

ARIE W. ZWIEP

Christ, the Spirit
and the Community of God

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
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293



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Christ, the Spirit
and the Community of God

Essays on the Acts of the Apostles

Mohr Siebeck

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Ἔστι δὲ καὶ δόγματα ἐνταῦθα εὐρεῖν,
ἅπερ, εἰ μὴ τοῦτο ἦν τὸ βιβλίον,
οὐδενὶ σαφῶς οὕτω γνῶριμα ἐγένοντο.

John Chrysostom, *Hom. in Act.* 1

Preface

This volume contains eight originally independent essays on the Acts of the Apostles that I have written in the past decade and a half. Some of the articles have appeared in one form or another in English before (Chapters 1, 2, 4 and 5). Two chapters have been translated from Dutch (Chapters 3 and 6). Each of these studies has been updated, expanded and, where necessary, revised. Chapters 7 and 8 appear here for the first time. Together these essays deal with text-critical, exegetical and biblical-theological issues surrounding the opening chapters of Acts in the wider context of first-century Christianity and its Jewish and Graeco-Roman Umwelt. They are representative of the journey I have undertaken in the critical study of the Book of Acts.

I am grateful for the support I received from a number of people. Thanks are due to my colleagues and students of VU University Amsterdam and Christelijke Hogeschool Ede, as well as members of the Amsterdam Center for New Testament Studies and other professional research groups both in the Netherlands and abroad. With all of them I had ample opportunity over the years to discuss much of the material contained in this book.

I also wish to express my deep appreciation to Prof. Dr. Henning Ziebritzki of Mohr Siebeck Publishing House and Prof. Dr. Jörg Frey and his team for once again accepting a work of mine for publication in the *Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament*. Needless to say my thanks extends to the editorial staff of Mohr Siebeck, especially to Tanja Mix, for her keen eye for detail.

As always, the constant support and encouragement of my wife, Cisca, and our children, Elze and Joël, during the many hours of research *παρὸν τῷ σώματι, ἀπὸν δὲ τῷ πνεύματι*, have in no small measure made possible the completion of this volume.

Veenendaal, September 2010

Arie W. Zwiep

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Abbreviations

1. Bible and Apocrypha

Gen	Genesis	Prov	Proverbs
Ex	Exodus	Eccl	Ecclesiastes
Lev	Leviticus	Song	Song of Solomon
Num	Numbers	Wis	Wisdom of Solomon
Deut	Deuteronomy	Sir	Sirach (Ecclesiasticus)
Josh	Joshua	Isa	Isaiah
Judg	Judges	Jer	Jeremiah
Ruth	Ruth	Lam	Lamentations
1 Sam	1 Samuel	Bar	Baruch
2 Sam	2 Samuel	Ezek	Ezekiel
1 Kings	1 Kings	Dan	Daniel
2 Kings	2 Kings	Hos	Hosea
1 Chr	1 Chronicles	Joel	Joel
2 Chr	2 Chronicles	Am	Amos
Ezra	Ezra	Ob	Obadiah
Neh	Nehemiah	Jon	Jonah
Tob	Tobit	Mic	Michah
Jdt	Judith	Nah	Nahum
Esth	Esther	Hab	Habakkuk
1 Macc	1 Maccabees	Zeph	Zephaniah
2 Macc	2 Maccabees	Hag	Haggai
Job	Job	Zech	Zechariah
Ps	Psalms	Mal	Malachi
Mt	Matthew	1 Tim	1 Timothy
Mk	Mark	2 Tim	2 Timothy
Lk	Luke	Titus	Titus
Jn	John	Philem	Philemon
Acts	Acts of the Apostles	Heb	Hebrews
Rom	Romans	Jas	James
1 Cor	1 Corinthians	1 Pet	1 Peter
2 Cor	2 Corinthians	2 Pet	2 Peter
Gal	Galatians	1 Jn	1 John
Eph	Ephesians	2 Jn	2 John
Phil	Philippians	3 Jn	3 John
Col	Colossians	Jude	Jude
1 Thess	1 Thessalonians	Rev	Revelation
2 Thess	2 Thessalonians		

2. Extra-Biblical Sources

In this work so-called Old Testament pseudepigraphical writings are abbreviated according to James H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1983) 1:xliv–xlvii. Texts from the Dead Sea Scrolls are abbreviated according to the standard conventions. The titles of Rabbinic writings, Philo of Alexandria, Flavius Josephus, early Christian and classical authors should be sufficiently clear to recognize. See further P.H. Alexander et al. (eds.), *The SBL Handbook of Style for Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical, and Early Christian Studies* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1999).

3. Journals, Series, etc.

Where possible, the conventions of Siegfried M. Schwertner, *Internationales Abkürzungsverzeichnis für Theologie und Grenzgebiete* (Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, ²1992) are followed.

AAR.CRS	American Academy of Religion. Classics in Religious Studies
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
ACNT	Augsburg Commentary on the New Testament
AnBib	Analecta biblica
AncB	Anchor Bible
AncBD	Anchor Bible Dictionary, ed. D.N. Freedman
AncBRL	Anchor Bible Reference Library
ANFa	Ante-Nicene Fathers
ANNT	Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Textforschung
ANRW	Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt
ANTC	Abingdon New Testament Commentaries
ARW	Archiv für Religionswissenschaft
ASGW.PH	Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften. Philologisch-historische Klasse
AThANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments
ATLA.BS	American Theological Library Association. Bibliography Series
BAC	The Bible in Ancient Christianity
BAFCS	The Book of Acts in Its First-Century Setting, ed. B.W. Winter
BAAR	Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der frühchristlichen Literatur, ed. K. und B. Aland
BaL	Bampton Lectures
BAZ	Biblische Archäologie und Zeitgeschichte
BBR	Bulletin for Biblical Research
BDAG	Bauer, Danker, Greek English Lexicon (2000)
BDR	Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch, ed. F. Blass, A. Debrunner, F. Rehkopf
Beg	The Beginnings of Christianity 1. The Acts of the Apostles, ed. F.J. Foakes-Jackson, K. Lake, 5 vols.

BeO	Bibbia e oriente
BECNT	Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament
BETHL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum theologicarum Lovaniensum
BHTh	Beiträge zur historischen Theologie
Bijdr.	Bijdragen. Tijdschrift voor filosofie en theologie
BiTr	Bible Translator
BiTSt	Biblical Tools and Studies
BibRS	The Biblical Resource Series
BS	Bibliotheca Sacra
BSNTS	Bulletin of the Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas
BTB	Biblical Theology Bulletin
BThCB	Brazos Theological Commentary on the Bible
BThZ	Berliner theologische Zeitschrift
BT(N)	Bibliothèque théologique. Neuchâtel
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
BZ	Biblische Zeitschrift
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBETH	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly
CBQ.MS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly. Monograph Series
CBR	Currents in Biblical Research
CChr.SL	Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina
CCSA	Corpus Christianorum. Series apocryphorum
CNT	Commentaire du Nouveau Testament
CNT(K)	Commentaar op het Nieuwe Testament (Kampen)
CoptGnL	Coptic Gnostic Library
CRINT	Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
CThM	Calwer theologische Monographien
DAIA	Dissertation Abstracts International (A). Humanities and Social Sciences
DSS.SE	The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition, eds. F. García Martínez, E.J.C. Tigchelaar
EB	Echter Bibel
EKK	Evangelisch-katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
EpC	Epworth Commentary
ESEC	Emory Studies in Early Christianity
ET	Expository Times
EtB	Études Bibliques
EvangTh	Evangelicale Theologie
EvQ	Evangelical Quarterly
EWNT	Exegetisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament
FaCh	Fathers of the Church
FGNK	Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons und der altchristlichen Literatur
FilNT	Filologia Neotestamentaria. Córdoba
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
FzB	Forschung zur Bibel
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte
GOTR	Greek Orthodox Theological Review
HC	Hand-Commentar zum Neuen Testament

HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
HThK	Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
Hyp.	Hypomnemata
ICC	International Critical Commentary
Interp.	Interpretation
ITS	Indian Theological Studies
JbETh	Jahrbuch für Evangelikale Theologie
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JBSt	Journal of Biblical Studies
JETS	Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society
JPT	Journal of Pentecostal Theology
JPT.SS	Journal of Pentecostal Theology. Supplement Series
JR	Journal of Religion
JSNT	Journal for the Study of the New Testament
JSNT.S	Journal for the Study of the New Testament. Supplements
JSOT	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament
JSPE	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha
JSP.E.S	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha. Supplements
JThS	Journal of Theological Studies
KEK	Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LEC	Library of Early Christianity
LeDiv	Lectio Divina
LLT	Library of Latin Texts (Brepols)
LMA	Lexikon des Mittelalters (Brepols)
LNTS	Library of New Testament Studies
LSJM	A Greek-English Lexicon, ed. H.G. Liddell, R. Scott, H.S. Jones, R. McKenzie et al.
LuttL	Lutterworth Library
MBib	Miscellanea Biblica (Roma)
MNAWL	Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen. Afdeeling Letterkunde
MoBi	Le Monde de la Bible
MSSNTS	Monograph Series. Society for New Testament Studies
NABPR.BS	National Association of Baptist Professors of Religion. Bibliographic Series
NedThT	Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift
NGTT	Nederduitse gereformeerde theologiese tydskrif
NHMS	Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies
NIBC	New International Biblical Commentary
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NIDNT	New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology, ed. C. Brown
NIGTC	New International Greek Testament Commentary
NPNF	Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers
NT	Novum Testamentum. Leiden
NT.S	Novum Testamentum. Supplements
NTD	Das Neue Testament Deutsch
NTOA	Novum Testamentum et orbis antiquus
NTP	New Testament Profiles
NTS	New Testament Studies
NTT	New Testament Theology

NTTS	New Testament Tools and Studies
OE	Opera Exegetica
OTP	Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, ed. J.H. Charlesworth
ÖTKNT	Ökumenischer Taschenbuchkommentar zum Neuen Testament
PastPsy	Pastoral Psychology
PBM	Paternoster Biblical Monographs
PG	Patrologiae cursus completus. Accurante J.-P. Migne. Series Graeca
PiNNTC	Pillar New Testament Commentaries
PMLA	Publications of the Modern Language Association of America
PL	Patrologiae cursus completus. Accurante J.-P. Migne. Series Latina
PNT.N	Prediking van het Nieuwe Testament. Nijkerk
PO	Patrologia orientalis
PRSt	Perspectives in Religious Studies
PThM	Pittsburgh Theological Monographs
PS	Patrologia Syriaca
PTS	Patristische Texte und Studien
QD	Quaestiones disputatae
RAC	Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum
RGG	(Die) Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart
RHPPhR	Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses
RivB	Rivista biblica
RIDA	Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité
RNT	Regensburger Neues Testament
RStR	Religious Studies Review
RThom	Revue Thomiste
SAAA	Studies on the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles
SBAB	Stuttgarter biblische Aufsatzbände
SBL.DS	Society of Biblical Literature. Dissertation Series
SBL.MS	Society of Biblical Literature. Monograph Series
SBL.SBibSt	Society of Biblical Literature. Sources for Biblical Study
SBL.SP	Society of Biblical Literature. Seminar Papers
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
SC	Sources chrétiennes
Sem.	Semeia
SHDR	Systematisches Handbuch der Deutschen Rechtswissenschaft
SJTh	Scottish Journal of Theology
SNTS	Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas
SNTW	Studies of the New Testament and Its World
SPB	Studia post-Biblica
SPg	Sacra Pagina
SPIB	Scripta Pontificii Instituti Biblici
SR	Studies in Religion (University of North Carolina)
SSEJC	Studies in Scripture in Early Judaism and Christianity
StANT	Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
STAR	Studies in Theology and Religion
StD	Studies and Documents
StUNT	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha
TANZ	Texte und Arbeiten zum neutestamentlichen Zeitalter

TaS	Texts and Studies
TB	Theologische Bücherei
TCH	The Transformation of the Classical Heritage
ThA	Theologische Arbeiten
ThHK	Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament
ThLZ	Theologische Literaturzeitung
ThR	Theologische Rundschau
ThRef	Theologia Reformata
ThStKr	Theologische Studien und Kritiken
ThWAT	Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament
ThWNT	Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament
TNTC	Tyndale New Testament Commentaries
TRE	Theologische Real-Enzyklopädie
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
TVGMS	TVG-Monographien und Studienbücher
TW	Theologie und Wirklichkeit
TynB	Tyndale Bulletin
UALG	Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur und Geschichte
UBS	United Bible Societies
UTB	Uni-Taschenbücher
UTB.W	Uni-Taschenbücher für Wissenschaft
UTB.WG	Uni-Taschenbücher für Wissenschaft. Grosse Reihe
VD	Verbum Domini
WA	Weimarer Ausgabe (Luthers Werke)
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WLQ	Wisconsin Lutheran Quarterly
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WTJ	Wesleyan Theological Journal
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZKG	Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte
ZKTh	Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie
ZNW	Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZRGG	Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte
ZThK	Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche
ZWKB	Zürcher Werkkommentar zur Bibel
ZWTh	Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie

Introduction

In the course of the last two or three decades the critical study of the Book of Acts has received new impetus. Some long-awaited specialist commentaries were published, new interpretative tools and methods were developed, old debates re-opened and new perspectives presented.¹ Although it is no longer true that the study of Luke-Acts is “a Storm Center in Contemporary Scholarship”, as the Dutch New Testament scholar W.C. van Unnik put it once in a much-too-often-quoted statement,² the Book of Acts still receives much scholarly attention, as is evident from the large number of commentaries that have been published in recent years and the ever-increasing amount of scholarly articles, doctoral dissertations and monographs on Luke’s second book.³ The digital revolution has forever changed and complicated the

¹ For the *status quaestionis* of Acts scholarship, we have now the fully updated version of François Bovon’s classic: F. Bovon, *Luc le théologien* (MoBi 5; Geneva: Labor et Fides, [1978] 2006). See also W.W. Gasque, *A History of the Interpretation of the Acts of the Apostles* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, [1975] 1989), and the brief surveys in: C.H. Talbert, *Reading Luke-Acts in Its Mediterranean Milieu* (NT.S 107; Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2003) 1–14; T. Penner, “Madness in the Method? The Acts of the Apostles in Current Study”, *CBR* 2.2 (2004) 223–293.

² W.C. van Unnik, “Luke-Acts. A Storm Center in Contemporary Scholarship”, in: L.E. Keck, J.L. Martyn (eds.), *Studies in Luke-Acts* (London: SPCK, 1966; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980) 15–32.

³ Among the most important commentaries on Acts since 1997 are: F.S. Spencer, *Acts* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1997); C.H. Talbert, *Reading Acts. A Literary and Theological Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles* (RNT; New York: Crossroad, 1997); C.K. Barrett, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles 2. Introduction and Commentary on Acts XV-XXVIII* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998); J.A. Fitzmyer, *The Acts of the Apostles. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AncB 31; New York: Doubleday, 1998); J. Jervell, *Die Apostelgeschichte übersetzt und erklärt* (KEK III¹⁷; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998); P.W. Walaskay, *Acts* (Westminster Bible Companion; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1998); B. Witherington, *The Acts of the Apostles. A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary* (Grand Rapids, Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1998); W. Eckey, *Die Apostelgeschichte. Der Weg des Evangeliums von Jerusalem nach Rom* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2000) 2 Bde.; J. Taylor, *Les Actes des deux Apôtres* (EtB; Paris: Librairie Lecoffre, J. Gabalda, 2000) 3 vols.; C.K. Barrett, *The Acts of the Apostles. A Shorter Commentary* (Edinburgh, New York: T&T Clark, 2002); J. van Eck, *Handelingen. De wereld in het geding* (CNT derde serie; Kampen: Kok, 2003); B. Gaventa, *The Acts of the Apostles* (ANTC; Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon, 2003); J. Pelikan, *Acts* (BThCB; Grand Rapids: Brazos, 2005) [see my review in: *JRTh* 1.3 (2007) 358–359];

way we approach Acts on every level: textual, linguistic, historical, exegetical, theological, hermeneutical.⁴ In fact, the contemporary biblical scholar's problem is not so much a lack of information or a supposed scarcity of data, but rather the opposite: there is an overflow of information now that almost all relevant sources, both ancient and modern, are easily accessible in digital form through the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, Brepols' *Library of Latin Texts*, *BibleWorks* and other databases. More than ever, making decisions on what is relevant and what is not, is an essential quality of a competent biblical scholar.

The start of my own scholarly work on the Acts of the Apostles dates from the early nineties of the last century, when I was writing my Durham doctoral dissertation on the ascension and exaltation of Jesus in Lukan Christology.⁵ Since then, I have continued to focus my research on the Acts of the Apostles, in particular (to the surprise of some) on the very opening chapters of the book.

In "The Text of the Ascension Narratives" (Chapter 1) I explore the textual status of the ascension narratives in Luke 24 and Acts 1.⁶ In it I undertake a comparative analysis of the standard ("Alexandrian") text-tradition and the "Western" text-tradition (both so called in want of better terms) and focus especially on the theory advanced by Mikeal Parsons and Bart Ehrman that the longer readings of Luke 24:51, containing the words *καὶ ἀνεφέρετο εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν* "and he was carried up into heaven", and 52, reading *προσκύνησαντες αὐτόν* "they worshipped him", attested in \mathfrak{P}^{75} , the

D.L. Bock, *Acts* (BECNT; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007); D. Marguerat, *Les Actes des apôtres (1–12)* (CNT 5a; Geneva: Labor et Fides, 2007); M.C. Parsons, *Acts* (Paideia Commentaries NT; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2008); R.I. Pervo, *Acts. A Commentary* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2009); D. Peterson, *The Acts of the Apostles* (PiNTC; Grand Rapids, Cambridge: Eerdmans; Nottingham: Apollolis, 2009).

⁴ The study of Luke(-Acts) is now greatly helped by the study of A. Denaux, R. Corstjens, in collaboration with H. Mardaga, *The Vocabulary of Luke. An Alphabetical Presentation and a Survey of Characteristic and Noteworthy Words and Word Groups in Luke's Gospel* (BiTSt 10; Leuven: Peeters, 2009). Unfortunately, this excellent tool is more helpful for the study of the gospel than for Acts. *Hapax legomena* (words and word groups) in Acts, e.g., cannot be found with this otherwise fine tool. Its use would be greatly enhanced if it were made accessible as an electronic database.

⁵ My doctoral dissertation was entitled "The Ascension of the Messiah. An Inquiry into the Ascension and Exaltation of Jesus in Lukan Christology", and was accepted by the University of Durham (UK) in July 1996. It was subsequently published as A.W. Zwiep, *The Ascension of the Messiah in Lukan Christology* (NT.S 87; Leiden, New York, Köln: Brill, 1997). The earliest reviewers include: R. Morgan, *ET* 108.4 (January 1998) 117; R.K. McIver, *RBL* 06/1998; F.S. Spencer, *CBQ* 60 (1998) 784–785; H. Klein, *ThLZ* 123 (1998) 751–753; P.W. van der Horst, *NedThT* 53 (1998) 249–250; anon., *RBB* 1998, 530–531; E. Franklin, *JThS* 50 (1999) 230–236.

⁶ At the beginning of each chapter I provide the relevant bibliographical details of the original publications and/or their provenance.

oldest known copy of the Gospel of Luke, are the result of a tendency on the part of this early scribe, who supposedly *added* these words for theological reasons.⁷ Although I surely appreciate their concern for taking seriously the impact of theological tendencies on the text of the New Testament, I do not think their thesis works for the particular passages under consideration. Although one and a half decade after the publication of the original article I still feel a certain *Entdeckerfreude* about my findings, I realize now more than ever that textual criticism has turned into a highly specialized science that few of us are able to keep up with. The aforementioned digital revolution has caused a dramatic transformation in the scholarly treatment of texts and manuscripts, the effects of which can hardly be exaggerated.⁸ Still, looking with hindsight, I believe my conclusions are sound.

While my research into the text of the ascension narratives helped me to pave the way for my doctoral dissertation, “Assumptus est in caelum” (Chapter 2) was a follow-up article. Based on a lecture that I was privileged to deliver in Tübingen in September 1999, I had the opportunity to present my theses on Luke’s understanding of the resurrection-exaltation-ascension complex in the light of early Jewish traditions and share my conclusions with distinguished scholars working in the same area as I was.⁹ I still feel a sense of pride for having had this opportunity.¹⁰

The next three chapters of the volume represent the next stage in my study of Acts. In 2004 I published my second scholarly monograph, entitled *Judas and the Choice of Matthias*, which focused on the Judas-Matthias pericope in Acts 1:15–26.¹¹ In “The Mysterious Death(s) of Judas” (Chapter 3) I

⁷ M.C. Parsons, “A Christological Tendency in Φ^{75} ”, *JBL* 105 (1986) 463–479; repr. in: idem, *The Departure of Jesus in Luke-Acts. The Ascension Narratives in Context* (JSNT.S 21; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1987) 29–52; B.D. Ehrman, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture. The Effect of Early Christological Controversies on the Text of the New Testament* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993) 227–233.

⁸ See on this D.C. Parker, *An Introduction to the New Testament Manuscripts and Their Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008) 1–2.

⁹ The various contributions to this symposium have been published in: F. Avemarie, H. Lichtenberger (eds.), *Auferstehung – Resurrection. The Fourth Durham-Tübingen Research Symposium. Resurrection, Transfiguration and Exaltation in Old Testament, Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity (Tübingen, September 1999)* (WUNT 135; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001).

¹⁰ My other relevant publications in this area include: A.W. Zwiep, “Hemelvaart, opname en verhoging” (1997), in: idem, *Jezus en het heil van Israëls God. Verkenningen in het Nieuwe Testament* (EvangTh; Zoetermeer: Boekencentrum, 2003) 52–67; idem, “Hemelvaart, ten hemel varen, opgenomen worden”, in: A. Noordegraaf et al. (eds.), *Woordenboek voor bijbellezers* (Zoetermeer: Boekencentrum, 2005) 272–278; idem, “Ascension”, in: K.D. Sakenfeld et al. (eds.), *The New Interpreter’s Dictionary of the Bible* (Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon, 2006) 1:290–291.

¹¹ A.W. Zwiep, *Judas and the Choice of Matthias. A Study on Context and Concern of Acts 1:15–26* (WUNT 2. Reihe 187; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004). Reviews include: C.

discuss the intriguing phenomenon of the various death reports about Judas Iscariot, which reminds one of the proverbial cat with nine lives. Closely related to this is the article on “Judas and the Jews” (Chapter 4), which owes its origin to a sermon by a Dutch minister that evoked great public indignation, even to the point of legal action for its alleged anti-Semitic stance. In this sermon, Judas was taken as an example of how bad “the Jew in us” was. In this responsive article the sad role of the Judas figure in the history of anti-Semitism is described and evaluated from a critical, historical and hermeneutical perspective. If it proves anything, it is that the study of *Wirkungsgeschichte* is indispensable for historico-critical exegesis.¹²

While the first four chapters of this volume are concerned with the first chapter of Acts, “Luke’s Understanding of Baptism in the Holy Spirit” (Chapter 5) marks the transition from my studies centred around the opening chapter of Acts to the second chapter of Acts, which in a way is the real take-off of the story. In this chapter I try to delineate Luke’s understanding of baptism in the Holy Spirit in particular response to the work of Robert Menzies and other Pentecostal biblical scholars.¹³

The next chapter, entitled “Church Between Ideal and Reality” (Chapter 6), is about Lukan ecclesiology, Luke’s vision of and for the church. In it, I try to discover what Luke’s conception of the church is in particular response to the old thesis that Acts is an example of “early Catholicism” and a forerunner of the institutionalization of the Christian church, a thesis that was once popular in predominantly German scholarship.¹⁴ I argue

Bernas, *RStR* 31.1–2 (2005) 90; G. van den Brink, *Soteria* 22.4 (2005) 88–90; Chr. Grappe, *RHPPhR* 85 (2005) 454–455; A. Noordegraaf, *ThRef* 48 (2005) 85–86; H.K. Bond, *JSNT* 28 (2006) 61–62; B.J. Oropeza, *BBR* 17.2 (2007) 324–344; L.C.A. Alexander, *RBL* 04/2007; W. Reinbold, *ThLZ* 132 (2007) 173–174; J. Schröter, *ThR* 3 (2008) 303; Chr. Stenschke, *JbETH* 22 (2008) 69.

¹² It was only after the completion of my Judas book that the media spectacle around the “discovery” of the Gospel of Judas broke out, an event, of course, that I could not have foreseen at the time. One of the reviewers of my book thought that “Arie Zwiep must be kicking himself” [L.C.A. Alexander, “Review of A.W. Zwiep, *Judas and the Choice of Matthias* (2004)”, in: *RBL* 04/2007], but honesty admits to say that I felt a certain relief that I had finished my book before the Gospel of Judas made its public re-entry and thus had suffered no delay. When I was invited to review April DeConick’s challenging book on the Gospel of Judas [A.D. DeConick, *The Thirteenth Apostle. What the Gospel of Judas Really Says* (London, New York: Continuum, 2007); reviewed in: *RBL* 07/2008], I had as yet the opportunity to engage with the Gospel of Judas and locate this intriguing and controversial document in the context of the early Christian Judas-reception that I had investigated previously.

¹³ In particular R.P. Menzies, *The Development of Early Christian Pneumatology with Special Reference to Luke-Acts* (JSNT.S 54; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991); W.W. Menzies, R.P. Menzies, *Spirit and Power: Foundations of Pentecostal Experience* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2000).

¹⁴ For a brief survey, see R.P. Martin, “Early Catholicism”, in: R.P. Martin, P.H. Davies (eds.), *Dictionary of the Later New Testament and Its Developments* (Downers Grove, Leicester: InterVarsity, 1997) 310–313.

that Luke thinks of the church as a charismatic community, a thesis which relates closely to my understanding of Lukan eschatology as developed in my *Ascension of the Messiah*¹⁵ and in Chapter 2 of this volume, and to my understanding of Luke's view on the work of the Holy Spirit as described in Chapter 5.

In "Jesus Made Both Lord and Christ" (Chapter 7) I attempt to understand Acts 2:36 in its Lukan context, that is, as a statement for which the author of Luke-Acts takes full responsibility. Especially in this text, the gap between biblical scholars and theologians is manifest. Although there is a wide measure of agreement in Lukan scholarship that Acts is a historical (or history-like), literary and *theological* document, there is a long way to go from the (unspectacular) recognition that the author of Acts has certain outspoken convictions concerning God, Christ, the Spirit, the church and so on to the radical *relecture* of his work in support of traditional Nicene doctrine, as e.g. Jaroslav Pelikan in his theological commentary on Acts would have it.¹⁶ Ever since the Arian controversy in the fourth century, Acts 2:36 has drawn the attention of biblical interpreters and theologians. In my perception, Pelikan's exegesis of Acts 2:36 is a clear example of how doctrine can overrule or even distort exegesis. While there is some ground to believe that the affirmation that Jesus "was made Lord and Christ" reflects an early Christology "with a subordinationist undertone", to put it mildly, for Pelikan there is no doubt that such a reading is unwarranted in the light of the doctrine of the Trinity: "All of the constituent elements of the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed about the Trinity were ... already present at one place or another, more or less inchoately, in the book of Acts".¹⁷ Elsewhere he writes: "Whatever may have been the credal form or forms in use during the first century ..., the doctrine of the Trinity eventually came to be seen as *the only way* to speak about Jesus Christ as the church had always been doing".¹⁸ Such a strong notion of exclusivity I do not see in the New Testament writings nor in the early Christian communities. Alternative Christologies are amply attested even in the canonical writings and emergent ("proto-orthodox") Christianity. Chapter 7 is my attempt to "let Luke be Luke".

In the last chapter of this volume, "Putting Paul in Place with a Trojan Horse" (Chapter 8), I take up a debate that goes back to the time of F.C. Baur and the Tübingen School and try to understand Luke's special treatment of

¹⁵ Zwiep, *Ascension* 175–185.

¹⁶ See A.W. Zwiep, "Review of J. Pelikan, *Acts* (2005)", in: *JRTh* 1.3 (2007) 358–359. More nuanced and less rigorous, R. Roukema, *Jezus, de gnosıs en het dogma* (Zoetermeer: Meinema, 2007), seems to move along similar lines, see A.W. Zwiep, "Review of R. Roukema, *Jezus, de gnosıs en het dogma* (2007)", in: *Radix* 34 (2008) 138–141.

¹⁷ Pelikan, *Acts* 57, 188–119; quotation from 119.

¹⁸ Pelikan, *Acts* 84; italics mine.

Paul from the perspective of tendency criticism. Why does Luke portray Paul in the way he does? In this chapter the various lines of my research come together in some sort of synthesis.

Inevitably, there will be some overlap between the various articles in this volume. Although I revised and updated much of the material, I attempted to keep to the original argument intact as much as possible and thus could not always avoid repetition.

A final word about the question of dating the Book of Acts. In this book I do not interact with the recent attempt to reconsider the common dating of Acts by Richard Pervo, Joseph Tyson and others. They have forcefully argued that Acts was written somewhere in the second or third decade of the second century.¹⁹ As far as I can see, their late dating of Acts – in fact, a return to F.C. Baur and the Tübingen School although the *Tübingers* tended to date the book still later – does not substantially affect the conclusions of my argument, although I realize that there are immense repercussions for our understanding of the historical context of first- and second-century Christianity. Although I am not a convert, I believe their arguments deserve to be taken with the utmost seriousness, *sine ira et studio*, even if this means that we give up old paradigms and replace them by new ones. As yet, however, it is difficult to see if their work is just a quiet breeze or the beginning of a new storm. The debate about the dating of Acts, then, is to be continued in the coming years.

¹⁹ R.I. Pervo, *Dating Acts. Between the Evangelists and the Apologists* (Santa Rosa: Polebridge, 2006); idem, *Acts. A Commentary* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2009) 5; J.B. Tyson, *Marcion and Luke-Acts. A Defining Struggle* (South Carolina: University of South Carolina, 2006). Pervo argues for a date of Acts around 115 C.E., Tyson for a date between 120–125 C.E. Tyson, following the work of his teacher John Knox [*Marcion and the New Testament. An Essay in the Early History of the Canon* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1942)], argues that canonical Acts is an immediate response to Marcion. A date of Luke-Acts “in the middle of the second century” was also defended by J.T. Townsend, “The Date of Luke-Acts”, in: C.H. Talbert (ed.), *Luke-Acts. New Perspectives from the SBL Seminar* (New York: Crossroad, 1984) 47–62.

Chapter 1

The Text of the Ascension Narratives

Luke 24:50–53; Acts 1:1–2, 9–11

1. Introduction

It is by no means an exaggeration to claim that the tendency of modern textual critics and New Testament exegetes is to regard the long disputed text-critical issue of Luke's final pericope (Lk 24:50–53)¹ as more or less settled in favour of the authenticity of the so-called “longer (non-Western) text”, i.e. containing the phrases *καὶ ἀνεφέρετο εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν* “and he was carried up into heaven” in verse 51 and *προσκυνήσαντες αὐτόν* “they worshipped him” in verse 52.² Typical of the current scholarly consensus is the almost unanimous adoption of the disputed words by modern Greek text editions,³

¹ An earlier draft of this chapter has been published in: A.W. Zwiep, “The Text of The Ascension Narratives (Luke 24.50–3; Acts 1.1–2, 9–11)”, *NTS* 42 (1996) 219–244; © Cambridge University Press. Reprinted with permission.

² Above all, the analyses of V. Larrañaga, *L'Ascension de Notre-Seigneur dans le Nouveau Testament* (SPIB 50; Roma: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1938) 43–50, 145–213; J. Jeremias, *Die Abendmahlsworte Jesu* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1935, 1967) 138–145, and B.M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, UBS, 1971, 1994) 162–166, have helped to establish a scholarly consensus. Cf. further P. Benoit, “L'Ascension” (1949); repr. in: idem, *Exègèse et Théologie* (Paris: Cerf, 1961) 1:393–398; J.M. Guillaume, *Luc interprète des anciennes traditions sur la résurrection de Jésus* (EtB; Paris: Librairie Lecoffre, J. Gabalda, 1979) 224–248 (both following Larrañaga); R.J. Dillon, *From Eye-Witnesses to Ministers of the Word. Tradition and Composition in Luke 24* (AnBib 82; Roma: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1978) 182–184.

³ NA^{26,27}; UBS¹ (within brackets); UBS^{2–4} (unbracketed; from a {D} rating, indicating “a high degree of doubt concerning the reading selected for the text” to a {B} rating, suggesting that “the text is almost certain”). Further: J.B. Orchard (ed.), *A Synopsis of the Four Gospels in Greek. Arranged according to the Two-Gospel Hypothesis* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark; Macon, Mass.: Mercer, 1983) 297; Z.C. Hodges, A.L. Farstad, *The Greek New Testament according to the Majority Text* (Nashville, Tenn., Camden, New York: Thomas Nelson, 1982, 1985) 288–289 (= HF); M.-É. Boismard, A. Lamouille, *Synopsis Graece Quattuor Evangeliorum* (Paris, Louvain: Peeters, 1986) 408; The American and British Committees of the International Greek New Testament Project (ed.), *The Gospel according to St. Luke* (The New Testament in Greek 3; Oxford: Clarendon, 1987) 2:255.

The shorter text is read by A. Huck, H. Greeven, *Synopse der drei ersten Evangelien. Mit Beigabe der johanneischen Parallelstellen* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1981) 281.