). I Pe 2: 6.

CHAPTER IV.Residual Semitisms in the Vocabulary of Acts 1-15.

Over and against those aberrant Old Testament quotations and allusions discussed in Chapter II, on the one hand, and the elements of diction of Acts 1-15 which appear to reflect the influence, direct or indirect, of the Septuagint, as treated in the previous chapter, on the other hand, there appears to stand yet another body of evidence: namely, a 'hard core' of dictional elements which, while seeming to defy explanation by reference to the Koiné, or to textual corruption in the usual sense, nevertheless appear to find their most natural explanation in terms of Semitic idiom and vocabulary. This is not to claim, for example, that the language of Acts 1-15 is "translation-Greek through and through,"¹ or again that

"... there are no passages in which the language can be said to make it probable that Luke is composing his own Greek."²

It is merely this, that the existence of words and phrases which appear to reflect semitic words and locutions requires that some explanation of them be given in any treatment of questions of source, text, original language, and, for that matter, authenticity, of Acts. The present chapter confines itself to the setting out of the evidence element by element, together with an estimate

1). Torrey, CDA, p. 7.

2). ibid., p. 6.

of the nature and significance of each. In this way we shall hope to obtain some result which is not only valid for the whole, but also consistent with the results already attained above.

With regard to scope, we may remark that, as the title of the chapter indicates, this part of the investigation will deal only with Semitic elements in the 'vocabulary' of Acts 1-15.

Wellhausen regarded vocabulary as providing "nicht so sichere Schlüsse wie die Syntaxe," and thus standing "in zweiter Linie," although in this connection it "kann . . . nicht ganz beiseite gelassen werden."¹ The words he noted as betraying an Aramaic 'Grundlage' to the Gospels have already been treated at length by Black,² but there are indications that some similar discussion of the vocabulary of Acts 1-15 may be in order. That is, when we have excluded 'technically religious terms,'³ and words probably due to the influence, direct or otherwise, of the LXX,⁴ there may yet be room for 'others influenced by Aramaic,'⁵--or for that matter, by Hebrew. We shall treat them in alphabetical order.

• Ἀκελδαμάχ (Acts 1: 19).

The translation of this name given in Acts 1: 19, namely, *χωρίον αἵματος*, clearly indicates that Luke, like Matthew (who has it as *ἀγρὸς αἵματος*),⁶ was acquainted with it as meaning 'field of blood,'--in Aramaic, then, *ܐܫܬܐ ܠܕܡܐ*.⁷ On the other hand, the

-
- 1). *Einl.* (1te Aufl., 1905), p. 33.
 - 2). *AAGA*, pp. 95-103; cf. *ibid.*, 2nd ed., 1954, pp. 255-256.
 - 3). *ibid.*, p. 95.
 - 4). Cf. *supra*, Chapters II & III.
 - 5). *AAGA*, p. 95.
 - 6). *Matthew* 27: 8.
 - 7). Dalman, *Aram. Gram.*, (1te Aufl.), p. 105, n. 1.

Matthean note that the field, bought with 'blood-money' (τιμὴ αἱμάτων, Matthew 27: 6), became a burying-place for strangers (Matthew 27: 7), led A. Klostermann to suggest that Ἀκελδαμάχ. should really be traced back to a primitive אַמְרָ לְקַמ, 'field of sleep,' that is, in Greek, κοιμητήριον, 'cemetery.'¹ The interpretation followed by Matthew and Luke, 'field of blood,' would then be a later one, invented by Christians concerning Judas' death. Against this, it has been questioned whether there ever was a word אַמְרָ 'sleep,' and further, whether the expression אַמְרָ לְקַמ is attested anywhere meaning 'cemetery.'² Dalman, however, supported the traditional interpretation,³ and argued that

"Das schliessende χ macht das Wort als indeklinabel kenntlich, vgl. ἰωσήφ Luk. 3, 26 für יוסי, Σειράχ LXX für אסירא."⁴

The alternative with אַמְרָ he thought "nicht rätlich," since the dead are always called 'מיתין,' and the cemetery bears the names בית עלמא (he cites Mo. k. 80b), or (in Hebrew) בית הקברות (citing Tos. Ter. I 3).⁵ Levy and Jastrow both list the verb אַמְרָ,⁶ but the latter connects it more plainly with the idea of 'death,' and 'lying in the grave.' Nevertheless, this alternative seems insufficiently supported. Bruce, however, thinks that "probably both explanations were current."⁷

On the other hand, the 'remarkable agreements' between the ac-

-
- 1). Probleme im Aposteltexte, (1883), pp. 1ff.
 - 2). Lake-Cadbury, Beginnings, I, iv, 13b.
 - 3). Cf. *supra*, p. 119, n. 7; and, Aram. Gram., s. 161, Ann. 6.
 - 4). *ibid.*, l.c.
 - 5). *ibid.*
 - 6). Chald. Wb., I, p. 180a-b; DTM, pp. 313b-314a, respectively.
 - 7). The Acts of the Apostles, p. 78.

counts in Acts and in Matthew, have led G. D. Kilpatrick to think that

"... there is a tradition of some age behind the two stories, vague in detail though that tradition may be. The name *ἄγρος αἵματος*, with its Aramaic equivalent *אקל-דאמאך*, derives from a Semitic source. In this connexion the use of *κορβανόν* with its implication of a reference to an Hebrew text of Zech. xi. 12f., differing from the LXX and M.T., is noteworthy."¹

From these (and other) facts he concluded that "the tradition behind our story" went back "to a Semitic original."² With this conclusion we may be inclined to agree, though with the reservations that, in Acts 1: 18-20, the story is probably rightly to be regarded--with Westcott and Hort--as a parenthesis, an aside inserted to explain to the reader what happened to Judas, and thus need have no real bearing on the question of the nature of the language of Peter's speech here,--a fact strengthened by the historical tone of the passage, and the presence of the words *τῆ διαλέκτῳ αὐτῶν* (referring to the inhabitants of Jerusalem),³--and that, although the word in question is apparently Aramaic, yet it does not follow that the story as we have it in Acts was wholly an Aramaic tale reproduced by Luke, but simply that it is probably founded to greater or less extent upon a narrative embodying such a tradition. The word in question, then, with its translation, may perhaps be called, in Lagrange's phrase, "une garantie d'authenticité."⁴ It points to the antiquity and authenticity of the traditions preserved in the account.

1). *OGM*, p. 45.

2). *ibid*, l.c.

3). Particularly as the action of the neighbouring verses takes place--apparently--in Jerusalem.

4). *S. Luc*, (3me éd., 1927), p. ex.

.Βαριησοῦς (Acts 13: 6).

It has been noted elsewhere¹ that there is probably a Targumic element of some kind in Paul's words to the magician (Acts 13: 11); it may not be improper, then, to look more closely at his name. The name Βαριησοῦς is fairly plainly an Aramaic one, and in itself there is nothing so very strange in that. However, two points should perhaps be made: (i) there are no less than four Lukanisms in this single verse, viz., διελθόντες, ἄχρει, ἄνδρα, and either ἐν ὀνόματι or ὀνόματι²--whichever is to be preferred; the editor, then, has certainly left his mark upon it.³ (ii) The Codex Bezae reads not Βαριησοῦς (with BC), nor Βαριησοῦ (N), nor Βαριησοῦν. (A 81 etc.), but Βαριησοῦά (V? or μ?). Of these, then, the Bezan is probably the hardest reading: one can imagine it being assimilated to the form -ιησοῦς, but the reverse is improbable. Now, while several suggestions have been made as to what the man's name really was, e.g., שַׁרְיָא-רַב, ⁴ אַרְיָא-רַב, ⁵ and--arguing from the 'interpretation in vs. 8, Ἐλύμας or (D) Ἐτ(οι?)μῶς -- שַׁרְיָא-רַב, ⁶ the underlying fact behind all three is that the D-reading seems to indicate a knowledge of the Aramaic not found in the alternative readings. It should, then, probably be regarded as an element of the primitive tradition, left unrevised in D, though eliminated in our other texts in favour of the more familiar '-ιησοῦς.'

1). Cf. supra, pp. 37-39.

2). Cf. Hawkins, *Horae Synopticae*, pp. 17, 16 (bis), 21 & 44; also, ἡ νῆσος is found in the NT only in Acts 13: 6, 27: 26, 28: 1,7,9,11, (all except 13: 6 being 'We-sections'), and Rev 1: 9, 6: 14, 16: 20. Note also that the other variant for ἐν ὀνόματι, viz., καλούμενον (D adds after ὀνόματι), is a Lukanism, Hawkins, op. cit., pp. 19, 42.

3). The rate of Lukanisms per word is much higher than average.

4). Cf. Aquila, Deut 1: 38, Ἰησοῦά for שַׁרְיָא-רַב.

5). Cf. Sy(vg): אַרְיָא רַב. Cf. also, Clark, *AA*, p. 351

6). Cf. note by G. R. Driver, in Clark, op. cit., pp. 353ff.

.γνωστόν. (Acts 2: 14; 4: 10; 13: 38; 28: 28).

The occurrence of this word in Acts in constructions with εἶναι and γίνεσθαι¹ was noted by Wensinck,² who suggested possible Aramaic originals of the form ܝܘܨܬܘܢܐ , on the model of the ܝܘܨܬܘܢܐ of Biblical Aramaic.³ It is a fact, moreover, that whereas the adjectival and corresponding substantival uses of the word are well enough known, and indeed found in the NT,⁴ yet this 'quasi-participial' use--if we may so call it--is listed neither by LSJ⁵ nor by Moulton and Milligan,⁶ and only one instance outside the Greek OT versions is recorded by Bauer,⁷ viz., I Clem 11: 2, εἰς τὸ γνωστόν εἶναι πάντων. Turning to the LXX, we find it but 10 times,⁸ although the word itself appears some 22 times. It is thus difficult to refer the use to direct familiarity with the LXX.⁹ Again, while its appearance in Ezek 36: 32 may conceivably account for the construction in the general sense, on liturgical or apologetical grounds,¹⁰ it seems unlikely to have given rise to the formula used in speeches, γνωστόν ἔστω. However, where this formula occurs in the LXX and Daniel (Theod.), in every case it is in a letter or speech, and in four cases of the 6 it represents Aramaic ܝܘܨܬܘܢܐ . The other two are both found in I Esdras.

While then we may perhaps reserve judgment in the other cases, those of II Es 4: 12,13, 5: 8, and Daniel (Theod.) 3: 18 seem to

-
- 1). Acts 1: 9, 2: 14, 4: 10, 13: 38, 19: 17, 28: 22,28.
 - 2). Unpublished notes on Acts 2: 14 ("ܝܘܨܬܘܢܐ" bijb.-aram.) and 4: 10.
 - 3). Daniel 3: 18, Ezr 4: 12,13; 5:8. Cited by Wensinck on Ac 4: 10.
 - 4). Jn 18: 15,16; Luke 2: 44, 23: 49; Rom 1: 19 (substantive).
 - 5). p. 355b.
 - 6). Vocab., p. 130a.
 - 7). Op. cit., 297.
 - 8). Cf. H-R, p. 274a.
 - 9). It is not common enough to be called 'characteristic.'
 - 10). Although Ezek 36 is not quoted in the NT, as are cc. 34,37,38.

merit special attention. This is the more so, in view of the fact that, in Acts, the formula-- $\gamma\lambda\omega\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \xi\omicron\tau\omega\ \tau\iota\upsilon\ \delta\tau\epsilon$ --is found only in speeches.¹ The suggestion, then, is that it is probably part of the normal stock-phrasing of letters and speeches. In this connection, interesting light is thrown upon the matter by the occurrence, in a letter whose probable date is of the second century A.D., of the precisely corresponding Hebrew idiom, namely:

"שִׂידַע יְהִי לְךָ שׁ...²

One thing, then, seems clear: that a construction so involving $\gamma\lambda\omega\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$ or $\gamma(1)\tau\omicron$ ³ was used in Aramaic, and in the Hebrew of a not much later time at least, as a formula introducing some fact or group of facts which it was the author's (or speaker's) intention to list. Such a use is precisely parallel to that found in the speeches in Acts and, while it may have been used in colloquial Greek, its presence in Acts would nevertheless seem to be due to the influence of the semitic idiom, a point somewhat supported by its relative rarity outside Acts and relative frequency within the speeches of that book. Probably the most we can say of it is that it is another indication that, although the speeches of Acts may not be 'translations' of Semitic 'documents', yet nevertheless, they contain traces of that older form,--traces that are, then, perhaps best regarded as 'marks of authenticity' of the traditions incorporated in certain parts of Acts.⁴

-
- 1). Viz., Acts 2: 14 (Peter), 4: 10 (Peter), 13: 38 (Paul at Pisdian Antioch, cf. supra, pp. 32-36), 28: 28 (Paul at Rome). In every case, the people addressed are Jews.
 - 2). Cf. I. Rabinowitz, "A Hebrew Letter of the Second Century from Beth Mashko," BASOR, No. 151 (Oct. 1953), p. 21, Fig. 1, lines 2-3, "that it be known to thee that..."
 - 3). I.e., the Hebrew form. The text cited has scriptio defectiva.
 - 4). The precise language cannot be determined on the evidence above.

. δοῦναι ἐν (Acts 4: 12).

The use of *διδόναι* in the sense of *ποιεῖν* or *τιθέναι* was noted as a Semitism by Wellhausen.¹ Thackeray regarded this "new use" of *διδόναι* to supplant *τιθέναι*, (which, he observed, "still retains its hold in some books,"²), as due to "the use of the Heb. *נתן* in both senses." It is "characteristic of the later historical books though not confined to them."³ Black described it a 'well-known' Semitism,⁴ quoting as an illustration, Midrash Echa, I, 31,⁵ and adding a note referring to Wensinck's example of it in Gen 27: 40 (Frag).⁶ .. יתבין ביד שפונדיהון על צוארן.

With regard to Acts 4: 12, τὸ δεδομένον ἐν ἀνθρώποις, Torrey thought the Greek "too literal," the Aramaic original being *נתבין* *אנשין*, "'put among men,'" since "נתבין is very often the equivalent of נתן, in all the Aramaic dialects, and is most commonly construed with ל."⁷ De Zwaan found this observation one of the "decisive points" in Torrey's case.⁸ Further, the Bezan reading, δ' δεδομένον . ἀνθρώποις , 'which (is) given to men,' employing as it does the usual meaning of *διδόναι* , is probably to be regarded as ameliorative, and thus secondary. Again, while the 'new use' of *διδόναι* . does occur in the LXX, the vast preponderance of cases meaning 'to give' seems to weaken the case for 'septuagintalisation.' It is, then, probably best treated as a Semitism, perhaps an 'unrevised element' of primitive tradition, preserved in *NA²⁷BC*, though not *D*.

1). *Einl.* (1te Aufl., 1905), p. 33.

2). *Grammar*, 1, p. 39.

3). *ibid.*

4). *AAGA*, p. 96.

5). *ibid.*, l.c. Viz., ונתבון תלמידיו בארון, 'his disciples put him in a coffin.'

6). *AAGA*, (2nd ed., 1954), p. 255. Cf. Ginsburger's edition of the Fragment-Targum, p. 15, line 4, (q.v.).

7). *CDA*, p. 30. Cf. also, p. 6. 8). *Beginnings*, I, 11, 50.

.ἐκλέγεσθαι ἐν (Acts 15: 7, Peter).

The 'harte Konstruktion' ἐν ὑμῖν ἐξελέξατο, as Preuschen termed it,¹ in Acts 15: 7 (Peter), whose difficult wording ἐν ὑμῖν early copyists seem to have recognized and sought to ameliorate,² was claimed by Torrey as a Semitism,³ an original Aramaic ܘܢܝ (which verb is here, as often, construed with ܘ) having been translated literally.⁴ This solution found favour with de Zwaan⁵ and, though with reservations, Burkitt⁶ and Lake.⁷ Howard and Bruce, however, were not satisfied with it.⁸

Examining the evidence, we find that ἐκλέγεσθαι ἐν representing ܘܢܝ c. ܠ, though found in the LXX some 11 times,⁹ (none of which, incidentally, represents an Aramaic original), yet accounts for barely one fifth of the cases where ܘܢܝ is employed, the remainder being rendered idiomatically. Moreover, discussing this 'Hebraism' in the LXX, Gehman of Princeton observed that, in I Sam 16: 8,

ܘܢܝ? ܘܢܝ-ܘܢܝ ܘܢܝ-ܘܢܝ is

"idiomatically translated οὐδὲ τούτου ἐξελέξατο κύριος, but in v. 9, where the same sentence occurs, we find a Hebrew idiom: καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οὐκ ἐξελέξατο κύριος."¹⁰

- 1). Apg., p. 94.
- 2). The choice lies between: (i) KABC 81, ἐν ὑμῖν ἐ.; (ii) EHLF, ἐ. ἐν ὑμῖν; (iii) D, om ἐν; (iv) Sy^{VSEg}sah om ἐν ὑμῖν. Of these, we are probably right in treating (i) as the most likely generator of the others, by amelioration. Cf. Ropes, Beginnings, I, iii, 141b.
- 3). CDA, pp. 7, 22.
- 4). Ibid., p. 22.
- 5). Beginnings, I, ii, 49.
- 6). JTS, xx (1919), p. 326: 'excellent', but he wondered if it was not already present in the Greek, since "by using this construction Luke is free to go on with an accusative and infinitive, .. impossible if he had put ὑμῶς for ἐν ὑμῖν."
- 7). Beginnings, I, iv, 172b; but referring to II Es 19: 7 (Neh 9: 7), he questioned the need for an Aramaic original.
- 8). Moulton, Gram, ii, p. 474; Bruce, op. cit., p. 292.
- 9). Cf. H-R, s.v.
- 10). "The Hebraic Character of Septuagint Greek," VT, i (1951), p. 84.

Both idioms likewise occur in III Kgd (I Ki) 8: 16. Thus, while it is clear that we are not justified in regarding the expression --without further proof--as an Aramaism, yet likewise we seem unable to class it as a septuagintalism, the more so too, in view of the fact that no case occurs in a 'testimonium-passage.'¹ Nevertheless, the use is awkward Greek, especially for one who has employed the idiomatic form elsewhere.² We are left, then, with the possibility that it may reflect an underlying Hebrew form. The precise idiom, even to word-order, is found in the Dead Sea Manual of Discipline, iv, 22:³ ..כִּי אַ בַּחַר אֶל לְרִית עוֹלָמִים.., which Brownlee rendered: "... for God has chosen them for an eternal covenant."⁴ Precisely, now, because the normal idiom is found elsewhere in Acts, it would seem that if Luke had been composing freely or translating himself, we might have expected that normal form. The abnormal form might be explained if we found that he was here incorporating a piece of earlier tradition, in which the 'Hebraism' was already present, and from which he did not erase it. It would then constitute a testimony both to the age and the authenticity of the tradition thus preserved. The fact that the use occurs in a passage of direct speech, and that by Peter, might perhaps lend some support to such a view.

-
- 1). Cf. for example, Dodd, Acc. Script., pp. 107-8, et passim.
 - 2). Acts 1: 2,24; 6: 5; 13: 17; and 16: 22,25.
 - 3). The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery, Vol. II, Fascicle 2: Plates and Transcription of the Manual of Discipline. A.S.O.R., 1951.
 - 4). BASOR, Supplementary Studies Nos. 10-12, "The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline--Translation and Notes," by W. H. Brownlee, 1951, p. 16.

. ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό (Acts 1: 15, 2: 1,44,46D,47).

The phrase ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό, which occurs in the NT some ten times,¹ was claimed by Torrey--in four of the passages noted above in Acts --as a Semitism,² and one case in particular, Acts 2: 47, as "the most interesting of all the phrases which suggest translation."³ He observed that, though it ordinarily means 'together,' 'in the same place,' corresponding in the LXX to the Hebrew יחד and יחדו ,⁴ this meaning was 'obviously inadmissible' in Acts 2: 47. Moreover, recourse to the critical material offers no assistance, beyond testifying to several ancient attempts at amelioration.⁵ Thus he found indicated, either corruption in the Greek, or evidence that its author "was writing under some sort of compulsion such as that of translation;"⁶ as a result, he sought to solve the problem by supposing that the original Aramaic of ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό was the adverbial compound עִיבְרָא , עִיבְרָא , which, though "etymologically ... equivalent to in unum,"⁷ and occasionally used in this literal sense, meaning 'together,'⁸ nevertheless in the Judean dialects of Aramaic means 'greatly,'--in Greek, $\sigma\phi\delta\delta\alpha$ --and is the regular Onkelos equivalent for Hebrew יחד . This word, misread as עִיבְרָא , '(in)to one,' has

-
- 1). Viz., Mt 22: 34 (Reminiscence of Ps 2: 2?); Luke 17: 35; Acts 1: 15, 2: 1,44,46D, 47, 4: 26 (Ps 2: 2LXX); I Cor 7: 5, 11: 20, 14: 23.
 - 2). CDA, pp. 6, 10-14.
 - 3). *Ibid.*, p. 10.
 - 4). *Ibid.*, l.c.
 - 5). The possibilities resolve into: (i) ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό. NABC 81 Lvg; (ii) ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ D; (iii) τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό δέ... E Syhl; (iv) ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ et ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό post Ἰωάννης Sy^{VG}. We are probably justified in regarding, with Ropes (Beginnings, I, iii, 25b), (i) as the hardest reading, and (ii)-(iv) as conflate and ameliorative.
 - 6). CDA, p. 12.
 - 7). *Ibid.*, l.c.
 - 8). Cf. Jn 11: 52 (Sy); the Greek is εἰς ἓν; cf. Jn 17: 23 (Sy^{pal}).

been rendered by Luke ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό.¹ The correct translation would then be: "And the Lord added greatly day by day to the saved."²

The phrase as it stands, at least in Acts 2: 47, is clearly difficult,--some have thought it impossible,³--while the view of Preuschen and Jacquier, for example, that it is used here simply to strengthen the verb προβάθῃ,⁴ seems rather to evade the question; likewise also, perhaps, that of Anderson Scott,⁵ namely, that it meant 'thereunto,' possibly equivalent to 'to the same society,' whether right or wrong, is at least a 'new meaning' for the words, and cannot be substituted simply to make them intelligible, without further argument. Torrey's proposed solution, however, has met with a varied reception: it has been described as a 'splendid observation,'⁶ a 'decisive point,'⁷ as 'most ingenious,'⁸ and "a convincing and happy solution of the difficulty;"⁹ on the other hand, however, it was rejected outright by Burkitt,¹⁰ while several objections have been laid against it by other scholars, namely: (a) as Howard observed, "such a blunder is not likely on the part of one who could give the right rendering in 6: 7" (i.e., σφόδρα); (b) moreover, a comparison of I Cor 11: 18 with vs. 20 "shows clearly that ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό and ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ are synonymous terms."¹¹

-
- 1). We must suppose the further error of misreading '7? as a direct object, instead of a dative ('whom' instead of 'to whom.').
 - 2). CDA, p. 14.
 - 3). Cf. Williams, in McNeile, INT, (2nd ed., 1953), p. 98, n. 3; Lake, Beginnings, I, iv, 30a: "singularly awkward."
 - 4). Apq., p. 18; (Jacquier) Les Actes des Apôtres, p. 93.
 - 5). ExI, xxxi (1919-20), p. 221b.
 - 6). De Zwaan, Beginnings, I, ii, 55.
 - 7). ibid., p. 50.
 - 8). Foakes-Jackson, HTR, x (1917), p. 358.
 - 9). Barton, JTS, xxxvi (1935), p. 371.
 - 10). JTS, xx (1919), pp. 321-4.
 - 11). Moulton, Gram., ii, p. 473.

(c) 'A still more serious objection' was found by Black in the 'assumed equation' of ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό with ܠܬܘܒܐ, the ܠܬܘܒܐ of the Syriac versions being the equivalent of the quite different phrase, . εἰς ἓν.¹ The Syriac for the phrase under discussion is ܠܬܘܒܐ,² akin to the Aramaic ܠܬܘܒܐ, the almost invariable equivalent in the Targumim for Hebrew ܠܘܘܐ, ܠܘܘܐ.³ (d) Finally, Cadbury, who was not convinced that an 'intensive' explanation of the phrase was necessary, nevertheless believed that if such were in fact to be sought,

"... an original Hebrew or even an extensive use of the Greek phrase, like that familiar to Luke from its abundant use in the LXX, would cover the case fully as well."⁴

If, however, we are to reject Torrey's proposed solution,--as it seems we must,--some alternative explanation of the puzzle should be sought.

The phrase is frequent in the LXX, meaning 'together,' etc., and analysis of its distribution there, and of that of its underlying Hebrew (where it has one), reveals that (a) that equivalent is always--i.e., 45 times--the Hebrew ܠܘܘܐ, ܠܘܘܐ; and also that (b) the Hebrew adverbial expressions in question are elsewhere rendered by some nine other Greek words and phrases,⁵ of which the principal ones are ἄμα,⁶ and ὁμοθυμαδόν.⁷ Though all three are found scattered throughout the LXX, yet it is in the Psalms that ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό

1). AAGA, p. 9.

2). Cf. Sy^{V8} Acts 2: 44, etc. It also renders in Sy^{V8} Acts 5: 12, 12: 20, 13: 12, 19: 29, and (?) 4: 24.

3). Ps-J Deut 25: 5, ..ܠܬܘܒܐ ܠܘܘܐ, is an exception to this.

4). AmJTh, xxiv (1920), p. 454.

5). VIZ., ἄμα, ὁμοθυμαδόν, ὁμοῦ, ἀμφότεροι, κοινῇ, κατὰ τὸ αὐτό, κατὰ μόνους, ὡσαύτως, ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ.

6). Principally in Isaiah and Jeremiah, where it predominates.

7). It is the almost exclusive rendering used in Job.

predominates. Now, Howard, writing in connection with Luke 1-2, described Luke as "one who was steeped in the diction of the Greek version of the Psalter."¹ Further, in one case in Acts, the phrase ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ is found in a quotation from the LXX, well-known to the early Church, and employed by it in a 'Messianic' context, as a 'proof-text,'² viz., Ps 2: 2. We may also note that this occurs in a prayer.³ Further, it is applied here to the 'joining of forces' between the Jews and the Romans against Jesus, as vs. 27 clearly shows. It thus seems to have here a stronger meaning than 'together,' or indeed, 'with one accord,'⁴ or 'at the same time,'⁵ senses suggested by Wensinck for Acts 2: 47 and 2: 44 respectively. Nearer, perhaps, would be 'in a coalition,' 'in conclave,' or 'in alliance,'--meanings which, incidentally, would also suit the case in Matthew 22: 34(q.v.), which refers to similar behaviour on the part of the Pharisees.⁶ But this is hardly the 'plain meaning' of the Greek, and must depend,--if it is to be found acceptable,--upon some further interpretation of the underlying Hebrew of the Psalm, i.e., upon the meaning there of וְיָבִי.

Turning, however, to the recently discovered 'Manual of Discipline,' to which reference has already been made elsewhere,⁷ we find that not only does the root וְיָבִי occur some 75 times,⁸ so that Rost describes it as "eines der häufigsten Wörter" in that

1). Moulton, Gram., 11, p. 483.

2). Viz., Acts 4: 26. Cf. Dodd, Acc. Script., pp. 104-5, 108, &c.

3). Cf. supra, pp. 91ff.

4). "eengezind," i.e., ὁμοθυμαδόν; (Wensinck, unpublished note).

5).. "in de zelfde tijd," i.e., ἑμα; (i.e., וְיָבִי; unpubl. note).

6). Cf. supra, p. 128, n. 1.

7). Cf. supra, pp. 21, 29, 127; hereinafter referred to as DSD.

8). 71, plus two in restorations; the figure of 73 is Rost's.

(Cf. TLZ, Jg 77, Nr 12 (Dez. 1952), Sp. 724).

work, but it seems to have there a new and distinctive meaning, usually interpreted--in the case of the noun--'Community.' Sometimes we find the meaning, 'unity.'¹ The meaning 'together' seems to occur but 5 times,² and even then has the colour of 'as a group,' or 'communally.' The noun, in some 34 of its 61 appearances, has the article, and is used as a technical term for the 'society' or 'sect' to which the *קהילת* belonged. Further, Black has noted that 'fresh light' is shed on the case of Acts 2: 47, *προστίθει... ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό*, by the presence in the same work of an 'exact parallel,'³ viz.,...*להאספם ליהוד*,⁴ meaning 'to join the congregation.' The same idea and idiom is also found in DSD viii, 19,...*לכול הנוסף ליהוד*, "for everyone who joins the Community,"⁵ a parallel to which is found by Brownlee in the 'Zadokite Fragment A,' xiii, 11, (16: 11),...*וכל הנוסף לעדתו*,⁶ "and everyone who joins his congregation." We may note another possible parallel, which, however, is not precisely applicable here, viz., DSD vi, 14,...*להוסיף על עצת היהוד*, "to join the Council of the Community."⁷ Likewise, we may observe also at this point, that in the LXX, the principal Hebrew original behind Greek *προστίθεναι*, is *והוסיף*.⁸ In the next place, we find, also in the Manual of Discipline, another quasi-verbal expression: *להיות ליהוד*,⁹ it appears again as...*ויהי' עצתו ליהוד*,¹⁰ meaning "to belong to the

1). So W. H. Brownlee, H. H. Rowley, etc.

2). DSD v, 10, vi, 2 (ter), & x, 17 (q.v.).

3). AAGA, (2nd ed., 1954), p. 246 (Supplem. Note to p. 10, n. 1).

4). DSD, v, 7.

5). Brownlee's translation, "The Dead Sea Manual &c," p. 34.

6). *ibid.*, p. 34, n. 36. He also refers here to p. 25, n. 26, on DSD vi, 14, comparing Acts 2: 41,47; 5: 14; & 11: 24, concerning the use of the verb 'added.' (Rost's text of *Die Damaskusschrift*, (KLT, Nr 157, 1935).

7). Brownlee's translation, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

8). H-R, p. 1221a-1222b, s.v. *προστίθεναι*.

9). DSD, v, 2.

10). DSD vi, 23; Brownlee, *ib.*, p. 26.

Community." Another interesting case of it is DSD viii, 12, ^{ל"ד} ל"ד וישראל, ורהיות אלה, which Brownlee rendered: "Now when these things come to pass in Israel to the Community ...,¹ but, following the model of DSD viii, 10b, where אלה seems to mean not 'these things' but 'these (men),'² and keeping in mind the context here, we should probably prefer to render: "Now when these men belong to the Community in Israel (according to these rules, they will separate themselves . . .)."³ Perhaps we should add for completeness DSD ii, 24: כלא הכול יהיו ליחד אמת, "for they all shall be in unity of truth (Brownlee: 'true unity'⁴),--though the idiom is not really quite parallel to those quoted previously. Now, the form להיות ליחד, "to belong to the Community," is very interesting, especially in the light of the fact that in two of the cases in Acts where ἐπι τὸ αὐτό occurs, it is construed with εἶναι, namely, Acts 1: 15, and 2: 1, while in another case, Acts 2: 44, many of the MSS. so construe it.⁵

Again, in some three cases where the phrase occurs in Acts, the critical materials attest early difficulty. We have already referred to one of these, Acts 2: 47;⁶ the others are 2: 1 and 2: 44.

(a) In Acts 2: 1, the following are the possible readings:-

- (i) \aleph ABC : ἑμοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό .
 (ii) DEg(sah.boh) : ἑμοῦ .
 (iii) C^oE : ὁμοθυμαδόν .

1). op. cit., p. 32.

2). ibid., l.c.

3). The words in parenthesis are Brownlee's, op. cit., p. 32.

4). Brownlee: 'they shall live in . . .' apparently reflecting the reading of יהיו (shall live) for יהיו (shall be).

5). Cf. infra, p. 134.

6). Cf. supra, pp. 128-130, 132.

The reading of (i) is called by Preuschen 'Tautologie,'¹ and by Jacquier likewise, 'expression pléonastique;' moreover, in view of the Bezan reading (ii), it should probably be regarded as a conflation of two elements, ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό and ὁμοῦς, the former of which is plainly the more difficult. Again, reading (iii) should probably be considered as traceable in turn to (ii), but in any case it too attests a certain lack of ease with ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό; we would surely find it difficult to suppose that an original ὁμοθυμαδόν was ever replaced by ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό, although the reverse would be possible by interpretation or amelioration. Whatever, then, may be the explanation of (i), we seem to have strong grounds for accepting the phrase ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό as original.

(b) In Acts 2: 44, we find the following readings:-

- (i) B 234 Lvtperp (gig) m r: ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ εἶχον (ἅπαντα κοινά)
 (ii) D : ἦσαν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό, καὶ εἶχον πάντα κοινά.
 (iii) N AC 81 : ἦσαν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό, καὶ εἶχον ἅπαντα κοινά.

Of these readings, we may note that (i) is clearly the hardest, and that (ii) and (iii) are really almost interchangeable with each other; further, that (ii)-(iii) represent a couplet in synonymous parallelism, which appears to reflect Acts 4: 32b,d. Lake, in fact, was inclined to regard Acts 2: 41-47 as "an editorial duplication" of 4: 32-35, "but possibly nearer the original form of the text."³ Which reading, then, are we to prefer? Ropes regarded (ii)-(iii) as 'expanded,'⁴ likewise Lake-Cadbury the reading of D (i.e., ii.), as 'conflate and corrupt,'⁵ while both

1). Apg. p. 11.
 2). op. cit., p. 44.
 3). Beginnings, I, v, 145.
 4). ibid., I, iii, 24b.
 5). ibid., I, iv, 28b.

discern that alike in Acts 2: 44 and 2: 47 (as also 2: 46D), the reading ἐνὶ τὸ αὐτό 'gave trouble,'¹ in no case being 'really a natural phrase.'² Nevertheless, reading (1) might easily have given rise to the others: the reverse is less likely, especially in view of the parallelism and the apparent doublet in 4: 32. But whichever view we take, it becomes clear that ἐνὶ τὸ αὐτό and ἀπαντα κοινά seem to be--in some sense at least--nearly equivalent to each other. This is the more interesting in view of the facts that, in the sole place in the LXX where κοινῆ, 'in common,' has a Hebrew equivalent, Sir 50: 17, it represents יתן, while in the Manual of Discipline and the Acts alike, the Community practised not only 'spiritual' fellowship, but also 'Community of property';³ moreover, in both cases penalties follow lying in respect of property.⁴

There is still more evidence to be considered. First, Vazakas,⁵ examining the use of the phrase under discussion, as found in the NT, concluded that it was, at least in Acts and I Corinthians, (probably also in the Apostolic Fathers⁶), a quasi-technical term denoting the 'union of the Christian body,' roughly equivalent to 'in Church.'⁷ This view seems to have commended itself to a number of scholars, notably Burkitt⁸ and Howard.⁹

-
- 1). (Ropes), Beginnings, I, 111, 24b.
 - 2). (Lake-Cadbury), Beginnings, I, iv, 29a.
 - 3). DSD I, 12.13; v, 2, (14); vi, 22-23; vii, 6.25; GDC xiii, 11 (16: 4). Cf. Brownlee, op. cit., p. 19, n. 5. Josephus, BJ, 11, 122.
 - 4). Cf. DSD vi, 24-25.
 - 5). JBL, xxxvii (1918), pp. 105-110. (Cf. especially, pp. 106ff.).
 - 6). Cf. Barn 4: 10, I Eph 13: 1, Magn 7: 1, Philad 6: 2, 10: 1; I Clem 37: 4.
 - 7). Vazakas, op. cit., l.c.
 - 8). JTS, xx (1919), p. 323.
 - 9). Moulton, Gram., 11, p. 473.

At any rate, it suggests a possible meaning for the phrase in line with the meaning of the Hebrew -/ 717, as found in the Manual of Discipline and the Judean Hymns.¹ In the next place, in an earlier chapter we noted that the phrase 717 717, as understood by the writer(s) of one of the Judean Hymns, seems to have influenced the meaning of the words (λύσας) τὰς ὠδὴνας τοῦ θανάτου, in Peter's speech, Acts 2: 24.² And thirdly, while as we have noted above³ the phrase in question is also found in Acts in a quotation from a passage from the LXX, Ps 2: 2, well-known for its use as a 'proof-text,' yet Talmon, in claiming that a similar meaning to that found in the Dead Sea Scrolls is also found in the Old Testament, indeed alleges this very passage as an example of such use, namely, "congregation, assembly;"⁴ moreover, he finds there a parallel between the clause 717 717 in the second part of the sentence, and 717 717 in the first, "where for reasons of style 717 is dropped," the "two-fold 717 717 as against the one-fold 717 717 in the second half-sentence" making good "for the loss of metric length."⁵ Thus, he is led to translate the words as:

"The kings of the earth present themselves (in council)
And the rulers (of peoples) combine in a covenant
Against God and His Anointed."⁶

He finds a further 'striking parallel passage' based on the equivalence of 717 717 and 717 717, instead of 717 717, in the

2

-
- 1). Hymns from the Judean Scrolls, (ed. Wallenstein), xiii, 4-5.
 - 2). Cf. *supra*, pp. 66-67.
 - 3). Cf. *supra*, pp. 91ff., 131, and 128, n. 1.
 - 4). "The Sectarial 717--A Biblical Noun," VT, iii (1953), p. 134.
 - 5). *ibid.*, pp. 136-7.
 - 6). *ibid.*, p. 137.

Sectarian Hymns III (Plate 8).¹ From these facts he would claim the phrase " לְיַדְיָדָא or לְיַדְיָדָא in the sense of 'combine in a covenant',² as another addition to his list of constructions with לְיַדְיָדָא .

In consequence of all these facts, we may be disposed to sum up thus: (a) the phrase ἐνὶ τῷ αὐτό as used in Acts is not really a septuagintalism; (b) neither does it seem to be validly accounted for by Torrey's explanation; (c) nevertheless, it seems to have caused difficulty in several places, even to the ancient scribes; (d) it seems also to be a quasi-technical term, meaning 'in unity' or 'in fellowship', as Vazakas claimed; (e) not only is such a meaning warranted by the evidence of the Manual of Discipline and the Judean Hymns, but also--and in particular--by the presence in those documents of the idioms $\text{לְהַיָּדָא לְיַדְיָדָא}$ and $\text{לְהַיָּדָא לְיַדְיָדָא}$, which are paralleled by Acts 1: 15, 2: 1, (2: 44 excl. B), and 2: 47 respectively; (f) finally, this is not inconsistent with what was claimed elsewhere, concerning the aberrant OT quotations in Acts 1-15. It might, then, be reasonable to suggest that, though the expression as found in Acts does not seem to represent an Aramaic original, and though it is occasionally embedded in material which may be suspected of being Lukan,³ yet its meaning in the traditions incorporated there by Luke is akin to that found in the Manual of Discipline; further, that if in

-
- 1). Sukenik, *Megilloth Genuzoth*, II (1950), p. 38. The text is: $\text{לְהַיָּדָא בְּמַעַד עִם צֹאן קַדוּשִׁים וְלִנְוָא וְיַדְיָדָא עִם רִנֵּי שָׁמַיִם}$.
 "So that he might present himself in parade with the host of Saints and that he might enter into communion with the congregation of heavenly spirits (lit. the Sons of Heaven)."
 Talmon, op. cit., p. 137.
- 2). Talmon, op. cit., p. 137.
- 3). Cf. Cadbury's note in *Beginnings*, I, v, 392-402.

this sense it entered Luke's knowledge and use through Ps 2: 2, the factor determining its meaning even so is not the use as found in the LXX, but the peculiar nuance given to the LXX phrase by the early Church. The expression, then, is a Hebraism, but in this special meaning may quite as well have come to Luke in the Greek ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό, and in itself does not indicate direct translation of Hebrew sources by Luke, but rather the employment of (Greek?) traditions the antiquity and authenticity of which is attested by the presence in them of unrevised elements of a peculiarly Hebraic character, but whose general character does not show them to have been written Semitic documents, or even literal translations of such documents.

The words in Acts 2: 47 might thus be translated: "And the Lord was day by day incorporating into the Fellowship those who were being saved."

ἐύρεθῆναι εἰς (Acts 8: 40).

For this unusual expression we are referred by Debrunner¹ and Bauer² to the LXX, especially to Esther 1: 5, τοῖς ἔθνεσιν . . . τοῖς εὐρεθείσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν . . . , 'for the people(s) present in the city', and to Hermas, Hs 9: 13: 2, καὶ ἄλλως ἄνθρωπος οὐ δύναται . . . εὐρεθῆναι εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ.³ The sense given by the first of these uses, however, as applied to Acts 8: 40, would be simply, "But Philip was present ('se trouva') in Ashdod." Such an interpretation was supported by Jacquier,⁴ who remarked that εὐρίσκεισθαι

1). B1-D, (3te Aufl.), Anhang, s. 54, (Anm. Sekt. 313).

2). op. cit., 588.

3). I.e., "... and no man can otherwise be found in the Kingdom of God..."

4). op. cit., p. 279.

was 'fréquentment employé' for εἶναι ; Bruce, on the other hand, was concerned only with the εἰς , whose replacement of ἐν he regarded as "most marked before names of towns."¹

However, as Black has noted,² the late A. J. Wensinck claimed the expression as a Semitism, representing "אשתכח ב", meaning 'to arrive in', and quoted in support p. Ma aser Sheni, v, 2, and Gen 28: 10 (Frag.), "... and the land was shortened before him, and he arrived in Haran"(...ואשתכח בחרן).³

Applied to Acts 8: 40, Φίλιππος δὲ εὗρέθη εἰς Ἄσδωτον, this would give: "But Philip arrived in (or: went to) Ashdod", which is not only plausible, but requires no straining of the sense as, perhaps, does the usual rendering, 'was found in Ashdod.' Further, in an earlier chapter there was shown to be some evidence that the OT quotation in Acts 8: 32f. inclined slightly towards the MT, and especially the Targum to the Prophets;⁴ it would therefore seem to be in order to suggest that this story which, on the whole, is written in excellent Greek, nevertheless bears also the stamp of an earlier tradition,--here most probably Aramaic,--though it is not thereby claimed that the narrative as we have it here is, in the usual sense, a translation of an Aramaic 'source-document.'⁵

ἰδιώτης (Acts 4: 13).

The use of this word, found in Acts 4: 13, in the expression: ἄνθρωποι ἀγράμματοί εἰσιν καὶ ἰδιῶται....., was compared by Wensinck⁶

-
- 1). op. cit., p. 195.
 - 2). "Aramaic Studies and the New Testament: The Unpublished Work of the Late A. J. Wensinck of Leyden," JTS, xlix (1948), p. 164; cf. also AAGA, (2nd ed., 1954), p. 238.
 - 3). Ginsburger, Fragmententhargum, p. 15.
 - 4). Cf. supra, pp. 46-47.
 - 5). I.e., as Torrey suggested.
 - 6). Unpublished note.

with the following instance of its Aramaic counterpart, הַדְּיוֹט, taken from the Fragment Targum to Gen 28: 17,¹

"And he (i.e., Jacob) was afraid, and said: 'What a dreadful place this is! This place is no ordinary place (..אֵתֵר הַדְּיוֹט), but indeed a place for the House of Prayer...'"

The meaning he gives is 'profane', that is, 'common' as opposed to 'holy.'

Now, although the Greek word, in the sense of 'private person', 'layman', 'one not possessing professional skill', and even 'raw hand' or 'ignoramus', is found in non-Biblical Greek from Herodotus onward,² yet it is only found once in the LXX, viz., Proverbs 6: 8,--and the Hebrew there is wanting. Its few NT occurrences are--with the exception of the present case--confined to the Pauline Epistles.³ The corresponding loan-word, הַדְּיוֹט, in Hebrew and Aramaic, has, however, the meanings 'an ordinary person', 'ein Unbedeutender' (Levy), and finally, 'common' or 'profane': it appears in these senses in the Targumim.⁴

Since, then, the persons in Acts 4: 12f. making the observation are ecclesiastical officials,⁵ we may at least ask whether this more precisely 'Rabbinical' use of the word was not really intended, whether on Luke's part, or in his 'sources'. If so, it would perhaps cast interesting light on the question of the origin and value of the material preserved in his work.

1). Ginsburger's edition, p. 16.

2). LSJ, p. 819a; Bauer, op. cit., 671.

3). I Cor 14: 16, 23, 24; II Cor 11: 6.

4). Cf. Levy, Chald. Wb., I, 193b-194a; Jastrow, DTM, p. 333a. Examples may be cited from: I Sam 18: 23, 24: 14; Deut 28: 13 (Ps-J), etc.

5). Cf. Acts 4: 5-6.

καθίζεῖν ἐπί (Acts 2: 3).

Whether we are to take the implied subject of this verb in Acts 2: 3 as γλῶσσα,¹ or as πῦρ,² it is clear that the ultimate reference is to the Holy Spirit, of whom the διαμεινόμενοι γλῶσαι ὡσεὶ πυρός were one manifestation, and Bruce rightly points out the similarity of idea to that expressed in John 1: 32,33, the Holy Spirit in all three cases 'sitting' or 'resting' upon someone.³ The expression is not a septuagintalism, nor is it found in Biblical Hebrew.

Wensinck, however, found a parallel to the use here⁴ in the Fragment Targum, Num 11: 26,⁵ where the Aramaic verb שָׁבַט, 'to rest', 'sit', occurs:

"There were two men left in the camp . . . , and the Holy Spirit sat (or: rested) upon them (ושרת עליהון רוחא וקוּר)."

Moreover, Jastrow lists the Hebrew verb שָׁבַט also in the same sense, and cites several cases of the Shekinah or the Holy Spirit 'resting' upon someone.⁶

Perhaps, then, the most that can be said is this, that the idea of the Holy Spirit or the Shekinah 'resting' upon someone belonged to the thought and vocabulary of the Aramaic (and probably Hebrew too) of the Jews from an early, though post-Biblical, time,

- 1). Jacquier, op. cit., p. 45; Bruce, op. cit., p. 82.
- 2). Lake-Cadbury, *Beginnings*, I, iv, 18a; the expression is felt to be a 'sense-construction', the subject being 'fire'; cf. also, Bruce, op. cit., l.c., who thinks it possible.
- 3). op. cit., l.c.
- 4). Unpublished note.
- 5). Ginsburger's edition, p. 50.
- 6). *DFTM*, pp. 1629b-1630a, cited Sanhed. 11a: 'there is one among you who deserves that the Shekinah should rest upon him' (ישיש. שראוי ששרת עליו שכנינה...); *Ibid.*, 65b, 'the spirit ... comes down upon him etc.' (שורה עליו); *Koh. R.*, to vii. 2: 'the holy spirit rested upon them' (ושרת עליהם).

and that, especially in view of the presence in an earlier verse of the same story of another 'Hebraism', ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό,¹ it may be fair to regard the expression found here as a Semitism also. It would, if so, witness to the antiquity and authenticity of the accounts of the events narrated.

• μετανοεῖν ἄπό (τινος), (Acts 8: 22).

The use of μετανοεῖν with ἄπό is found in the NT only once, namely, Acts 8: 22, while in the LXX it is at least as rare, making its sole appearance in Jer 8: 6. It is also found once in the writings of the Apostolic Fathers, I Clem 8: 3, occurring in what Bauer described as a 'citation of unknown origin',² and which J. B. Lightfoot was inclined to trace to 'pseudo-Ezekiel'.³ Moreover, in all three cases, the word governed by the 'ἄπό' is either κακία or the similar ἀνομία.⁴

Now, in the first place, unless Clarke is right in regarding Acts 8: 21-23 as simply a 'string of LXX. phrases', the present passage being derived from Jer 8: 6 (LXX),⁵ and this view seems also to be implied in Bauer's Wörterbuch,⁶ the expression can hardly be described as a septuagintalism. Again, apart from this place, (unless the phrase τῆς στεφανῆ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, in Acts 7: 42, is to be taken as an allusion to Jer 8: 2⁷), Jer 8 does not appear to be quoted in the NT, and at all events, certainly does not seem to

- 1). Acts 2: 1. Cf. supra, pp. 128-138.
- 2). op. cit., 927, "Zitat. unbek. Herkunft."
- 3). The Apostolic Fathers, (One volume edition), p. 9, margin.
- 4). The word κακία in Jer 8: 6; Acts 8: 22. ἀνομία in I Clem 8: 3.
- 5). Beginnings, I, ii, 98-99, q.v.
- 6). Cf. supra, note 2.
- 7). WH suggest Jer 7: 18, though either is possible in itself.

have been a source of 'testimonia'.¹ Next, even if we were to attempt so to explain the words in Acts, we should still be left with the Clement-quotation, which certainly does not appear to be based on Jer 8: 6. It may be, however, that Acts 8: 22 and I Clem 8: 3 reflect a certain similarity of origin. This is perhaps to some degree supported by the occurrence in the Book of Revelation of the similar form, $\mu\sigma\tau\alpha\nu\omicron\sigma\iota\nu \xi\kappa\tau\iota\nu\omicron\sigma$, which Charles regarded as

"... probably a reflection of קָנַת עוֹנֵי ; for in Symmachus $\mu\sigma\tau\alpha\nu\omicron\sigma\iota\nu$ is a more frequent rendering of the Hebrew phrase."²

To these facts should be added the evidence adduced by Wensinck,³ from the Fragment Targum to the Pentateuch, namely: Gen 18: 21, "... to repent from their evil deeds" (למחזור מן .. יורדיהון וישא),⁴ Gen 19: 24, "... that they might make repentance from their evil deeds" (דיערון חטוב מן עורדיהון וישא),⁵ Ex 10: 28, "Repent from these evil deeds (or: words)," (חור מן מילין וישא האילין),⁶ and Ex 14: 25, "...the Sea repented from its waves" (חר ימא מן גלוי).⁷ The last case is very interesting, occurring as it does in a piece of quite free Aramaic.⁸ Thus the conjunction of 'repent', 'from', and '(evils)', is found in early Palestinian Aramaic. To these examples which Wensinck noted, we may add further, Jer 8: 6--the 'parallel' in the LXX alleged by Clarke and Bauer--in the form

1). Cf. also, Dadd, *Acc. Script.*, pp. 106-8, etc.

2). *Revelation (ICG)*, I, p. 71.

3). Unpublished notes.

4). Ginsburger's edition, p. 11.

5). *ibid.*, p. 12.

6). *ibid.*, p. 29.

7). *ibid.*, p. 35.

8). It belongs to the story of Moses and his dialogue with the Red Sea, and is a piece of free composition.

found in the Targum to the Prophets: "there is not a man who repents from his evil" (לית גבר דמתניב מן בישתה..).¹ This case is also particularly interesting, since the Hebrew underlying the Greek *μετανοεῖν* is not *שָׁב*, as we might have expected, but *תָּוַב*. The Aramaic idiom is, then, that more usually found in the Fragment Targum.

Finally, while the Greek *μετανοεῖν* is found in Symmachus rendering Hebrew *שָׁב*,² and even in one case, Isa 55: 7, occurs in a 'testimonium-passage',³ (although in that case we have to do with 'returning to', not 'turning from'), probably the most that can be drawn from that is that the expression was beginning to enter Biblical Greek from Hebrew. Cases in point are Job 36: 10b, "for they shall repent from evil" (MT: *לְשׂוּבוֹתָם מֵעֲוֹנוֹתָם*), which the Targum reads as: "... they shall repent from their evil deeds" (.. *דְּתוּבוּן מִן עוֹוְדֵיהוֹן בִּישָׂא*),⁴ Jer 18: 8, (Tg: "And that people shall repent from its evil," i.e., *וְיִתְוּב עַמָּא הַהוּא מִבִּישְׁתֵּיהּ*),⁵ Ezek 33: 12 (Tg: "... in the day that he repents from his sin," i.e., ... *בְּהַ וְיִוְמָא דְתוּבוּ מִחַוְוֵיהּ*).⁶ Turning to the free, post-Biblical Hebrew of the Dead Sea Manual of Discipline, a document to whose idiom and vocabulary we have already had occasion to refer in other places, we find the precise idiom in question, in the lines introducing the 'Practice' or 'Regulation' (*סִדְרָא*) of the Community, namely,

"Now this is the practice for the men of the Community who dedicate themselves to turn from all evil (*וְשׂוּב* (*סִדְרָא*)).⁷

-
- 1). Lagarde, *Proph. Chald.*, p. 304, line 5.
 - 2). E.g., Isa 55: 7, Jer 18: 8, Ezek 33: 12, and Job 36: 10.
 - 3). Cf. Dodd, *Acc. Script.*, pp. 106-8, etc.
 - 4). Lagarde, *Hag. Chald.*, p. 112, line 11.
 - 5). *ib.*, *Proph. Chald.*, p. 317, line 4.
 - 6). *ibid.*, p. 410, line 10. 7). DSD v, 1.

Another use of the preposition מִן , though without the idea following of 'evil', occurs in the Damascus Document, "for every one who turns from his way ..." (לכּוּל הַשֶּׁב מִדַּרְכּוֹ).¹

These facts, coupled with the words of I Clem 8: 1,2,² which indicate that the citation in 8: 3 is in some sense 'scripture,' and so perhaps rests ultimately on a Semitic original, seem to suggest that the expression is a Semitism. Whether it is due to Aramaic or to Hebrew is not clear from the evidence: the idiom is proper to both. Moreover, since it is hardly a quotation, any more than are the similar expressions in Revelation, to which reference was made above, we may probably conclude that it is to be traced to the 'ipsissima verba Petri', and so, in this place, constitutes a token of the authenticity and antiquity of the traditions embodied by Luke in Acts 8: 21ff. The use of $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\nu\omicron\sigma\iota\varsigma$ instead of some simpler verb of 'turning' may be due to the influence of the all-pervading "Repent, and be baptised...",³ whose formularistic nature seems to point to a liturgical or 'kerygmatic' origin.

$\cdot\eta\ \delta\iota\acute{o}\varsigma$ = 'Christianity' (Acts 9: 2, &c.⁴).

The metaphorical uses of the Hebrew and Aramaic roots $\sqrt{\text{קָרַן}}$ and $\sqrt{\text{קָרַח}}$ in the sense of 'mode,' 'custom,' and so on, are well enough known.⁵ However, the word 'way' meaning 'religion' is not

- 1). Die Damaskusschrift, ed. L. Rost, xv, 7, (19: 7b), p. 27.
- 2). "The ministers of God's grace spoke through the Holy Spirit concerning repentance, and the very Ruler of All Things spoke with an oath concerning repentance, etc."
- 3). Cf. Matt 3: 2, 4: 17; Mark 1: 15; Acts 2: 38 (Peter), 3: 19 (Peter), (where $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\nu\omicron\sigma\iota\tau\epsilon$ and $\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota\psi\alpha\tau\epsilon$ are put in an instructive parallel), and 8: 22 etc. Cf. Dodd, APD, passim.
- 4). Viz., Acts 9: 2, 19: 9,23, 22: 4, 24: 14,22.

noted by any of the Lexica,¹ unless we are to count the reference by Jastrow to Rosh Hashanah 17a, "they deviated from the ways of the community, became heretics,"² which hardly qualifies, since the word has the meaning rather of 'customs'. However, in the Manual of Discipline, we find just such a use: e.g., DSD ix, 17-18, "... those who choose the way,"³ (לבוחרי דרך), upon which Brownlee makes the note:⁴

"Cf. Ps. 119:30 and the designation of the earliest Christians in Acts 9:2 and in the Didache."

Other cases are:

DSD x, 21: "... Yet I will have no compassion on all those who turn aside from the way, .." (ולוא ארחם על) (כול סוררי דרך),⁵

and:

DSD xi, 13: ".. And he will direct my steps in the way.." (ויכין לדרך פעמי).⁶

In the light of our other references to the Manual of Discipline in connection with the thought and diction of Acts, we may add here another parallel. The expression, then, is a Hebraism, but it is probably one which has crept into the thought and usage of the Church or Churches from which Luke derived his traditions. It can hardly indicate 'translation', a point which is strengthened by the observed presence of the use in II Acts,⁷ but it is probably simply a surviving trace of the old name for the Christian Religion.

1). Not, at any rate, by BDB, Jastrow, or Levy.

2). DTM, p. 323b. The text is: פירוטו סדרתי ציבור.

3). The translations used here are Brownlee's. Cf. op. cit., p. 36.

4). *ibid.*, p. 37, n. 34.

5). *ibid.*, p. 42.

6). *ibid.*, p. 44. Cf, also, DSD ix, 20-21.

7). Cf. *supra*, p. 145, n. 4, for references.

• συναλιζόμενος (Acts 1: 4).

Before examining the linguistic phenomena associated with this word, it is necessary to investigate the critical material to ascertain the correct reading. Three readings are offered:

- 1). συναλιζόμενος, c. x ABCE.
 - 2). συναλισκόμενος, c. D (cf. Lvt^d, convivens.).
 - 3). συναυλιζόμενος, c 69 216 323 383 429 522 614 1108 1518
(Cf. conversatus est, Aug., et Lvt^{perp} gīg e^{vg}codd.).
- We might also include: post συναλ. add μετ' αὐτῶν (cum eis),
D Lvt^e & P Sy Arm Eg^{sah}.boh

It seems clear that, whatever else is true, the reading (3) is not only late, or more exactly, lacking in early attestation, --apart Augustine and the versions cited--but, as Ropes observed, "an alleviation by conjecture, perhaps regarded as a mere improvement in spelling."¹ Again, the word συναλιζόμενος in the sense found here is rare, but the word συναλισκόμενος (reading 2), attested only by D, is, on the face of things, quite out of place in Acts 1: 4, and appears to have been a slip, perhaps dictational, for reading (1).² Its meaning, "and while he was being taken captive together with them, he commanded them ..," would give a very different setting and meaning to the story. It may in fact have been a deliberate attempt to avoid the difficult συναλιζόμενος. The reading of the Bezan Latin, simul convivens, hardly supports it; a possible alternative to this view would be to see in it a haplography for συναλισκόμενος, the second -ν- being omitted, with meaning, 'consuming together',³ a meaning found in Aristotle being

1). Beginnings, I, iii, 2b.

2). Ropes, op. cit., p. 3, so prints it (i.e., as a slip, the 'correct' reading being printed in the text.

3). Cf. LSJ, p. 1695b.

'to consume together the proverbial salt', that is, 'live in close companionship with...'¹ But while this might harmonize with 'simul convivens,'(d), yet Liddell and Scott list no case of the Middle or Passive. Unless, then, some other explanation is forthcoming,² we should pass on to consideration of reading (1), συναλιζόμενος. Perhaps the most serious objection to reading (2) is that, while it is fairly easy to see how an error, such as that due to dictational transmission,³ might give rise to the form συναλισκόμενος, (perhaps passing unnoticed because of its resemblance to συναναλισκόμενος), yet it is very hard to think of the reading συναλισκόμενος being almost universally corrected to the uncommon and awkward συναλιζόμενος. We therefore accept reading (1) as that most likely to have been the original one. The other critical point noted above, in addition to readings (1)-(3), seems to be an attempt to make explicit what is implied in the 'συν-' of the verb, and likewise its insertion is easier to explain than would be its omission. We therefore omit it from our text.

However, once having made this choice, we are left in no small doubt as to the precise meaning of the word, although the general sense seems clear enough. Field⁴ thought neither of the commonly accepted meanings, 'being assembled with them' and 'eating together with them' respectively, "admissible"--at least, on the face of the matter. The former "would certainly require .συναλιςθεΐς"; the latter, he wrote, "seems to rest entirely on

-
- 1). Eth. Nic., 1156b27: τοὺς λεγομένους ἅλας συναναλώσας
 - 2). E.g., a common ancestor to both difficult readings, etc.
 - 3). Cf. H. J. M. Milne & T. C. Skeat, Scribes and Correctors of the Codex Sinaiticus, (1938), pp. 51-59.
 - 4). Notes on the Translation of the New Testament, (1899), pp. 110ff.

the ancient versions ... and glossaries," apparently having arisen from

".. a fanciful etymology, coupled with what is elsewhere said that the Apostles ate and drank with our Lord after his resurrection."¹

In the only instance quoted of συναλιζεσθαι in this sense, viz., Hexapla, Ps 140(141): 4, "where for the Hebrew אָסַף לְבַיַּת St Chrysostom ad loc. quotes: Ἄλλος· μὴ συναλισθῶ (with a various reading συναλισθῶ),"² he thought the context by no means excluded the 'legitimate' sense, 'congregari';³ in fact, the construction with ἐν ταῖς τεραπνεύμασιν αὐτῶν, he said, seemed "almost to require this."⁴ Consequently, he settled for 'congregari', or 'convenire', insisting, however, that the participle must be taken in its full 'present' sense, "as he was assembling with them"; he recognized, nevertheless, the difficulty of describing one person as 'being assembled,' and thus agreed that Hemsterhuis's emendation συναλιζόμενοις "would greatly improve the text."⁵ Likewise, John Lightfoot, rejecting derivation of the word συναλιζόμενος from ἄλις, salt, sought to derive it from ἀλίω, 'coetus congregatus.'⁶ The difficulty is echoed in the various commentaries,⁷ and the position is perhaps best summed up by Bauer,⁸ who described the use here in Acts 1: 4 as "noch immer nicht sicher gedeutet," and enumerated the possibilities as follows:

-
- 1). Field, Notes, p. 110.
 - 2). ibid., l.c.
 - 3). ibid., l.c.
 - 4). ibid., l.c.
 - 5). ibid., p. 111.
 - 6). Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae in Act. Apost., p. 6.
 - 7). Cf. Bruce, op. cit., p. 68; Jacquier, op. cit., p. 10ff.; Lake-Cadbury, Beginnings, I, iv, 4b-6a; etc.
 - 8). op. cit., 1425-1426. The following short quotation is to be found in column 1425.

"1. .. zusammenessen Hiergegen spricht der Zshg. u. der Umstand, dass sich dieser Gebr. strenggenommen nicht belegen lässt. . . . --2. συναλίσσω versammeln Pass. zusammenkommen . . . Hiergegen spricht der Sing. .. u. das Präs. in συναλιζόμενος."1

The upshot of these difficulties is that recourse is had to the makeshift of regarding συναλιζόμενος as an alternative spelling for συναυλιζόμενος.² He then refers us to Torrey's attempted solution. For Bauer, then, the matter is still open.

Torrey, however, sought to derive the word from $\sqrt{\text{ʕly}}$, as alluded to above, suggesting that perhaps "the somewhat unusual word συναλιζόμενος" was

"the (exact) rendering of Aramaic ܦܘܠܟܘܢܐ, this ithpa'al meaning primarily 'eat salt in company with', and then simply 'have (table-) companionship with'."³

In support of this, he referred to the occurrence of the P^o al in the OT, Ezra 4: 14, ܘܢܘܫܝܢ ܘܥܡܝܢ ܗܘܘܢ ܦܘܠܟܘܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ, which he chose to render, 'We have been guests of the palace,' that is, 'have eaten the salt' of the palace.⁴ Recognizing that no examples are to hand for the ithpa'al, except in Syriac, he nevertheless asserted that "it must have been in use in the Palestinian speech,"⁵ and proceeded to refer to examples from Syriac. Among these were Ps 140(141): 4, "where the Hebrew has the denominative ܦܘܠܟܘܢܐ,"⁶ Ephraim (Overbeck edition), 300: 19, and two other places,⁷ of which the most important is the last, Ephr. Syr. opera, ed. Benedictus, i, 534C: "with

1). Bauer, op. cit., 1425.

2). *ibid.*, 1426.

3). CDA, p. 23.

4). *Ibid.*, l.c.

5). *ibid.*, l.c.

6). *ibid.*, l.c.

7). *Viz.*, Ephraemi Syri opera, ed. Benedictus, i, 474A, and 534C.

sinners he (Jesus) consorted and ate"; Torrey further observed that here the two verbs were "all but synonymous."¹ As a final point, he noted that the Harklean Syriac rendered *συναλιζόμενος* in Acts 1: 4 by *ܘܠܗܘܘܢ*. Thus, he found it easy to treat the Greek word as a translation, there being 'no doubt' as to the meaning of the Aramaic original.² Consequently he concluded,

"The distinct character of the word, the use of the corresponding form in Syriac, and the emphasis laid in the oldest Christian tradition on the fact that the risen Jesus ate with his disciples . . . , all combine to show that eating with them was the meaning intended."³

Torrey's solution seems to have some support from Jacquier, in view of the presence of a similar interpretation among several of the Fathers, and thus, "ce sens paraît traditionnel, ... probablement une allusion à l'eucharistie, . . . ;"⁴ de Zwaan, also, was inclined to think that it should be added to his list of 'decisive points' in Torrey's argument as applied to Acts 1: 1b-5: 16.⁵

The same is perhaps implied also in W. L. Knox's remark that

"Torrey's search for Aramaisms and translation Greek .. may be held to have established his case so far as Acts 1.-v.16 are concerned, except for the opening clause."⁶

On the other hand, Lake and Cadbury are unconvinced, feeling that

".. it scarcely seems likely that a translator would have tried to represent the mere accidents of etymology. In versions and Fathers a rendering implying this meaning is frequent, but not the earliest. . . . The strongest argument in its favour is the parallel in x. 41."⁷

Other objections might be raised, for instance: first, the verb

- 1). CDA, p. 23
- 2). ibid., p. 24.
- 3). ibid., l.c.
- 4). op. cit., p. 11.
- 5). Beginnings, I, ii, 50.
- 6). The Acts of the Apostles, (1948), p. 18.
- 7). Beginnings, I, iv, 5b.

proposed has certainly not been found--as yet, at any rate--in extant Aramaic, but only in Syriac, in the Ithpa'al; further, Ezra 4: 14 might equally well be rendered, "Our salt is the salt of the palace."¹ That is, the meaning sought is hardly found, the primary meaning of the Aramaic מִלַּח being 'to salt', 'to put salt into'.² Thus, Torrey's explanation involves the solution of a doubtful Greek word in terms of an Aramaic original itself intrinsically doubtful.

On the other hand, we must not overlook the possibility that the word may be due to 'Syriacism', and in fact, may reflect *ܡܠܚܬܐ*. It is certainly attested in Syriac, and the evidence adduced by Torrey in this connection might as well point towards just such an hypothesis. Similarly, Black has observed that

"... Luke's temporal conjunction, *ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ*, need not imply the use of sources; it may be a Lucan Aramaism or Syriacism."³

If we were to think of Luke as a Syrian of Antioch, there might be no great obstacle in the way of suggesting that the expression under discussion entered from this quarter. It would then be an editorial note, rather than a mark of the use of sources. At all events, this view must at least be stated.

However, there may be another possible solution of the problem. First, as has been noted above, in the passage from Ps 140 (141): 4, the Hebrew מִלַּח, rendered by LXX *ἐν σὺδῶσῳ* (B),⁴ and

1). Cf. BDB, p. 1100a; (they give the translation as Strack's).

2). Levy, Chald. Wb., ii, p. 37b: 'salzen', 'einsalzen.' Cf. Jastrow, DTM, p. 788a: 'to strew salt on..'

3). AAGA, p. 207. Cf. also, *ibid.*, pp. 81, 83. The suggestion is due to him.

4). But *ἐν σὺδῶσῳ* (B).

by Symmachus *συμφάγοιμι*, is rendered by the Hexaplaric fragment *ἄλλος*, as "(μή) συναλισθῶ."¹ Now, though there is at this point a 'various reading,'² viz., *συκαυλισθῶ*, in the ultimate source of the reading just noted, yet the very fact that the rarer *συναλισθῶ* has survived is probably a sign that it was original, or at least, that it came from another early fragment.³ The rendering of Symmachus confirms the meaning as 'to eat with.' Again, examining the Hebrew root in question, viz., $\sqrt{\text{אכל}}$, we find that it is described by BDB as 'rare', 'late', 'poetical', and is found in the OT but 6 times.⁴ In four of these cases, it seems to have a meaning akin to 'dine', 'feast', or 'banquet',⁵ while in Prov 23: 1 the LXX renders it by *δειπνεῖν*, which occurs but 4 times, and only once with a Hebrew equivalent, but which is the same word as that found in the accounts of the institution of the Lord's Supper in Luke 22: 20 and I Cor 11: 25, a thought perhaps echoed in Rev 3: 20. Further, the Hagiographa-Targum to Ps 141: 4 reads *לֹא אֶאֱכַל*, "I shall not feast."⁶ Thus, there is some evidence that this word $\sqrt{\text{אכל}}$ has a slightly stronger meaning than simply 'to eat.' To put it another way, in view of what has been said above, it is perhaps reasonable to suggest that the idea which lies behind the rare use of *συναλιζόμενος* as found in Acts 1: 4 is probably akin to that conveyed by the other rare, poetic, Hebrew word, $\sqrt{\text{אכל}}$. In this connection it is interesting to note

1). Field, Hex., 11, p. 297a; cf. Notes, p. 110, etc.

2). Field, Notes, p. 110; cf. p. 149 supra.

3). Cf. Lake-Cadbury, Beginnings, I, iv, 5a.

4). BDB, p. 536b. The six cases are: Ps 141: 4, Prov 9: 5, 23: 1, 6, & 4: 17, and (Pass) Deut 32: 24.

5). Prov 9: 5, 23: 1, 6, and Ps 141: 4.

6). Lagarde, Hag. Chald., p. 81, line 15.

that the Syriac OT renders the מִלַּחֵם of Ps 141: 4 by Ethp. \checkmark ܡܠܚܡܐ , as does the Harklean Syriac the συναλιζόμενος of Acts 1: 4. That is, we have a pointer not to the meaning 'to eat salt with' or 'to be salted with', so much as to an appreciation of the similarity of idea in the two cases. Finally, in the light of the fact that in other places we have seen traces of what appear to be 'Hebraisms', it may be feasible to regard the present case as another instance, the συναλιζόμενος then constituting an 'unrevised element' of the older tradition incorporated in the Acts by its author, and thus to some extent, a mark of antiquity and authenticity. The meaning would then be: "And while He was supping (that is, having 'table-fellowship') with them ..."

Thus, apart from the suggested possibility of 'Syriacism,' two other solutions present themselves: on the one hand, the derivation from an Aramaic original ܡܠܚܡܐ , proposed by Torrey; on the other, that just outlined, based on the idea of an ultimate (Hebrew) tradition of the words and acts of the Lord and His disciples, and probably reflecting the use here of the rare Hebrew verb מִלַּחֵם to signify the very special type of fellowship He was then enjoying with His disciples. The first requires the assumption of the existence of an Aramaic document, literally translated: the second merely the distant influence of an originally Hebrew tradition, or of a tradition containing elements ultimately Hebrew in origin.

. *Ταβειθά* (Acts 9: 36, 40(Peter).).

It need be no more than noted that this word, which represents the Aramaic *ܬܒܝܬܐ*, (from *ܬܒܝܬܐ*, meaning 'deer', 'gazelle'), cognate with the Hebrew *צב*,¹ a word which in all of its 14 instances in the OT is rendered by the LXX ' *δορκάς* ',² as here, indicates that the setting, at least, is Aramaic. Again, the words of Peter in Acts 9: 40, *Ταβειθά, ἀνάστηθι* ("Tabitha, arise!"), are vaguely reminiscent of the words of the Lord Himself, *Ταλειθά, κούμ* (Mark 5: 41 and parallels), and this fact may probably account for the 'Western' reading in that place (Mark 5: 41).³ The names *ܬܒܝܬܐ* and *Δορκάς* are also attested elsewhere in Aramaic and Greek.⁴ Sparks, however, while recognizing that the name 'Tabitha' indicates "an Aramaic environment," nevertheless claims that the Greek translation 'Dorcas' shows that "neither St. Luke nor anyone else can have translated an Aramaic version 'faithfully'."⁵ Moreover, in view of the presence in the story of accepted septuagintalisms and a number of Lukanisms,⁶

"... it seems most reasonable ... that St. Luke had heard rather than read this story, and that, preserving intact at least one indication of the original Aramaic background, ... set down his own written version, not uninfluenced perhaps by the details of the similar Old Testament stories of Elijah and Elisha, and the Gospel stories of Jairus's daughter and the widow's son at Nain."⁷

Whatever be our final view of the matter, then, it seems at least reasonable to regard the present case as another trace of

1). Cf. Jastrow, *DPTM*, p. 516b.

2). Cf. *H-R*, s.v.

3). D reads *ταβιθά* for *ταλειθά*, with *Lvt^a ff² g²* etc.

4). Cf. Dalman, *Gram.*, p. 109, n. 5.

5). *JTS*, (N.S.), 1 (1950), pp. 25ff.

6). *ibid.*, l.c.

7). *ibid.*, p. 26.

Semitic origin, in this case Aramaic; it would therefore seem not only to be consistent with what has already been claimed in this chapter, but also to lend some kind of support to the story itself as we have it.

The principal general results which have emerged from the enquiry in this chapter may perhaps be briefly stated thus:

1). The general effect of whatever Semitic influences may have operated on the vocabulary of Acts 1-15 seems to be comparatively slight: the thirteen words and phrases treated above constitute only a small factor in the whole, when compared with *element?* the total number of words used in Acts, with the 413 which are peculiar to Acts,¹ the 154 not found in the LXX, or even with the 66 so-called 'non-classical' words in Acts.²

2). Several of the words discussed are proper-names, viz., *Ἀκeldαμαία*, *Βαρησοῦά*, and *Ταβειθά*.³ These are all Aramaic, but they probably serve only to indicate that the stories in which they occur sprang from an Aramaic milieu.

3). Of the other ten, only one can be regarded as a clear Aramaism, viz., *εὐρέθη εἰς Ἄστων* in Acts 8: 40; three others, *ἐκάθισεν ἐφ'* (Acts 2: 3, of the Spirit), and more especially, *ἰδιῶται* (Acts 4: 13),⁴ and *μετανόησον... ἀπό* (Acts 8: 22, Peter), may reflect either Aramaic or Hebrew, and decision should probably

1). So Hawkins, *Horae Synopticae*, pp. 204-7.

2). *ibid.*, p. 207.

3). We might also have added another, *βαρβάς*, in Acts 4: 36.

4). This is not a strong case, however. Cf. *supra*, pp. 139-142.

be reserved meantime, until some other indication can be found. A similar situation appears to obtain in the case of another three expressions, *γνωστὸν* (*ἔστω*) (Acts 2: 14, 4: 10, 13: 38), *δοῦναι ἐν* (Acts 4: 12), and *ἐκλέγισθαι ἐν* (Acts 15: 7); these, especially the second and third, are most probably Hebraisms, but all three would nevertheless be possible in Aramaic also. The remaining three all appear to be Hebraisms, though it is just possible that *συναλιζόμενος* (Acts 1: 4) may be due to Syriacism, while *ἡ ὁδός* (Acts 9: 2, etc.), being something of a technical term, may not be the most reliable guide to source.

4). If we exclude the three proper-names, the 'technical term' *ἡ ὁδός*, and also *συναλιζόμενος*, which may be due to Syriacism, we find that of some 13 (? 14) cases where the remaining expressions occur in Acts 1-15, no less than 6 are in Direct Speech. This figure is enhanced somewhat further when it is realized that 4 (? 5) of the other cases are expressions involving *ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό*, and it is not impossible that they may be traceable to a single cause.¹ We would then have 9 cases left, of which 6 are in speech, and in either case, the rate of 'semitization' of vocabulary is much higher in speech than in narrative and connecting-material.²

5). In view of these facts, then, it seems that the evidence, so far as it goes, favours the view outlined earlier, namely, that we have to do not so much with translation of an Aramaic or Hebrew document, as of incorporation into Acts by Luke of traditions, to

1). E.g., the term may be an emergent technical term; cf. the discussion above of this phrase, pp. 128-138, esp. 137.

2). It may be worth noting that quite a 'nest' of them occurs in Acts 4: 10,12,13, two of which are in the words of Peter.

greater or less extent 'fixed,' embodying and founded upon Semitic stories of the words and deeds of the 'Worthies' of the primitive Church.

6). One further point emerges: it happens that in no less than five of the cases discussed above the material recently found in Palestine has proved to be of some considerable value.¹ The most important of these cases, however, is probably that dealing with the hitherto enigmatical phrase ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό. The apparent community of thought and idea so revealed is not only in line with what was foreshadowed in Chapter II above,² but also provides interesting lines of approach for the treatment of the material of the next chapter.

1). The phrases concerned are: γνωστὸν (ἴστω) , ἐκλίγεσθαι ἐν ,
 . ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό , μετανοεῖν ἀπὸ , and ἡ ὁδός .

2). Cf. supra, p. 67, etc.

CHAPTER V.Other Semitic Elements in Acts 1-15.

As the title indicates, this chapter is really intended to follow along similar lines to those of the previous one, the investigation of the nature and distribution of the 'residual semitisms' in Acts 1-15, the difference here being one of scope and emphasis. The present chapter will embrace other elements not included in the preceding one, namely, Word-Order, Grammar, Syntax, and Idiom, together with a discussion of the importance of certain textual variants, while there will also be a treatment of a number of cases of supposed 'mistranslation,' alleged by one writer or another. The order of treatment, however, is not intended to indicate and preference or prior judgment on the relative importance and value of the several elements discussed.

I. Word-Order.

Wellhausen regarded the position of the verb in the principal clause as an important guide to semitizing influence, since it often happens that the verb in such a clause stands first, followed by the subject, even when

".. es nicht besonders hervorgehoben oder mit dem so häufigen semitischen *idob* eingeführt wird.¹

Such a word-order, very common in Mark, he described as "semitisch,

1). Einl., (1te Aufl., 1905), pp. 18-19.

nicht griechisch."¹ He did not, however, regard it as due to 'translation-Greek,' but to imitation of Biblical style. Howard, analysing the results of several studies on the matter, and that of Kieckers in particular,² concluded that, when all allowance was made for the interplay of various other factors, the predominance of the initial position of the verb in Luke and John was nonetheless 'remarkable.'³ Black, noting Wensinck's claim that Bezan Luke contained a large number of cases of 'Semitic' word-order, where such an order was not present in the so-called 'non-Western' MSS.,⁴ rightly stressed the difficulty of determining with certainty "what was not idiomatic Greek order."⁵ Moreover, while the usual order of words in the Hebrew verbal-clause is 'verb-subject,' or 'verb-subject-object,'⁶ (though it is by no means absolutely fixed, except--of course--in the case of perfect-consecutive or imperfect consecutive⁷), that of the Syriac sentence on the other hand is far from fixed, Nöldeke describing it as "very free,"⁸ although

"... It is of course granted that in purely verbal sentences, particularly in simple narration, the Predicate stands more frequently before the subject; but this is by no means a fast rule,---. . ."⁹

Likewise in sentences with the participle, the predicate "perhaps stands oftener before, than after, the subject."¹⁰ Turning to

-
- 1). *ibid.*, p. 19.
 - 2). Die Stellung des Verbs im Griechischen (Strassburg, 1911).
 - 3). Moulton, Gram., ii, p. 418.
 - 4). A. J. Wensinck, Semitisms, pp. 24ff.
 - 5). AAGA, p. 33. Cf. also p. 34.
 - 6). G-K, (ET by Cowley, 1910), Sect. 142 f (p. 456).
 - 7). *ibid.*, Sect. 142 a (p. 455).
 - 8). Compendious Syriac Grammar, (ET 1904), Sect. 324 A (p. 258).
 - 9). *ibid.*, pp. 258-9.
 - 10). *ibid.*, p. 259.

Aramaic, then, we may note that though the verb--where there is a finite verb, and not simply a participial construction--usually comes at the head of the sentence, yet nevertheless it is quite in order for it not to do so. For example, we may note the following cases: (i) Sota 16d (Jer. Tal.):...] זמנין שבעה זמנין, "And I spat seven times;"¹ (ii) Exodus 12: 2, (Frag.),... תשרי ענא דאמר, "Tishri answered and said ..." (The months are speaking in turn).² Both cases occur in free, natural Aramaic. On the other hand, however, in equally free Aramaic there occur cases of the other, more usual, order: (i) Jer. Taanith 64b:³ אַחַמְסִי לְרַבּוֹן קַסְיָדָא דְכַפָּר "אֲמַרֵּי דִּכּ", "The pious man of Kephar Immi appeared to our Teacher..;" and (ii) Gen 4: 7 (Frag.): וְאַבֶּל הָיָה לְעֹשֵׂהוּ, "And Abel went to his flock..."⁴ It is thus difficult, not only to determine with precision "what is not idiomatic Greek order," but also to be dogmatic about what is 'Semitic', and more especially, Aramaic or Hebrew, order. Furthermore, in the one case where there can be some degree of certainty as to what is in fact 'required' by Semitic grammar, namely, that of the priority of the verb in Hebrew consecutive constructions,⁵ the phenomenon as it appears in the NT might indeed be explained by reference to the influence of the style and diction of the LXX upon the style(s) of the several writers, and of Luke in particular.

Nevertheless, when all such allowance has been made, there are

-
- 1). Cf. for convenience, Dalman, Aramäische Dialektproben, p. 27, para. i, line 11.
 - 2). Ginsburger's edition, p. 30, line 17; cf. also p. 30, lines 5, 7, 10, 12, 15, 21, 23, 26, and p. 31, lines 1 and 4.
 - 3). Cf. Dalman, Aramäische Dialektproben, p. 29, para. i, line 17.
 - 4). Ginsburger, p. 71, (Cod. Ox. 318).
 - 5). Cf. previous page, especially note 7.

still cases where considerations of word-order may prove of some use in making a choice between rival textual variants. In the cases which follow, it is not argued that the word-order which appears to agree with the more usual Semitic order is thereby Semitic, not Greek, but rather that, other things being equal, the 'Semitic'-type reading may have some greater claim to acceptance than might otherwise be the case.

- A. Acts 3: 9. (i) \times ABCD ... : καὶ εἶδεν πᾶς ὁ λαὸς αὐτόν
 (ii) EP 462 Lvt^{ghp} Sy: καὶ εἶδεν αὐτὸν πᾶς ὁ λαός.
 (iii) 1522 ... : omit αὐτόν.

If we leave aside (iii), which may perhaps be due simply to a plain omission, and which, in any case, is neither early nor widely attested, we are left with (i) and (ii). Of these the latter, involving as it does a less natural transition from αὐτόν to the subsequent περιπατοῦντα, etc., is probably the harder reading; thus, it would be difficult to regard (ii) as a correction of (i). Moreover, the order of words in (ii) is in agreement with the 'Semitic' order, whereas that of (i) would be rather less so. Unless we assume that assimilation has taken place to the 'style' of the LXX, in (ii),--and because that 'style' is by no means uniform, it may seem unsatisfactory to do so,--we may perhaps have here a trace of an unrevised element of Semitic tradition preserved in the texts in question. That it may be early is suggested by the Old Latin support.¹ Moreover, had the reading been due merely to an editorial or scribal error, we should have to assume for that error a similar

1). The actual reading of Lvt^h is: "... et vidit eum omnis populus ambulan(tem...)." "

degree of antiquity, on account of the diffusion of support.¹

The possibility of influence upon the Greek of the versions, more particularly the Syriac, however, must not be finally excluded.

- B. Acts 4: 4. (i) \times B : καὶ ἐγενήθη ἀριθμὸς τῶν ἀνδρῶν...
 (ii) 0165: καὶ ἐγενήθη ἀριθμὸς ἀνθρώπων
 (iii) A 81: καὶ ἐγενήθη ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν ἀνδρῶν
 (iv) D : καὶ ἀριθμὸς τε ἐγενήθη ἀνδρῶν... .

Leaving aside the question here of the omission and insertion of the article before ἀριθμὸς and ἀνδρῶν (or: ἀνθρώπων), and confining ourselves to that of word-order, we may observe that the readings fall into two groups, namely, (i)-(iii), which have the order καὶ ἐγενήθη(ς) ἀριθμὸς, and (iv), which has καὶ ἀριθμὸς τε ἐγενήθη. Of these the latter is clearly the more idiomatic. On the other hand, while it would certainly be possible in Aramaic or Hebrew, yet it is the order of (i)-(iii) which is more in harmony with that of the more usual Semitic practice. Thus, not only does group (i)-(iii) present, in this matter at least, the harder reading, but also the more Semitic.² This accordingly may indicate the survival of an element of an earlier Semitic substratum of tradition, and in this connection we may note that such a finding would not be inconsistent with the conclusions obtained in previous chapters.

There are other places where the text appears to present such a word-order, but they seem too weak to merit inclusion here.³ We shall therefore content ourselves with noting only Acts 3: 9 and 4: 4, and then pass on to the next group of data.

- 1). I.e., Old Latin, Syriac (both pesh. and harkl.), Chrysostom, and Lucifer.
- 2). In the case of the omission and insertion of the article, choice should probably lie between (i) and (ii); but the case is not clear enough for a fast decision on the point.
- 3). E.g., Acts 8: 17 (displacement of ἐπ' αὐτοῦς); 9: 2 (displacement of παρ' αὐτοῦ). But no clear verdict can be given.

II. The Subordinate Clause.

The Aramaic particle ܘܢ, and for that matter the Hebrew particle -וּ, have an extent of meaning and application which tends to render them to some degree ambiguous. The principal meanings of ܘܢ are: (i) a relative particle (corresponding to Hebrew וְ), (ii) the sign of the genitive, replacing the old Status Constructus, and (iii) a conjunction, meaning 'that', in the senses 'that' (introducing a statement of fact, and parallel to the use in the English noun-clause), 'in order that' (equivalent to the Greek ἵνα), and 'for' or 'because.'¹ Black also noted a use similar to that of ὅτι or ὡςτε.² All these meanings can be readily illustrated from the Targumim, and other Aramaic writings.³ Also, the Hebrew -וּ is found in the meanings (i) and (iii), while it is usually in the combination -וּלְ that it means 'of' (compare the Aramaic ܘܠܘܢ⁴).

Two examples were adduced by Black from Acts of what may be an original Aramaic ܘܢ rendered by ὅτι;⁵ both cases are betrayed by the presence of textual variants, and both are located in speeches. They are:

(a) Acts 1: 17 (Peter).

- (i) \aleph ABCD ... Ἰησοῦν ὅτι κἀπηρεθήμενος ἦν ἐν ἡμῖν.
 (ii) Lvt^avg^oodd: hiis qui adprehenderunt Jesum
 q u i adnumeratus erat inter
 nos.

In addition to certain codices of the Vulgate⁶--as noted above--

- 1). It is also used to introduce speech, as is Greek ὅτι.
- 2). AAGA, p. 56.
- 3). Cf. Levy, Chald. Wb., 1, p. 158a; Jastrow, DTM, p. 293b; Stevenson, Gram., Sect. 7 (pp. 21-22); etc.
- 4). I.e., 'that which is to ...'; examples of these uses may be found in the text printed by Rabinowitz, BASOR, No. 131, p. 21, of the letter from Beth Mashko.
- 5). op. cit., p. 56.
- 6). Viz., A^oGDMFW etc. (Wordsworth & White, NTL, iii, p. 39b).

the reading "qui" is also found in LvtSt. Jacquier's comment seems instructive:

" $\delta\tau\iota$: au lieu de 'qui' de la Vulgate, lequel n'exprime pas le sens de la phrase; le codex Laudianus et de bons manuscrits de la Vulgate ont quia, qu'ont adopté Wordsworth-White dans leur édition de la Vulgate hiéronymienne."¹

That is, an alternative explanation seems to present itself: namely, that an original 'quia' has been read as 'qui.'² This might easily be explained as due to haplography of the 'a' of quia, probably occasioned by the initial 'a' of the following 'adnumeratus', and the more especially so in view of the fact that the MSS. of the time were written in continuous script; that is, 'quiaadnumeratus' has been read as 'quiadnumeratus'. This would be encouraged further by the presence in the preceding line in the Latin column of Codex Bezae of the words 'qui adprahenderunt ...'

Thus, while the variation may possibly be explicable in terms of Semitism,--that is, as due to the ambiguity of an underlying ך , or perhaps -ו , read one way as a relative particle, another as a conjunction meaning 'that'--yet it is probably more naturally understood as due to transcriptional error of the type suggested.

(b) Acts 7: 39 (Stephen). (i) $\text{KABC} : \omega \sigma\upsilon\kappa \eta\theta\epsilon\lambda\eta\sigma\alpha\nu$.
 (ii) $D : \delta\tau\iota \sigma\upsilon\kappa \eta\theta\epsilon\lambda\eta\sigma\alpha\nu$.
 (But note, Lvt^a has cui).

Chase, discussing this passage, though he was willing to concede the possibility that "the $\delta\tau\iota$ may have arisen from a confusion

1). Les Actes des Apôtres, p. 33.

2). The reverse, of course, cannot be excluded, but would presuppose that all the MSS. are at fault except D, and would make them all, to that extent, dependent upon the Latin at this point, which seems rather unlikely.

between qui and quia on the Latin side,"¹ nevertheless thought it "surely far more probable" that it was due to Syriac influence, in that

"... the Old Syriac literally rendered the Greek by μ , and ... the Bezan scribe mistranslated the μ by δ ."²

This would, for Chase, be supported by the fact that the Peshitta reads α ... μ , together with Nöldeke's note that, in relative clauses

"In the majority of cases ... the Objective relation is indicated without having recourse to a referring pronoun."³

Without, however, introducing the further complication of postulated 'Syriac' influence in D in the manner suggested by Chase,⁴ we are left with two possibilities: either the variation is due to some sort of transcriptional error or confusion, possibly entering from the Latin column of Codex Bezae,⁵ which here at least does not seem very probable, or it may indicate, as Black has claimed,⁶ the existence of an underlying Semitic (Aramaic) tradition involving the ambiguous particle μ (perhaps we might suggest, as an alternative, Hebrew -ו), rendered in the one case as a relative, in the other as a conjunction. This latter view might perhaps draw some support from the fact that, as shown in a previous chapter, a number of the Old Testament quotations and allusions found in Stephen's speech appear to have affinities with Targumic traditions,

- 1). The Old Syriac Element in the Text of Codex Bezae, p. 73.
- 2). Ibid., l.c.
- 3). CSG, p. 279 (Sect. 543). (Chase cited the German edition, KSG, p. 245, on p. 73, n. 1, of his Old Syriac Element).
- 4). I.e., that "the Bezan text of the Acts is the result of an assimilation of a Greek text to a Syriac text..." See Chase, op. cit., p. 1.
- 5). Cf. the suggestion by Chase, noted above, pp. 165-6, and also Chase, op. cit., pp. 1-2, & p. 2, n. 1.
- 6). AAGA, p. 56.

rather than with those of the LXX (or even the MT).¹ It should not be overlooked, however, that the phenomenon may be evidence for 'Syriacism' in the Speech itself.²

In addition to the cases just discussed, other examples may be cited, as follows:

(c) Acts 10: 38 (Peter).

(i)	p ⁴⁵ NABC	: ³ ἠγοῦν τὸν ἀπὸ Ναζαρέθ, ὡς ἔχειεν αὐτὸν ὁ θεός
(ii)	D Lvt ^{dgpt} Syhl	: ἠγοῦν τὸν ἀπὸ Ναζαρέθ, ὃν ἔχειεν ὁ θεός .
(iii)	D ^c	: ἠγοῦν τὸν ἀπὸ Ναζαρέθ, ὃν ἔχειεν αὐτὸν ὁ θεός
(iv)	Sy ^{vg}	: ⁴ <i>quod dicitur? Lige de Naz</i>

It is clear that of these readings, (ii) is probably the easiest and most idiomatic, and is thus not to be accepted without some further proof. Also, though (i) has its difficulties--Lake thought it 'undoubtedly very harsh',⁵ though perhaps "merely a rather clumsy periphrasis for ὡς ἔχειεν ἠγοῦν⁶--its internal structure, as distinct from the syntactical relationship to the other clauses involved, seems clear enough, namely, 'as (or: when)⁷ God anointed Him...' On the other hand, (iii) is not idiomatic in Greek, though its meaning is obviously the same as that of (ii), but it would nevertheless be very natural in the Semitic languages, the αὐτόν then becoming a 'resumptive pronoun' after the indefinite relative particle (̄, -̄, or ̄̄). The reading is noted by Scrivener in the notes to his edition of the Codex Bezae,⁸ where, commenting on the verse in

1). Cf. supra, pp. 40-45.

2). Stephen was a Gentile, and may have been a Syrian. Cf. also p. 152, supra.

3). 614 reads *ὅς* for *ὡς*, but Valentine-Richards in his edition of it (p. 21, line 29, and note) seems to treat it as an orthographical slip. (The Text of Acts in Codex 614..., 1934).

4). I.e., 'whom God anointed Him'--or, 'that God anointed Him.' It may thus be simply the idiomatic Syriac form of (ii).

5). Beginnings, I, iv, 119b.

6). ibid., p. 120a.

7). The Lukan 'temporal *ὡς*': cf. Hawkins, Horae Synopticae, p. 23.

8). F. H. Scrivener, Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis ..., (1864).

question, he wrote: "Supra lineas αὐτὸ post ἐχρίσεν, ..C."¹ This we have verified from the photographic edition of the Codex.² That is, the word αὐτὸ(ν) was apparently added by a later corrector of D. What then is the explanation of the reading? Without the addition the reading would be idiomatic, as noted above; with it, it is awkward and 'Semitic.' Now, if 'C' introduced the word αὐτόν to bring the text into conformity with, for example, (i), we would need to ask why he did not also 'correct' the preceding ὅν to ὡς. On the other hand, it can hardly be held to be an 'ameliorative insertion.' Thus (iii) is, in fact, probably the hardest reading of all, as it stands. It may be, then, that he introduced it in conformity with some other authority.³ Turning to the Syriac versions, we find that Sy^{VB} agrees with D^C (iii) except in word-order, while the other two versions, as Zuntz noted, "by prefixing the pronoun, here witness to an original identical with D."⁴ Indeed, he goes so far as to regard the passage in the Syriac as affording "a striking example of the interaction of Semitic and Greek speech both in the formation and transmission of the text."⁵ He also referred with approval to Torrey's proposed reconstruction, ܘܢܘܢܘܢ ܕܝ ܥܘܢܘܢ ܕܝ ܥܘܢܘܢ . ܘܢܘܢܘܢ,⁶ as also did Dodd.⁷

Whatever then be the the history of the reading of D^C (iii), we are probably justified in regarding it as not only the hardest

-
- 1). *ibid.*, p. 443a, note on Fol. 457b, line 22 (p. 362a).
 - 2). Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis ... Sumptibus Academiae Phototypice Repraesentatus, 1, (Cantabrigiae: 1899), in loc.
 - 3). The Peshitta might so be read; likewise the other Syriac versions. Perhaps a quotation from such a text?
 - 4). The Ancestry of the Harklean New Testament, (1945), p. 54.
 - 5). *ibid.*, p. 53.
 - 6). Cf. CDA, pp. 27, 35.
 - 7). APD, pp. 53-54.

reading, and the only really 'Semitic' one, but also as reflecting an original similar to that of the Syriac versions. If it is not due to some kind of assimilation to the Syriac, then, it may reflect an unrevised element of primitive (Semitic) tradition, preserved here for us in the C-reading of D. In this connection, we may perhaps note that it is found in a Speech of Peter.

(d) Acts 13: 28b (Paul), D-text: ἵνα εἰς ἀνδρείσιν .

The expression to be examined, ἵνα εἰς ἀνδρείσιν, found in the Greek column of Codex Bezae, is indefensible as Greek, though its meaning is nevertheless fairly clear. But before we discuss the expression itself, certain critical problems must be examined, and for this purpose we shall set out the texts of W-H and D in parallel columns.

<u>W-H.</u>	<u>D.</u>
13: 28. καὶ μηδεμίαν δίτιαν θανάτου .	.καὶ μηδεμίαν δίτιαν θανάτου .
.εὐρόντες ἤτήσαντο Πειλάτον .	.εὐρόντες ἐν αὐτῷ, κρείν-
.ἀναιρεθῆναι αὐτόν (29) ὡς δὲ .	αντες αὐτόν παρέδωκον Πειλάτῳ
.ἔτέλεσαν πάντα τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ .	ἵνα εἰς ἀνδρείσιν (29) ὡς δὲ .
.γεγραμμένα.....	.ἔτέλουον πάντα τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ .
	.γεγραμμένα εἰσὶν ἥτουντο τὸν .
	.Πειλάτον τοῦτον μὲν σταυρώσαι .

We may note: (i) The 'addition' in D (vs. 28) of ἐν αὐτῷ is probably to be regarded as alluding to the words of the Passion-Narrative, Luke 23: 22, οὐδὲν δίτιον θανάτου εὐρον ἐν αὐτῷ.¹ (ii) D,

1). Reference, however, may also be made to Mark 14: 55, οἱ ...
 ἔσῃτον κατὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ μαρτυρίαν εἰς τὸ θανατώσαι αὐτόν,
 .καὶ οὐκ ἠύρισκον .
 X

παρέδωκαν Πειλάτῳ, recalls Mark 15: 1b (cf. Matthew 27: 2),
 καὶ παρέδωκαν Πειλάτῳ. Again (iii), the κρείναντες αὐτόν of D
 also seems to refer to the trial before the Sanhedrin, Mark 14:
 53-72, especially Mark 14: 64b, οἱ δὲ πάντες κατέκριναν αὐτὸν ἕναχον
 εἶναι θανάτου. Finally (iv), the phrase ἦτοντο... μὲν σταυρώσαι in
 D should probably also be treated as an allusion to the Passion-
 Narrative, Luke 23: 23, οἱ... αἰτούμενοι αὐτὸν σταυρωθῆναι ...

If, then, we except from discussion those phrases in D which
 may be allusions (and so, perhaps, 'assimilations') to the Passion-
 Narratives, on the one hand, and on the other, those portions of
 the D-text exactly paralleled in the \aleph B-text, the following elements
 remain:

- (1) D εἶναι εἰς ἀνδρείσιν .
 (11) (p⁴⁵)¹ \aleph ABC...: ἀναρσεθῆναι αὐτόν.

The two remaining elements, then, which do not seem to be directly
 referable to the Passion-Narratives, or otherwise to be explained
 in terms of some sort of 'assimilation,' for example, to other
 elements in the Bible, and which consequently become the 'ultimate
 alternatives,' are ἀναρσεθῆναι αὐτόν and εἶναι εἰς ἀνδρείσιν .

Some kind of revision appears to have taken place, as the
 reading (11) is plainly much simpler than (1), and is quite idio-
 matic, whereas the same can hardly be said of (1). Preuschen
 thought the Bezan text "jetzt ganz verwildert;"² Ropes called it
 "conflate and corrupt,"³ and sought to reconstruct 'the "Western"

- 1). p⁴⁵ has only the word ἀναρσεθῆναι . The αὐτόν is not extant.
 Cf. Kenyon, The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri, Fasc. II,
 (1933), p. 45.
 2). ABG., p. 84.
 3). Beginnings, I, iii, 261.

text' with the aid of the Sy^{hlmg} and its 'asterisk'--a procedure which Preuschen had also suggested¹--offering us 'παρεδωκαν πειλατω εἰς ἀναίρεσιν'.² But recovery here of 'texts' is perhaps less feasible than application of an 'eclectic' method, in which case the list of various readings can be expanded as follows:

- (i) D : ἵνα εἰς ἀναίρεσιν
 (ii) p⁴⁵ABC : ἀναίρεθῆναι αὐτῶν
 (iii) Lvg Sy^{VG} : ut interficerent ... (i.e., Sy: $\text{ܐܢܐܝܬܘܢ} :$).
 (iv) Lvt^{dS} Sy^{hl} : ut interficeretur .. (i.e., Sy: $\text{ܐܢܐܝܬܘܢ} :$).

Ropes, recognizing that (ii) is probably the simplest and most idiomatic reading, preferred to read, with (iii), ἵνα ἀναίρεσιν,³ since

"This imitation of the Semitic plural to denote an indefinite subject (cf. Acts iii, 2 and elsewhere) is to be accepted, on transcriptional grounds, instead of the more sophisticated substitutes of both B and D."⁴

On the other hand, he thought "the otiose ἵνα D" to be due "either to reaction from ἵνα," "or (more probably) to contamination from the original reading of the B-text ἵνα ἀναίρεσιν."⁵ Thus, as noted above, he would see the 'original' reading of the D-text as 'εἰς ἀναίρεσιν', (i) then being a conflation of (iii)-(iv) with this postulated original. But why anyone should have conflated two idiomatic readings to produce an utterly impossible one, seems hard to understand. (ii), of course, he regards as an amelioration of both. His 'solution' has, however, been noted with approval by Bruce and Lake.⁶

1). op. cit., p. 84.

2). op. cit., p. 261.

3). ibid., p. 122.

4). ibid., p. 263.

5). ibid., p. 262.

6). Bruce, The Acts of the Apostles, p. 267; Lake, Beginnings, I, iv, 153.

There may, however, be an alternative method of dealing with the matter. We have already seen evidence in this speech of Paul at Pisidian Antioch of the quotation of an element of tradition belonging to the Targum to I Samuel 13: 14.¹ If, now, the Bezan reading were 'restored' in Aramaic, for example, it might read as follows: $\text{דלמטר דלמטר}.$ ² But, an example of "דל c. infin. meaning 'in order that ...' is to be found in the Samaritan Liturgy: $\text{דלמטר}.$ ³ "... in order that he observe the decree appointed, and lest ..." Thus, if דלמטר above were read as Infin. Pa'al,--and Pa. $\sqrt{\text{דלמטר}}$ occurs in both Aramaic and Syriac in the meaning "töten, morden,"⁴--the whole might be read דלמטר דלמטר "(in order) to put to death," or again, "that he (Pilate?) might put (him) to death." That is, the same set of Aramaic consonants, depending on the vocalization, could be translated correctly as 'to put (him) to death', or literally (and in fact, incorrectly), as 'in order that to killing.'

So then, two possible explanations of the phenomena in question present themselves: the one, offered by Ropes, would explain the 'otiose דל ' of D in terms of contamination with a postulated 'original' דל דלמטר דלמטר of B; the other would regard the D-reading דל דלמטר דלמטר as reflecting an unrevised element of Semitic tradition,--in this case, probably Aramaic. On this view, the other

1). Cf. supra, pp. 32-36.

2). The noun דלמטר means 'killing, death-penalty', etc. Cf. Jastrow, DFTM, p. 1349a; Dalman, AnHwb, p. 358b; Brockelmann, LS, p. 317b; etc.

3). The Samaritan Liturgy, edited by A. E. Cowley, I, p. 68, 7.

4). Dalman, AnHwb, p. 358; cf. also Jastrow, l.c., and Brockelmann, l.c.; likewise, E. Brederek, KTO, p. 180b, showing the equivalence of Pa. דלמטר and Hi. דלמטר .

readings would appear, not as idiomatic translations of the same Aramaic,¹ but rather as successive attempts at amelioration.

Thus, we are left with some three cases where peculiarities of idiom in one or other of the textual authorities seem to afford an indication of possible difficulty in the tradition or traditions embodied in the Acts by Luke, due perhaps to the ambiguity of the participle ܩܘܠܝܢܐ , (or possibly its Hebrew counterpart, קוֹלֵן). A fourth example, Acts 1: 17, may be noted for completeness, though in view of the alternative solution advanced on critical grounds, no stress can reasonably be laid upon it. A further point of interest is this, that in every case, the example is found in a speech, Peter: (1: 17), 10: 38; Stephen: 7: 39; and Paul, 13: 28b.

III. The Verb.

(a) The Participle.

It is well known that in Aramaic, and also in later Hebrew, the participle takes over a number of the functions which we should normally associate with the finite verb.² In Acts, two participial constructions, or rather, idioms, occur which have been regarded as reflecting this fact: namely, the periphrastic imperfect, and the use of the participle to represent a simple indicative. We shall treat the latter first.

-
- 1). The BR-reading, ܕܢܩܘܠܝܢܐ ܐܘܬܘܢ , of course, would require not a Pa'al, but an Ithpa'al (being passive), if we were to treat it as an idiomatic translation of the same Aramaic.
 - 2). Cf. Stevenson, Gram., Sections 21,9-22,8 (pp. 56-59), and also M. H. Segal, MHG, Sections 322-343 (pp. 155-165).

1. The Use of the Participle to represent an Indicative.

The use of the participle to represent an indicative was described by J. H. Moulton as "fairly established now by the papyri,"¹ being in them "not at all a mark of inferior education."² He admitted, nevertheless, that while 'fairly certain,' it was "not very common,"³ and conceded to Wellhausen that in D the use arose "apparently from the literal translation of Aramaic."⁴ But, as Black has remarked,⁵ though the expression is rare in Greek, it is nevertheless common in Aramaic;⁶ moreover, he observed a case of it in Acts 5: 26(D), *τότε ἀπελθὼν ὁ στρατηγὸς ἤγαγον αὐτοὺς κ.τ.λ.* Perhaps we may find another case in Acts 10: 19 (the Holy Spirit to Peter), where the text is as follows:

Ἰδοὺ ἄνδρες ἄδύο ἰητοῦντές σε.

Critical Notes: a. *ἄνδρες*): (i) sine addit. DHLP Sy^{ph}l
 (ii) add *δύο*, B.
 (iii) add *τρεῖς*, SACE Sy^{hl}(mg)
 b. *ἰητοῦντες*): (i) c. 8B 81
 (ii) sed *ἰητοῦσι*, c. p⁴⁵ACDEHLP.

In the case of (a), the reading (ii), '*δύο*,' though attested only by B, is possibly slightly more difficult than the others, since (iii) is probably--as Ropes pointed out--a "deliberate transcriptional improvement,"⁷ in the light of Acts 11: 11, while omission of the number in (i) may also indicate the operation of a similar motive.⁸ The case of (b), however, is probably more im-

- 1). Prol. (3rd edition, 1908), p. 222.
- 2). Ibid., p. 223.
- 3). ibid., l.c.
- 4). ibid., p. 224; He refers to Wellhausen, Einl.(1te Aufl), p. 21.
- 5). AAGA, p. 94.
- 6). Also in later Hebrew, Cf. Segal, op. cit., pp. 155-165.
- 7). Beginnings, I, iii, 95a.
- 8). So also Ropes, ibid. But Jacquier, Les Actes, p. 320, held it better to omit the number: "Il semble bien que l'Esprit a parlé en général: 'Des hommes te cherchent.' Un chiffre a été ensuite ajouté."

portant. Both readings are well attested, though perhaps the balance, on the MSS. evidence, would be slightly in favour of (i). However, the use of the present indicative in (ii) is clearly more idiomatic and natural than that of the participle as in (i). That is, the reading (i) is probably to be preferred.

But the participle here, though not so natural in Greek, would be perfectly idiomatic and natural in Aramaic;¹ again, not only do the words appear in a 'Petrine' setting, but in particular, in an utterance of the Holy Spirit, addressed to Peter, which--presumably--must have been reported by Peter himself. That is, there would therefore be a certain a priori basis for suspecting some sort of Semitic influence here. It is thus probably reasonable to suggest that the present instance represents an unrevised element of Semitic diction (probably Aramaic), carried over from the original story, and preserved for us in certain of the MSS., namely, NB 81 etc.; it consequently seems to constitute a mark of the antiquity and authenticity of the words in question.² In this connection, the preceding ἰδοὺ should not be overlooked.

Another case in point may be Acts 14: 3, the finite verb *διέτριψαν* being replaced in D by the participle *διατρίψαντες*, so that there is not a single finite verb in the whole (Beza) verse. In this connection it is well to point out that another expression in this same verse has been regarded as a 'probable Semitism,' namely, the use of *ἐπί* after *μαρτυρεῖν*;³ we must

1). Cf. supra, p. 174, note 6.

2). In Aramaic the words might run: ...הא גוונרין (תריין) בעין (הא גוונרין בעין ל' (so Wensinck, unpublished note).

3). So Ropes, Beginnings, I, iii, 130a-b, who thought the *ἐπί* possibly a reflection of an underlying על.

not, however, overlook the hand of the author, as evidenced by the presence of *ικανός*,¹ *χάρις*,² *μὲν οὖν*,³ and perhaps as well, *λόγος*,⁴ *παρηγοιδῆσαι*,⁵ and *μαρτυρέω*.⁶ The 'semitism' here, then, may perhaps be deliberate on the part of Luke, possibly in imitation of spoken Jewish Greek, and since on the one hand, the construction is found in Greek,⁷ while on the other, the present passage occurs in a narrative which bears clear marks of the Lukan hand,⁸ no great weight should be laid upon this case.

2. The Periphrastic Tenses.

Although periphrasis is certainly found in classical Greek, as is freely enough acknowledged,⁹ and also in the Koiné, yet its relatively high frequency in the Gospels and the first part of Acts has led some to look to the influence of the corresponding Aramaic idiom behind the Greek of these writings. Blass, for instance, held that "... one cannot fail to recognize, especially in the case of the imperfect, the influence of Aramaic,"¹⁰ and in particular, in the writings referred to above--excluding John¹¹--the construction is "no doubt due to their being direct translations from Aramaic originals."¹² with this view Moulton agreed, though with the reservation that he preferred to speak instead, of their being

-
- 1). Hawkins, op. cit., p. 27.
 - 2). *ibid.*, p. 23.
 - 3). Cf. MG, pp. 625b-628a: Luke-Acts, 29 times; Mt-Mk, nil.
 - 4). Cf. Hawkins, op. cit., pp. 20, 43.
 - 5). Occurs 9 times in NT, 7 in Acts, 2 in Pauline Epistles.
 - 6). Occurs once each Matthew and Luke, nil in Mark, but 33 in John, and 11 in Acts.
 - 7). Cf. *supra*, p. 174.
 - 8). Verses 1-7 contain some 13 'Lukanisms,' i.e., at about the rate of 33 per WH-page, against the average in Acts, 22.5.
 - 9). Blass, Gram. (ET, 1898), p. 202; Moulton, Prol., p. 226; etc.
 - 10). op. cit., p. 203. 11). *ibid.*, l.c., n. 2. 12). *ibid.*

'based on' direct translations,¹ the use in question then being an 'overdoing' of a correct Greek idiom, due to its exact correspondence with the underlying Semitic one. So, then,

"It is only that where Aramaic sources underlie the Greek, there is inordinate frequency of a use which Hellenistic has not conspicuously developed."²

With this conclusion Williams, in his study of the participle in Acts, was disposed to agree.³ On the other hand, Moulton felt that the imperfect was the only tense "in which correspondence with Aramaic" was "close enough to justify much of a case for dependence."⁴ Howard, giving a full list of the cases of the construction in the NT,⁵ observed "Luke's rejection of it in every instance where a Markan parallel allows comparison," and "the freedom with which it occurs in the Lucan writings."⁶ So often does Luke introduce it where it is absent in Mark, that he (Howard) "hesitates to suggest its frequency in cc. 1,2, in 'Proto-Luke,' and in Acts 1-12 as evidence of fidelity to Aramaic originals."⁷ It is interesting to note that in the LXX, Thackeray had described a widening of the range of the periphrastic construction,

"... partly but not entirely owing to the influence of the Hebrew original, the auxiliary verb being now employed with the present participle to represent the imperf., future and more rarely the present tense: periphrasis in the perfect goes back to the earlier language."⁸

We are thus rather inclined to doubt the value of the construction

1). Prol., p. 226.

2). ibid., l.c.

3). Charles Bray Williams, The Participle in the Book of Acts, (1909), p. 29.

4). Prol., p. 226.

5). Moulton, Gram., ii, 452.

6). ibid., l.c.

7). ibid., l.c.

8). Gram. OTG, i, Sect. 15, 3 (p. 195).

in Acts as a 'Semitism,' and in particular as an Aramaism.

However, several points should be noted in passing: (i) Acts 6: 4, D reads *ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐσόμεθα ... προσκατερούμετες* instead of *ἡμεῖς ... προσκατερούμεν* (NB); (ii) Acts 10: 6, 614 reads *καὶ αὐτός ἐστιν ξενίζόμενος ...*, instead of *οὗτος ξενίζεται ..* (NB); and (iii) Acts 14: 4, D reads *ἦν δὲ ἐσχίσμενον ...* for *ἐσχίσθη δέ ...* (NB). That is, in three cases the ordinary tense, found in the majority of MSS., is replaced in another authority by the periphrastic construction. All that can be said, however, is that the 'substituted'¹ reading would be somewhat more natural in Aramaic than in Greek, but that the ordinary reading would be correct in both Aramaic and Greek.

Finally, Black has noted a case where "one part of the verb 'to be' is already present in the same sentence or clause," and thus in which, while the construction is in no way 'irregular,' it "is scarcely literary Greek": viz., Acts 8: 13(D),² (*ὁ δὲ σιμων*)... *καὶ βαπτισθεῖς ἦν καὶ προσκατερούων τῷ Φιλίππῳ...*³ This should probably be compared with Acts 8: 28 (both WH and D), another 'Philip-story'; the differences between the two major text-groups are shown in the brackets:

ἦν δὲ (D: τε) ὑποστρέφων καὶ (D: om καὶ) καθημένος ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄρματος αὐτοῦ (D: om αὐτοῦ) καὶ (D: om καὶ) ἀνεγίνωσκεν (D: ἀνεγίνωσκων) τὸν προφήτην Ἠσαΐαν.

It will be seen that the Bezan form of the text is even more in accord with the previous case than is that of W-H, since the only

1). No judgment, however, is implied in the use of this word.

2). AAGA, p. 94.

3). The Bezan Latin column, however, has: "simon ... (et) baptizatus est et adherebat philippo ..."

finite verb in it is ' $\eta\gamma$.'

From what has gone before, it will be seen that in the case of the 'periphrastic tenses,' even the imperfect, little real weight can be put upon the evidence, except in so far as the presence of such phenomena in a passage, or in one or other of the MSS., may indicate that, while the passage may be passable as Greek, yet it would be even better as Aramaic, and this, coupled with other evidence at any point for Aramaism, would have a certain 'confirmatory' value.

(b) Redundant Auxiliary Verb.

Howard found the 'most striking example' of 'this characteristic of Hebrew and Aramaic' in the use of $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ with following infinitive.¹ This use, as found in the Gospels, was considered by Dalman as a 'distinct Aramaism,'² and in Josephus, claimed by Thackeray as "a hitherto unnoticed example of what in the N.T. has been pronounced to be a pure 'Aramaism',"³ a form of expression which, though 'good colloquial Greek', nevertheless here is probably "an instance of unconscious and involuntary retention of the author's native Aramaic phraseology ..."⁴ Moulton and Milligan have admitted it, at least in Mark, as seeming "to belong to the alien elements in NT Greek,"⁵ while Lagrange described it as "un aramaisme signalé," certainly not a Hebraism, and even ascribed its occasional presence

1). Moulton, Gram., ii, p. 455.

2). WJ, p. 36.

3). "An Unrecorded 'Aramaism' in Josephus," JTS, xxx (1929), p. 364.

4). ibid., p. 370

5). Vocab., pp. 82b-83a.

in the LXX not to Hebrew, but rather to its being "l'usage des traducteurs qui l'a introduit dans la Bible grecque,"¹ so that

"... la pratique de Luc s'explique beaucoup naturellement par l'imitation de Mc. dans les narrations, et comme conservant un trait des paroles du Maître."²

Under this head also Torrey would class the instances in Acts.³

Hunkin, on the other hand, though willing to admit that some such pleonastic use as is found in Mark, and occasionally in the speeches of Jesus in Luke, might be due to Aramaic ultimately,⁴ declined to find such a factor operative in Acts.⁵ Likewise Delling, noting its appearance in the "betont griechisch stilisiert" chapter 24 (vs. 2), concluded that this use of the word as an auxiliary verb was "nicht nur Semitismus."⁶ Black was content to note "this Semitism,"⁷ and refer to Thackeray and Dalman. Jacquier seemed to favour the view that it was a pleonasm, reflecting Aramaic;⁸ Bruce, however, would agree to this only in the cases of Acts 2: 4 and 27: 35.⁹

However, turning to the evidence itself, we find that the cases where *ἔρχομαι* --followed by infinitive--occurs in Acts, are: Acts 1: 1, 2: 4, 18: 26, 24: 2, and 27: 35. No less than three of these are in that part of Acts which Torrey claimed contained "no evidence of an underlying Semitic language,"¹⁰ while one case,

-
- 1). S. Luc, p. cvii. But if so, may it not be due to the Koiné?
 - 2). ibid., l.c.
 - 3). CDA, pp. 6, 23, 27.
 - 4). "Pleonastic" *ἔρχομαι* in the New Testament," JTS, xxv (1924), p. 399.
 - 5). ibid., pp. 401-402.
 - 6). TWNT, I, p. 477.
 - 7). AAGA, p. 91.
 - 8). Les Actes, p. 4.
 - 9). The Acts of the Apostles, pp. 66, 82, 465.
 - 10). CDA. p. 7.

Acts 27: 35, is found in a 'We-passage.' The case, then, for a 'source' behind the expression seems rather weak. Analysis of the use of the expression in the Synoptics and Acts in terms of source-distribution-patterns is interesting:¹

<u>Table 8.</u>	Mark (per WH-page):	.63
	Matthew (") :	.17
	Luke (") :	.36
	Infancy (") :	.00
	Q (Lk) (") :	.56
	L (2) (") :	.62
	Acts (") :	.071
	1-5: 16 (") :	.195
	I Acts (") :	.052
	II Acts (") :	.093
	We-§§ (") :	.125
	(Rest of Lk, ") :	(.141)

From this table, it seems that, although in the L-source of Luke and in Q^L the rate per page is comparable with that in Mark, and--in view of the fact that in the combined Q-L, some 13 of the 16 cases are in the words of Jesus or the Baptist--there may be some indication that Luke is following sources in which he felt himself bound to retain the expression, yet the freedom with which he 'omits' it when following Mark is remarkable.³ On the other hand, it will be seen that, in Acts, even if all five cases were really 'pleonastic'--and as we have seen, scholars are by no means unanimous on the point--the table would indicate that the distribution even in Acts 1-5: 16 is little more than that in the common parts of Luke, where he has deleted Mark's use of it, and furthermore comparable also

-
- 1). The expression *ἑξομαί* c. infin. is used in these lists without differentiation into 'pleonastic' and 'regular' cases.
 - 2). L is used here as defined above, p. 80, note 3.
 - 3). Cf. Cadbury, The Style and Literary Method of Luke, (HTS, vi), Cambridge (Mass.), 1919-20, pp. 162-163.

with the rate per page in Matthew, where the Markan material has been--in this regard--severely pruned. Thus, it seems that even if all five cases are really pleonastic, the rate per page is no greater than might be expected by comparison with Matthew, for example. This perhaps acquires greater significance when it is pointed out that the rate per page in Genesis,--reduced to terms of the WH NT pages,--is 0.052, or the same as that for Acts 1-15; we should add that Genesis has the highest rate of any book from which Luke quotes.¹

That is, the expression is approximately as frequent in I Acts as it is in Genesis (LXX), and a little more so than in the other books quoted by Luke, where it is found at all, though it is by no means comparable in this respect with Mark, or even Lukan 'Q.' Hence, while it may be true that the expression is in fact an Aramaism which has crept into Luke's style from some source or other,² yet such a view is not--in the case of Acts at least--required by the facts. Further, the very disagreement among scholars whether or not the individual instances in Acts are pleonastic, seems to indicate that the decision is rather much a subjective one, and as such, the onus of proof should probably rest on those who seek to regard the cases in question as abnormal.

(c) The Impersonal Plural.

The impersonal third person plural, used instead of a passive,

1). Genesis, that is, in the LXX version.

2). E.g., his use of Q, L, etc., or simply contact with Jewish people.

is well enough known in both Hebrew and Aramaic,¹ and was noted by Black² and Howard,³ following Wellhausen,⁴ as a NT Semitism. The only case in Acts that seems clear is Acts 3: 2, *ὃν ἐτίθειον*,⁵ "whom they used to set ...," or, more simply, "who used to be put" As has been noted above,⁶ Ropes, following the readings of Lvg and Sy^{vg}, would find in Acts 13: 28b another instance, *ὡς ἀνδρῶσιν*. But this does not follow, since the 'they' might as well refer to 'the inhabitants of Jerusalem and their rulers...' (vs. 29), as is the case with the other third person plural verbs in vss. 27 and 28. But perhaps a slight difference may be detected in the case of the succeeding verses, for--unless Paul had in mind Joseph of Arimathaea and Nicodemus--a change of subject seems indicated in verse 29b: *καθελόντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου ἔθηκαν εἰς μνημεῖον...*, a suitable meaning being "having been taken down from the Tree, He was laid in a grave." But the matter should not be pressed too far, except that it may be worth noting that in the same speech (Paul at Pisidian Antioch), we have already located two other signs of influence of Aramaic substrata.⁷ This, of course--if the speech were really due to Paul--might suggest no more than that Paul was expressing himself in words not uninfluenced by his own Jewish background.

-
- 1). G-K, Sect. 144 g, (ET, p. 460); Kautzsch, Gram., Sect. 96,lc.
 - 2). AAGA, p. 91.
 - 3). Moulton, Gram., ii, pp. 447-448.
 - 4). Einl. (1te Aufl.), p. 25.
 - 5). Black and Howard, cf notes 2 & 3, supra.
 - 6). Supra, pp. 170-171; cf. Beginnings, I, iii, 263.
 - 7). Viz., Acts 13: 22, the 'Targumic' citation from I Sam 13: 14, cf. supra, pp. 32-36; and Acts 13: 28b, cf. supra, pp. 169-173.

IV. The Pronoun.

(a) The Proleptic Pronoun.

The strengthening of the definition of a noun by the use of an anticipatory pronoun, otherwise redundant, is natural enough in Aramaic, and in the Gospels was claimed by Wellhausen as an Aramaism.¹ This was noted by Howard,² and described by Black as

"....a pure Aramaism, giving clear indication of linguistic influence, and, since the usage is not only clumsy but indefensible in Greek, possible evidence of literal translation of sources."³

Nevertheless he was not impressed with the case of Acts 3: 2(D), *παρ' αὐτῶν εἰσπορευομένων*, which he thought probably "no more than a mistake for *παρὰ τῶν εἰσπορευομένων*."⁴ On the other hand, he accepted Acts 7: 52(D), *καὶ ἐπέκτειναν αὐτοὺς τοὺς προκείμενους ἀγγείλοντας περὶ...*⁵

Perhaps another case may be discerned in Acts 6: 7(D), where in place of the usual reading *ὑπήκουον τῇ πίστει* (NB), there is some evidence for another, *ὑπήκουον αὐτῇ πίστει*, since the MS. shows signs, as Scrivener observed,⁶ of erasure by a later hand. He thought the original reading " *au potius quam au* (perit litera secunda) ..."⁷ Consulting the photographic edition,⁸ Fol. 436b, line 10, we may be inclined to agree with him, since (i) there is space only for four

1). Einl. (1te Aufl.), pp. 26-27.

2). Moulton, Gram., ii, 451

3). AAGA, p. 71.

4). ibid., l.c.

5). ibid., p. 74.

6). Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis, p. 442a, in note on Fol. 436b, line 10, "eras. s. m."

7). ibid., l.c.



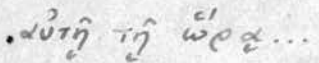
8). Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis, ... Sumptibus Academiae Phototypice Repraesentatus, i, (Cantabrigiae, 1899), in loc.

letters, (ii) three are fairly clear, α..τη, (iii) '∨' would be consistent with those traces that appear to have been left after erasure. Von Soden would read αυτη τη, though this seems hard to support.¹ If, however, the reading of D is to be taken as ὑπήκουσεν αὐτῇ πίστει,² then we appear to have another case of this construction. Moreover, its erasure is easy to understand, in view of (i) the rarity of the reading, and (ii) its 'relative hardness.' Finally, in view of the fact that this verse is not without marks of Lukan editorship, if not authorship,³ it should not be overlooked that the 'Aramaism' here may in fact be a 'Syriacism,' due not so much to an 'original substratum,' as to the influence of Antioch on Luke's own speech.⁴ (This possibility is hinted at by Black in the case of the expression (ἐν) αὐτῇ τῇ ᾠρᾷ).⁵

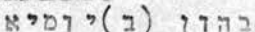
In this connection, it may be well to add for completeness the reading of Acts 11: 27(B), ἐν αὐταῖς δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις.... (Rest: ἐν ταύταις δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις), which is found in a section which has--in view of the additional material found in Acts 11: 27b(D)--sometimes been thought to be another 'We-section,'⁶ although Ropes, on the other hand, saw in the Bezan 'addition' only evidence that

"... the reviser was aware of the tradition connecting the author of the book with Antioch"⁷

-
- 1). Die Schriften des neuen Testaments, ii, p. 512, in loc.
There seems insufficient room for the extra letters.
 - 2). Von Soden's reading would be closer still to Aramaic use.
 - 3). E.g., λόγος, τε, ἀξέμεναι καὶ πληθύνειν (cf. supra, pp. 101, 104-106, q.v.).
 - 4). But cf. infra, pp. 193 ff., note on Acts 6: 11, 13.
 - 5). AAGA, p. 81.
 - 6). Blass, Phil. Gosp., pp. 131-132; cf. Cadbury, Beginnings, I, ii, 249.
 - 7). Beginnings, I, iii, 108b.

Whatever the final verdict on the matter may be, the present passage occurs in very close proximity to the statement that it was in Antioch that the disciples were first called 'Christians.' Nevertheless, one other fact in this regard should not be overlooked: namely, that the Sy^{vg} reads ¹ 'in those days', yet the Sy^{hl} reads ² 'in them, (in) the days', which is very much closer to the reading of B, and is quite natural in Syriac; indeed, White's Latin translation, "in his autem diebus,"³ would suit B perfectly. Thus, there would certainly be no obstacle in the way of regarding the B-reading here as at least consistent with 'Syriacism',--the more so in view of the phrase (ἐν) ... , referred to above.⁴ It would, of course, in itself, be just as satisfactorily explained by Aramaic,⁵ and indeed it may be that Aramaic has influenced the language in which Luke found the tradition. Questions of origins, however, must be left out of this present study.

Summing up, then, we may consider three cases, perhaps, of the phenomenon in I Acts: namely, Acts 7: 52(D)(Stephen), 6: 7(D*), and possibly also, 11: 27(B). It may be interesting to note that all three are found in Harnack's 'Jerusalem-Antioch' source.⁶

-
- 1). B & FBS edition, (here due to Gwilliam), (1905-20), p. 20, line 5.
 - 2). Actuum Apostolorum et Epistolarum ... Versio Syriaca Philoxeniana, ed. J. White, (1799), 1, p. 70, line 6.
 - 3). *ibid.*, p. 70.
 - 4). Although Howard (Moulton, Gram., 11, 432) would class the latter as a 'Lucan peculiarity,' and decline to think it due to Aramaic, since it occurs in Acts 16: 18 and 22: 13, where the question of Aramaic sources doesn't arise.
 - 5). Cf. 
 - 6). Cf. The Acts of the Apostles, (ET, 1909), pp. 188, 219-224, 245ff.

(b) The Ethic Dative.

It is well known that in the Semitic languages, and especially in Aramaic and Syriac,¹ the preposition ל with pronominal suffixes is frequently employed pleonastically in conjunction with the verb, as 'dativus ethicus.'² An example may be noted in the Fragment Targum to Gen 44: 18, אַמֶּךְ לִימָה לְיֹסֵף לֵאמֹר, "Judah said h i m to Joseph ..."³ In the Gospels, Black ascribed to the operation of this factor certain cases where a preposition in the dative, so construed with a verb, has given rise to "difficult expedients to make it intelligible in the Greek."⁴ It is possible that a similar factor may underlie several cases in Acts, where we seem to be confronted with an apparently unnecessary לוֹטוֹס in the text of the Codex Bezae (and occasionally, the corresponding word in other MSS.). Its omission, or rather, 'absence', from the majority of authorities may perhaps be an indication of difficulty encountered with it, for while that omission would require little explanation (especially if the use in question is really 'pleonastic'), insertion, on the other hand, would be rather unlikely. Before discussing the cases in question, we may note that (i) both occur in D, and (ii) in particular, they appear in that section of Acts which Harnack ascribed to the so-called 'Jerusalem-Antioch' source.⁵ They are: Acts 14: 2(D)

-
- 1). Cf. Stevenson, Gram., Sect. 4,3 (p. 17), Nöldeke, CSG, Sect. 224 (p. 177); G-K, Sects. 119 s & 135 i (pp. 381 & 439).
 - 2). Other examples are cited by Stevenson (l.c.), Nöldeke (l.c.), and Black, AAGA, p. 76.
 - 3). Ginsburger's edition, p. 75 (Cod. Ox. 2305, line 10). Cf. also Gen 38: 16 (D) (Kahle, M. d W., i, p. 16).
 - 4). AAGA, p. 77.
 - 5). Cf. supra, p. 186, note 6, for references.

and 15: 2(D). We shall now proceed to the examination of these cases.

Acts 14: 2(D), οἱ δὲ ἀρχισυνάγωγοι τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ οἱ
 ἀρχόντες τῆς συναγωγῆς ἐπήγαγον αὐτοῖς
 διωγμὸν κατὰ τῶν δικαίων, κ.τ.λ.

Leaving aside the questions of textual detail involved in the first line above, and also the question, for example, whether we are to read ἐπήγαγον with D, or ἐπέχειραν with p⁴⁵ ABC Lvt^d Sy^{hmg},¹ we are confronted with the presence of the word αὐτοῖς in D, following the verb, but which, as Ropes has observed, is "superfluous in the face of κατὰ τῶν δικαίων,"² its origin being "not easily guessed."³ He referred to a note on Acts 14: 27, where it was suggested that the words "may well be due to the Aramaic proleptic pronoun."⁴ This does not seem very likely here, as in that case we should probably require something like (διωγμὸν) κατ' αὐτῶν τῶν δικαίων.⁵ On the other hand, it might be possible--as Torrey suggested⁶--to read the word as an 'ethic dative', in which case we should obtain: "But the chiefs of the synagogue ... stirred them up a persecution against the righteous ones ...," which would make fair enough sense, and at the same time account for the difficult word. The expression may then reflect a Semitic element underlying the Bezan text, and at this point unrevised. The possibility

-
- 1). Cf. likewise, Acts 13: 23, ἤγαγεν NAB 81, sed ἤγειρεν CD.
 - 2). Beginnings, I, iii, 128b.
 - 3). ibid., l.c.
 - 4). ibid., p. 138a.
 - 5). I.e., in Aramaic, עליהון (לע) צדיקים
 - 6). DPC, p. 147. He suggested להון, since "The αὐτοῖς here ... merely renders the usual ethical dative of the Aramaic text: they instituted for 'themselves' (להון) a persecution." (DPC, p. 125).

of influence upon D from a Syriac version seems to some extent precluded, or at least diminished in probability, by the fact that *αὐτοῖς* is not represented in any of the extant Syriac versions.¹ Torrey's theory that D is a translation of an Aramaic version of the BN-text,² likewise receives no added support.

Finally, it is interesting to note in this connection the use here in this verse of the words 'οἱ δίκαιοι' as a term for 'the Christians', the more so in the light of the use in Acts 3: 14 of the term 'ὁ δίκαιος' for Jesus Himself.

Perhaps also worth consideration, at least for the sake of completeness, is Acts 15: 2(D),

οἱ δὲ ἐληλυθότες ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ παρήγγειλεν .
αὐτοῖς τῷ Παύλῳ καὶ Βαρνάβῳ, κ.τ.λ.

Ropes rightly pointed out that the *αὐτοῖς* of D (d: eis) "is not easily explained,"³ although, as noted above, it might perhaps reflect an underlying proleptic pronoun.⁴

On the other hand, another possibility is at least worthy of inclusion: namely, that the pronoun in question, instead of being construed with the following τῷ Παύλῳ καὶ Βαρνάβῳ, should possibly be taken with the preceding verb and its subject, as an 'ethic dative.' The meaning would then be: "Those who had come from Jerusalem instructed them (i.e., for themselves) Paul and Barnabas."

- 1). Unless we see in the (nominative) *οἱ* of Sy^{hlmg} a trace of such a reading; but this seems unlikely. Still, that text is here the nearest to D. Cf. White's edition, i, p. 85.
- 2). DFC, pp. 112-148; cf. also, p. 124, etc.
- 3). Beginnings, I, iii, 159b.
- 4). Supra, p. 188. Cf. especially notes 2, 3, and 4, where reference was made to Ropes' treatment of Acts 14: 2(D) and 14: 27.

In either case the locution would seem to point to some sort of Semitic (? Aramaic) influence upon the text as preserved for us in Codex Bezae. The precise evaluation of this point, however, must be left to another place.

In conclusion, before leaving the discussion of the pronoun, it may be in order to refer back to the use of the 'referring pronoun' in Acts 10: 38(D^C), discussed above,¹ and likewise forward to the Additional Note on Acts 14: 27, to be found at the end of this chapter.²

V. The Preposition.

Black noted as "a characteristic feature of Semitic usage," the repetition of the preposition before each noun of a series governed by it.³ An example was found by him in Acts 14: 21 (WH). Another case may be cited, namely, Acts 12: 11b (E) (Peter):-

καὶ ἐξήλατό με ἐκ χειρὸς Ἡρώδου καὶ ἐκ πάσης τῆς προσδοκίας

Its presence in the words of Peter is perhaps not without significance, the more particularly in the light of the fact mentioned by Black, that of some 15 examples in the Gospels and Acts (excluding the one just noted, Acts 12: 11b, E), two occur in the words of Jesus, and two more in other examples of direct speech. The present reading is supported also by Lvt^{8vg} Sy^{vg}. This mannerism, however, is not a special feature of any one of the Semitic languages in

1). Supra, pp. 167-169.

2). Additional Note I, pp. 223-225.

3). AAGA, p. 83, q.v.

particular, and so, perhaps, may not derive from anything more serious than a reminiscence of, for example, Psalm 143(144): 11 (LXX), or more probably, some passage such as Ex 18: 4, 8, 9, 10, etc.

Another Semitism has been seen in the use of the preposition *μετά* in the expression *ποιεῖν μετά τινος*, Acts 14: 27, 15: 4. In fact, Torrey described it as "the regular idiom in all branches of Aramaic,"¹ and in support cited several examples, admitting nevertheless that the idiom was "also found in Hebrew."² While, however, the expression cannot be excluded as a case of Semitism, the evidence on the whole perhaps points to another origin, as suggested earlier.³

VI. Idiom.

The following idioms have been noted as more or less relevant to this study, as possibly reflecting some sort of Semitic substratum, or perhaps, 'prehistory', underlying the tradition as it is now found in I Acts; they do not seem to owe their presence in Acts to the use and influence, direct or otherwise, of the LXX.⁴

(a) *ἄναστῆναι ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας (τινος)*.. (Acts 14: 10, The Holy Spirit to Paul).

This unusual expression, 'to arise upon the feet', that is, 'to stand up', occurs twice only in the NT, though the second case,

1). GDA, p. 38.

2). *Ibid.*, l.c.

3). Cf. *supra*, pp. 114-116; it may be a 'liturgicalism.'

4). That is, they do not seem to be either septuagintalisms or 'liturgicalisms', in the meanings outlined in Chapter III.

Acts 26: 16, is a doubtful one.¹ Nevertheless, both cases are in direct speech, and in particular, the words of Paul (Acts 14: 10) are addressed to a man *ἰδυνατός ... τοῖς ποσίν*, who, in vs. 3, is described as *Χωλὸς ἐκ κοιλίας μητρὸς αὐτοῦ*--an expression also found in Acts 3: 2, and regarded in our treatment of it above as a probable 'liturgicalism.'²

On the other hand, the idiom is found once only in the LXX, namely, IV Kgd 13: 21, ... *καὶ ἀνίστη ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ*..., although the corresponding Hebrew form is found twice in the MT, namely, II Ki 13: 21 (as above), and also I Chr 28: 2. In both places the Hebrew is of the form *וַיִּלָּחֶץ-לְעַמְּוֵל*. If, then, the idiom were due to the influence of the LXX, it would probably have to be taken as an allusion to IV Kgd 13: 21, where the point in question is the healing power of Elisha's bones. At any rate, it does not seem--at least without further proof--to be due to the operative element having come from, and so having been influenced by, a 'testimonium' section.³ It may, nevertheless, be a Hebraism of some sort.

To these facts, on the other hand, should be added the further point, that it is found in the free (Palestinian) Aramaic of the Fragment Targum to Genesis 38: 26, where the words occur:

"... As soon as Judah knew (i.e., recognized) his three witnesses, he a r o s e u p o n h i s f e e t, and said"(*... וַיִּלָּחֶץ-לְעַמְּוֵל*).⁴

-
- 1). In Acts 26: 16 we find the idiom *στῆθε ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας σου*, one also occurring in Ezek 2: 1, 2, q.v.
 - 2). Cf. supra, pp. 82-83.
 - 3). The passages in question are not noted by Dodd, Acc. Script.
 - 4). Ginsburger's edition, p. 20.

Likewise, as Wensinck observed,¹ it occurs at the same place in the Palestinian Pentateuch Targum from the Old Cairo Geniza, (viz., Gen 38: 26, .. יִלְבֹּד לַעֲרֵב-עַרְבִי).²

The expression, then, is a Semitism, common to both Hebrew and Aramaic; it does not seem to be a septuagintalism, in either of the two senses noted.³ Its presence here may indicate that the tradition of these 'verba Pauli' is ancient and authentic; though its use in the Targumim as noted may suggest that the corresponding Aramaic form was part of the religious phraseology of the Jewish synagogues of an early time. If the latter, then its presence in the words of Paul or in the tradition incorporating them, may indicate rather the effect upon them of the same early Jewish religious phraseology.

(b) *ῥήματα λαλεῖν εἰς* (κατά) (Acts 6: 11, 13).

The expression *ῥήματα λαλεῖν εἰς* (or: *κατά*) has been noted by Black as a Semitism, "probably Aramaic in origin."⁴ He quoted in support of this Daniel 7: 25, .. לְבַרְכָּא (בְּרִשְׁתָּא: יְרֵב) אֲבִילָא תַּלְּ יִלְבֹּד, 'to speak words against (the Most High)' being the meaning; in this connection, he noted the renderings of LXX and Theod., namely, *ῥήματα εἰς τὸν ὑψίστον λαλήσει...*, and *λόγους πρὸς τὸν ὑψίστον . λαλήσει*, respectively. However, he found another case in Job 2: 9 (LXX), "where it is equivalent to MT *תָּרַב*, 'curse',"⁵ although it is noted that Hatch-Redpath "refuse to give the MT as the equivalent

-
- 1). Unpublished note.
 - 2). P. Kahle, *M. d. W.*, ii, p. 19, line 4 (Fragment D).
 - 3). Cf. *supra*, p. 191, note 4, etc.
 - 4). *AAGA* (2nd edition, 1954), p. 277.
 - 5). *ibid.*, l.c.

of the expression ..."¹ Further confirmation is found in the fact that "In Lk. xii. 10b, βλασφημῶσάντι corresponds to Mt. xii. 32b ὅς δέ ἐν εἰπῇ κατὰ."²

To these instances we may perhaps add Acts 13: 45b, where we find the following critical data:

- (i) κ AB : καὶ ἀντέλεγον τοῖς ὑπὸ Παύλου λαλουμένοις βλασφημοῦντες, κ.τ.λ.
 (ii) D Lvt^d : καὶ ἀντέλεγον τοῖς λόγοις ὑπὸ τοῦ Παύλου λεγομένοις ἀντιλέγοντες . καὶ βλασφημοῦντες, κ.τ.λ.
 (iii) E 35 : (Cf. ii, sed ἐναντιόμενοι loco ἀντιλέγοντες).
 (iv) Lvt^g : Cf. ii, ... resistentes et

The repetition here of the words ἀντιλέγοντες καί may simply be due to influence of the preceding ἀντέλεγον, but in the light of what has been said concerning Acts 6: 11, 13 (and Lk 12: 10 = Mt 12: 32), some sort of conflation may have happened here, so that an expression of the form 'dicentes contra', has been read as 'contradicentes', the former represented (rightly, if we follow the example set out by Black as above) by βλασφημοῦντες, the latter by ἀντιλέγοντες. This may be to some extent supported by the fact that, in the passage from Lk 12: 10 alluded to above and cited by Black, we may observe a similar motive at work in the MSS., thus:

Luke 12: 10 (WH).

καὶ πᾶς ὅς ἐρεῖ λόγον εἰς τὸν
 υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ἀφεθήσεται.
 αὐτῷ· τῷ δὲ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα
 βλασφημῶσάντι οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται...

Luke 12: 10 (D).

καὶ πᾶς ὅς ἂν ἐρεῖ λόγον εἰς .
 τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ἀφεθή-
 σεται αὐτῷ· εἰς δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ
 ἅγιον οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται αὐτῷ .

That is, while the WH-text reads βλασφημῶσάντι, the Bezan text is content with the idiom (λέγειν λόγον) εἰς ..., the verb (λέγειν)

1). AAGA, (2nd edition), p. 277.
 2). *ibid.*, 1. c.

being implied in Luke 12: 10b(D); of course, it is possible that the Bezan 'omission' here of *βλασφημῶσαντι* may be traceable to assimilation of this passage to the parallel one in Matthew, but nevertheless, the fact that the WH-text of Luke here is really more definite may appear to tell against this view.

On the other hand, of course, we do not seem to be able to find a text containing the word *ἀντιλέγοντες* simpliciter, and consequently, the case for conflation is a little weakened. However, the other two readings, (iii) (E 35) *ἐναντιόμενοι καί*, and (iv) (Lvt⁸) *resistantes*, seem to imply a similar text, although they may also reflect some sort of 'interpretation' of reading (ii), in view of the apparent difficulty of twice reading *ἀντιλέγειν*. Bruce described the 'Western' 'addition' in question as 'tautological' in the context.¹ But this surely--if we exclude the possibility of textual corruption (for example, dittography)--would make that reading 'harder' than (i).²

Thus, it is at least feasible to regard the readings (ii)-(iv) as betraying the existence of an original which meant "speaking against," and which has been variously interpreted "blaspheming," "opposing," or both. Further, it may be seen that this is not a 'new' practice, as it has already been discerned in Luke 12: 10 (WH; cf. D),³ and Acts 6: 11, 13. On the other hand, we

1). op. cit., p. 274.

2). Removal of a tautological phrase might be considered more natural than its insertion, unless the process is due to a transmissional error such as that noted above.

3). Cf. also the parallel in Matthew 12: 32.

cannot speak here of Semitism in the strict sense, but simply content ourselves with the observation that, if the explanation just outlined were to be accepted, then we should have some evidence of the presence of the apparent Semitism (ἀντιλέγοντες = βλασφημοῦντες) in this passage, and consequently, that such a fact would weigh in favour of the authenticity and antiquity of the story concerned, suggesting for it a Semitic origin.

Nevertheless, we must not overlook the alternative that the expression in question may not be strictly a Semitism, but instead, in view of its appearance in the LXX without a really close Hebrew equivalent, may owe its presence in Acts either to the Koiné, or--more probably--to the influence of the LXX, the more so when it is appreciated that Job 2 was known to, and used by, Paul, in all likelihood;¹ it may thus have been known to Luke also. On the other hand, of course, it may have entered from its use in Q, as above.²

(c) ΠΟΙΕῖΝ ΚΟΠΕΤΌΝ (Acts 8: 2).

The expression ΠΟΙΕῖΝ ΚΟΠΕΤΌΝ was noted by Preuschen³ as " = תפוס נפשו, wofür LXX Mich 1:8 besser ποιεῖσθαι κ. sagen, ..." Further, it occurs but rarely in the MT,⁴ only twice in the LXX, and in the NT only in the present passage. Again, there is no evidence that either of the two texts in which it is found in the LXX were, or were embedded in, passages which we could in any positive sense describe as 'liturgical' or 'apologetical' sections.⁵

1). Cf. I Thess 5: 22 (Job 1: 1, 2: 3).

2). I.e., from Luke 12: 10b ('Q').

3). APG., p. 46.

4). Viz., Mi 1: 8, Jer 6: 26.

5). They are not 'testimonia'-sections; cf. Dodd, Acc. Script., and Chapter III supra.

The expression, then, is probably not to be regarded as a true septuagintalism, unless, perhaps, it can be shown to be an allusion.¹

On the other hand, it seems to be more frequent in the Targumim. For example, there are some fifteen places in the OT where the noun תַּבִּיב is found;² nevertheless, in only two of these--Mi 1: 8, Jer 6: 26--does the full construction $\text{ׁוּבְיָמֵי הַיָּמִים הַהֵלֶּלִים}$ occur. However, not only in these two is the corresponding Aramaic ܬܒܝܒܐ ܠܡܝܢܐ found,³ but also in some four others, where the Hebrew is quite different. They are: Jer 48: 38, Ezek 27: 37, Am 5: 16, and Mi 1: 11. That is, of the 15 places in the OT where the noun תַּבִּיב is found, the idiom under discussion appears 6 times in the Targumim, but only twice in the MT.

A natural inference, then, would be that, while the expression is permissible as Greek, and is apparently correct enough in Hebrew, yet it is even more natural in Aramaic. Thus, the expression may be an Aramaism, and if so, its presence here should probably be treated as a mark of the Semitic prehistory of the story in which it is embedded, or at least, a token of the (probably Semitic) origin of that tradition. On the other hand, the very absence of any other such 'Semitism' in the same verse, or even in the immediate context, seems to indicate that the story is not a direct translation of an Aramaic (or Hebrew) document, so much as a story,

- 1). Unless it is modelled on some other phrase or use in the LXX--a suggestion due to Prof. H. F. D. Sparks, in conversation.
- 2). Viz., Gen 50: 10; Isa 22: 12; Jer 6: 26, 48: 38; Ezek 27: 37; Am 5: 16(bis), 17; Mi 1: 8, 11; Za 12: 10, 11(bis); Ps 30: 12; Es 4: 3.
- 3). Cf. Lagarde, Proph. Chald., pp. 459, line 10, and 301, line 26.

originally circulated in Aramaic (or Hebrew), or among Aramaic-speaking circles, and in which one idiosyncrasy of that Semitic phraseology has escaped revision in the course of transmission.

(d) *πορευθη̄ναι* *τινα* *την* *ο̄δον* *αὐτου* (Acts 8: 39).

Black cited this idiom as claimed by Wensinck "both in the notes and vocabulary,"¹ and recorded the support for it found in the Fragment Targum to Gen 4: 7, *אזל הרל לאורחיה*, 'Abel went his way',² and also in Mo'ed Qaton, iii, 7. It is, however, also to be found in Targum Onkelos, Gen 32: 1, "And Jacob went his way" (*וַיֵּצֵא אֶזְלָא לְאַרְחִיָּה*), which here renders the Hebrew equivalent, *וַיֵּצֵא הָלֵךְ לְדַרְכּוֹ*.

The expression is certainly not a septuagintalism, and is probably to be regarded as a Hebraism, in view of its occurrence in Gen 4: 7(MT), although on the other hand, its presence in the free Aramaic of the Fragment Targum, coupled with its rarity in the Hebrew Bible, may possibly indicate that it is more characteristic of Aramaic than of Hebrew.

In any case, we should note it as a Semitism, probably indicative--like the *εὐρεθη̄ναι εἰς*⁴ of the next verse, Acts 8: 40--of some kind of Semitic 'prehistory' to the tradition embodied here in Acts, though hardly amounting to evidence of 'literal' or 'slavish' translation of documentary sources.

- 1). AAGA, (2nd edition, 1954), p. 238. The point was original-recorded by Black in "Aramaic Studies and the New Testament: The Unpublished Work of the Late A. J. Wensinck of Leyden," JTS, xlix (1948), pp. 163-164.
- 2). Cf. Ginsburger's edition, p. 71, (Cod. Ox. 318), line 12.
- 3). Edited by A. Berliner, p. 35, in loc.
- 4). Cf. *supra*, pp. 138-139.

VII. Mistranslation.

In view of the argument which has taken place concerning the value of (apparent) mistranslation as an indication of underlying Semitic sources, it would be almost improper to leave discussion of the evidence for Semitism in I Acts without some examination of the matter. This is the more necessary, in fact, in view of several considerations: (a) As Torrey remarked, "there is no other internal proof of translation which is so immediately cogent,"¹--that is, where it is sustained and 'convincing'; (b) contrariwise, he also,-and rightly,-observed that such cases were rare, and that "the need of caution is greater here than anywhere else," since

"... it happens in nine cases out of ten that renewed study of the 'mistranslations' which we have discovered shows us either that there was no translation at all, or else that it was quite correct."²

On the other hand, (c) it is a fact that, as Cadbury noted, it is precisely on such examples that Torrey "lays most weight,"³ and we may add, this is especially so in the case of his Composition and Date of Acts. Black, who felt this line of approach "not ... the most successful,"⁴ nevertheless thought it was "not to be overlooked."⁵ One of the principal difficulties in arguments concerning supposed mistranslations is the fact that the 'mistranslation-hypothesis' really tends to assume what it sets out to prove: that is, the hypothesis of 'mistranslation' is only reasonable if there

- 1). Toy Studies, p. 283.
- 2). ibid., p. 284.
- 3). AmJTh, xxiv (1920), p. 438.
- 4). AAGA, p. 142.
- 5). ibid., l.c.

is at least some evidence in the first place of translation from an original in a different language, and to that extent it can be regarded not so much as 'proof' of translation, as confirmation of the feasibility of the view that such an original may have existed.

In view of the foregoing, then, we shall subdivide the treatment as follows: (a) cases where there are textual variants; (b) cases where some sort of doublet or 'source-variant' may be involved; and (c) the remaining cases, where neither of these factors seems to be operative. Among the last-named will be found the majority of the cases alleged by Torrey. We might also add that not every case alleged by Torrey will be considered, but only those which have commended themselves to one or more of the several scholars who have dealt with his work.

(a) Possible 'mistranslation' reflected in textual variants.

Some such phenomena have already been dealt with in previous parts of this investigation;¹ others may perhaps be suspected in the following: Acts 3: 14, 5: 12, 6: 8, 8: 8, 11: 18, 12: 20. We may remark at this point that in the case of the four last-mentioned passages, the textual evidence in question is mostly late.

1. Acts 3: 14.

- (i) \aleph ABC . . : δίκαιον ἠενήσαθε καὶ ἠτήσαθε...
 (ii) D Lvt^d : δίκαιον ἐφασάτε καὶ ἠτήσατε...
 (Lvt^d reads: grabastis ...; Iren: ag-
 gravistis...)
 (iii) Aug (pecc mer, Bk 1, para. 52): Vos autem sanctum
 et justum inhonorastis, et negastis, ...

In the first place, with regard to the critical questions in-

1). E.g., Acts 13: 28b, (*ἴδ' εἰς ἀνείρεσιν*), cf. supra, pp. 169-173.

volved, it is plain that the reading of Augustine, (iii), is a conflation of the other two. On the other hand, direct textual corruption as between (i) and (ii) seems improbable. How are we to explain the deviation? Two principal methods have been proposed: first, Rendel Harris¹ offered the view that the Bezan Greek reading ἐβαρύνετε was really due to the (Old) Latin form found in Lvt^d (grabastis) and Irenaeus (aggravastis), the latter in fact being "a very good rendering"² for the Greek ἡττήσατε, which he regarded as an interpretation of the Bezan Greek ἡτήσατε. (WH: ἡτήσατο).³ With some such explanation Ropes was inclined to sympathize, but nevertheless he was compelled to question why the Latin translation should have taken this turn, apparently not being convinced by the explanation of the matter just given. As a result he was inclined to think that "the Greek text of Irenaeus, if extant, would probably supply the key to the problem,"⁴ which is of the essence of Harris's view also. On the other hand, however, the Greek ἡτήσατε may be a plain scribal error for ἡτήσατο, and need no further explanation; at all events, Harris's theory here seems rather complicated, and alternative means of solution may be sought.

The second method is that which seeks to trace the difference back to a confusion between Semitic equivalents of the two words in question. The first attempt of this type was that of Harvey, who, in his edition of Irenaeus, noted the similarity of the two Syriac

-
- 1). A Study of Codex Bezae, 1891, pp. 162f.
 - 2). ibid., p. 163.
 - 3). ibid., l.c.
 - 4). Beginnings, I, iii, 28b.

verbs, ܐܘܪܝܢܘܨܐܝܢ ($\alpha\rho\nu\varepsilon\iota\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$) and ܒܥܘܪܝܢܘܨܐܝܢ ($\beta\alpha\rho\upsilon\nu\sigma\iota\nu$).¹ As we have already mentioned,² this view was quoted with approval by Chase, who thought that a reading ܐܘܪܝܢܘܨܐܝܢ , rendering 'the true text' $\eta\rho\nu\eta\sigma\alpha\sigma\theta\epsilon\varsigma$, "either had been in the Old Syriac corrupted into ܐܘܪܝܢܘܨܐܝܢ or was so read by the Bezan scribe."³ Thus, the fault is supposedly due to Old Syriac influence upon D. Yet another form of the same explanation was that put forward by Nestle, namely:

"... $\alpha\rho\nu\varepsilon\iota\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ is = ܐܘܪܝܢܘܨܐܝܢ (ܐܘܪܝܢܘܨܐܝܢ); ... and $\beta\alpha\rho\upsilon\sigma, \beta\alpha\rho\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu$ -- a look into Hatch-Redpath will suffice, is = ܒܥܘܪܝܢܘܨܐܝܢ . Can we escape the conclusion, that he who wrote $\epsilon\rho\alpha\rho\upsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\varsigma$, translated a Semitic text, in which he believed he read ܐܘܪܝܢܘܨܐܝܢ , while another, or the same afterwards in revising his translation, read $\text{ܐܘܪܝܢܘܨܐܝܢ} = \eta\rho\nu\eta\sigma\alpha\sigma\theta\epsilon\varsigma$?"⁴

From this he concluded that Luke used a written Semitic source for the first chapters of Acts, and indeed, probably a Hebrew one. But this solution also seems to be too complex.

In more recent times, a fourth attempt has been made, using the same basic elements, but appealing this time to Aramaic. Torrey was unsatisfied with the solution in the forms just outlined, based on a supposed confusion of the roots $\sqrt{\text{ܐܘܪܝܢܘܨܐܝܢ}}$ and $\sqrt{\text{ܒܥܘܪܝܢܘܨܐܝܢ}}$; in the case of Nestle's solution in particular, since "neither Hebrew verb could plausibly be given the required meaning," and since, on the other hand, as we should expect him to claim, "it is evident from the sentence-structure of the Greek that the original was not Hebrew,"⁵ some other avenue of approach should be sought. He would

1). Sancti Irenaei, ii, p. 55, on Adv. Haer. III, xii, 3.

2). Cf. supra, p. 1.

3). The Old Syriac Element in the Text of Codex Bezae, p. 38.

4). Expos., Ser. V, vol. 2 (1895), pp. 237-238. Cf. TSK, lxi (1896), pp. 103-104, in his "Einige Beobachtungen zum Codex Bezae," and also, Philologia Sacra, 1896, p. 40.

5). DPC, p. 114.

suggest instead that

"The Aramaic editor rendered *ἠρνήσατο* by *יִתְּנֶנָּה* 'you denied, declared false'; It was wrongly copied as *יִתְּנֶנָּה* which could only be translated (regarded as a Hebraism) by the Greek *ἰθαρόνυατε*.¹

Perhaps, however, we should agree here with Bruce that "it is by no means certain" that *יִתְּנֶנָּה* could mean *ἰθαρόνυατε*, and think rather in terms of Aph. *יִתְּנֶנָּה*, namely, *יִתְּנֶנָּה*.²

Thus, if there were a Semitic element behind the present passage,--and in view of its occurrence in verba Petri there may be a certain a priori presumption in favour of that,--the explanation suggested by Torrey, though without the further complication of his retranslation theory for Codex Bezae, and with Bruce's emendation of it, would perhaps seem to offer a fairly simple, and plausible, solution of the problem. In support of this it may be noted that: (i) the principal Hebrew root rendered by the LXX as *ἰθαρόνυατε* is *יִתְּנֶנָּה*; further, (ii) though the other word, *יִתְּנֶנָּה*, is rare in the LXX,³ in the one case where it does have a known Hebrew equivalent, it renders Pi. *יִתְּנֶנָּה*, 'to lie, deny',⁴ which incidentally is translated here by Targum Onkelos as Pa. *יִתְּנֶנָּה*, a word whose meaning is given by Jastrow as 'to deny'.⁵ Again, (iii) in another place, Jastrow gives Aph. *יִתְּנֶנָּה* as 'to irritate, grieve',⁶ referring us for this to Targum Prov. 17:

1). DPC, p. 145.

2). The Acts of the Apostles, p. 109.

3). It occurs in LXX thus: Gen 18: 15, W1 12: 27, 16: 16, 17: 10, IV Ma 8: 7, 10: 5.

4). Viz., Gen 18: 15. Cf. also E. Brederek, Konkordanz zum Targum Onkelos, B.Z.A.W., ix (1906), p. 54a-b.

5). DTM, p. 612b.

25.¹ On such a view, then, *ἡενήσαθε* might represent ܝܗܢܝܫܘܬܝܗܘܢ , and *ἐβαρύνετε*, ܝܒܪܝܢܘܬܝܗܘܢ .

If indeed we had evidence that the speech in question was really delivered in Aramaic, we might possibly be justified in suggesting that the two readings at this point reflect a transmissional error, a view which would be rendered more plausible if the tradition of the speech had an oral form before reaching that condition in which Luke found and used it. Though no great weight can, of course, be put upon the matter, this 'solution' should perhaps be included here, especially as the textual problem otherwise seems almost insoluble.

2. In addition, there are several more or less minor textual variants, chiefly late in attestation, which, though not easily accounted for by reference to transcriptional error or other more familiar 'corruptions', might easily be different renderings of one and the same Aramaic or Hebrew original.

First, there are two cases where *πόλις* and *χώρα* are interchanged, namely: Acts 8: 8, 614 reads *τῆ χώρας* for *τῆ πόλει*; and Acts 12: 20, E 33 read *τὴν πόλιν* for *τὴν χώραν*, while 522 omits the noun altogether.

In the former case, the replacement of the word *πόλις* by *χώρα* would, in the context, constitute a simple enough improvement--since *πόλις* is not really natural in the circumstances--were it not for the fact that, in the other verses of the same story where *πόλις* also

1). Cf. Lagarde, *Hag. Chald.*, p. 132, lines 24-25: "The foolish son grieves his father" ($\text{ܒܪܐ ܫܘܢ ܫܘܒܝܕ ܐܘܘܪܝܗܘܢ}$).

occurs, namely, vs. 5 and 9, and especially vs. 5, εἰς (τὴν) πόλιν Σαμαρείας, the same or a similar correction might have been expected. The difficulty here of the reading πόλιν in vs. 5 was noted by Ropes,¹ and also by Lake-Cadbury,² who, incidentally, compare the anarthrous use here of πόλιν (so CD 81) with Luke 1: 39, and refer to Torrey on the point, a matter to which we shall return. The difficulty was also noted by Jacquier,³ and Bruce.⁴

But perhaps the comparison with Luke 1: 39, εἰς πόλιν Ἰούδα, is the relevant one here. To the explanation of this phrase, Torrey offered a solution which Black has called 'brilliant,'⁵ and which he would rank along with Wellhausen's observation on Matthew 23: 26 (Luke 11: 41), namely, that the Greek represents an original Hebrew מִן־הַמְּדִינָה לָא, ⁶ (or perhaps Aramaic מִן־הַמְּדִינָה לָא), where the translation "should have been εἰς τὴν χώραν τῆς Ἰουδαίας, 'to the province of Judea'."⁷ He goes on to tell us that

"The reason why the Greek of Luke 1. 39 mistranslates is perfectly obvious, and a very good one: because in the first century A.D. the use of מִן־הַמְּדִינָה in the signification 'province' was practically obsolete, having been supplanted by the meaning 'city' ..."⁸

It would require little reflection to realize that precisely the same factor may have been operative in the present cases, so that vs. 5 might mean, "to the province of Samaria," which would certain-

1). Beginnings, I, 111, 76a-b.

2). Ibid., I, iv, 89.

3). Les Actes, p. 251.

4). op. cit., p. 183.

5). AAGA, p. 11.

6). Toy Studies, p. 291.

7). Ibid., l.c.

8). ibid., l.c. On the whole matter, see also: HFR, xvii (1924), pp. 83-90, "Medina and Πόλις", and Luke 1. 39," and Our Translated Gospels, pp. 84-86; likewise, Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, xv, 259f.

ly be easier, while the textual variant noted might perhaps reflect just this variation in meaning due to the presence in the tradition here embodied in Acts of an underlying Aramaic (or perhaps, Hebrew) $\text{קִיָּטָה}(\text{קִיָּטָה})$.¹

The other case of this same variation is found in Acts 12: 20, and may possibly be traceable to a similar factor. In both cases, however, before we can be more than tentative in our claims, other evidence of such a Semitic 'substratum' ought to be adduced.

Secondly, there are two other interchanges which may attract attention, but which are probably best explained in terms of transcriptional error or assimilation. They are between *πολλή* and *μεγάλη*, in the case of Acts 5: 12, 6: 8, 8: 8, on the one hand, and between *σωτηρία* and *ζωή* in Acts 11: 18, on the other. In the latter, the reading of the usual text, *μετανοίαν εἰς ζωήν*, is read instead by MS. 1175 as *μετανοίαν εἰς σωτηρίαν*; but this should probably be explained in terms of assimilation--perhaps doctrinally inspired--to II Cor 7: 10, where the exact term *μετανοίαν εἰς σωτηρίαν* is found. It is nevertheless interesting to note that the same Aramaic word, ܩܘܝܬܐ , might be represented in Greek by either *ζωή* or *σωτηρία*. In the other cases we have:

- (i) Acts 5: 12. *πολλά*): sed 459 *μεγάλα*.
- (ii) Acts 6: 8. *μεγάλα*): sed 1898 Egsa *πολλά*.
- (iii) Acts 8: 8. *πολλή χάρις*): sed D.HLP *χάρις τε μεγάλη*

In the case of (i) and (ii), the words in question occur qualifying 'σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα', and as is evident, it is possible that in one

1). This possibility was in fact noted by Torrey (CDA, p. 18, n. 2), but he thought that vss. 8 and 9 seemed to indicate nevertheless that a 'city' was meant (*ibid.*, p. 19).

group of MSS. there may have been assimilation of Acts 5: 12 to 6: 8, while in another group the reverse may have taken place. This would, at any rate, provide a sufficient explanation of the facts. In the other case, (iii), concerning Acts 8: 8, assimilation (if the D-reading in fact is the secondary one, a point which Jacquier is inclined to question)¹ may have taken place to Acts 15: 5 (*χαράν μεγάλην*), or to some other of the passages where this combination occurs.² On the other hand, the same Aramaic word, 17, would cover adequately both Greek words.

The cases just noted, however, should not be treated as in any way serious evidence either of Semitic sources, or of a Semitic literary prehistory, and are included here for completeness rather than for the sake of the argument of this study. If a Semitic source or other origin were a known fact, they might have some minor confirmatory value.

(b) Possible 'mistranslation' revealed in a 'doublet.'

(Acts 8: 10. For discussion of this case, see the Additional Note at the end of this chapter.³)

(c) Other Alleged Mistranslations.

Torrey's case, as has been observed already, is based principally upon a number of alleged mistranslations, the more significant of which we shall now treat, apart--of course--from those discussed

1). *Les Actes*, p. 253.

2). *Viz.*, Matthew 2: 10, 28: 8; Luke 2: 10, 24: 52. The other form is found in P^{hm} 7.

3). Additional Note II, pp. 225-227, *infra*.

previously.¹

First, there are some three of the six cases which he described as "examples of serious mistranslation,"² namely, Acts 3: 16, 4: 25a, and 11: 27-28.

Acts 3: 16. That the text at this point makes awkward reading is conceded by a number of scholars,³ and several attempts have been made to improve it, although we should note that the MSS. and early versions do not seem to have done so. Torrey, in particular, found the mode of expression "intolerably awkward," and held that "the ugly repetition of τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ" obscured the sense and spoiled the sound,⁴ while a far more important objection was that "the passage is out of keeping with its own context," since in one case the faith 'which is through Him' effects the cure, while in the other, it is the Name that cures, "an outcropping bit of popular superstition...."⁵ He thus suggested that the story, originally in Aramaic, contained the words $\text{ܐܢܬܘܢ ܗܩܩܬܘܢ} \text{ (ἐστέρησατε τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ)}$, which ought to have been vocalized instead $\text{ܐܢܬܘܢ ܗܩܩܬܘܢ} \text{ (ὕγιή ἐποίησεν . αὐτόν or ὕγιή κατέστησεν αὐτόν)}$, so that the subject of the verb in question is the 'God' or 'Jesus'.⁶ This solution has commended itself to a number of scholars.⁷

-
- 1). E.g., Acts 2: 47, ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό, cf. supra, pp. 123-138, etc.
 - 2). CDA, p. 10.
 - 3). E.g., Burkitt, JTS, xx (1919), p. 325; Bruce, op. cit., p. 110; Lake-Cadbury, Beginnings, I, iv, 36b-37a, suggest emendation, treating τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ as a gloss on ἡ πίστις ἢ ἐν αὐτῷ
 - 4). CDA, p. 15.
 - 5). Ibid., l.c.
 - 6). Ibid., p. 16.
 - 7). E.g., de Zwaan, (Beginnings, I, 11, 50); Jackson and Lake, (Beginnings, I, 11, 142); W. L. Knox, (The Acts of the Apostles, p. 20); and Bruce, op. cit., p. 110.

However, against the proposed solution several objections may be raised: first, the fact mentioned above concerning the absence in the MSS. of any indication that this verse was felt difficult, seems to serve as a warning against imagining that the idea of the Name 'working the miracle'¹ was alien to the thought of the story; moreover, if--as Lake-Cadbury suggested--the words τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ are in reality an interpretative gloss upon the ambiguous ἡ πίστις ἣ δὲ αὐτοῦ,² they must be very ancient, one would almost think original, as there is no external sign that they were ever absent from the text. In any case, 'the Name' (ΠΝΩ) is not rarely found in Jewish writings as a periphrasis for God,³ and if this were the case here, much the same result would follow as if we were to omit τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ altogether, and simply understand 'God.' Again, as has been pointed out in a previous chapter,⁴ the speech of Peter in Acts 3: 12-26 contains several OT quotations whose variation from the corresponding portions of the MT and the LXX seems to indicate that they belonged to either a collection of Testimonia, or an independent version or text;⁵ moreover, it was noted that in the case of two of them, identity with similar quotations in Stephen's speech seemed to suggest that they were in Greek when Luke encountered them, not Aramaic.⁶ Further, the presence in this speech of certain elements of diction

-
- 1). So Preuschen, *Apk.*, p. 20: "Voraussetzung ist der Glaube der Apostel an die Kraft des Namens; der Name wirkt selbst das Wunder..."
 - 2). *Beginnings*, I, iv, 36b-37a.
 - 3). Cf. Jastrow, *DTM*, p. 1590b, etc.
 - 4). Cf. *supra*, pp. 44-45, 48-50. (Chapter II).
 - 5). *Viz.*, Acts 3: 13 (Ex 3: 6), and 22a (Deut 18: 15/18).
 - 6). Cf. *supra*, p. 73.

"It is obvious that the neuter pronoun, 'that which', is required by the whole passage; the connection of the address *δέσποτα . . . ἀδελφοί* becomes evident for the first time, and the *γάρ* in vs. 27 now comes into its own."¹

Like the previous case, this solution has appealed to several scholars.²

However, once again several objections may be raised against it. In the first place, the textual question here has been almost completely ignored by Torrey, and the WH-text has been assumed to be correct. Further, the MSS. at this point display so great a variety and extent of deviation from one another that one might be forgiven the temptation of seeing in it a case of straightforward corruption.³ Secondly, the passage in which the clause under discussion occurs is very strongly marked with Lukanisms and near-Lukanisms,⁴ especially in the 'introduction' and 'conclusion'; so much so, in fact, that Sparks was led to think that Luke had either supplied these portions (the introduction and conclusion) himself, or "drastically edited"⁵ what he had found in a source. Likewise, it contains not a few of what we have termed septuagintisms and 'quasi-liturgicalisms', as we have noted elsewhere.⁶ Moreover, we may agree again with Sparks that, apart from the

1). CDA, p. 17.

2). E.g., de Zwaan, Beginnings, I, ii, 50; W. L. Knox, The Acts of the Apostles, p. 20.

3). Ropes (Beginnings, I, iii, pp. 40a-41b) seemed to think that the WH-text, representing AB Athan, in view of its antiquity and difficulty, should be accepted. Hort, on the other hand, thought the 'extreme difficulty of the text' due to a 'primitive error', and conjectured *τοῖς . πατέρας* (NTOG, I, p. 575).

4). E.g., *ὁμοθυμαδὸν, ἐπλήσθησαν πνεύματος, ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ, μετὰ παρακλήσεως*, etc. Cf. Hawkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 21, 20 (43), etc.

5). JTS, N.S., I (1950), p. 24.

6). Cf. *supra*, pp. 91-95.

words under discussion, "nothing points to Aramaic rather than Hebrew as the underlying semitic language."¹ Thirdly, the quotations found in the Prayer are in verbal agreement with the LXX.² Finally, two other points may be made: on the one hand, it may be remarked that the idiom suggested by Torrey as the root of the trouble, ܘܘܢ ܡܘܨܝܐ, would seem to be more natural in Syriac than in Aramaic;³ on the other hand, his 'solution' would destroy the parallelism between Acts 4: 24b, οὐδὲ ποιήσας κ.τ.λ., and 4: 25a, ὁ εἰπὼν (or D, ἐλάλησας). It is true that the parallelism may have been a later feature of the text, but if that view is to be argued some other supporting evidence should be adduced.

That is to say, in view of the considerations set out above, it would seem that Torrey's case is, at this point, insufficiently supported, and so has not been 'made out.'

Acts 11: 28. The expression, ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην, in the context is a difficulty for Torrey, since it seems that "there was no famine in Antioch," but that "the narrator appears to have in mind only Judea as the afflicted region."⁴ Noting the famine described by Josephus as having taken place in the time of Claudius,⁵ he rejected the view that some confusion of events had taken place, and likewise the suggestion of Wendt that the famine

- 1). JTS, N.S., 1 (1950), p. 24.
- 2). I.e., Acts 4: 24b (cf. Ps 145(146): 6, Ex 20: 11, etc.); and 4: 25, 26 (Ps 2: 1ff).
- 3). Cf. Nöldeke, CSG, Sect. 236 (pp. 183-184). A more idiomatic Aramaic form would be either ܘܘܢ or ܘܘܢ ܡܘܨܝܐ (Stevenson, op. cit., Sect. 7, 2; p. 21).
- 4). CDA, p. 20.
- 5). Ant., xx, 5, 2. The theory involving a confusion of events is found in Preuschen, ApG., p. 74 (Cf. CDA, pp. 20-21).

be interpreted metaphorically as 'hunger for the word of God';¹ consequently he sought to remove the 'rhetorical exaggeration'² involved in *οἰκουμένη* as applied to Judea, by claiming--as he had already done in the case of Luke 2: 1, that an underlying Aramaic ܟܘܢܝܢܐ , written by the author of the Aramaic document, who thus was simply following the "time-honored usage" in calling Judea 'the land', has been misrendered by the translator living outside Palestine as 'ἡ οἰκουμένη'.³

Against this suggestion, we should point out the following considerations: First, the offending word, *οἰκουμένη*, though found in the LXX some 45 times, has as its principal Hebrew equivalent there not אֶרֶץ , but בְּלַיִם .⁴ Again, Hawkins listed *οἰκουμένη* as a Lukanism.⁵ Further, the exact expression, *ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην*, is found in Dan 3: 45 (LXX and Theod.), although no original is here extant. It is hard to see why an original ܟܘܢܝܢܐ should not have been rendered ἡ γῆ, unless appeal is made to Luke's fondness for *οἰκουμένη*, but in any case Aramaic influence here seems unproven. Finally, as we have noted elsewhere, there is a certain suggestion, based upon the 'Western' reading of Acts 11: 27-28, that the passage may in fact have been a 'We-section';⁶ if this were in fact the case, his suggestion in turn would lose further weight.

With regard, then, to these three cases upon which Torrey laid

-
- 1). CDA, p. 21.
 - 2). The phrase is Howard's (Moulton, *Gram.*, ii, 474).
 - 3). CDA, p. 21; cf. *Toy Studies*, p. 293.
 - 4). Cf. *H-R*, s. v. *οἰκουμένη*. (p. 968a-c).
 - 5). *op. cit.*, p. 29.
 - 6). Cf. *supra*, p. 185.

so much stress, we have seen no serious reasons why the hypothesis of Aramaism should be accepted for them, whereas there are certain considerations which seem to indicate that they should be rejected unless further, and independent, evidence to the contrary is forthcoming.

The second group of examples is taken from Torrey's "collection of minor slips, including too literal renderings,"¹ once again where these have not already been treated elsewhere in this study.

Acts 1: 22 (Cf. also, 10: 37, 11: 4). The phrase here, ἀρξάμενος ἀπό, has been regarded by Torrey² and others³ as a Semitism, traceable to an original בְּרֵאשִׁית. But it does not seem necessary to presuppose an Aramaic original here, since the meaning of the phrase in the context might easily be precisely "taking its beginning from . . .," just as Delling would explain the ὡς ἤρξατο of Acts 1: 1, as "wohl = ὡς ἐποίησεν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς."⁴ This certainly seems the case with Acts 8: 35, where the meaning would be, "starting (out) from this text (i.e., Isa 53: 7-8, just quoted)" Wensinck noted the use of the participle in the Fragment Targum to Gen 44: 18, as Black has observed,⁵ in the expression, "beginning from thee and . . ." (...מִיְיָךְ אֲנִי מְחַיֵּל⁶); but it may be questioned

1). CDA, p. 10. The list actually begins at p. 23, (CDA).

2). Ibid., pp. 7, 25-28.

3). E.g., de Zwaan, Beginnings, I, ii, 50; Jacquier, op. cit., p. 38; Bruce, op. cit., pp. 79, 226, 231.

4). TWNT, I, 477, Ann. 5.

5). AAGA, (2nd edition, 1954), p. 234. Cf. JTS, xlix (1948), p. 160.

6). Ginsburger's edition, p. 23, line 2.

whether the use here is really pleonastic: it seems to be meant quite seriously. Lake-Cadbury felt that the expression in Acts 1: 22 was redundant, but suggested that it might be due to 'Biblical Greek',¹ while in the case of 10: 37, they thought it possibly an example of a quasi-adverbial use already found in the papyri.²

The distribution of the phrase is interesting: Matthew 20: 8 (peculiar to Matthew); Luke 23: 5, 24: (27), 47 (all peculiar to Luke); (John) 8: 9; Acts 1: 22, (8: 35), 10: 37, 11: 4. It will be seen that the expression is almost a 'Lukanism',³ and that in particular, 4 out of the 6 (? 7) cases in Luke-Acts occur in direct speech. One is thus tempted to suggest that, while the use may in fact have originated with an Aramaic מתחיל מן or מתחיל מן, yet even so it appears to have crept into Luke's style, and may indeed have been deliberately employed by him in writing up his material. On the other hand, in view of the occurrence of a similar idiom in the papyri, we may wonder whether such a theory is really necessary.

Before leaving this case, however, we should make some attempt to deal with the form in which it appears in Acts 10: 37. Here we are confronted with a textual problem in addition: the masculine form, ἀρξάμενος, is read by κ ABD etc., while the neuter, or perhaps masculine accusative, form, ἀρξάμενον, is read by p⁴⁵ 81 etc. The

1). Beginnings, I, iv, 14a.

2). ibid., 120a. Cf. Moulton, Prol. (3rd edition), p. 240.

3). Cadbury described it as 'peculiarly Lukan,' (The Style and Literary Method of Luke, p. 163.

latter, as Ropes remarked, is probably an attempt to improve the grammar and sense.¹ The participle here is perhaps quasi-adverbial, and a number of near-parallels have been cited from the papyri by Moulton and Milligan.² However, the following parallel from Luke 23: 5 seems instructive:

Luke 23: 5.

.Ἀνασείει τὸν λαὸν διδάσκων.
καθ' ὅλης τῆς Ἰουδαίας, καὶ
.ἄρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας.

Acts 10: 37.

.Ὑμεῖς οἴδατε τὸ γενόμενον .
ἔθμα καθ' ὅλης τῆς Ἰουδαίας,
ἄρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας

So close is the parallel here that Blass was led to treat the words ἄρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας as an interpolation from Luke 23: 5.³ In any event, the identity between these two passages can hardly be accidental, and would seem to suggest some kind of common origin. However, precisely because of the exactness of the parallel, such an origin would appear to be better sought in terms of the Greek phraseology in which the two passages are expressed, than in the possible use of an underlying Aramaic source. That is, the type of agreement concerned suggests the hand of an author or editor rather than direct dependence upon a Semitic document: it has something of the appearance of a 'familiar' or 'favourite' turn of phrase.⁴ When we add to this the fact already noticed, that the expression is almost a 'Lukanism',⁵ it becomes clear that unless further evidence is forthcoming, the case cannot be regarded as an

1). Beginnings, I, iii, 99a.

2). Vocab., p. 82a, Cf. also Prol., (3rd edition), p. 240.

3). Acta Apostolorum ..., Göttingen, 1895, p. 130.

4). Cf. the stereotyped phrase, διὰ στόματός τινος, and in particular its form in Luke 1: 70 and Acts 3: 21; for discussion of these, cf. supra, pp. 97-99.

5). Cf. supra, p. 215, especially note 3.

Aramaism in the strict sense; it is probably due to Luke himself, though the ultimate origin may have been in some oft-repeated phrase, as seems to be so in the case of the other expression, *.δὶὰ στόματος τινος*, observed earlier.¹ We might also refer in conclusion to the treatment of *ἄρχομαι* c. infinitive above.²

Acts 2: 7. The expression *οὐχὶ ἰδοὺ* here has been claimed by Torrey as an Aramaism,³ thinking that it reproduced the phrase *ܢܗ ܢܗ*, since

"The Aramaic interjection is inserted very often for emphasis where *הנה* or *נה* would not be used in Hebrew. This use in interrogation (nonne) is known to us mainly from classical Syriac. ... It is also good Arabic."⁴

Now, although it is true that the suggested idiom, *ܢܗ ܢܗ*, is found in Syriac (in the form *ܢܗ ܢܗ*),⁵ it certainly does not seem to be usual in Aramaic, and it is a matter for regret that Torrey has cited no example of it. On the other hand, a related expression, *.ܘܚܝ ܝܕܘܘ*, (read incidentally in Acts 2: 7 by AC), is found in the LXX some 35 times, and in every case but three it represents Hebrew *ܢܗܢܗ*, (nonne), except--of course--where the MT is wanting, as in III Kgd 8: 53, etc. Again, another form, *ܘܚܝ ܕܘܚ*, was noted by Thackeray as having found "almost universal employment" in the B-text of the LXX, "partly due," perhaps, "to the influence of the form *ܘܚܝ*," though *ܘܚܝ ܝܕܘܘ* itself apparently does not occur in the LXX.⁶ In fact, he observed that the form *ܘܚܝ ܝܕܘܘ* "in time became

1). Cf. supra, pp. 97-99, and also p. 216, note 4.

2). Supra, pp. 179-182.

3). CDA, pp. 6, 28; cf. also de Zwaan, Beginnings, I, ii, 50.

4). CDA, p. 28.

5). Cf. J. Payne Smith, A Compendious Syriac Dictionary, Oxford, (1903), p. 99a, s.v. *ܢܗ*.

6). Gram. OTG, i, p. 125.

the recognised equivalent for the classical $\tilde{\alpha}\rho' \overset{\circ}{\sigma}\tilde{\epsilon}$; "1

Thus, an appeal to mistranslation, or rather, too literal translation, of Aramaic seems unjustified: the meaning 'nonne' might easily be explained in terms of the use of $\overset{\circ}{\sigma}\tilde{\alpha}\tau' \overset{\circ}{\iota}\overset{\circ}{\delta}\overset{\circ}{\sigma}\tilde{\alpha}\tilde{\nu}$ etc. already developed in the LXX, and occurring there frequently enough to be regarded as 'characteristic' of it in the sense defined above.²

Acts 5: 28. The use here of the form $\overset{\circ}{\rho}\overset{\circ}{\alpha}\overset{\circ}{\rho}\overset{\circ}{\alpha}\overset{\circ}{\gamma}\overset{\circ}{\gamma}\overset{\circ}{\epsilon}\overset{\circ}{\lambda}\overset{\circ}{\iota}\overset{\circ}{\zeta} \overset{\circ}{\rho}\overset{\circ}{\alpha}\overset{\circ}{\rho}\overset{\circ}{\eta}\overset{\circ}{\gamma}\overset{\circ}{\gamma}\overset{\circ}{\epsilon}\overset{\circ}{\iota}\overset{\circ}{\delta}$ recalls the Hebrew Infinitive Absolute construction, which Torrey claimed, against Dalman,³ to be "as idiomatic in Aramaic as in Hebrew."⁴ In view of the fact, however, that it is found some 200 times in the LXX,⁵ we need probably look no further than that for its explanation. In addition, we might agree with Burkitt in failing to see how the construction here differs from that of $\overset{\circ}{\alpha}\overset{\circ}{\nu}\overset{\circ}{\alpha}\overset{\circ}{\theta}\overset{\circ}{\epsilon}\overset{\circ}{\rho}\overset{\circ}{\alpha}\overset{\circ}{\tau}\overset{\circ}{\iota} \overset{\circ}{\alpha}\overset{\circ}{\nu}\overset{\circ}{\epsilon}\overset{\circ}{\theta}\overset{\circ}{\epsilon}\overset{\circ}{\rho}\overset{\circ}{\alpha}\overset{\circ}{\tau}\overset{\circ}{\iota}\overset{\circ}{\sigma}\overset{\circ}{\alpha}\overset{\circ}{\mu}\overset{\circ}{\epsilon}\overset{\circ}{\nu}$ in Acts 23: 14, "for an oath is not much more concrete than a command."⁶

Acts 10: 36. This passage is regarded by Torrey as one which, "reduced to Aramaic, ... would sound much better, since the suspended construction is usual in that language."⁷ He further suggested that it was possible that the last clause of vs. 36 "was originally intended quite differently."⁸ The solution

- 1). Gram. OTG, i, p. 126.
- 2). Supra, p. 78; cf. Clarke, Beginnings, I, ii, 71, 72.
- 3). WJ, (ET), pp. 34-37. Dalman thought it "in the Palestinian Aramaic of the Jews--apart from the Targums--quite unknown." (WJ, p. 34).
- 4). CDA, p. 33.
- 5). Thackeray, Gram. OTG, i, p. 48.
- 6). JTS, xx (1919), p. 326.
- 7). CDA, p. 35.
- 8). ibid., l.c.

proposed here by Torrey, namely, that of positing an Aramaic original, appealed to Dodd, who described the Greek of Acts 10: 35-38 as "notoriously rough and ungrammatical, and indeed scarcely translatable."¹ Accepting the reading of $\kappa\omicron\delta\epsilon$ Lvt^e Sy^{vg} hl , $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\nu$ $\acute{\omicron}\nu$..., against BA etc., which omit $\acute{\omicron}\nu$, he offered the following 'reconstruction':

אֲתָא דִּי שְׁלַח לְבִנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל מִן־סוּרָא שְׁלָם בִּיד יִשְׁנָע מְשִׁיחָא הוּא מְרָא כְּלָא.

This he translated:

"As for the word which the Lord of All sent to the children of Israel, proclaiming good tidings of peace through Jesus Christ: you know that which took place in all Judea .."²

Now, with regard to this question of the 'suspended construction,' we may note that in at least two other places in Acts we have examples of the sort of phenomenon found in the parenthetical $\acute{\omicron}\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota\nu$ $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\nu$ $\kappa\upsilon\tau\iota\omicron\varsigma$, namely, Acts 8: 26b, ($\tau\omicron\nu\acute{\omicron}\delta\acute{\omicron}$) .. $\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\eta$. $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota\nu$ $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$, and 9: 36b, ($\tau\alpha\rho\sigma\iota\theta\acute{\alpha}$) .. $\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\eta$ $\eta\nu$ $\pi\lambda\acute{\eta}\rho\eta\varsigma$ $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\gamma\omega\nu$ Moreover, in Luke-Acts the use of $\acute{\omicron}\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ in such an 'absolute' sense is not uncommon.³ In the next place, regarding the textual point involved in Torrey's reconstruction, we may wonder whether we should not rather prefer the reading of BA, omitting the relative pronoun $\acute{\omicron}\nu$, perhaps either as a dittography of the last two letters of $\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\nu$,--though the reverse may equally well have taken place,--or as an attempt at amelioration, as Ropes suggested.⁴ In this case, we might translate the sentence as follows:

1). APD, pp. 53-54.

2). CDA, p. 35.

3). Cf. MG, pp. 731b-737b, s.v. $\acute{\omicron}\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$.

4). Beginnings, I, iii, 98b.

"He (i.e., God--understood from vs. 34b preceding) sent the Word (i.e., in Luke's usage, 'the Gospel'¹) to the Israelites, proclaiming good news of peace through Jesus Christ: He (i.e., Jesus Christ) is Lord of All things.."

But it is plain that such an interpretation does not require the hypothesis of an Aramaic original--although in the light of what has been said above concerning Acts 10: 38 (D^c),² and also 10: 39b (Dt 21: 22f.),³ that possibility cannot be excluded. Again, this speech contains no less than 16 Lukanisms⁴ in 22 lines, so that the editor's hand is clear enough.

Thus, while as we have noted, it cannot be proved that the passage was not translated from a written Aramaic source-document, yet we may at least say that, apart from certain elements of the speech which seem to suggest that a Semitic tradition to some extent underlay the text as we now have it at several points,⁵ the facts of the present case neither require nor suggest such a translation-hypothesis.

Acts 13: 25. The words imputed to John the Baptist here, display an interesting variant-reading:

- (i) *KAB* 81: τί ἐμὲ ὑπονοεῖτε εἶναι; οὐκ εἰμὶ ἐγώ.
 (ii) *p*⁴⁵ *CD*: τίνα με ὑπονοεῖτε εἶναι; κ.τ.λ.

Torrey claims that not only should the neuter pronoun be read here --a point with which we should agree, since (i) does really seem the harder reading--but moreover, that it represents an Aramaic

- 1). Cf. Hawkins, op. cit., pp. 20, 43.
- 2). Supra, pp. 167-169.
- 3). Supra, pp. 50-51.
- 4). Viz., φοβούμενος, εὐαγγελιζόμενος, εἰρήνην, ῥῆμα, (ὡς), ἀγίω, διήλθεν, ἰώμενος, ὧν (in attraction to πάντων), ἀνείλον, τούτου (him), παντί (τῷ λαῷ), τῷ λαῷ (bis), (and possibly, διαμαρτυροῦμαι). The rate per WH-page, 24, slightly exceeds the average for Acts, of 22.5.
- 5). Cf. notes 2 & 3, above.

ΝΩ (Syriac, *lib*).¹ This view was shared by Ropes, who regarded the τίνα of (ii) as "a linguistic improvement."² Bruce, on the other hand, suggested that if the verse were differently punctuated, namely, τί ἐμὲ ὑπονοεῖτε εἶναι, οὐκ εἰμὶ ἐγώ, we would have a use of the interrogative for the relative, which is Hellenistic;³ in this case "the first clause becomes indirect: 'I am not what you think I am'."⁴ He would nevertheless prefer to read as with WH. But if we accept their punctuation, which seems more natural in the context, then we are left with the difficulty noted above. In view, now, of the fact that in this speech of Paul at Pisidian Antioch we have already found traces of what seems to be some kind of underlying Semitic tradition,⁵ we may perhaps be disposed to allow that this verse may also reflect a trace of such a tradition.

It may be fitting to close this chapter with several remarks of a general nature on its findings.

First, though evidence for Semitism in the stricter sense has been found in I Acts, it is hardly extensive enough to support a general hypothesis of translation from Aramaic (or Hebrew) documentary material. Moreover, not all of the cases investigated in this chapter are of equal value: some, indeed, may be fairly strong and convincing, but others are unquestionably weak and rather doubt-

1). CDA, p. 33.

2). Beginnings, I, iii, 122b.

3). op. cit., p. 266.

4). ibid., l.c.

5). Cf. supra, pp. 32-36, 169-173, 183.

ful. In particular, evidence derived from supposed 'mistranslation' was found to be, on the whole, very unreliable. Among the 'stronger' group of examples, we may list the following:

Acts 3: 14(Peter); 6: 11(Stephen's accusers), 13; 7: 39 (Stephen), 52(D)(Stephen); 8: 2, 39; 10: 19(the Holy Spirit to Peter), 38(Peter); 12: 11b(E)(Peter); 13: 25(Paul; a Saying of the Baptist), 28b(Paul), 29b(Paul), 45; 14: 10(the Holy Spirit to Paul), 21.

Of these, Acts 13: 25 & 29b, both in Paul's speech at Pisidian Antioch, should perhaps be regarded as slightly weaker and less convincing than the rest. The remainder, 12 cases in all, we may describe as 'weak'.¹

Secondly, it may not be coincidental that no less than 9 (? 11) of the 14 (? 16) 'stronger' cases occur in speech of some kind, whereas all 12 'weak' cases are found outside speech. Moreover, the 'stronger' cases seem to suggest Aramaic rather than Hebrew as their probable origin.

That is, in so far as appeal to Aramaic may be suggested anywhere, it would seem to be most reasonable in the speeches in question, especially that of Paul at Pisidian Antioch. But nevertheless the presence of other factors, particularly marks of Lukan editorship, seems to imply not so much a direct employment of Aramaic traditions, as an incorporation into the relevant speech (or narrative) of elements of such traditions perhaps, and in fact probably, already translated into Greek or otherwise in Greek garb.

1). They are: Acts 3: 9; 4: 4; 5: 26(D); 6: 4(D), 7(D); 8: 13(D), 10: 6(614), 11: 27(B), 14: 2(D), 3(D), 4(D); 15: 2(D). We may note the high proportion of these cases found in D,--8 instances out of 12. Perhaps we should also add: Acts 5: 12; 6: 8; 8: 8(2 cases), 28(D); 12: 20. All six are likewise found outside speech, and none is at all strong.

Additional Notes to Chapter V.

I. Acts 14: 27.

Apart from the presence of the apparently Semitic idiom, *ποιεῖν μετὰ τινος*, which has been treated elsewhere,¹ this verse presents a number of problems, as a glance at the alternative readings will show:

- (i) \aleph ABC Sy^{vg}.hl: ὅσα ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς (B: ὁ θεὸς ἐποίησεν) μετ' αὐτῶν.
 (ii) D Lvt^dg: ὅσα ὁ θεὸς ἐποίησεν αὐτοῖς μετὰ τῶν ψυχῶν αὐτῶν.

First, it is clear that of the two readings, (ii) is the harder, and so, other things being equal, it should probably be preferred. Secondly, though Ropes held that the reading *μετὰ τῶν ψυχῶν αὐτῶν*, (ii), could not be explained "except from Semitic influence of some kind,"² he nevertheless admitted at the same time not only that Semitism was "equally present in *μετ' αὐτῶν* of the usual text," but also that the Aramaic corresponding to (ii) would have a reflexive or emphatic force, whereas here "no such emphasis is admissible."³ Consequently, he was led to postulate either "imitation of Aramaic" or "some still more complicated process" as the probable cause of the 'Western' reading. Thirdly, he also found the *αὐτοῖς* of D Lvt^d(not Lvt^g) difficult, and not "easily explained as due to conflation," since no other known authority has *αὐτοῖς*.⁴ Referring then also to Acts 14: 2(D), which we have treated in another place,⁵ he suggested that it might be due indeed "to the Aramaic proleptic

- 1). Cf. supra, Supplementary Notes to Chapter III, pp. 114-116.
- 2). Beginnings, I, iii, 139a. Black, AAGA, p. 76, described the use of *ψυχῶν* in this sense as "a pure Semitism."
- 3). Beginnings, I, iii, 139a.
- 4). ibid., l.c.
- 5). Supra, pp. 187-189.

pronoun."¹

These ideas have been woven together by Torrey, who incidentally overlooked them in his earlier work on Acts, (although he did claim there the 'Semitism' involved in *ποιεῖν μετὰ πνοῆς* ²). He tried to build them into an argument supporting his Bezan retranslation theory.³ He suggested that here the KB-reading *μετ' αὐτῶν* has been rendered into Aramaic as .. *ܕܢܗܘܒܝ ܕܢܗܘܒܝ ܕܢܘܨ*, for which, however, the 'Western' translator

"... of course could not write *μετ' αὐτῶν μετὰ τῶν ψυχῶν* . *αὐτῶν*, but by writing *ἐποίησεν αὐτοῖς μετὰ τῶν ψυχῶν αὐτῶν*, he could (and did) reproduce the whole Aramaic text."⁴

The complexity of such a 'solution', however, leads us to seek some alternative explanation, if that of conflation be dismissed--and perhaps, in view of Ropes's observation quoted above, it should be.⁵

Now it is a fact that in both Aramaic,⁶ and Syriac,⁷ the preposition *ܕ* (*Δ*) is sometimes used to denote the accusative, in conjunction with a personal pronoun. Moreover, Torrey's suggestion that the intention here was

"... to make the pronoun unambiguous and to emphasize the twofold favor, 'what God had done for them, and how he had opened a door of faith for the Gentiles, ..,"⁸

would probably provide a reasonable answer to Ropes's claim that a reflexive or emphatic form would here be out of place. In such an

1). Beginnings, I, iii, 139a.

2). CDA, p. 38.

3). Cf. supra, pp. 21-22.

4). DPC, p. 146.

5). In any case, would not the Greek for Torrey's 'Aramaic' be *μετ' αὐτῶν τῶν ψυχῶν αὐτῶν* , on the model of *ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ* . *δρα* , etc.?

6). Stevenson, Gram., Sect. 4, 4 (p. 17).

7). Nöldeke, CSG, Sects. 287ff. (pp. 226ff.).

8). DPC, p. 146.

Great God' meant God, as distinct from the gods of the pagans, so that

"... Luke the translator, led by his own monotheism rather than his imagination, erred in connecting the adjective with the word 'power'."¹

But, as noted, this view is based upon the idea that the people of Samaria referred to were pagans, 'polytheists';² whereas, as Foskes-Jackson pointed out, the people intended are clearly the 'heretical sect' using the Samaritan Pentateuch, since "Simon is not said to have amazed the Gentiles but τὸ ἔθνος τῆς .Σαμαρίας..."³ This fact was in turn later acknowledged by Torrey,⁴ though he remained firm in his views as to the 'underlying Aramaic'.

Various expedients have been adopted to explain the difficulties of the words; for example, ἡ δύναμις has been explained as meaning 'God', on the ground that "the rabbis use as a surrogate for God the term הַיְיָוָה ...",⁵ and Luke's addition of τοῦ to Mark's ἐκ .δεξιῶν τῆς δυνάμεως (Mark 14: 62, Matthew 26: 64) in Luke 22: 69, is quoted in support. Again, carrying this a stage further, Dalman claimed that

"... The sorcerer was really spoken of as 'God', and .τοῦ θεοῦ as well as καλουμένη are additions due to Luke."⁶

Lake-Cadbury note again that the use of καλουμένη "further suggests

1). GDA, p. 20.

2). ibid., p. 19.

3). HPR, x (1917), p. 355.

4). In "Fact and Fancy in Theories concerning Acts," Part II, AmJTh, xxiii (1919), pp. 189-190.

5). Beginnings, I, iv, 91a; cf. Bruce, op. cit., p. 185, and Dalman, WJ, pp. 200-202.

6). WJ, p. 200.

that he (i.e., Luke) is aware of dealing with a foreign term in his *μεγάλη*.¹

However, there may perhaps be another explanation. We have a hint in the words of Lake-Cadbury that "*δύναμις τοῦ θεοῦ ἢ κληρομένη μεγάλη* has been affected by the preceding *λέγων εἶναι τινὰ ἑαυτὸν μέγαν ...*"² Another point made is that the action is represented as taking place in Samaria, and the words under discussion are taken from the words of the people in that place. Further, as has been pointed out above, the natural equivalent for *δύναμις* would be Hebrew *גְּבוּרָה*,³ Aramaic *גְּבוּרָה*, (and Samaritan Aramaic *גְּבוּרָה*⁴). If then we were to apply the test of 'retroversion' into Aramaic, we should obtain: *גְּבוּרָה דאלהא דמתקרי רב*, or in Samaritan Aramaic, *גְּבוּרָה דאלהא דמתקרי רב*. But the word *גְּבוּרָה* might easily be mistaken in sound for *גְּבוּרָה*, in which case the words would mean, "This is the man of God who is called (or: calls himself) great,"--which is precisely what Simon Magus is alleged to have been doing (vs. 9).

Thus, it is not impossible that we have here two versions of the one element of tradition, and as a result, perhaps some weak evidence for a Semitic (in this case Aramaic) prehistory to that tradition.

1). *Beginnings*, I, iv, 91a.

2). *Ibid.*, p. 91b.

3). Cf. H-R, p. 350a: e.g., Jd 5: 31, 8: 21; IV Kgd 18: 20; I Chr 29: 11; Jb 12: 13, 39: 19, 41: 3(4); Ps 53(54): 1, 144(145): 4, 12, etc.

4). Cowley, in *The Samaritan Liturgy*, p. liib, cited "גְּבוּרָה power; pl. גְּבוּרָה, גְּבוּרָתָה, גְּבוּרָתָה." *δυναμις*.

CHAPTER VI.Conclusions.

Reviewing the results of the foregoing study, a number of conclusions of a general nature emerge. They may be expressed as follows:

1). At the outset it may be stated that, as was foreshadowed in the Introduction to this investigation, the attempt to explain all the Semitisms of I Acts without distinction in terms of the operation of any one single factor is most improper: it is necessary to differentiate them into their several groups, and then, on this basis, to try to assess the significance and probable origin of each group, and each individual case, in its turn. Three main classes were thus distinguished and investigated: (a) words, phrases, and verses suggesting some kind of affinity with a Semitic, not Greek, Old Testament textual tradition; (b) words and phrases, Semitic in nature, possibly traceable to some kind of influence of the Septuagint; and (c) other words and phrases, Semitic in nature, not explicable in terms of Septuagint influence.

2). Critical Problems in Acts 1-15.

These may be roughly divided into two main groups, according to whether they concern the actual textual evidence itself, or the further question, where there is evidence for the use of some kind of Semitic source or sources in I Acts. We shall take them in that order.

(a) The Textual Problem.

The striking differences of text found in Acts between the readings of the B \mathcal{N} -group of MSS. on the one hand, and those of D (and certain of its allies) on the other, are too well known to require introduction. However, the examination of the Semitisms of Acts 1-15 seems to have made one contribution to our understanding and treatment of the problem: in no inconsiderable number of cases, where there was evidence either to indicate or suggest Semitism, that evidence was not found in all the MSS., but was confined to one or other MS. or group of MSS., frequently D (and its allies).¹ This fact seems to imply that, although we may not disregard the other traditional methods of criticism, greater deference should nevertheless be paid to the claims of individual readings of both these and other MSS., in which it appears that elements of primitive tradition may have survived unrevised. It follows that the results of this enquiry in relation to the textual problem of Acts, though no doubt indicating that the Bezan text has, on occasion, preserved the traditions of Acts in a more primitive form than has the B \mathcal{N} -text, nevertheless do not allow us to posit a double-edition theory such as that advanced by Blass:² rather, they tend to enhance the claims made by the exponents and supporters of the so-called 'eclectic' method of textual determination.³ A corollary is that textual criticism and judgment on Semitism must proceed hand in hand.

- 1). E.g., Acts 2: 17 (supra, p. 66), 3: 14 (supra, pp. 200-204), 5: 26 (supra, p. 174, & note 5: AAGA, p. 94), 6: 7 (supra, pp. 184-185), 7: 39 (supra, pp. 165-167), 52 (Black, AAGA, p. 74; cf. supra, p. 184), 10: 38 (supra, pp. 167-169), 13: 6 (supra, p. 122), 28b (supra, pp. 169-173), etc.
- 2). Cf. supra, pp. 1-2.
- 3). Cf. supra, pp. 22-24, 30.

(b) The Question of Semitic Sources.

This is a most important matter. Is there evidence that I Acts, either in whole or in part, is a translation of an Aramaic (or possibly, Hebrew) document, as Torrey alleged? If the translation-theory is not to be accepted, is there any other way of explaining the Semitisms of I Acts?

The evidence examined fell into two main classes, 'aberrant' textual traditions of the Old Testament found attested in I Acts, and other Semitisms whose presence in Acts did not seem to be due to Septuagint-influence of one kind or another. Investigating the former, the fact that Luke usually employed a Septuagint-type text for his quotations led us to suspect some kind of source for those quotations and allusions which presuppose a different textual tradition of the Old Testament; again, of some 21 such cases studied above, all but one--Acts 8: 32--were found in direct speech. This suspicion was strengthened by the fact that 9 of these 21 cases reflected elements of Old Testament textual traditions confined to one or other of the Targumim, the Samaritan Pentateuch, and the Samaritan Pentateuch Targum; another 7 instances seemed to suggest some kind of acquaintance with the Hebrew Old Testament itself. However, since no one authority was consistently followed, or even in any particular case followed in all its detail, the forms of the quotations and allusions did not seem to have been due to direct use of a Targum or Targumim by Luke, but rather to have been before him in 'ready-made' blocks of material whose deviation from the Septuagint he did not feel it appropriate to alter. Support for this might be obtained from the fact that in one case, Acts 13: 22, two forms--the Septuagint(or MT-) form and the Targumic form--are found con-

flated. Accordingly, these quotations and allusions may have been already in Greek when they came to Luke, instead of Aramaic or Hebrew. Finally, the minute nature of the variation from the Septuagint in some cases, the verbal identity observed in two repeated quotations,¹ together with the fact that one of the 'aberrant' traditions, that concerning Terah's age (Acts 7: 4), is found not only in the Samaritan authorities but also in Philo, seem suggestive of Greek, rather than Aramaic or Hebrew, source-material. Likewise, the use of *ὠδίνων* to translate *אֲבִינִים* (as in the expression, *אֲבִינִים אֲבִינִים*, Ps 17:5(18: 4)), found in Acts 2: 24, though no doubt ultimately due to Hebrew (or perhaps Aramaic), may reflect here no more than an interpretation--and a possible one at that--current at the time. On the other hand, evidence for the use of an alternative Greek Old Testament version seemed to be rather weak. This group of data, then, is consistent with the use of sources of some kind, possibly Greek, and to a degree 'fixed', though nevertheless reflecting Aramaic (and Hebrew?) traditions--as the presence of the Targumic factor in the 'aberrant' textual traditions testifies.

The second class of evidence, which we might describe as 'the Semitisms proper', seemed to support this view. On the one hand, there were Semitisms such as the special use of *ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό*, reflecting the similar use of Hebrew *עַל* found in the Manual of Discipline and the Judean Hymns, *ἐκλέγεσθαι ἐν* (i.e., "עַל עַל"), and the formula *γνωστὸν ἔστω τινὶ ὅτι...* ("וְלִי יָדוּעַ" etc.) found in the Beth Mashkō letter and also in a corresponding form in Biblical Aramaic; these, though very probably traceable to Hebrew or Aramaic

1). Cf. supra, pp. 48-52; there also seems to be a third case.

ultimately, may nevertheless have come to Luke immediately in their Greek forms. On the other hand, in the case of certain other Semitisms, the texts seemed to reflect two different, though possible, interpretations of an underlying Aramaic original: they include the three instances where the Aramaic particle ܐ (or maybe Hebrew "ו") may have caused trouble, namely, Acts 7: 39, 10: 38, and 13: 28b; another possible case is to be found in Acts 3: 14, where it has been suggested that the alternative readings *ἡ ἐνήσαοθν* and *ἐφαύρατε* may be traceable to a common Semitic original.¹ It is perhaps worth observing that all four cases occur in speeches. The question, then, is, do these instances (and other similar, though weaker ones) constitute evidence for the use of Semitic documentary sources in the composition of Acts? As in the case of the first class of evidence considered--the 'aberrant' Old Testament textual traditions, it seems that we are confronted with 'unrevised' elements of primitive Semitic tradition which, in view of their presence in speech-material (although they are found occasionally elsewhere also), ought probably to be traced back to the 'verba Apostolorum'. Whether more can be said in this regard is quite another matter. The existence of 'knots' of Semitic material surviving unrevised in one or other of the MSS. or 'texts', while no doubt affording a rather strong indication of the authenticity of the material in question, does not really permit us to draw firm conclusions regarding those portions of the Greek text of Acts which are contiguous with these passages, since the operation of other factors, such as editorial activity and liturgical expansion or

1). For detailed discussion of this, cf. supra, pp. 200-204.

adaptation, cannot be completely assessed and eliminated. Consequently, each element of the text must be judged, not so much in the light of its neighbouring elements, as on its own merits. On this basis some attempt might be made to form an impression of the whole of I Acts. However, if we consider the case of the Septuagint, we may observe that its Hebraisms are so striking, frequent, and consistent, as to impart to the whole work a distinctive linguistic and stylistic 'character': it would be very difficult--on account of the scantiness of 'strong' evidence for 'Semitism proper'--to make a similar observation in relation to I Acts, or even to the speeches in which such evidence is most impressive.

Thus, although the evidence does not seem to warrant or require the view that the text of Acts 1-15, in whole or in part, is a literal translation of an Aramaic (or Hebrew) document or documents, it nevertheless seems clear that some of the speeches at least, and possibly other passages also,¹ contain a kind of core of Aramaic or Hebrew tradition, around which their present form has developed; to the extent that this is so, they appear to constitute 'garanties d'authenticité', in Lagrange's phrase.² On the other hand, we must not overlook the fact that there is some evidence that even these 'cores' were already in Greek when Luke employed them, though perhaps the data are insufficient to allow a final pronouncement in this regard.

-
- 1). E.g., we may refer to the story of the arrest of Stephen, and observe the apparent Aramaisms in Acts 6: 7 (cf. supra, pp. 184-186), and 6: 11, 13 (supra, pp. 193-194).
 - 2). S. Luc, (3me éd., 1927), p. cx.

3). Linguistic Problems in Acts 1-15.

Two distinct linguistic problems can be discerned in the material discussed in this study: the first concerns the probable linguistic affinities of the Semitisms of I Acts, the other pertains to the nature of those Semitic locutions which are susceptible of explanation by reference to some kind of influence from the Septuagint. We shall take them in that order.

(a) Linguistic Affinities of the Semitisms of Acts 1-15.

This question is one which must be approached with great caution. The recent finds of scrolls at Qumran and Murabba⁶ at have opened the possibility of Hebrew, as well as Aramaic, being a language which may well provide us with a clue to the understanding of the Semitisms of Acts. Indeed, while it need hardly be stressed that the majority of Semitisms in I Acts, particularly the 'stronger' ones, seem to reflect Aramaic vocabulary, grammar, and idiom, nevertheless, what is probably the most striking fact which has emerged in this connection from our study is the very noticeable number of points of apparent affinity between the language and thought of I Acts and that of some of these recently-discovered Hebrew scrolls. Five cases may be mentioned by way of example: Acts 2: 47 (etc.) (προστιθέναι) ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό (תקן (ל להוסיף);¹ Acts 15: 7, ἐκλέγεσθαι .² ("ב רב רב);² Acts 2: 14 etc., γνωστόν ἔστω τινα ὅτι ("ל יהי ידוע ידוע);³ the interpretation of Ps 17: 5(18: 4);⁴ and the use of Deut 18: 15(? 18)--the Prophet 'like unto Moses'--as a 'testimonium'--

-
- 1). Cf. supra, pp. 128-138.
 - 2). Cf. supra, pp. 126-127.
 - 3). Cf. supra, pp. 123-124.
 - 4). Acts 2: 24, supra, pp. 65-67.

passage.¹ The importance of this relationship can, no doubt, be exaggerated: it should not, however, be neglected or minimized. Indeed, in view of the fact that not only were the scrolls found in a place not far removed from the scene of much of the action recorded in I Acts, but also the dates that have been assigned to them would make them roughly contemporary with that action,² or at least close enough for relevant comparisons to be made, the evidence assumes an even deeper significance. If sustained, it may offer us a most suggestive line of enquiry into the background of Acts and the New Testament, and perhaps also a useful tool of critical investigation.

Two other matters should be noted. In the first place, a number of other Semitisms, Aramaic in character, seemed to reflect linguistic and stylistic phenomena observable in the Palestinian Targumim favoured by Wensinck and Black;³ to the extent that this is so, it may perhaps be taken as supporting their contentions concerning the nature of the Aramaic of the New Testament period. In the second place, there are one or two Semitisms in connection with which reference was made to Samaritan Aramaic texts. We may note especially the use of the form, "לְךָ c. infin., expressing 'in order that ...', which was mentioned in regard to Acts 13: 28b.⁴ This form appeared, at least from our present researches, to be confined to Samaritan Aramaic.⁵ It does not follow, of course, that Samaritan

1). Cf. supra, pp. 63-64.

2). I.e., the scrolls appear to have been in use in NT times, or thereabouts, though perhaps written somewhat earlier.

3). Cf. supra, pp. 18-20; also, Black, AAGA, pp. 13-25.

4). Supra, pp. 169-173.

5). Cf. supra, p. 172; the case in question was found in The Samaritan Liturgy, (edited Cowley), I, p. 68, 7.

sources underlie the Semitisms of Acts, or even the Semitism to which reference has just been made (Acts 13: 28b). On the other hand, it does seem to suggest that study of Samaritan Aramaic may yield interesting data for assessing the nature of the free, spoken Aramaic of Our Lord's time. This also, so far as it goes, lends support to the view taken by Black of the importance of Samaritan Aramaic for an understanding of the Aramaic of the New Testament.¹

(b) The Nature of the 'Septuagintalisms' of Acts 1-15.

No estimate of the nature, origin, and significance of the Semitisms of Acts 1-15 would be complete without some evaluation of the so-called 'septuagintalisms'. Now, although we have found it at least 'not proven' that Luke directly used Aramaic and Hebrew documentary sources for I Acts, it is hardly less clear that his acknowledged familiarity with the Septuagint cannot--in itself--provide a satisfactory explanation for more than a few terms and stylistic habits, about 9 or 10 in all, since a number of alleged 'septuagintalisms', though clearly found in the Septuagint, appear only rarely in it. (It is perhaps superfluous to add that we are considering here only such terms and stylistic habits as might conceivably be regarded as Semitisms). Consequently, we were compelled to look for the operation of some other factor in their selection. Such a factor was found in the liturgico-apologetical phraseology of the early Church, and the following are the facts upon which this conclusion was based: First, an examination of the 9 terms which might have been true septuagintalisms, and a comparison of their

1). AAGA, pp. 15, 18, 20-21, 24-25; cf. *supra*, p. 20.

frequency-patterns and distribution-patterns with those of the general editorial phenomena in (Luke-) Acts indicated that septuagintalism was fairly independent of 'Lukanism'. Secondly, six other expressions found in the Septuagint (though rarely) could all be traced to parts of the Septuagint which we knew on quite independent grounds to have been well known to, and used by, the early Church; some even occurred in passages described by Dodd as primary or secondary sources for 'testimonia'. They may thus have come to Luke not from the Septuagint directly, but by way of the liturgico-apologetical activity of the primitive Church. Thirdly, a study of the prayers in I Acts reveals no slight similarity of phraseology between them and prayers found in other early Christian writings,¹ as well as the Lukan Hymns of the Infancy.² Fourthly, the presence in Acts of certain 'quasi-formularistic' elements of diction, often reminiscent of Old Testament phrases, is suggestive of a later time, and seems to support the view just enunciated. Finally, Kilpatrick has shown grounds for postulating a liturgical factor in the composition of Matthew; Cullmann has discerned a similar element in the Fourth Gospel: it was therefore considered reasonable to conclude that the liturgical and apologetical phraseology of the early Church may have been a serious factor in determining the presence and selection of at least a significant number of the apparent 'septuagintalisms' of Acts 1-15; indeed, it may also suggest a possible origin for some of the traditions which Luke collected and incorporated into his work, especially when we consider the other

1). E.g., I Clement and the Didache; cf supra, pp. 93-96.

2). Cf. supra, pp. 96-99, where similarities between the language of the Hymns and that of I Clem 59-60 are noted, etc.

relevant facts disclosed by this study: namely, that some of the passages in Acts which appear to be based upon, and to include unrevised elements of, ultimate traditions either Aramaic or Hebrew (or both), nevertheless also seem to contain hints that those traditions reached Luke in their Greek, rather than their Semitic, form. If this were the case, it might be that certain elements of a stereotyped nature found in Acts, e.g., ὁ ὁ θεὸς ἤγειρεν ἐκ νεκρῶν,¹ in reality reflect not so much traces of a supposed 'primitive Preaching' ('the Kerygma'), as of an emergent credal form. This matter, however, forms a separate question, which cannot be handled within the bounds of this study.

4). The Old Testament Text in New Testament Times.

One additional matter on which some light seems to be shed by the results of the previous investigations is this: if what has been observed above is correct, the 'aberrant' Old Testament quotations and allusions--at least in so far as they can be verified from other known textual traditions, and thus appear to suggest some kind of source--may have a further significance in that they appear to attest the use in Apostolic times of a text or texts of the Old Testament diverging from those now current. Moreover, in so far as these elements are preserved in such writings as the Targumim, they confirm not only the antiquity of the portions of Acts in which they occur but also that of those writings, since they are evidence for ancient Jewish (textual) traditions which have thus been preserved in two (or more) apparently independent sources, viz., the New Testament and the

1). For discussion of the type of expression concerned, cf. supra, pp. 106-107.

Targum (or Targumim) in question. To this extent they probably should be regarded as giving further weight to the opinion of Wensinck and Black, concerning the value of the Targumim in question,¹ and consequently supporting what was said in another place.² A corollary would be that before ascribing any quotation (or allusion) from the Old Testament found in the New Testament in an 'aberrant' form to 'loose citation', and so forth, some attempt should be made to determine whether its form can be traced in other textual traditions of the Old Testament, such as the Palestinian Targumim. That is, in spite of the unquestioned use of the Septuagint in many places, the ultimately Semitic nature of the traditions enshrined in many parts of the New Testament--especially Acts 1-15--must not be underestimated or otherwise left out of account.

-
- 1). Cf. supra, pp. 18-20, and also Black, AAGA, pp. 13ff.
 - 2). Cf. supra, p. 235, relating to the Aramaic of the Palestinian Targumim, and p. 235-236, relating to Samaritan Aramaic texts.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.¹I. BOOKS.A. General Works.1. Encyclopaedias and Bible Dictionaries.

- CHEYNE, T. K. and BLACK, J. Sutherland (Editors). Encyclopaedia Biblica, (A Critical Dictionary of the Literary, Political, and Religious History, the Archaeological Geography, and Natural History of the Bible). New Edition, in One Volume, with the rectification of some typographical errors. London. 1914. Adam & Charles Black. xxxii, & 5444 cols.
- HASTINGS, James (Editor). A Dictionary of the Bible, (Dealing with its Language, Literature, and Contents, including Biblical Theology ...). Edinburgh. 1898-1904. T. & T. Clark. 4 vols. & Extra Volume.
- KITTEL, Gerhard (Herausg.). Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament. Stuttgart. 1933---. W. Kohlhammer. Bände I-IV, und Band V, Lieferungen 1-15.

2. Lexica.(a) Biblical Hebrew and Biblical Aramaic.

- BROWN, Francis, DRIVER, S. R., and BRIGGS, Charles A. A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament, With an Appendix Containing the Biblical Aramaic Oxford. 1929 (First published, 1906). Clarendon Press. xix, 1127p.
- KOEHLER, Ludwig (Ed.). Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros. Wörterbuch zum hebräischen Alten Testament in deutscher und englischer Sprache / A dictionary of the Hebrew Old Testament in English and German. --Walter BAUMGARTNER, Wörterbuch zum aramäischen Teil des Alten Testaments in deutscher und englischer Sprache / A dictionary of the Aramaic parts of the Old Testament in English and German. Leiden. 1953. E. J. Brill. lxvii, 1138p.

-
- 1). This list is not a general bibliography of the whole subject, but contains only those works which are either cited in the text of the foregoing study, or are otherwise directly presupposed by it (e.g., Lexica consulted but not quoted).

KÖNIG, Eduard. Hebräisches und Aramäisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament... (Mit Einschaltung und Analyse aller schwer erkennbaren Formen, Deutung der Eigennamen sowie der massoretischen Randbemerkungen, und einem deutsch-hebräischen Wortregister). Leipzig. 1910. Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung (Theodor Weicher). x, 665p.

(b) Non-Biblical Aramaic and Hebrew.

COOK, S. A. A Glossary of the Aramaic Inscriptions. Cambridge. 1898. G.U.P. viii, 127p.

DALMAN, Gustaf H. ܐܪܡܝܝܬܘܢ ܕܩܪܝܝܢܘܬܐ. Aramäisch-jouhebräisches Wörterbuch zu Targum, Talmud, und Midrasch. Frankfurt a. M. 1901. J. Kauffmann. X, iv, 447p.

JASTROW, Marcus. A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature. New York. 1950. Pardes Publishing House Inc. 2 vols. (Originally published in London & New York, 1903).

LEVY, Jacob. Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim, und einen grossen Theil des rabbinischen Schrifthums. 2te, unveränderte Ausgabe. Leipzig. 1876. Baumgärtner's Buchhandlung. 2 Bände.

(c) Syriac.

BROCKELMANN, Carolus. Lexicon Syriacum. Edinburgh (Berlin). 1895. T. & T. Clark. (Reuther & Reichard). viii, 512p.

SCHULTHESS, Fridericus. Lexicon Syropalaestinum. Berlin. 1903. Georg Reimer. xvi, 226p.

SMITH, Jessie Payne. A Compendious Syriac Dictionary. (Founded upon the Thesaurus Syriacus of R. Payne Smith.) Oxford. 1903. Clarendon Press. viii, 626p.

SMITH, Robert Payne. Thesaurus Syriacus (auxit digessit exposuit edidit R. P. S.). Oxford. 1879-1901. Clarendon Press. 2 vols. (See also next entry).

----- (MARGOLIOUTH, Jessie Payne). Supplement to the Thesaurus Syriacus of R. Payne Smith, S.T.P., Collected and arranged by his daughter J. P. M. Oxford. 1927. Clarendon Press. xix, 345p.

(d) Greek.

BAUER, Walter. Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des neuen Testaments, und den übrigen urchristlichen Literatur. 4te, völlig neu bearbeitete Auflage. Berlin. 1952. Alfred Töpelmann. xvi. & 1634 Cols.

- LIDDELL, Henry George and SCOTT, Robert. A Greek-English Lexicon. A New Edition (the 9th), Revised and Augmented by (Sir) Henry Stuart Jones and Roderick McKenzie, and with the co-operation of many scholars. Oxford. 1940. (Reprinted 1948, 1951). Clarendon Press. 2 vols.
- MOULTON, James Hope and MILLIGAN, George. The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament (Illustrated from the Papyri and other non-literary sources). One Volume Edition. London. 1930 (Originally completed, 1929). Hodder & Stoughton. xxxii, 705p.

3. Grammars.

(a) Hebrew.

- GESENIUS, Wilhelm. Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar. Edited and Enlarged by the late E. Kautzsch. 2nd English Edition, revised in accordance with the twenty-eighth German Edition (1909), by Arthur Ernest Cowley. With a facsimile of the Siloam Inscription by J(ulius) Euting, and a Table of Alphabets by M. Lidzbarski. Oxford. 1940 (Reprinted from corrected sheets of the second edition, 1910). Clarendon Press. xvi, 598p.
- SEGAL, M. H. A Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew. Oxford. 1927. Clarendon Press. xliii, 248p.

(b) Aramaic.

- DALMAN, Gustaf H. Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch, nach der Idiomen des palästinischen Talmud und Midrasch, der Onkelostargum (Cod. Soncini 84), und der jerusalemischen Targume zum Pentateuch. Leipzig. 1894. J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung. x, 348p.
- KAUTZSCH, E. Grammatik des biblischen Aramäisch. (Mit einer kritischen Erörterung der aramäischen Wörter im Neuen Testament). Leipzig. 1884. viii, 181p.
- STEVENSON, William Barron. Grammar of Palestinian Jewish Aramaic. Oxford. 1924. Clarendon Press. 96p.

(c) Syriac.

- NÖLDEKE, Theodor. Compendious Syriac Grammar. (With a Table of Characters by Julius Euting). Translated (with the sanction of the Author) from the Second and Improved German Edition, by James A. Crichton. London. 1904. Williams & Norgate. xxxiv, 336p.

SCHULTHEISS, Friedrich. Grammatik des christlich-palästinischen Aramäisch. Herausgegeben von Enno Littmann, mit Nachträgen von Theodor Nöldeke und dem Herausgeber. Tübingen. 1924. J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). xvi, 159p.

(d) Greek.

BLASS, Friedrich. Grammatik des Neutestamentlichen Griechisch. Göttingen. 1896. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. xii, 329p.

---Idem. Grammar of New Testament Greek. Translated by Henry St. John Thackeray. London. 1898. Macmillan. x, 340.

---Idem. Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch. Bearbeitet von Albert DEBRUNNER. 8te Aufl. (mit Anhang). Göttingen. 1949. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. xviii, 280p. (Anhang, 1950. 83p.).

MOULTON, James Hope. A Grammar of New Testament Greek. Vol. I, Prolegomena. 3rd Edition. Edinburgh. 1908. T. & T. Clark. xxiv, 293p.

---and HOWARD, Wilbert Francis. A Grammar of New Testament Greek. Vol. II, Accidence and Word-Formation, with an Appendix on Semitisms in the New Testament. Edinburgh. 1919-1929. T. & T. Clark. XXVIII, xv, 543p.

RADERMACHER, Ludwig. Neutestamentliche Grammatik. (Das Griechisch des Neuen Testaments im Zusammenhang mit der Volkssprache). 2te, erweiterte Auflage. (H.N.T., I). Tübingen. 1925. J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). viii, 248p.

THACKERAY, Henry St. John. A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek, According to the Septuagint. Vol. I, Introduction, Orthography and Accidence. Cambridge. 1909. At the Cambridge University Press. xx, 325p.

WINER, G. B. A Treatise on the Grammar of New Testament Greek. Translated from the German, with Large Additions and Full Indices, by W(illiam) F(iddian) Moulton. 3rd Edition, Revised (Ninth English Edition). Edinburgh. 1882. T. & T. Clark. xxxii, 848p.

4. Concordances.

BREDEREK, Emil. (Herausg.). Konkordanz zum Targum Onkelos (B.Z.A.W., ix). Giessen. 1906. Alfred Töpelmann. (vormals J. Ricker'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung). x, 195p.

DAVIDSON, B. A Concordance to the Hebrew and Chaldee Scriptures. Revised and Corrected. London. 1896. Samuel Bagster & Sons. vi, 904p.

GOODSPEED, Edgar J. Index Patristicus, sive Clavis Patrum Apostolicorum Operum. Leipzig. 1907. J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung. viii, 262p.

---Idem. Index Apologeticus, sive Clavis Iustini Martyris Operum, aliorumque Apologetarum Pristinorum. Leipzig. 1912. J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung. viii, 300p.

HATCH, Edwin and REDPATH, Henry A. A Concordance to the Septuagint and Other Greek Versions of the Old Testament (Including the Apocryphal Books). Oxford. 1897-1906. Clarendon Press. 2vols. & Supplement.

MOULTON, William Fiddian and GEDEN, Alfred S. A Concordance to the Greek Testament, According to the Texts of Westcott & Hort, Tischendorf, and the English Revisers. 3rd Edition. Edinburgh. 1926. (First publ., 1897). T. & T. Clark. xi, 1033p.

5. Texts & Editions.

(a) Hebrew.

BURROWS, Millar (Editor): The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery. Edited for the Trustees by Millar Burrows with the assistance of John C. Trever and William H. Brownlee. Vol. I, The Isaiah Manuscript and the Habakkuk Commentary, New Haven. 1950. A.S.O.R. Vol. II, Fascicle 2, Plates and Transcription of the Manual of Discipline. New Haven. 1951.

Von GALL, August Freiherrn (Herausg.). Der Hebräische Pentateuch der Samaritaner. Giessen. 1914-1918. Alfred Töpelmann (vormals J. Ricker). 5 Teilen.

KITTEL, Rud. (Editor). Biblia Hebraica, Adjuvantus W. Baumgartner, G. Beer, J. Begrich, J. A. Bever, F. Buhl, J. Hempel, F. Horst, M. Noth, O. Procksch, G. Quell, Th. H. Robinson, W. Rudolph, H. H. Schaefer, edidit R. K. Textum Masoreticum curavit P. Kahle. Editionem Tertiam denuo elaboratum ad finem perduxerunt A. Alt et O. Eissfeldt. Editio Sexta Typis Editionis Tertiae Expressa. Stuttgart. 1950. Privilegierte Württembergische Bibelanstalt. xl, 1434, & Maps.

MILIK, J.-T. "... La transcription du passage du Deut. XVIII, 18s. (combiné avec V, 25-28, remanié au début) tel qu'il se trouve cité dans le Florilège des 'Témoignages'..." Private letter, Jerusalem, 18th January, 1954.

RABINOWITZ, Isaac. "A Hebrew Letter of the Second Century from Beth Mashko," BASOR, No. 131 (Oct. 1953), pp. 21-24 (Text on p. 21).

ROST, Leonhard. Die Damaskusschrift, Neu bearbeitet von L. R. (Kleine Texte für Vorlegungen und Übungen, herausgegeben von Hans Lietzmann, Nr. 167). Berlin. 1933. Walter de Gruyter & Co. 33p.

SUKENIK, E. L. Megilloth Genuzoth. Jerusalem. 1950. Bialik Foundation. Vol. ii.

WALLENSTEIN, Meir. Hymns from the Judean Scrolls. With Introduction, Translation, and Annotation by M. W. Manchester. 1950. Manchester University Press. 23p.

(b) Aramaic.

BERLINER, A. Targum Onkelos. Herausgegeben und Erläutert. Teil I, Text, nach editio Sabioneta, V.J. 1557. Mit Unterstützung der K. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin. Berlin. 1884. Gorzelanczyk & Co. 242p.

BRÜLL, Adolf. Das samaritanische Targum zum Pentateuch. Zum erstenmale in hebräischen Quadratschrift nebst einem Anhang textkritischen Inhaltes, herausgegeben von A. B. Theilen i-v. 1873-76.

COWLEY, Arthur Ernest. The Samaritan Liturgy, Edited by A. E. C. Oxford. 1909. Clarendon Press. 2 vols.

DALMAN, Gustaf H. Aramäisches Dialektproben ... mit Wörterverzeichnis.

GINSBURGER, Moses. Das Fragmententhargum - Thargum jeruschalmi zum Pentateuch. Berlin. S. Calvary & Co. 1899. xvi, 122p.

---Idem. Pseudo-Jonathan- (Thargum Jonathan ben Uziel zum Pentateuch). Nach der Londoner Handschrift (Brit. Mus. add. 27031). Herausgegeben von M. G. Berlin. S. Calvary & Co. 1903. xxi, 366.

KAHLE, Paul. Masoreten des Westens, II. Das Palästsinische Pentateuchtargum, die Palästsinische Punktuation, & der Bibeltext des Ben Naftali. Mit einem Beitrag von Dr. R. Edermann und 16 Lichtdrucktafeln. Stuttgart. 1930. W. Kohlhammer. xii, 68*, & 95p; 16 plates. (B.W.A.N.T., 3te Folge, Heft 1).

LAGARDE Paulus de (Editor). Hagiographa Chaldaice. Lipsiae. 1873. Teubner. xxvii, 365p.

---Idem. Prophetæ Chaldaice, e fide codicis reuchliniani edidit. Lipsiae. 1872. B. G. Teubner. li, 493p.

(c) Syriac.

WHITE, Joseph. Actuum Apostolorum et Epistolarum tam Catholicarum quam Paulinarum, Versio Syriaca Philoxeniana. Ex Codice MS. Ridleiano in Bibl. Coll. Nov. Oxon. Reposito. Nunc primum edita cum interpretatione et adnotationibus Josephi White, S.T.P. Tomus Primus: Actus Apostolorum et Epistolas Catholicas complectens. Oxford. 1799. Clarendon Press. xix, 275, & Adnot., 52p.

The New Testament in Syriac. (Editor not explicitly stated). The Text in Acts described as 'according to the Peshitta as revised by G. H. Gwilliam.' London. 1905-20. British & Foreign Bible Society.

(d) Greek.

BROOKE, Alan England and McLEAN, Norman. The Old Testament in Greek, According to the Text of the Codex Vaticanus, Supplemented from Other Uncial Manuscripts, With a Critical Apparatus Containing the Variants of the Chief Ancient Authorities for the Text of the Septuagint. Cambridge. 1906---. Cambridge University Press. Vol. I, The Octateuch.

Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis Sumptibus Academiae Phototypice Repraesentatus. Tomus Posterior. Cambridge. 1899. Cambridge University Press.

CLARK, Albert C. The Acts of the Apostles. A Critical Edition with Introduction and Notes on Selected Passages. Oxford. 1935. Clarendon Press. lxxv, 427p.

FIELD, Fredericus. Origenis Hexaplorum quae Supersunt Oxford. 1875. Clarendon Press. 2 vols.

HARVEY, William Wigan. Sancti Irenaei, Episcopi Lugdunensis, Libros quinque adversus Haereses. (Textu graeco in locis nonnullis locupletato, versione latina cum codicibus claromontano ac arundeliano denuo collata, praemissa de placitis gnosticorum prolusione, fragmenta necnon graece, syriace, armeniace, commentatione perpetua et indicibus variis, edidit W. W. H.) Cambridge. 1857. Cambridge University Press. 2 vols.

KENYON, (Sir) Frederick G. The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri. Descriptions and Texts of Twelve Manuscripts on Papyrus of the Greek Bible... London. 1933---. Emery Walker Limited.

LIGHTFOOT, J. B. The Apostolic Fathers. Revised Texts with Short Introductions and English Translations. Edited and Completed by J. R. Harmer. One Volume Edition. London. Macmillan & Co. 1907 (First ed., 1891). xii, 569p.

- MIGNE, J.-P. Patrologiae ... Series Graeca: Patrologiae Graecae Tomus VI: S. Justinus Philosophus et Martyr, etc. Paris. 1857. Petit-Montrouge. Cols. 1820.
- PHILO. Works in English Translation, by F. H. Colson & G. H. Whitaker, & others. London. 1929-53. William Heinemann. Vols. I-IX, Supp. I, II. (Loeb Edition).
- RICHARDS, A. V. VALENTINE-. The Text of Acts in Codex 614 (Tischendorf 137) and its Allies. Edited by A. V. V.-R. Cambridge. 1934. Cambridge University Press. pp. xix, 71.
- SANDERS, Henry A. The Old Testament Manuscripts in the Freer Collection. Part I: The Washington Manuscript of Deuteronomy and Joshua. (University of Michigan. Humanistic Series, Vol. VIII.). New York. 1910. Macmillan. v, 104p.
- SCRIVENER, Frederic H. (Editor). Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis. Being an exact copy, in ordinary type, of the celebrated uncial Graeco-Latin manuscript of the Four Gospels and Acts of the Apostles presented to the University of Cambridge by Theodore Beza, A.D. 1581. Edited with A Critical Introduction, Annotations, and Facsimiles. Cambridge. 1864. Deighton, Bell, & Co. (London: Bell and Daldy). lxiv, 453p.
- Von SODEN, H. Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer Ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt hergestellt auf Grund ihrer Textgeschichte Teil II: Text mit Apparat. Göttingen. 1913. Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. xxviii, 908.
- SWETE, Henry Barclay. (Editor). The Old Testament in Greek According to the Septuagint. Edited by H. B. S. Cambridge. 1887-94. Cambridge University Press. Vols. I-III.
- TISCHENDORF, Constantinus. Novum Testamentum Graece. Ad antiquissimos testes denuo recensuit, apparatus criticum omni studio perfectum, apposuit commentationem isagogicam, praetexit C. T. Editio Octava Critica Maior. Lipsiae. 1869-72. Giesecke & Devrient. Vols. I, II.
- WESTCOTT, Brooke Foss and HORT, Fenton John Anthony. The New Testament in the Original Greek. Cambridge & London. 1881-2. Macmillan. 2 vols.

(e) Latin.

- WORDSWORTH, John and WHITE, Henry J. (Eds.). Novum Testamentum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi Latine, Sec. editionem Sancti Hieronymi J. W., H. J. W., cum Hedley Friderico Davis Sparks et Arturo White Adams. Pars Tertia. Oxford. 1905-54. Clarendon Press. xvi, 596p.

B. Works on Acts.

- BLASS, Friedrich. Acta Apostolorum, sive Lucae ad Theophilum Liber Alter. Editio Philologica, apparatu critico, commentario perpetuo, indice verborum illustrata. Göttingen. 1895. Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. x, 334p.
- Idem. Acta Apostolorum, sive Lucae ad Theophilum Liber Alter, secundum formam quae videtur Romanam. Leipzig. 1896. B. G. Teubner. xxxii, 95p., & Additional page of Addenda, Corrigenda.
- BRUCE, F. F. The Acts of the Apostles. The Greek Text with Introduction and Commentary. London. 1951. The Tyndale Press. viii, 491p.
- GADBURY, Henry J. The Making of Luke-Acts. London. 1927. Macmillan & Co. xii, 385p.
- Idem. The Style and Literary Method of Luke. (Harvard Theological Studies VI. Part i, 1919; Part ii, 1920). Part i: The Diction of Luke and Acts. Part ii: The Treatment of Sources in the Gospel. Cambridge (Mass.). 1919-20. Harvard University Press. xi, 205p. (Continuous pagination).
- CLARK, Albert C. The Acts of the Apostles, etc. Cf. entry supra, p. 246.
- DIBELIUS, Martin. Aufsätze zur Apostelgeschichte. Herausgegeben von Heinrich Greeven. 2. unveränderte Auflage. (Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments. Herausgegeben von D. Rud. Bultmann. Neue Folge 42. Heft.). Göttingen. 1953. Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 192p.
- HARNACK, Adolf. The Acts of the Apostles. Translated by the Rev. J. R. Wilkinson. (New Testament Studies III). London. 1909. Williams & Norgate. xliii, 303p.
- Idem. The Date of the Acts and of the Synoptic Gospels. Translated by the Rev. J. R. Wilkinson. (New Testament Studies IV). London. 1911. Williams & Norgate. vi, 162p.
- JACKSON, F. J. Foakes and LAKE, Kirsopp (Editors). The Beginnings of Christianity. Part I: The Acts of the Apostles. London. 1920-33. Macmillan & Co. 5 vols.
- JACQUIER, E. Les Actes des Apôtres. (Études Bibliques). Paris. 1926. Librairie Victor Lecoffre: J. Gabalda, Éditeur. cccviii, 823p.
- KNOX, Wilfred L. The Acts of the Apostles. Cambridge. 1948. Cambridge University Press. viii, 121p.
- LIGHTFOOT, John. Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae in Acta Apostolorum Partem aliquam Epistolae ad Romanos, et Priorem ad Corinthios. Lipsiae. 1679. Hahn.

- PREUSCHEN, Erwin. Die Apostelgeschichte. (HNT, IV/1: Herausg. H. Lietzmann). Tübingen. 1912. J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). ix, 160p.
- TORREY, Charles Cutler. The Composition and Date of Acts. (Harvard Theological Studies I: Issued as an extra number of the HTR, 1916). Cambridge (Mass.). 1916. Harvard University Press. 72p.
- WILLIAMS, Charles Bray. The Participle in the Book of Acts. Chicago. 1909. The University of Chicago Press. 80p.

C. Other Books Employed.

- BLACK, Matthew. An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts. Second Edition. Oxford. 1954. Clarendon Press. viii, 304p. (First Edition, Oxford. 1946. vii, 250p.).
- BLASS, Friedrich. Evangelium secundum Lucam, sive Lucae ad Theophilum Liber Prior. Secundum formam quae videtur Romanam, Lipsiae. 1897. Teubner. lxxxii, 120p.
- Idem. Philology of the Gospels. London. 1898. Macmillan & Co. 250p.
- BROWNLEE, William H. The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline. -- Translation and Notes. BASOR., Supplementary Studies Nos. 10-12. New Haven. 1951.
- BUSSMANN, Wilhelm. Synoptische Studien. Halle. 1925-31. Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses. 3 Hefte.
- CHARLES, R. H. A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on The Revelation of St. John. (ICC). Edinburgh. 1920. T. & T. Clark. 2 vols.
- CHASE, Frederic Henry. The Old Syriac Element in the Text of Codex Bezae. London. 1893. Macmillan & Co. xvi, 160p.
- CULLMANN, Oscar. Urchristentum und Gottesdienst. Zweite vermehrte und veränderte Auflage. Zürich. 1950. Zwingli-Verlag. 120p.
- DALMAN, Gustaf. The Words of Jesus. Considered in the Light of Post-Biblical Jewish Writings and the Aramaic Language. Authorised English Version by D. M. Kay. I. Introduction and Fundamental Ideas. Edinburgh. 1902. T. & T. Clark. xiv, 350p.
- DEISSMANN, G. Adolf. Bible Studies. Contributions Chiefly from Papyri and Inscriptions to the History of the Language, the Literature, and the Religion of Hellenistic Judaism and Primitive Christianity. Authorised (English) Translation by Alexander Grieve. Second Edition. Edinburgh. 1909. xv, 384p.

- DODD, Charles Harold. According to the Scriptures. -- The Sub-structure of New Testament Theology. London. 1952 (Reprinted, 1953). Nisbet. 145p.
- Idem. The Apostolic Preaching and Its Developments. Three Lectures with an Appendix on Eschatology and History. London. Hodder & Stoughton. 1936. vii, 240p., & Table.
- FIELD, Frederick. Notes on the Translation of the New Testament. Being the Otium Norvicense (Pars Tertia). Reprinted with additions by the Author. Cambridge. 1899. Cambridge University Press. xvii, 267p. (First published as Otium Norvicense, Pars Tertia, 1881).
- GREGORY, Caspar René. Einleitung in das Neue Testament. Leipzig. 1909. J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung. vi, 804p.
- HARNACK, Adolf. Luke the Physician. -The Author of the Third Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles. Translated by the Rev. J. R. Wilkinson. Edited by the Rev. W. D. Morrison. (New Testament Studies I). London. 1907. Williams & Norgate. xi, 231p.
- Idem. The Sayings of Jesus. --The Second Source of St. Matthew and St. Luke. Translated by the Rev. J. R. Wilkinson. (New Testament Studies II). London. 1908. Williams & Norgate. xvi, 316.
- HAWKINS, (Sir) John C. Horae Synopticae: Contributions to the Study of the Synoptic Problem. (First published, 1899). 2nd Edition, Revised and Supplemented. Oxford. 1909. Clarendon Press. xvi, 223p.
- HIGGINS, A. J. B. The Lord's Supper in the New Testament. (Studies in Biblical Theology No. 6). London. 1952. SCM Press. 96p.
- HOSKYNs, (Sir) Edwyn (Bart.) and DAVEY, F. Noel. The Riddle of the New Testament. London. 1931. (Third Edition, 1937). Faber & Faber Ltd. 233p.
- KAHLE, Paul. Masoreten des Westens, II. (Cf. entry supra, p. 245).
- KILPATRICK, G. D. The Origins of the Gospel According to St. Matthew. Oxford. 1946. Clarendon Press. iv, 151p.
- KNOX, Wilfred L. Some Hellenistic Elements in Primitive Christianity. The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy, 1942. London. 1944. Published for the British Academy by Humphrey Milford, O.U.P. (vii), 108p.
- LAGRANGE, M.-J. Évangile selon Saint Luc. (Études Bibliques). 3me édition. Paris. 1927. Librairie Victor Lecoffre: J. Gabalda, Éditeur. clxvii, 635p.
- McNEILE, A. H. An Introduction to the Study of the New Testament. 2nd Edition, Revised by C. S. C. Williams. Oxford. 1953.

Clarendon Press. viii, 486p. (First edition, 1927).

- MANSON, T. W. The Sayings of Jesus. --As recorded in the Gospels according to St. Matthew and St. Luke, arranged with Introduction and Commentary ... (Originally published as Part II of The Mission and Message of Jesus, 1937). London. 1949. SCM Press. 352p.
- MEYER, Arnold. Jesu Muttersprache. --Das galiläische Aramäisch in seiner Bedeutung für die Erklärung der Reden Jesu und der Evangelien überhaupt. Freiburg i. B., und Leipzig. 1896. J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). xiv, 176p.
- MILNE, H. J. M. and SKEAT, T. C. Scribes and Correctors of the Codex Sinaiticus. Including contributions by Douglas Cockerell, with plates and figures. British Museum, Printed by Order of the Trustees. London. 1938. O.U.P. (Clarendon Press). xii, 112p., & 43 plates.
- NESTLE, Eberhard. Philologia Sacra. --Bemerkungen über die Urgestalt der Evangelien und Apostelgeschichte. Berlin. 1896. Reuther und Reichard. 59p.
- OXFORD SOCIETY OF HISTORICAL THEOLOGY (A Committee of..). The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers. (Members of the Committee, J. V. Bartlett, K. Lake, A. J. Carlyle, W. R. Inge, P. V. M. Benecke, J. Drummond). Oxford. 1905. Clarendon Press. vii, 144p.
- PURDIE, David McCalman. The Old Testament in the New. --A Contribution to Biblical Criticism and Interpretation. London. 1868. Williams & Norgate. xxxii, 279p.
- SCHOETTGENIUS, Christianus. Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae in Univerſum Novum Testamentum.... Dresdae et Lipsiae. 1738. Apud Christoph. Hekelii B. Filium. 1280p., & Praef. et Indices.
- SOMMER, A. DUPONT-, The Dead Sea Scrolls. Translated from the French by E. Margaret Rowley. Oxford. 1952. Basil Blackwell. 100p. (Aperçus préliminaires sur les manuscrits de la Mer Morte).
- Idem. The Jewish Sect of Qumran and the Essenes. --New Studies on the Dead Sea Scrolls. Translated from the French by R. D. Barnett. London. 1954. Valentine, Mitchell & Co. xii, 195p. (French: Nouveaux Aperçus sur des Manuscrits de la Mer Morte, 1953).
- STREETER, Burnett Hillman. The Four Gospels -- A Study of Origins. Treating of the Manuscript Tradition, Sources, Authorship, and Dates. Fourth Impression, Revised. London. 1930. Macmillan & Co. xxiv, 624p.
- SWETE, Henry Barclay. An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek. With an appendix containing the Letter of Aristeas.

- Edited by H. St. J. Thackeray. Cambridge. 1900. Cambridge University Press. xi, 592p.
- TORREY, Charles Cutler. Documents of the Primitive Church. (Published with aid given by The Alexander Kohut Memorial Foundation). New York & London. 1941. Harper & Bros. xviii, 309p.
- Idem. Our Translated Gospels. ---Some of the Evidence. London. N.D. Hodder & Stoughton. lx, 172p.
- TOY, Crawford Howell. Quotations in the New Testament. New York. 1884. Charles Scribner's Sons. xliii, 321p.
- Idem. (Presentation). Studies in the History of Religions, Presented to Crawford Howell Toy. Edited by David Gordon Lyon and George Foot Moore. New York. 1912. Macmillan. pp. 269-317: Charles Cutler Torrey, "The Translations Made from the Original Aramaic Gospels."
- WEINEL, H. Biblische Theologie des Neuen Testaments. -- Die Religion Jesu und des Urchristentums. (Grundriss d. Theol. Wissenschaft, III/ii). Zweite, vielfach verbesserte und vermehrte Auflage. Tübingen. 1913. J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). xvi, 671p.
- WELLHAUSEN, Julius. Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien. 1te Aufl. Berlin. 1905. Georg Reimer. 116p.
- ZUNTZ, Günther. The Ancestry of the Harklean New Testament. (British Academy Supplemental Papers, No. VII). London. 1945. Published for the British Academy by Humphrey Milford, O.U.P. (Clarendon Press). 127p.

II. ARTICLES.

- ARGYLE, A. W. "The Theory of an Aramaic Source in Acts 2: 14-40." JTS, (N.S.) iv, (1955), pp. 213-214.
- BACON, Benjamin W. "More Philological Criticism of Acts." AmJTh, xxii (1918), pp. 1-23.
- BARTHELEMY, D. "Redécouverte d'un chaînon manquant de l'histoire de la Septante." RB, lx (1953), pp. 18-29.
- BARTON, George A. "Professor Torrey's Theory of the Aramaic Origin of the Gospels and the First Half of the Acts of the Apostles." JTS, xxxvi (1935), pp. 357-373.
- BLACK, Matthew. "Aramaic Studies and the New Testament: - The Unpublished Work of the Late A. J. Wensinck of Leyden." JTS, xlix

- (1948), pp. 157-165.
- BLASS, Friedrich. "Die zweifache Textüberlieferung in der Apostelgeschichte." TSK, lxxvii (1894), pp. 86-119.
- BURKITT, Francis Crawford. "Professor C. C. Torrey on Acts." JTS, xx (1919), pp. 321-
- CADBURY, Henry J. "Luke--Translator or Author?" AmJTh, xxiv (1920), pp. 436-455.
- FALCONER, J. W. "The Aramaic Source of Acts I-XV. and Paul's Conversion." Expos., Ser. VIII, vol. 19 (1920), pp. 271-285.
- GEHMAN, Henry S. "The Hebraic Character of Septuagint Greek." V.T., i (1951), pp. 81-90.
- GOODSPEED, Edgar J. "The Origin of Acts." JBL, xxxix (1920), pp. 83-101.
- HUNKIN, J. W. "'Pleonastic' *ἄποροναι* in the New Testament." JTS, xxx (1929), pp. 390-402.
- JACKSON, F. J. FOAKES-, "Professor C. C. Torrey on the Acts." HTR, x (1917), pp. 352-361.
- KILPATRICK, G. D. "Western Text and Original Text in the Gospels and Acts." JTS, xlv (1943), pp. 24-36.
- Idem. "Western Text and Original Text in the Epistles." JTS, xlv (1944), pp. 60-65.
- MENOUD, P. H. "The Western Text and the Theology of Acts." SNTS Bulletin, II (1951), pp. 19-32.
- MILIK, J.-T. "Une lettre de Siméon bar Kokheba." RB, lx (1953), pp. 276-294.
- NESTLE, Eberhard. "Some Observations on the Codex Bezae." Expos., Ser. V, vol. 2 (1895), pp. 235-240.
- Idem. "Einige Beobachtungen zum Codex Bezae." TSK, lxxix (1896), pp. 102-113.
- RABINOWITZ, Isaac. "A Hebrew Letter of the Second Century from Beth Mashko." BASOR, No. 131, pp. 21-24. (Cf. supra, p. 244).
- ROST, L. "Das Verhältnis von 'Damaskusschrift' und 'Sektenrolle'." (Der gegenwärtige Stand der Erforschung der in Palästina neu gefundenen hebräischen Handschriften, Nr. 23). TLZ, lxxvii (1952), Sp. 723-726.
- SCOTT, C. Anderson. "An Aramaic Source for Acts i.-xv." Ext., xxxi (1919-20), pp. 220-223.

- SPARKS, H. F. D. "The Semitisms of St. Luke's Gospel." JTS, xliv (1943), pp. 129-138.
- Idem. "The Semitisms of Acts." JTS, (N.S.) i (1950), pp. 16-28.
- Idem. "Some Observations on the Semitic Background of the New Testament." SNTS Bulletin, II (1951), pp. 33-42.
- SPERBER, Alexander. "New Testament and Septuagint." JBL, lix (1940), pp. 193-294.
- TALMON, S. "The Sectarian $\tau\eta\tau$ - A Biblical Noun." VT, iii (1953), pp. 133-140.
- TEICHER, J. L. "The Dead Sea Scrolls -- Documents of the Jewish-Christian Sect of the Ebionites." JJS, ii (1952), pp. 115-143, 200-202, and iii (1953), pp. 53-55.
- Idem. "The Dead Sea Scrolls." Manchester Guardian, September 15th, 1953, p. 4, cols. 5 & 6.
- Idem. Letter to the Editor, Manchester Guardian, October 4th, 1953,
- THACKERAY, H. St. J. "An Unrecorded 'Aramaism' in Josephus." JTS, xxx (1929), pp. 361-370.
- TORREY, Charles Cutler. "Notes on the Aramaic Part of Daniel." Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, xv (1909), pp. 259ff.
- Idem. "Fact and Fancy in Theories concerning Acts." AmJTh, xxiii (1919), pp. 61-86, & 189-212.
- Idem. "Medina and $\Pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota\varsigma$, and Luke 1. 39." HTR, xvii (1924), pp. 83-90.
- Idem. "'The Rest' in Acts v. 13." ExT, xlvi (1934-35), pp. 428b-429b.
- De VAUX, R. "Les grottes de Murabba'at et leurs documents." RB, lx (1953), pp. 245-267.
- Idem. "Quelques textes hébreux de Murabba'at." RB, lx (1953), pp. 268-275. (Espec., Planche XIII: Document datant de la Seconde Révolte.)
- VAZAKAS, A. A. "Is Acts i.-xv, 35. a Literal Translation from an Aramaic Original?" JBL, xxxvii (1918), pp. 105-110.
- VOSTÉ, F. J. M. "Torrey C. C., The Composition and Date of Acts, pp. 72, (Harv. Th. Studies I, 1916)." (Review). RB, (N.S.) xiv (1917), pp. 300-303.
- WILSON, William Jerome. "Some Observations on the Aramaic Acts." HTR, xi (1918), pp. 74-99.
- Idem. "The Unity of the Aramaic Acts." HTR, xi (1918), pp. 322-335.

WRIGHT, George Ernest. "The Qumran or Dead Sea Manuscripts."
(Archaeological News and Views). BA, xvi (1953), p. 68b.

III. Letters.

MILIK, J.-T. Private Letter, dated 18/1/1954, containing a transliteration of a text from a book of 'Testimonia'; the Old Testament texts involved are Deut. 18: 18f. combined with Deut. 5: 25-29. Cf. J.-T. Milik, "Une lettre de Siméon Bar Kokheba," RB, lx (1953), pp. 290-1.

TEICHER, J. L. Private Letter, dated 28/10/1953, disclosing the source of his material for the Article in Manchester Guardian, September 15th, 1953, p. 4, cols. 5-6: "The Dead Sea Scrolls."

IV. Unpublished Notes.

WENSINCK, A. J. A Set of Cards, containing short notes in German, French, Dutch, or--occasionally--English, on words and phrases in Acts 1-15, thought by the Late A. J. Wensinck of Leyden to have reflected some kind of Semitic influence. They were intended in the first place to form part of a work on the Vocabulary of the New Testament, but were prevented from doing so by his death. A detailed account of other similar material produced by the late A. J. Wensinck may be found in the article by Black, "Aramaic Studies and the New Testament-The Unpublished Work of the Late A. J. Wensinck of Leyden." JTS, xlix (1948), pp. 157-165.

)-----((